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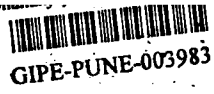
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SHORT HISTORY OF



FOR USE IN HIGH SCHOOLS,

BY

MARK HUNTER, M.A. (OXON),
Principal of the Coimbatore College.



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PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS book is prepared specially to suit the requirements of High School Classes in the Madras Presidency. The compiler has endeavoured to strike a mean between the small elementary text-books in general use at present and the larger manuals which, excellent as many of them are, are too lengthy for the purpose in view.

It has been the writer's aim not to burden the beginner's memory with a multitude of facts, but to awaken his interest in the facts admitted by pointing out their significance. In the manner of treatment adopted he has been influenced by the consideration that the course of studies for the Matriculation examination now extends over a period of *three*, and not as formerly of *two*, years, and that the First Examination in Arts course no longer includes any period of English History. Consequently a somewhat fuller treatment of the subject than was in past years required appears to be desirable.

Care has been taken to render the style as simple as possible, and further to help the young student each chapter is furnished with a summary of contents at the beginning, as well as a marginal analysis.

This little history is based throughout on the works of those recent historians whose writings are generally

accepted as the most trustworthy *modern* authorities for special periods of English History, but at the same time much assistance has been derived from manuals, such as those of Professor S. R. Gardiner and Dr. F. Bright, the excellent 'Epochs of Modern History,' published by Messrs. Longmans & Co., and in a lesser degree, Green's 'History of the English People.'

The compiler has also had the advantage of the assistance of the Rev. F. W. Kellett, M.A., Professor of History in the Christian College, Madras, who very kindly consented to read through the proof sheets and has offered many valuable suggestions.

MARK HUNTER.

26th September 1898.

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CORRIGENDA.

Page	16,	11 lines	from top:	for	‘ <i>against the Anglo-Saxons</i> ’	read	‘ <i>amongst the Anglo-Saxons.</i> ’	
„	86,	17	„	„	‘ <i>demagogue</i> ’	read	‘ <i>demagogue.</i> ’	
„	232,	6	„	„	‘ <i>colony of Virginian</i> ’	read	‘ <i>colony of Virginia.</i> ’	
„	258,	marginal note:			for	‘1641’	read	‘1642.’
„	260,	5 lines from top:			for	‘ <i>Bristol was sacked</i> ’	read	‘ <i>Bristol was stormed.</i> ’
„	271,	marginal note:			for	‘ <i>Oliver’s administrations</i> ’	read	‘ <i>Oliver’s administration.</i> ’
„	273,	9 lines from top:			for	‘ <i>injuries inflicted</i> ’	read	‘ <i>injuries inflicted.</i> ’
„	287,	12	„	„	‘ <i>Both of those</i> ’	read	‘ <i>Both of these.</i> ’	
„	369,	12	„	„	‘ <i>to yet possession of the former</i> ’	read	‘ <i>to get possession of the latter.</i> ’	
„	372,	17	„	„	‘ <i>May 11, 1788,</i> ’	read	‘ <i>May 11, 1778.</i> ’	
„	377,	3	„	„	‘ <i>transfer the authority</i> ’	read	‘ <i>transfer the political authority.</i> ’	
„	406,	13	„	„	‘ <i>Napoleon’s</i> ’	read	‘ <i>Napoleon’s.</i> ’	
„	430,	20	„	„	‘ <i>Crampton</i> ’	read	‘ <i>Crompton.</i> ’	
„	444,	16	„	„	‘ <i>Kenington</i> ’	read	‘ <i>Kennington.</i> ’	

A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

PART I. ROMANS, BRITONS and ENGLISH.

CHAP. I. EARLY BRITAIN. THE ROMAN OCCUPATION.

Earliest inhabitants of Britain, (1) Palæolithic men, (2) Neolithic men, (3) Celts.—Religion of the Britons—Druids—The tin trade—The two invasions of C. Julius Cæsar—Invasions of Aulus Plautius—Caractacus—Roman Colonies—Suetonius Paulinus—Ostorius Scapula—Attack on Mona—Insurrection of Boadicea—The rule and conquests of Cn. Julius Agricola—The walls of Agricola and Hadrian—Character of Roman Rule—Christianity in Britain—End of Roman rule—Attacks of Picts, Scots and Saxons—Results of Roman occupation.

MANY ages ago, long before the time with which history proper has to deal, the country which we now call Great Britain was not separated by the sea from the mainland. In those days all manner of wild animals roamed over the land. Some species of these are now extinct, and others have quite disappeared from Britain. There were human beings too, rude savages belonging to a race altogether different from the races inhabiting the Britain of to-day. Scholars have called them *Palæolithic* men, from two Greek words *lithos*, a stone, and *palaios*, old; because, being ignorant of the use of the metals, they used rough weapons of stone. They are called the *old stone-using men*, to distinguish them from

Earliest inhabitants of Britain :

(1) Palæolithic men.

another race of men who inhabited the land at a later date.

(2) Neolithic men.

Their character.

This race is called *Neolithic* (Gk. *neos*, new, and *lithos*, a stone). They were a more civilised people than the Palæolithic men: their stone weapons were less rude and more serviceable; they reared domestic animals, they knew something of agriculture, of weaving and the art of pottery. Scholars tell us that these Neolithic men belonged to a race which is called the Iberian, a race which still exists in the Basques of the Pyrenees. It is thought that before the coming of the Neolithic men Britain had become an island, and that the Iberians crossed over in boats.

(3) The Celts.

The next race of men whom we find occupying Britain is of much greater historical importance. These are the Celts. They were a more civilised people than their predecessors, the Neolithic Iberians; for, in place of rude implements of stone, they used weapons fashioned of bronze, and in other respects were more advanced in the arts of life. In course of time the Celts, the most powerful of whom were called Britons, gained possession of the whole island of Great Britain and Ireland, and dialects of their languages are still spoken in the highlands of Scotland, in Wales, in parts of Ireland, and, until quite recent times, in Cornwall. What became of the Iberians we do not know. The Celts most probably did not utterly destroy them; it is more likely that they intermingled with them, and that therefore a strain of the old Iberian blood still remains amongst the people who now inhabit Great Britain. There were two Celtic invasions, (1) that of the *Goidels*, whose descendants are now found in the north of Scotland and in Ireland; (2) that of the *Britons*

who drove out the Goidels from what is now called England and Wales. The Britons were split up into a number of tribes which were, of course, frequently at war with one another. They were a brave people, but they had little knowledge of the art of war. They made use of chariots in battle and they painted their faces to inspire terror in the ranks of the enemy. This shows that the British Celts, although more advanced than the Neolithic folk whom they had supplanted, were still in a very barbarous condition. They had no towns. They lived in scattered huts.

Their religion was polytheistic, that is, they worshipped a number of gods. These gods they appeased with sacrifices, sometimes with human sacrifices. They used to burn numbers of men and women in huge wicker baskets. They thought that the gods were pleased with such doings, and would be good to them. They set apart oak groves for the worship of their gods. Their priests were called *Druids*. These Druids were regarded as wonderfully wise; they gave instruction to the young, and were sometimes looked upon as magicians possessed of supernatural power.

Their religion.

Druids.

There is on Salisbury Plain a circle of huge stones, Stonehenge, which is supposed to have been erected by the Britons.

The tribes occupying the south east coast of Britain were closely connected with other Celts who inhabited the countries now called France and Belgium. From the communication which they kept up with the continental Celts these tribes were rather more advanced than the dwellers to the north and in the interior. Nevertheless, as has been said, they were a savage people enough.

The tin-trade.

It was not till the fourth century before Christ that Britain became known to the civilised peoples of Europe. At that time the Greek colony of Massilia (Marseilles) opened up communications with Britain on account of the tin-mines which the Britons had learnt to work. This tin-trade had attained considerable importance two centuries later. The tin was carried across Gaul in wagons to the river Rhone and then floated down to the Mediterranean.

C. Julius
Cæsar.

While the Britons and Greeks of Massilia were trading in tin, the Roman people were building up the mightiest empire known to antiquity. In B. C. 55 the Romans carried their arms into Britain. Caius Julius Cæsar, the greatest of the Romans, was then engaged in reducing to subjection the whole of Gaul. Rebellious Gauls had found refuge in Britain, and the Britons had been threatening to render active assistance to the Gauls. Cæsar determined to teach the Britons a lesson. He had no wish to conquer Britain: he merely desired to secure the frontier of the Roman empire. Cæsar invaded Britain twice, in 55 and in 54 B. C. The first invasion was merely a demonstration. In the second invasion Cæsar defeated the Britons more than once, marched as far as St. Albans, and exacted from the brave chief Casivelaunus terms of submission and a promise to pay tribute. The submission, however, was merely nominal, and the tribute was never paid. But Cæsar had done all he wished to do. He withdrew from Britain. For nearly a hundred years the Britons were left pretty much to themselves. They gave the Romans no trouble. Also the conquest of Gaul by the Romans affected the Britons for good. Gaul became more civilised, and the British trade with Gaul increased.

Cæsar's first
invasion of
Britain 55
B. C.

His second
invasion 54
B. C.

Julius Caesar and his immediate successors made no attempt to conquer Britain, but in the reign of the Emperor Claudius (A. D. 41—54) a new policy was adopted. In the year 43 A. D. Aulus Plautius invaded the island. It is possible that the Britons had brought this attack upon themselves. Be that as it may, it was certainly to the advantage of the Britons to be brought under Roman sway, for Roman Government meant peace, order, civilisation, and for the most part, impartial justice. Aulus Plautius remained four years in Britain, during which time he reduced all the native tribes from the Wash southward. The brave and powerful chief Caractacus was defeated and driven into exile.

Invasion of
Aulus Plautius
A. D. 43.

From that time the Roman conquest of Britain advanced steadily. Moreover the Romans began to settle in Britain and found *Colonies*. These colonies served two purposes. They were garrison towns, and they were at the same time centres of Roman rule and civilisation. The first colony was Camulodunum, the modern Colchester. In 47 Aulus Plautius was succeeded by Ostorius Scapula. He had great difficulties with the tribes of central and southern Wales. The latter were led by Caractacus who had taken refuge amongst them after having been defeated by Plautius. But the resistance of the Britons was in vain, though they fought with the utmost desperation. They were crushed by the Romans in a fearful battle; Caractacus himself was taken prisoner and sent to Rome. When he saw the glories of the capital of the world, he said that it was strange that men who possessed such magnificent palaces at home should deem it worth their while to fight for the wretched huts of Britain. The Emperor Claudius with great clemency restored Caractacus to liberty.

Caractacus.

Roman Colonies.

Ostorius Scapula.

Suetonius
Paulinus
A. D. 61.

In the year 61 Suetonius Paulinus was governor of Britain. Suetonius determined to complete the conquest of west Britain, where the Britons, instigated by their priests, the Druids, still continued to give the Romans trouble. Accordingly he made an attack upon the island of Mona (*Anglesey*), inflicted a great defeat upon the Britons and put to the sword many of the Druids. The Romans were, as a rule, very tolerant of the religion of their subjects, but the abomination of human sacrifices could not be endured, and the Druids had, moreover, been inciting the Britons to rebellion.

Attack on
Mona.

Insurrection
under
Boadicea.

Immediately after his victory at Mona Suetonius was called back to the east of the island. There the tribes of the Britons had raised a terrible insurrection against their masters. This rising was the work of Boadicea, the wife of a chief of the Iceni. But she had good cause. Suetonius had not been a sufficiently strict governor. Under his subordinates the Britons had suffered injustice and oppression. Boadicea had herself been publicly flogged and had suffered other and worse outrages. The insurgents took terrible vengeance for these injuries. The Roman colony of Camolodunum was attacked and the colonists massacred. A Roman legion was also defeated with great loss.

It is put down
by Suetonius.

The return of Suetonius at once altered the state of affairs. He defeated the Britons. Thousands of them were put to the sword. Boadicea took poison to escape a worse fate. Once again there was peace in Roman Britain. But the Emperor felt that Suetonius had not been a successful governor and he was recalled.

The rule of
Cn. Julius
Agricola
A. D. 70-81.

The next Roman governor of Britain whom it is necessary to mention here was Cnæus Julius Agri-

cola. Agricola was one of the noblest of the Romans who lived in the time of the empire, and he ruled Britain justly and well. Agricola made an attempt to subdue the whole island. He was not successful in this. Nevertheless he conquered all the country which is now called England and Wales. After this he pushed northwards as far as the Grampian mountains. There he defeated the Caledonians or *Picts* in a great battle, but the wild northern tribes retreated to their mountains where Agricola found it impossible for the present to follow them. Before this battle Agricola had built a chain of forts between the estuaries of the Forth and the Clyde to check the inroads of the wild Highland clans. This chain of forts is called Agricola's wall. He still contemplated the conquest of the whole island. He sent a fleet round it to discover the geography of the country; but before he could effect his purpose he was recalled (A. D. 84). The northern part of the island was never conquered by the Romans: nor was it, as we shall see, ever thoroughly civilised till the eighteenth century.

Agricola's forts were in after years strengthened by a continuous earth wall. Another and stronger wall was built in 121 by the Emperor Hadrian between the Tyne and the Solway.

In 208 the Emperor Severus made an attempt to subdue Caledonia, but he failed as Agricola had failed before him.

The rest of Britain continued under Roman rule till the beginning of the fifth century after Christ. This was, of course, a fact of very great importance for the Britons of that time; but as we shall see in our next chapter, it had very little effect on later history. The Romans were strong and just rulers.

Conquests of
Agricola.

Agricola's
'Wall.'

Recall of
Agricola.

Hadrian's
wall A. D.
121.

The Emperor
Severus A. D.
208.

Character of
Roman rule.

The old wars between tribe and tribe came altogether to an end under their domination. Besides this, forests were cleared, towns built, commerce, the chief centre of which was *London*, increased, and the Britons, at least those in the towns, adopted the civilisation, dress, and language of their conquerors. Their religion too, was replaced by a higher and purer belief. Christianity became in the fourth century A. D. the religion of the Roman empire, and Christianity established itself in Britain.

The Christian Religion.

Weakness of the Roman civilisation in Britain.

And yet most of the work of the Romans was destined to be overthrown. Its existence depended upon the presence of Roman armies in the island. The Romans could establish for the time being peace and justice and order; they could civilise and spread the Christian religion; but they could not raise up in their subjects a national feeling which should enable them, when the Romans had gone, to hold fast the possessions which their foreign conquerors had bestowed on them.

End of Roman Rule A. D. 409.

And the Romans were obliged to abandon Britain to its fate. Their own empire was breaking up, Rome itself was sacked by the Goths in 410; and before that time the last Roman legion had been withdrawn from Britain (409).

Attacks of Picts, Scots, and Saxons.

The Britons were thus left defenceless, and their enemies began to pour in upon them. From the north came the Scots (Celtic tribes) and the Picts, (perhaps partly Iberians); and on the east and south coast fell the Saxon pirates. These Saxons together with other kindred races, were destined to conquer Britain once more and to destroy almost every vestige of Roman occupation. But they were to make Britain England, and to be the fathers of the English people.

A few roads, a few ruined walls and ramparts, fragments of architecture, a few Latin words left in the names of towns,—that is all, or nearly all which is left, were it not for written history, to tell us that Britain was once a part of the Roman Empire. Nevertheless the work of the Romans was not in vain. Several generations of Celtic men in Britain enjoyed peace and good government, became instructed in the civilised arts of life and learned the doctrines and morality of a pure religion. That was surely something.

Result of the Roman occupation.

CHAP. II. THE ENGLISH CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT.

The Teutonic invaders, their character, religion, &c.—Difficulties of the Britons after the withdrawal of the Romans—Landing of the Jutes—of the South Saxons—of the West Saxons—of the East Saxons—of the Angles—Extent of the Teutonic settlement—Fate of the Britons—Social classes amongst the new-comers—Eorls, Ceorls, Læts, Theows,—Political divisions: Township, Hundred and Folk—The Fyrd—The Kingship—The ‘Heptarchy.’

In the last chapter we spoke of the pirates who infested the shores of Britain as *Saxons*, and it was as *Saxons* that they were known to the Britons. To be accurate, however, we should have spoken not only of *Saxons*, but of *Jutes* and *Angles* as well. Who were these people?

Saxons, Jutes and Angles.

The new-comers who were to wrest from the Celts the island of Britain, belonged to a race which is known as the Teutonic. At the present day the European nations that are of Teutonic extraction are the Germans, the Dutch, the Danes, the Scandinavians and the English.

The Teutonic Race.

The Low Germans.

The pirates with whom we have now to do came of a branch of the Teutonic race which is called the Low German, because they inhabited the low countries of Germany, the lands lying towards the mouth of the great rivers, the Rhine and the Elbe. The Jutes dwelt in what is now Denmark; the Angles occupied the country lying south of the Jutes; the original home of the Saxons lay between the mouths of the Rhine and the Elbe.

Character of the Teutonic Invaders.

In their appearance, these Teutonic invaders differed from the Celts. They were of fairer complexion, they had light hair, and blue eyes. Although they had not come directly under the influence of Roman civilisation, as had some other of the German tribes, they were far from being utterly savage. Some elements of civilisation they had developed for themselves, others they had acquired indirectly from Rome. They had laws and institutions of their own, they practised agriculture, tilling the land in common; they were skilled workers in metals, even in the precious metals, in pottery, in weaving and in other arts of the kind. They had a literature of their own, and written characters which they had invented for themselves. Thus they were more advanced in the scale of civilisation than the Britons had been before the Roman occupation. But they were chiefly a warrior folk, both by land and sea. They held no man worthy of honour who had not shown proofs of personal courage. And yet bravery in war was not their only, perhaps not their chief virtue. All lying and cunning they hated. These too were cowardly. Fierce and wild as they were, hard fighters and hard drinkers, there was in them a deep undercurrent of pity and tenderness which reveals itself in their legends and their songs.

They held their women in especial honour. This is a very striking feature of these Teutonic people; in this respect they surpassed, not only any other primitive folk, but also any of the civilised peoples of antiquity.

They worshipped many gods. Their gods seem to symbolise for the most part the powers of nature, kind or malignant to men. Their chief god was Woden, or Odin. We still remember Woden in our *Wednesday*, (Woden's day.) He was the god of war, the inventor of letters, the chief benefactor of mankind. They called him All-father. Another god was Thor, the thunderer, (*Thursday*), god of the storm and the rain. He also was a god kindly to men. Other deities were Frea (*Friday*) goddess of peace and joy: Tiu (*Tuesday*) god of the sky: Baldur the beautiful, most lovely and loveable of all the dwellers in Asgard (Heaven), the god of the bright summer sun. It would be pleasant to speak further of this old religion of the fathers of the English people; of their Nornas, or Destinies, who water the roots of the tree Igrásil, the tree of existence; of Valhalla, the home of heroes who have passed this life, where they sit and feast with all-father Odin. There is much in the rude mythology of the North that is beautiful and true, in some ways even more beautiful and truer than even the wonderful mythology of the brighter minded Greeks.

Religion of
the Teutons.

There were priests amongst these people, but they were of no very great importance. There was no priestly class or caste.

They cannot be called a specially superstitious people. They revered their gods, they did not regard them with slavish terror. They believed that the gods loved the brave man and hated the craven;

but they lived not for rewards here or hereafter. They set chief store by duty—as they understood duty, courageous, manful living; they held ‘death better than a life of shame.’ Whatever the gods might give or withhold, each man might still live and work as became a man. The temperament of the Teutons was essentially independent. They valued individual liberty very highly, and this love of liberty manifested itself, as we shall see, in their institutions.

Fierceness of
the Teutons.

The chief fault of the early English (as we may as well call them now) was the savage cruelty that they showed at times. They had small mercy for a vanquished foe. It was natural that it should be so in men who prized courage in war above all things, and in whose religion there was small conception of a yet higher moral law. Nevertheless the religion of the North was great and true so far as it went, and it still lives in the Teutonic peoples of to-day, although men have long since ceased to worship Odin and Thor and Frea.

Difficulties of
the Britons,
after the
withdrawal
of the
Romans.

Such then were the men whose flat-bottomed galleys threatened the southern and eastern shores of Britain during the last days of Roman rule. While the Roman legions remained in this island the injury they could do was comparatively small: but on the withdrawal of the Romans, the Britons, although by no means a cowardly people, found it impossible to contend with success against the Pictish invader on the North and the Teutonic invader on the South and South East. They implored the Romans to send them assistance: but the Romans had work on their hands, and no help came. At last the Britons, it is said, in desperation, called in the aid of one invader against the other. They invited a body

of Jutes to come and help them against the Picts; promising them pay and land to settle in. And so in the year 449 or 450 three Jutish keels sailed to the Isle of Thanet, and a band of warriors, under their chiefs whom the legends call Hengist and Horsa (the horse and the mare), set foot on the shores of Ebbsfleet. Let us remember this date. It is the beginning of *English* History.

Landing of
the Jutes, 449.

At first the Jutes fought side by side with the Britons, and the Picts were driven back. But afterwards, when more Jutes began to pour in and settle in Kent, the Britons quarrelled with their former allies and strove to drive them away again. But it was in vain. The Jutes won a great victory at Aylesford (455) and gradually pushed their way forwards until 23 years afterwards they were masters of the whole coast of Kent.

In 477 a band of Saxons under a certain Ælle and his son Cissa landed on the South Coast and attacked and captured the town of Anderida (Pevensey.) A terrible massacre of the defenders took place on this occasion, Ælle and Cissa founded the kingdom of Sussex, the country, that is, of the South Saxons.

The South
Saxons, 477.

Eighteen years later (495) another body of Saxons, under Cerdic and his son Cynric, landed at Southampton Water. They had, however, some Jutes with them. They settled in Hampshire and founded the kingdom of the West Saxons (Wessex). Wessex afterwards became very powerful, but at first the Britons offered a most desperate resistance to the new-comers. In 520 they defeated the West Saxons with great loss at Mount Badon, and checked their further advance for thirty years.

The West
Saxons, 495.

520.

The East
Saxons.

Meantime north of the Thames a body of Saxons had founded the kingdom of Essex (land of the East Saxons.)

The Angles.

But the conquest of the greater part of Britain was the work neither of the Jutes nor of the Saxons, but of the men who were to give their name to the more important part of the island, the Angles. These had been for years settling all along the Eastern Coast of Northumbria, from the Forth southwards. South of the Wash two groups took up their abode, the Northfolk (Norfolk) and the Southfolk (Suffolk.) Other Angles pushed up the Humber and the Trent and founded various kingdoms—*Deira* (Yorkshire), the kingdom of the Middle Angles (about the modern Leicester), the kingdom of the South Angles, (about Northampton), *Lincoln, Mercia*, furthest west, towards the Severn; the land of the March or boundary between the conquering English and the conquered Britons.

Victories of
the West
Saxons.

The West Saxons had recovered from the effects of their defeat at Mount Badon. In 552 they captured Old Sarum and in 577 they won a great victory at Dyrham. This battle was very important, for it was followed by the occupation of the country about Bath, Gloucester and Cirencester, and thus permanently separated the Britons of Cornwall and Devon from the Britons of Wales.

General re-
sults, 600.

Let us see now the general result of the English conquest in the year 600. The eastern half of Britain from the Firth of Forth to the English Channel has been won. North of the Forth are the Picts and Scots; south of the Clyde the Britons still occupy the western part of the island, but, as we have seen, the Britons in the south, (called the west Welsh) have been by the Battle of Dyrham com-

pletely sundered from the Britons of North Wales (the modern Wales), Cumbria and Strathclyde (Lancashire, Cumberland, and the western part of the Lowlands of modern Scotland.)

And what became of the Britons who had once dwelt in the districts now in the conqueror's hands? It is impossible to answer this question with certainty. One of three things must have happened; (1) the Britons may have been completely destroyed, (2) they may have been driven into the west, (3) they may have intermingled with the newcomers. The first supposition is unlikely; the English were fierce men, but they were not wild beasts. In other countries of Europe where the Teutons came as conquerors, we know that the conquered races were spared; and it is not likely that in Britain alone they utterly destroyed the defenceless inhabitants who fell into their hands. Neither is it likely that many of the Britons remained amongst their conquerors. Had it been so some traces of the old Roman civilisation would have remained, and the language of the Britons would have left its mark upon the language of the English. But neither of these things took place. A few British men, and perhaps more certainly, women, may have been kept as slaves; but the mass of the conquered Celts seem to have withdrawn altogether from the eastern shores of the island and settled in the hilly country of the west.

The occupation of Britain by the English was not merely a conquest, it was a migration. The strangers brought with them their wives, their children, their old religion, their own institutions and ways of living. Christianity, for a while, withdrew with the Britons into the west. Of the religion of the English

THE
SERVANTS OF
SOCIETY
P.O. BOX 1.

Fate of the
Britons.

Character of
the English
occupation of
Britain.

we have already spoken. Let us glance for a little at some of their institutions.

The E
Sa-social classes.

- (1) Eorls.
- (2) Ceorls.

ts.
The

Theows.

The free English (we include, of course, Jutes and Saxons) were divided into two social classes, first the *Eorls* or noblemen, secondly the *Ceorls*, or non-noble freemen. Amongst these two classes the land was divided. But beneath these divisions there were two others of non-freemen. First *Læts*, who held no land of their own, but cultivated the land of others. These *Læts* are said to be non-free because the possession of land against the Anglo-Saxons was the distinctive mark of a freeman; but the *læts* were in no sense *slaves* as we understand the term. The second servile class were called *Theows* or *Thralls*. These were captives of war, or men who for crime had lost their liberty. The *Theows* were no doubt slaves, but there seem to have been very few of them.

The land, then, was divided between *Eorls* and *Ceorls*; pasturage and wood was held in common by all the freemen of the village to which it was attached.

Political divi-
sions.

(1) Township.

(2) The Hun-
dred.

We have now to consider the *political* divisions of the Anglo-Saxons. The smallest political division was the *township*, or village—so called because of the *tun*, or hedge with which it was surrounded. The freemen of the township met to conduct public matters in an assembly which was called the *Moot*. The headman of the township was called the *Reeve*.

A group of townships was called a *Hundred*. The *Hundred* also had a *Moot*, which was held once a month. Thither came four elected freemen and the *Reeve* from each township. Also the *Eorls* and *Thegns* of the hundred attended. The *Hundred-moot* settled the affairs of the hundred, and also

tried and punished criminals. Again above the hundred was the *folk* or tribe, with its folk-moot which was again composed of the four men and the Reeve from every township. The folk-moot chose the Ealdorman or chief of the tribe.

(3) The Folk or Tribe.

All freemen were bound to bear arms and serve in war. The gathering of the folk in arms was called the *Fyrd*.

The Fyrd.

Such were some of the institutions which the fathers of the English people brought with them from Germany. In one point a change was made. In Germany the tribes do not all appear to have had kings. On the occasion of a war they were accustomed to elect a war-duke to lead them. But with the conquest of England it became necessary to have a permanent head. Then the war-duke became the king. The king, however, was not absolute. He was obliged to be guided in many ways by the folk-moot. Moreover, although the kingship was generally confined to one noble family, it was not exactly hereditary, and each new king had to be acknowledged by the folk.

The King-ship.

At first, as we have seen, the people who conquered Britain were not united, but were a number of separate tribes or folks, similar in language, religion and institutions but not politically bound together. Gradually several of these tribes would unite and form a single folk governed by one king. Still there were a number of kings in England.

This state of things is sometimes called the *Heptarchy* or *Seven Kingdoms*, that is, Kent, Wessex, Sussex, Essex, Northumbria, East Anglia and Mercia. But the term is not accurate. There were never *exactly* seven kingdoms, but sometimes more and sometimes fewer.

The Heptarchy.

In the following chapters we shall see how the various folks of Jutes, Angles and Saxons came together and became one *English* folk. But before doing so we have to mention a still greater change, the conversion of the people from the worship of Odin to the worship of Christ.

CHAP. III. THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

Ethelbert of Kent—Pope Gregory—Landing of Augustine and Conversion of Kent—The kingdom of Northumbria—King Edwin—Conversion of Northumbria—Of East Anglia—Penda of Mercia—Battle of Hatfield and death of Edwin—The monks of Iona—Oswald and Aidan—Death of Oswald—Osury—Conversion of Mercia—Of Wessex—Of Sussex—Character of the Northern Missionaries—The Synod of Whitby—Theodore and the organisation of the English Church.

Ethelbert of
Kent.

In the year 584 there was in Kent a very powerful king called Ethelbert. Ethelbert was, not only king of Kent but was acknowledged as overlord by several other kingdoms in the South of Britain. The Queen of Ethelbert was Bertha. She was the daughter of a Frankish king, Charibert, and was a Christian. Ethelbert allowed Bertha to worship according to her own religion in his kingdom. We shall see that the old English pagans were generally very tolerant of the faith of others. We hear of one king who, although he did not forsake the worship of his own gods, nevertheless admitted Christ to a place amongst them. The marriage of Ethelbert with a Christian princess prepared the way for the conversion of Kent.

But long before, a priest in Rome had set his heart upon winning the people of England to the worship of Christ. This priest was called Gregory. One day he saw some fair children standing in the slave market of Rome, and he was moved to ask who they were. 'They are Angles' he was answered. 'It is well,' he said, playing upon the word; 'they have Angels' faces, and well it is that they should become co-heirs with the Angels of Heaven. And what is the name of the province from which they are brought?' and they told him that the people there were called Deiri. 'De ira,' he said, 'withdrawn from wrath, and called to Christ's mercy.' 'How is the king of that province called?' They answered that his name was *Ælla*: and Gregory said, 'Alleluia! it is fit that the praise of God the Creator should be sung in these parts.'

Pope Gregory.

Gregory never forgot the beautiful heathen children, and when he became Pope he sent a Roman monk called Augustine with forty other monks to attempt the conversion of the English people.

Augustine and his monks landed in Thanet in 596. Ethelbert allowed them to preach the Gospel in his kingdom. In a year the king himself was baptised and his court and subjects followed his example. Soon afterwards Augustine was made Archbishop, and he fixed his See at Canterbury. Thus Kent became Christian.

Augustine lands in Thanet, 596.
Conversion of Kent.

The next English Kingdom which was converted was Northumbria. Northumbria, which was formed out of the two smaller provinces of Bernicia and Deira, had become very powerful of late. The king, Ethelfrith, completely broke the power of the Scots in the battle of Dagsastan (603). Four years afterwards (607) he won a great victory over

The Kingdom of Northumbria.

the Celts at Chester. The result of this battle was to divide the Britons of Wales from the more northerly Britons of Cumbria and Strathelyde. It will be remembered how in the year 577 at the battle of Dyrham, the West Saxons had in the same way separated the Britons of Cornwall and Devon from the Britons of Wales. Thus we see how the English people were becoming stronger and stronger and the Britons weaker and weaker.

King Edwin.

After Ethelfrith, Edwin became king of Northumbria. Edwin's wife Ethelburga was a Christian, the daughter of the king of Kent, and she longed for her husband and her husband's subjects to embrace the new religion. Edwin at last yielded to her prayers, and there came to Northumbria a Roman monk from Canterbury called Paullinus. Northumbria received the gospel at Paullinus's hands, and the prophecy of Gregory was fulfilled. Deira was snatched from the anger of God, and Alleluia was sung in the lands where Ælla once had ruled (627).

Paullinus.

Edwin was by far the most powerful king in the island. He was acknowledged as overlord by all the English kingdoms with the exception of Kent, and Kent was his firm ally. In virtue of his overlordship Edwin was called *Bretwalda*; but the exact meaning of the name is doubtful. Edwin was not only powerful; he was a true king. In his days Northumbria enjoyed complete peace and just government.

Edwin Bretwalda.

Although we may speak of the Northumbrian supremacy over the English, England was not really united. It was merely that Edwin was for the time mightier in war than the other kingdoms. We shall see how other kingdoms, first Mercia and then Wessex, attained a similar supremacy.

The ascendancy of Northumbria did much to spread Christianity. In Edwin's time East Anglia became Christian. But Edwin's greatness was destined to be overthrown, and the Gospel of Christ for a time silenced in the north of England.

East Anglia
converted.

The kingdom of Mercia was at this time ruled over by a fierce and warlike king whose name was Penda. Penda was a heathen, and refused to abandon the faith of his fathers. He tolerated Christians, however, as was the English way; he merely expressed his contempt for Christians whose lives belied the principles of their religion. Penda chafed against the rule of Edwin and took up arms against him. He called in the help of some Welsh and defeated the Northumbrian king at Hatfield with great slaughter. Edwin himself was amongst the slain.

King Penda
of Mercia.

Battle of Hat-
field.

On Edwin's death Northumbria relapsed into Heathenism again. Paullinus, now Bishop of York, deserted his see and fled. He had, perhaps, little to fear, but he was not of the stuff whereof martyrs are made.

But Christianity was soon to return to Northumbrian; not, however, this time from Canterbury.

Ireland had been, in the fifth century, converted to Christianity by the great Saint Patrick. Columba, an Irish monk, with some other monks had crossed the sea and founded a monastery in Iona, a little island in the Western Hebrides. Thence they preached Christianity to the Picts and Scots. From these monks Oswald, the next great king of Northumbria after Edwin, had, when in exile, received the new religion. In his reign Aidan, one of Columba's monks, came to Northumbria and founded a monastery in the island of Lindisfarne (Holy Isle). At the preaching of Aidan the people of the North of England

The Monks of
Iona.

Oswald and
Aidan.

again became Christians (634). But the noble Oswald met the same fate as Edwin. He was slain in battle fighting against Penda at Maserfield, (642.) Again, for the moment, the old religion triumphed ; but Penda himself was defeated and slain by another Northumbria king, Oswy, at Winwidfield, 655.

Death of Oswald at Maserfield, 642.

Death of Penda at Winwidfield, 655.

Conversion of Mercia.

With Penda the last hopes of Heathenism in England perished. Mercia itself was converted by a missionary called Ceadda, whose memory is still held in honour in the midlands of England under the name of Saint Chad.

In 635 Wessex had received Christianity from the missionary bishop Birinus who had been sent thither by Pope Honorius. But here too the influence of Northumbria was of some effect, for we read that king Oswald stood by while Cynegils, the Wessex king, was baptised.

Conversion of Wessex, 635.

The South Saxons were converted in 681. They were the last to become Christians.

Of Sussex, 681.

In actually making England Christian the monks from Iona had been more successful than the monks from Rome. It was only in Kent that the latter, unaided by their Northern fellow-missionaries, had been able to establish Christianity permanently. The Iona monks were indeed better missionaries. They appealed straight to the heart of the people, while the preaching of Roman monks had been confined rather to the king and his court. Thus it was that the overthrow of a Christian king was at once followed by the overthrow of Christianity in his realm. The people had formally received the new faith, but it had taken no deep hold of them.

Character of the Northern Missionaries.

The northern monks were, many of them, noble and spiritually minded men, and by their simple piety, and deep-hearted sincerity they did a great

work for England, perhaps greater than the Roman monks; but in one respect they were deficient. They lacked the *organising* power possessed by the Roman ecclesiastics. They made Englishmen Christians, but they founded no organised English Church. It was, however, necessary that there should be such a Church in England.

The northern missionaries differed from the Roman in some respects, and it was in the reign of Oswy of Northumbria a great point to decide whether English Christians should follow the rules and discipline of Columba or of Rome. A Synod was held at Whitby in 664 to settle this matter, and by the influence of Oswy himself the Synod concluded in favour of Rome. The points at issue may appear in themselves very slight and trifling, almost ridiculous;—the right form of the *tonsure*, that is, the part of the head which priests shave—and the correct season for keeping the festival of Easter; these things were in themselves nothing, but the decision of Oswy in favour of the Roman method brought about results very important for England. By conforming to Roman usages England was brought into closer union with the continent of Europe and what remained of the old Roman civilisation there. For the continental countries acknowledged the sway and followed the discipline of the Roman Church.

The Synod of
Whitby, 664.

For nearly a thousand years, as we shall see, the English Church was united to the Church of Rome, and then again she separated from it. But times had changed, and history teaches us that what is good for one age is often not good for another.

Two years after the Synod of Whitby there was sent to England as Archbishop of Canterbury by the Pope of Rome a Greek of Tarsus called Theodore.

Theodore.

Organisation
of the English
Church.

This Theodore did a great work in organising the Church of England under the see of Canterbury. He divided the land into Bishop's *sees*, or dioceses. These dioceses were generally identical in area and limits with the old tribal kingdoms. He also established regular Church Synods, or Congresses, at which all the English Bishops met together. Afterwards the dioceses were divided into *parishes*, each parish being ministered to by its own priest. The parishes were merely the *townships* from an ecclesiastical or Church point of view.

Thus the Church of England was organised and united; the parish priests owed obedience to the bishops, the bishops to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The union and consolidation of English Christians in one English Church did much to accustom men to a similar union of English tribes and petty kingdoms in one English nation and state. This result was not long in coming.

CHAP. IV. THE UNION OF ENGLAND.

Supremacy of Northumbria—Growth of Mercia under Wulfhere—Egfrith of Northumbria—Battle of Nectansmere—Offa of Mercia—Ine of Wessex—Egbot—Battle of Ellandun—Origin of the Witena-Gemot.

Supremacy of
Northumbria.

We have seen in the last chapter how Northumbria became for a while supreme amongst the English kingdoms, first under Edwin, and afterwards under Oswald and Oswy. This supremacy was indeed checked and at intervals overthrown by the victories of Penda. Penda's death at Winwidfield decided two things; first the triumph of Christianity in England, and secondly the ascendancy of Northumbria.

Nevertheless Mercia began to recover her greatness under King Wulfhere (657—675). Wulfhere made his power felt throughout the middle and southern parts of England. He defeated the West Saxons in 661 and ravaged their lands. More than that; he joined to Mercia the territories of Wessex which lay north of the Thames. He also compelled Sussex and Essex to acknowledge him as over-lord.

Growth of
Mercia under
Wulfhere, 657
—675.

Still, however, Northumbria was the strongest kingdom in England. Oswy had been on the whole a peaceful King. His successor Egrith (670) determined to strengthen his kingdom by war. He turned his arms against the Britons, and finally took from them the province of Cumbria. Thus all north-west England fell to Northumbria. On the east Egrith's dominions already stretched as far north as the Firth of Forth.

Egrith of
Northumbria,
670.

But Egrith was not satisfied. He wished to subdue the Picts beyond the Forth, and in 685 marched his army across the river. But a terrible fate overtook him. His army was completely destroyed by the Picts at Nectansmere in Fife. The king himself was slain; only one man escaped to tell the tale. From this blow Northumbria never recovered. With the slaughter at Nectansmere her supremacy may be said to end.

Battle of Nec-
tansmere.

The two kingdoms left to struggle for ascendancy were now Wessex and Mercia. Wessex, we shall see, was to conquer in the end, but at first she was greatly weakened by constant dissensions, and of these dissensions her rival was enabled to take full advantage.

Wessex and
Mercia.

Wulfhere's victory over the West Saxons has been already related. Another Mercian King, Ethelbald, was not so successful, for he was defeated by

the West Saxon King, Cuthred, at Burford in 752. But under his son, the great Offa, Mercia reached its highest power.

Offa of Mer-
cia, 757—796.

Offa reigned from 757 to 796. He defeated the Kentishmen at Otford in 774 and the King of Wessex, Cynewulf, at Bensington in 777. He also turned his arms against Wales. He drove a Welsh King from his capital, and the city became an English town under the name of Shrewsbury. In order to keep off the attacks of the Welsh, Offa planted a settlement of English on the western bank of the Severn and built moreover a great earth-wall between the mouth of the Dee and the mouth of the Wye. This earth-wall is still known as Offa's Dyke. Offa also subdued the East Anglians. But after Offa's death in 796 the greatness of Mercia declined.

Offa's Dyke.

Let us now turn to the West Saxons. More than a hundred years before the death of Offa a king named Ine ascended the throne of Wessex. Ine reigned from 688 to 726. He drove out the Britons from the country which is now called Somerset. He kept back the Mercians, and he conquered Sussex and Kent. Thus he became lord of all England south of the Thames. Ine was more than a conqueror; he was a lawgiver, and we still possess the body of laws which bears his name.

Ine of Wessex,
688—726.

After reigning thirty-four years Ine, wearied of the wild life he led amidst his fierce subjects, and being persuaded by the words of his queen, laid aside his crown and went on a pilgrimage to Rome. He died there two years afterwards (728).

We have seen how Cuthred, another Wessex king, succeeded in defeating the Mercians at Burford. But after Cuthred's death Wessex fell into anarchy. One king, Sigebert, was deposed by his *Witan*, or as-

sembly of wise men. Thirty years after (786,) Egbert, the heir to the throne, was driven into exile. He took refuge at the court of the famous Frankish king, Charles the Great, commonly known as Charlemagne. Under these circumstances it is not wonderful that Wessex became weak and Offa became powerful. But in 802 Egbert returned and was acknowledged by the West Saxons as their king. In 825 Egbert defeated the Mercians in a great battle at Ellandun, and two years after, Mercia and Northumbria acknowledged Egbert as over-lord. The year before (826), Egbert had subdued Kent, Sussex, Essex and East Anglia. Thus his aim was realised, and all England acknowledged the supremacy of Wessex.

Egbert.

Battle of Ellandun.

This will be a suitable place to draw attention to an English institution which grew up during the time of the struggle for supremacy. It was no longer possible for great kings like Edwin, or Offa or Ine to call together a single *Folk-moot* composed of all the reeves and four freemen from every township in their dominions. It thus became common to summon only the ealdorman, the bishop and the thegns, and to consult them about peace and war and laws and ordinances. The assembly thus constituted was called the *Witenagemot* or council of wise men. This Witenagemot became a very important body. We have seen how one West Saxon King was actually dethroned by his Witan. The Witan in cases of doubtful succession also elected the king. With the Witan is connected the later English Parliament. The folk-moots, of course, still existed in the smaller divisions of the larger kingdom, but they no longer represents the whole *folk* ruled over by a single king.

Origin of the Witenagemot.

CHAP. V. THE NORTHMEN AND ALFRED
THE GREAT.

Character of the Northmen—Destruction caused by them—Ethelwolf and the Danes—Ethelbald and Ethelbert—Ethelred I.—Edmund the Martyr—Alfred the Great—Further Danish Victories—Battle of Ethandun and Peace of Wedmore—England and Christianity saved by Alfred—The greatness of Alfred—His work (1) The Army, (2) The Navy, (3) His Laws, (4) restores Latin learning, (5) translates books into English.

Character of
the North-
men.

England had acknowledged the sway of Wessex, but for all that, England was not really united. It required a great affliction suffered in common to make Englishmen see that they were really one people. This affliction came from the Danes, or Northmen. These Danes were also a Teutonic people, speaking a language not unlike the tongue of Englishmen. They were in character exactly what the old Saxons and Jutes and Angles had been before they settled in England and before their nature had been softened by Christianity. They were wild, brave, savage men, terrible in battle and skilled in sea-faring; heathen men, who believed that the gods love the valiant and him that fell in battle; scarcely knowing that the gods love the merciful as well.

Destruction
caused by
them.

Such were the men who as far back as 787 had begun to harry the coasts of England. A little later they plundered Northumberland. The havoc was terrible. Christian priests were slain, monasteries were burnt, books were wantonly destroyed. The north of England had become famous for its learning and its poetry; now all this seemed to be passing away. It was the terror of the Northmen that made Northumbria glad to own Egbert's sway.

Egbert died in 839 and was succeeded by his son Ethelwolf. During the next two or three reigns the Northmen continued to attack England, some from Ireland, where they had settled, some from the north of France, and some from Scandinavia. But Ethelwolf defeated the Northmen in a great battle at Ockley in Surrey (851), and during the rest of his reign and the reigns of his two sons, Ethebald and Ethelbert, England did not suffer so much. But the Danes were by no means driven out. In 855 a body of them remained over winter in Sheppey. Five years after, they sacked Winchester, and in 865 ravaged the whole of Kent.

Ethelwolf and the Danes.

Ethebald and Ethelbert.

In the reign of Ethelred I., another son of Ethelwolf, the Danes passed from mere plundering expeditions to conquest and settlement. From the coast of East Anglia they marched to York and took it. (867). This gave them Northumbria. Next year they fell on Mercia. But Ethelred, whom the Mercians called in, prevented the conquest of Mercia and even made a peace with the Danes.

Ethelred I.

Two years later, however, the Northmen invaded East Anglia. There they seized Edmund, the under-king, bound him to a tree and shot him to death with their arrows. The Christian Church made a saint of this Edmund, and in after years there arose in the place of his martyrdom, the great abbey of St. Edmundsbury, in honour of Edmund, king and martyr. After the murder of Edmund, Guthrum, the leader of the Northmen, took East Anglia for himself. The work of destruction went on—Churches and monasteries perished in the flames. Once more Heathenism triumphed over Christianity, and Mercia, fearing for her own safety, acknowledged Guthrum as over-lord and paid him tribute.

Edmund the Martyr.

Thus Wessex was left to face the Danes alone. Battle after battle was fought between West Saxons and Northmen. Sometimes the Northmen were worsted, but on the whole they prevailed, and King Ethelred died in 871 after having been twice in succession beaten by the Danes, at Basing and at Merton.

Alfred the Great.

Ethelred was succeeded by Alfred, the fourth son of Ethelwolf. In the year after his accession Alfred thought it best to make peace with the Northmen, or rather to buy them off, and so prepare his kingdom to withstand future attacks. For he knew that the inroads of the Danes would never cease until they had subdued all England or were themselves utterly crushed.

Further Danish Victories.

And so it turned out. In 877 the Danes conquered Mercia and drove out the Mercian under-king. The next year they again fell on Wessex under Guthrum. For a while they were completely successful, and Alfred had to withdraw with a few followers to the isle of Athelney. But soon after, with the help of the men of Somerset and Wilts, he was able to put a strong army in the field, and met Guthrum at Ethandun in Wiltshire. The result was a complete victory for the English. Guthrum was compelled to make peace and consented to receive the rites of baptism (878). This peace is known as the *Peace of Wedmore*. By it Guthrum acknowledged Alfred as over-lord, but in return he was allowed to keep almost all England north of the Old Roman Road called Watling Street, that is to say, the whole of England save Wessex and Mercia. This Danish England was called Danelagh.

Battle of Ethandun and Peace of Wedmore, 878-879.

England and Christianity

Thus we see that the Danes retained for the while much of their conquests. But Alfred had saved

Wessex, and with Wessex had really saved England. He had broken the terror of the Danish name ; and he had made it possible for his successors to wrest back the whole of England from the foreign invaders. He had saved England from falling back into barbarism and a wild and savage religion. Christianity was saved, and it was all the work of Alfred.

saved by Alfred.

For the name of Alfred is one of the greatest names in English history. He was not only a brave and successful warrior, he was a wise legislator, a good scholar, and a sincerely pious and religious man.

The Greatness of Alfred.

The work that Alfred did for England was great and varied. In the first place he reformed the army, and made it able to cope with the Danes. He may be said to have created a navy. Since the settlement the English had become less and less accustomed to the sea, and this gave the Danes a great advantage. Alfred changed all this. He was the first English king to defeat the Northmen on the sea. Alfred also revised and codified the laws of Wessex. These laws were issued in 890. He encouraged all manner of arts and crafts. He rebuilt the monasteries and churches which the Danes had destroyed. He restored learning and called learned men about him. In those days Latin was the only learned language. All learned books were written in Latin. But Alfred desired not only to spread the knowledge of Latin, but also to impart knowledge to those who knew no Latin. And so he set about translating books into English. Amongst others he translated the Ecclesiastical History of England, a great book which had been written by the Northumbrian monk known as the Venerable Bede. In Alfred's reign also was begun the Chronicle, a regular history of

His Work.
(1) The Army.
(2) The Navy.

(3) Alfred's Law.

(4) He restores learning.

(5) Translated books in English.

England from the time of the English settlement. This is the first history which any modern European nation possesses in its own tongue. Alfred also strove in every way to draw England closer to the civilised nations on the continent of Europe, and we even read that he sent alms to the Indian Christians. Alfred died in 901. He had been king of England for thirty years.

CHAP. VI. KINGS OF WESSEX UNTIL EDGAR.

EDWARD THE ELDER—*The Lady of Mercia—Conquests of Edward—ÆTHELSTAN—Battle of Brunanburh—EDMUND—Absorption of the Danes—EDWY—Dunstan—Rebellion against Edwy—EDGAR—His Greatness—Welsh and Scots swear fealty—Growth of the kingly power—Thegns—The Shires—The Witenagemot—Growth of serfdom.*

In the succeeding reigns we have to trace the gradual subjugation of the Danes and their amalgamation with the English. The next king of Wessex after Alfred was his son Edward, called Edward the Elder. Edward was a great warrior, yet the first nine years of his reign were on the whole years of peace. But in 910 the war with the Northmen was again renewed. In contending against and beating down the Danes Edward was most ably and valiantly seconded by his sister Ethelfleda, a great warrior-woman, known as 'The Lady of Mercia.' While Edward attacked the Danes in East Anglia, Ethelfleda opposed them in that part of Mercia which the Northmen still occupied, and where there was a sort of Danish confederacy called the Five Borroughs. By dint of vigorous sieges and by building many strong fortresses, the efforts of brother

Edward the
Elder, 901—
925.

The Lady of
Mercia.

and sister were completely successful. All Mercia was won and was joined to Wessex. East Anglia and Essex afterwards submitted. At last all England south of the Humber was again united under the king of Wessex, and even the Welsh and the Scots submitted to Edward as over-lord. Edward closed a long and glorious reign in 925. He was succeeded by his son Athelstan.

Conquest of
Edward.

Athelstan's reign was not less glorious than that of his father. Scots, Welsh, Northumbrians, Cornishmen, all swore fealty to the Wessex king, and his overlordship was more of a reality than his father's had been. England was at peace for eleven years. The kings and rulers of the continent sought the friendship and alliance of Athelstan. Three English princesses were married to foreign monarchs. But the Northern kings chafed at the greatness of Athelstan, and in 937 made a league against him. The league was headed by Constantine, king of the Scots, and was joined by the Northmen of Ireland under their king Anlaf, and by the Strathclyde Welsh. But Athelstan defeated them in a great battle at Brunanburh, a place the site of which is unknown (937). The confederacy was thoroughly crushed, and for the last three years of Athelstan's reign England again enjoyed peace. Athelstan died in 940.

Athelstan,
925—940.

Battle of Brunanburh.

Edmund, the younger brother of Athelstan, who succeeded him was also an able king and warrior. He reigned six years. He also had trouble with the Danes and Scots. The policy which he adopted to separate his two enemies from each other was entirely successful. After over-running Cumberland he granted it to Malcolm, king of Scots, on condition that he should be his fellow-worker by land as well as

Edmund, 940
—946.

by sea (945). From this time all independent power of the Danelagh ceased. The Danes became absorbed in the English. In 946 Edmund was murdered by an outlaw while sitting at the feast. He was succeeded by his brother Edred who, by placing Northumbria under the government of an English *Earl*, Oswulf, completed the work which Alfred the Great had begun.

Absorption of
the Danes.

Edwy, 956—
959.

The next king, Edwy, the son of Edmund, was, unlike his predecessors, a weak and worthless character. He quarrelled with the Church, whose head was then Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury, and he quarrelled with Dunstan, another Churchman, and the wisest of his advisers. Dunstan was for a while banished. In 957 all England north of the Thames, disgusted with Edwy's rule, revolted and declared Edwy's brother Edgar King. Edgar recalled Dunstan. Two years afterwards Edwy died, and Edgar was chosen King of all the English.

Dunstan.

Dunstan first comes to notice in the reign of Edmund. He was a monk and afterwards abbot of Glastonbury, and from the first we find him working towards two objects, (1) the reform of the monastic orders, (2) the spread of learning. Thus we see that he took up again that part of the work of Alfred which had been neglected by the warrior-kings who had succeeded him. In those days monasteries played a great part in the world's history. They represented the higher life of man, the life of learning, of religion and of pure morality. But the English monasteries had become degenerate. It was Dunstan's aim to reform them, and in this he very largely succeeded. At the same time Oda endeavoured to effect what was then thought another reform. He insisted that the celibacy of

Rebellion
against
Edwy.

the 'secular' clergy, that is the clergy who were not also monks, should be maintained.

Dunstan became Edgar's Prime Minister, and in 960 was raised to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Dunstan was the first of those great ecclesiastical statesmen, whom we shall meet with several times in the course of this history. Under the guidance of Dunstan Edgar ruled England peaceably and well. The sway not only extended over all English-speaking folk, but the Kings of Wales and Scotland acknowledged his authority. At Chester six Kings of the Welsh swore to be his fellow-workers by sea and land, and in token thereof they are said to have rowed him in a boat on the river Dee. Kenneth of Scotland also swore to be Edgar's 'man,' and in return Lothian, the northern part of Northumbria, was ceded to him. Edgar also issued a number of laws. He reigned sixteen years and died in 975

Accession of Edgar, (959—975).

Greatness of Edgar.

Welsh and Scots swear fealty to him.

By Edgar's time several important changes had come about in the character of English institutions. To begin with, the King's power had become much greater. This was largely owing to the development in importance of the *Gesiths* or *Thegns*. These Thegns were the King's personal followers. It was the custom for the king to reward the Thegns with grants of land, and to demand from them in return military service. The King's Thegns in their turn had lesser Thegns dependent upon them, also bound to serve their lords in war. Thus the King, through his Thegns, was able to call at a short notice a large force into the field, and was thus rendered much more powerful than he would have been had he been obliged to rely entirely on the cumbersome national levies, the *Fyrd*.

Growth of the kingly power.

Thegns, or Gesiths.

The Shires.

Again we have to notice the growth of *Shires*. The Shires were developed in various ways, some of them being simply the older small kingdoms. Each shire had its *moot*, composed of all the freemen, including of course the Thegns, and presided over by the Ealdorman and the Bishop. There was also a King's officer, called the shire-reeve, or sheriff.

Witenagemot.

We have already described the Witenagemot which as the King's authority more widely extended became of great and greater importance.

Growth of serfdom.

Meantime the status of the common folk had altered, probably not for the better. Amid the ravages of the Danish wars the poorer freemen who cultivated their own land were driven to seek the personal protection of the warrior Thegns. This protection was only given on condition that the weaker should bind himself under an obligation to the stronger. They were obliged to cultivate their lord's estates on certain days of the week. Thus they became practically serfs; not slaves, because they could not be sold, nor be turned out of their own small lands; but not free, because they were bound to the soil and could not leave their master's service at pleasure.

VII. ENGLAND CONQUERED BY THE DANES.

EDWARD THE MARTYR—*Strife in the Kingdom—Edward murdered—*ETHELRED THE REDELESS—*Renewed invasions of the Norsemen—Death of Dunstan—Battle of Maldon—Dantgeld—Ethelred marries Emma of Normandy—Massacre of Danes—*SWEGN KING OF ENGLAND—*Unut and Ethelred—Unut and Edmund Ironside—Death of Edmund—Unut King.*

Edward the martyr, 975—979.

On Edgar's death a quarrel broke out as to who should succeed him. He had left two sons (not,

however, by the same mother) Edward and Ethelred. Edgar had bequeathed the kingdom to Edward, who also received the support of Dunstan and some of the Ealdormen. The others, together with the regular clergy or monks, declared for Ethelred. Thus there was a double strife in England, a dispute as to the succession to the throne, and a struggle between the regular and secular clergy. Dunstan, who might have been expected to side with the monks, showed a wise moderation and supported the elder of the two brothers; and Dunstan's party prevailed. The triumph, however, was short-lived. In three years' time Edward was murdered, it is said at his stepmother's instigation.

Strife in the Kingdom.

Edward murdered.

Then Ethelred, a boy of ten, came to the throne. He reigned for 37 years but they were years of disaster and disgrace. He was weak and headstrong, and would not listen to the advice of his counsellors; and so men called him Ethelred the Redeless, that is to say, Ethelred who will not listen to counsel.

Ethelred the Redeless, 979-1016.

In 980, the Norsemen began to invade England again. Not the old Norsemen who had been subdued by the successors of Alfred. They had become Englishmen and Christians. The Norsemen who now attacked had become something more than pirates. They had become united in two great kingdoms, Norway and Denmark, and, under their kings, were attempting to find new room for their overgrown population. In 988 Dunstan died, and Ethelred was left without friend or adviser. Not only had he to resist the Danes, but his own Ealdormen gave him trouble. Ethelred endeavoured to weaken their power, but his was not the nature to carry out so difficult a task.

Renewed invasions of the Norsemen.

Death of Dunstan.

Battle of Maldon. After a terrible defeat at the hands of the Northmen at Maldon (991) Ethelred and his Witan could think of no better way of escape than to buy the invaders off. Accordingly he paid them £10,000. The money was raised by a general levy which was called *Danegeld*. This is the first instance of a general national tax in English history.

Danegeld. The Danes were soon back again. Swegn, King of Denmark and Olaf King of Norway unsuccessfully attacked London in 994. Olaf was bought off. Ethelred did not know what to do. In his difficulty he looked across the sea to the powerful Duke of Normandy, Richard the Good. Ethelred, now a widower, married Emma, sister of the Duke of Normandy. In this way the line of Alfred became connected with the house of Normandy, which was afterwards to possess itself of the English throne. But the alliance did Ethelred little good. The Danes still continued to harass England, demanding and receiving tribute. The Redeless Ethelred devised another plan, a most foolish and most wicked one. On St. Eri's day, Nov. 13, 1002, a

Ethelred marries Emma of Normandy. horrible massacre of the Danes was perpetrated. This quickly brought Swegn, whose sister, Gunhilda, was among the murdered, back to England, and things were worse than ever. Some of Ethelred's own nobles were secretly on the side of the Danes. The Danelagh welcomed the invaders. More *Danegeld* had to be levied; there was more harrying and murdering. At last in 1013, Ethelred abandoned his kingdom in despair and fled to Normandy. Swegn was acknowledged King of England.

Massacre of the Danes. But the very next year Swegn died. The English summoned Ethelred back, but the Danes declared Cnut, Swegn's son, King. Thus the struggle between

Swegn King of England.

Cnut and Ethelred.

Ethelred and Cnut revived. It was still undecided when Ethelred died in 1016.

Again there was anarchy. The people of London declared for Edmund, surnamed Ironside, the eldest son of Ethelred; the rest of England submitted to Cnut. Edmund was a man of great vigour. He defeated Cnut in several battles, but at Assandun, owing to the treachery of one of his nobles, he was himself defeated. After this, through the intervention of the English nobles, Cnut and Edmund agreed to divide England between them. Edmund was to have Wessex, Essex and East Anglia, Cnut to have Northumbria. But very soon afterwards Edmund died and Cnut became sole King. Some said that Edmund was murdered. He had reigned only seven months, if one can call a mere struggle for the crown a reign.

Cnut and Edmund Ironside.

Death of Edmund. Cnut King.

CHAP. VIII. CNUT AND HIS SONS.

CNUT—*The Empire of Cnut—His reign peaceable and just—Cnut's four Earldoms—Earl Godwin—Cnut favours the Church—A story about Cnut—Cnut and Scotland—Death of Cnut—Break up of his Empire—Harold Harefoot—Harthacnut—The line of Alfred restored.*

Cnut who was now chosen King by the Witan, was one of the greatest rulers who governed England in those early times. The extent of territory beneath his sway was far wider than had been possessed by any king before him, for, in addition to the whole of England, Cnut inherited the crown of Denmark, and afterwards obtained Norway by conquest. At first his measures were fierce and bloody—perhaps necessarily so. The rest of Cnut's reign was so just and peaceful that we cannot believe that he was by nature

Cnut King, 1017—1035.

The empire of Cnut.

cruel or bloodthirsty. But at first Cnut outlawed and put to death all who appeared dangerous. Edric, an English nobleman whose treachery had enabled Cnut to defeat Edmund Ironside, was slain by Cnut's orders. Cnut had probably discovered some fresh plot against himself of which Edric was the instigator. The sons of Edmund Ironside, Edmund and Edward (we shall hear again of them) were driven over sea, and took refuge in Hungary. But after this Cnut laid aside all violent measures and ruled England as an English King. He dismissed his Danish army, retaining only a personal bodyguard of several thousand men. These were called his House-carls. He divided the country into four parts, each of which was governed by an Earl. (The old English title of Ealdorman had now given place to the Danish Earl or *Jarl*.) Of the four earls two were Englishmen, and one of these, Godwin, Earl of Wessex, Cnut took for his chief friend and adviser. Godwin married a kinswoman of Cnut's. Cnut himself married Emma, Ethelred's widow whom he brought over from Normandy. This drew England and Normandy closer, for Emma was a Norman princess.

His reign
peaceable and
just.

Cnut's Earls-
doms.

Earl Godwin.

Cnut favours
the Church.

Cnut endeavoured to rule England justly, to take or cause to be taken from no man anything save that which was due. He renewed the laws of Edgar and governed according to them. Cnut was a sincere Christian. He made a pilgrimage to Rome and obtained several concessions from the Pope in favour of the English Church. He was very fond of monks and monasteries. He atoned for the destruction wrought by his father Swegn upon the English Churches and monasteries. He made a song about himself and the monks of Ely,—“Merrily sang the

monks of Ely when Cnut king rowed by. Row, boatmen, near the land and hear we these monks sing."

There is an old story told of the humility of Cnut. One day when his courtiers were praising him and his greatness in words of the wildest flattery, he caused his chair to be brought to the sea-shore. Then he commanded the waves not to approach him or wet his royal feet, and when the waves nevertheless obeyed not his command, he showed his courtiers how weak was the power of any earthly king, and from that time never wore his crown on any state occasion.

A story about
Cnut.

Cnut had some trouble with Malcolm, king of Scots, and so in 1031, he went into Scotland and compelled Malcolm to acknowledge him as overlord and to hold Lothian as an English Earldom. The inhabitants of Lothian were not Celts, but English and Danes, and from this time the king of Scots made his capital at Edinburgh and passed from a Celtic chief to a Teutonic king, ruling a Teutonic people. This was very important for Scotland.

Cnut and
Scotland.

Cnut dies.

In 1035 the great Cnut died. He had ruled eighteen years.

On the death of Cnut his dominions were divided amongst his three sons, Swegn, Harold, who was called *Harefoot* on account of his swiftness in the chase, and Harthacnut. Swegn was to have Norway, Harthacnut, Denmark and Wessex, Harold the north of England. But the empire of Cnut did not really survive him. Swegn did not get Norway, for the Norwegians chose Magnus for king, a man of their own country. Harthacnut was obliged to remain in Denmark and hold it against the attack of Magnus. All England fell to Harold, although for a while Godwin held Wessex for Harthacnut. After this time England was never divided.

Break up of
the Empire of
Cnut.

Harold Hare-
foot, 1035—
1040.

The rule of the sons of Cnut was very different from that of their father. In 1036 Alfred, the son of Ethelred and Emma, and half-brother of Harold, came over from Normandy to England. Alfred was at once seized and his eyes were torn out. His followers were killed or sold as slaves. Harold only reigned four years. He died in 1040.

Harthacnut,
1040—1042.

Then Harthacnut became king. His reign seems to have been even more ferocious than his brother's had been. He brought a Danish fleet with him and ruled England as a conquered land. To pay his sailors he levied a heavy Danegeld, and when the people of Worcester resisted the impost, he caused Worcester to be burnt, and ravaged all the surrounding country. Luckily for England Harthacnut only reigned two years. One day he fell down suddenly dead while 'he stood at his drink.' Then England called back the line of Alfred to the throne.

The line of
Alfred restor-
ed.

CHAP. IX. THE REIGN OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

Edward the Confessor—The rule of Godwin—Godwin banished—Visit of Duke William—Recall of Godwin and banishment of foreigners—Harold's rule—Death of Edward the Confessor.

Edward the
Confessor,
1042—1066.

On the death of Harthacnut the Witan called to the throne Edward, son of Ethelred and Emma. Edward was now forty years old, and had spent most of his life in Normandy. 'He was indeed far more of a Norman than an Englishman, and for other reasons was little fitted to restore peace and good government to the land. Of a saintly disposition, he had little in him of energy or real strength of char-

acter. He would have made a better monk than a king. For his piety men afterwards called him Edward the Confessor.

Edward was followed to England by many foreigners whom he rewarded in various ways. One of these, Robert of Jumiéges, he made Archbishop of Canterbury. This gave great offence to the English.

Luckily Earl Godwin was still living. Godwin was a great statesman and administrator, and he attached himself to Edward as he had attached himself to Cnut. Edward married Godwin's daughter Edith. Godwin represented English, as opposed to Norman, sentiment. Unfortunately Godwin aroused the jealousy of the English nobility by his policy of concentrating the chief power in the realm in the hands of his own family. He himself was Earl of Wessex, his sons Swegn and Harold held other earldoms. Hence the English nobility refused to stand by Godwin when national and patriotic feelings would otherwise have led them to do so.

In 1051 a foreigner named Count Eustace of Boulogne was on a visit to England, and a quarrel arose between his followers and the citizens of Dover. A brawl ensued in which some of Eustace's men were killed. Eustace demanded reparation, and Edward bade Godwin punish the men of Dover. But Godwin refused to do so. He felt that it would be unjust. The foreigners had been as much to blame as the citizens of Dover. But the powerful Earls, Leofric of Mercia and Siward of Northumbria jealous of Godwin's influence, supported the King, and Godwin was compelled to go into banishment.

While Godwin was absent a very great man paid a visit to England. This was Duke William of Normandy, of whom we shall have much to say

The rule of Godwin.

Godwin banished.

Visit of Duke William.

hereafter. William had already conceived the design of winning for himself the English crown on Edward's death. Edward had no children; his affections were all Norman, and it appeared that he promised William that he should succeed him. He had no right to do this, for only the Witan could dispose of the crown. This was in 1051.

Recall of
Godwin and
banishment
of foreigners.

Next year the English had become so discontented with the favour shown by Edward to the Normans that they welcomed Godwin back again. All the foreigners, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, were driven out of the kingdom. Godwin was again made Earl of Wessex, and Stigand, an Englishman, succeeded Robert of Jumiéges in the see of Canterbury.

Harold's rule.

But in 1053 Godwin died and was succeeded by his son Harold as Earl of Wessex. Harold now became the chief power in the kingdom, and it soon became evident that he had set his heart on obtaining the crown. Harold was a successful warrior and a wise and vigorous administrator. Unluckily a much greater than he had set the same ambition before his eyes. The fate of England depended upon who should win in the struggle for the prize, Harold or William.

Meantime Harold practically governed England. Two years later Earl Siward died and the Earldom of Northumbria was given to Tostig, Harold's brother. Harold and Tostig waged successful war against the Welsh. In 1063 Wales was reduced to submission. The last two years of Edward's reign were, owing to Harold's wise rule, years of peace. Harold even conciliated his personal rivals the leading members of the house of Leofric. In 1065 Tostig had been driven out of his Earldom of Northumbria

for harsh government. The Northumbrians chose as their Earl, Morcar, grandson of Leofric, and son of Algar who was then Earl of Mercia, and Harold advised Edward to let the men of Northumbria have their way. They were Angles and Danes, and they did not care to be ruled by a West Saxon.

In 1066, after a reign of twenty-four years, rendered peaceable by the exertions of better rulers than himself, Edward the Confessor died. He just lived to see the completion of a great Church which he had built in the Norman style, on the site where the Abbey of Westminster now stands.

Death of Edward the Confessor.

CHAP. X. THE REIGN OF HAROLD.

Election of Harold—William claims the crown—Duke William and the Normans—Grounds of William's claim—Invasion of Tostig and Harold Hardrada—Battle of Stamford Bridge—William lands at Pevensey—Battle of Hastings and death of Harold.

Of the line of Alfred only one male remained, Edgar the Etheling (or Prince). Edgar was the son of Edward the Etheling and grandson of Edmund Ironside. The Etheling Edward had returned from Hungary, but had returned only to die. Edgar was a mere child. It was impossible that he should be chosen King. And so the Witan elected Harold and he was crowned at Westminster. Harold had no claim to the throne by right of blood. He was King by right of election as Cnut had been before him.

Election of Harold.

The coronation of Harold roused William of Normandy. He refused to acknowledge that the election of Harold had been valid and sent to England to claim the throne for himself.

William claims the Crown.

Before relating the events which followed we

Duke William
and the Nor-
mans.

must first find out, who were these Normans whom we have mentioned so many times, and who was Duke William? The word Norman stands simply for Northman, and the original Normans had been Scandinavian and Danish pirates. In 912 a Northman, Rolf the Ganger, had wrested from the French King the land of Normandy and held it as a French fief. In course of time the wild Normans became Christians. They lost, too, their old Norse tongue, and learned French. In other ways they adopted the manners and institutions of the Continent, and began to despise as rude and barbarous their Teutonic English kinsmen. William was the seventh Duke of Normandy. He was the illegitimate son of that Duke who is known to history as Robert the Magnificent, and to romance as Robert the Devil. On his father's death William had a hard struggle to secure the Dukedom for himself, but he succeeded by dint of genius and invincible determination. The same qualities were to lead him to victory once again.

Grounds of
William's
claim.

William had no real claim to the throne of England. But he relied on the promise of Edward the Confessor. He had also the support of the Pope, who was indignant at the expulsion of Robert of Jumiéges from the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Thus, in a sense William put himself forward as the Champion of the Church. He had also a personal grudge against Harold. On one occasion Harold had been wrecked on the French coast and had been delivered up to William. William refused to let him go unless he swore some oath on certain holy relics. The nature of the oath is uncertain. Some say Harold promised to support William's claim to the English crown. At any rate Harold never ful-

filled his pledge, and William was able to regard his invasion of England in the light of the just punishment of a perjurer.

William's followers were easily persuaded to follow their Duke by the hopes held out to them of English plunder and the acquisition of English lands.

Harold in the meantime made every preparation to resist the invasion. But fortune did not favour him. Tostig had returned with the King of Norway, Harold Hardrada, had landed in Yorkshire, and had defeated the northern lords, Edwin of Mercia, and Morcar of Northumbria. It was necessary for Harold to march to their assistance. This he did with great swiftness. He met Tostig and Hardrada at Stamford Bridge, and defeated them with great slaughter. Tostig and Harold Hardrada were both slain in battle.

Three days after the battle of Stamford Bridge, William landed at Pevensey in Sussex (Sept. 28th, 1066). Harold's forces had been weakened by his northern campaign, and Edwin and Morcar ungratefully failed to come to his assistance. Nevertheless Harold made all speed to return and meet him, and on October 14th, was fought between Harold and William, the battle of Hastings. The military organisation of the Normans was undoubtedly far superior to that of the English and the generalship of William to that of Harold. The English fought with the courage of despair, but in vain. They were completely defeated and Harold himself and his brothers were killed. The fate of England was sealed. No one but a son of Godwin could have resisted William, and the sons of Godwin were dead.

Invasion of
Tostig and
Harold Har-
drada.

Battle of
Stamford
Bridge.

William
lands at Pe-
vensey.

Battle of
Hastings and
Death of Ha-
rold.

PART II. THE NORMAN KINGS.

CHAP. I. WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR AND FEUDALISM.

William elected and crowned King—William goes to Normandy, Rebellion in the south-east—Final conquest of England; wasting of the Vale of York; Hereward the Wake—The King of Scots does homage—Feudalism, its strength and weakness—Modified Feudalism introduced by William—William and the English—William and the Normans—William and the Church—Domesday Book—Forest laws—Last years of William—His death and character.

William is
elected and
crowned
King, 1066.

After his victory at Hastings William's next object was to be elected King of England. He wished to appear to rule by law not by force. But force was unhappily necessary. The Witan had elected Edgar Etheling as king—a hopeless choice, for, though Edwin and Morcar supported the election, a child such as Edgar could not hold his own against such a rival as William. So William to strike terror into his opponents ravaged the lands of those who resisted him in Kent and Sussex, burnt Southwark, then crossed at Wallingford to the north of the Thames, and so cut off the army of Edwin and Morcar from London. The Witan felt that resistance was useless; so did the citizens of London, and Edgar himself came out with the others and prayed William that he should accept the crown. And so William was elected King of England and was crowned in the Abbey of Westminster on Christmas Day, 1066.

But England was not really subdued, as William found when in the next year he went over to Nor-

William goes

mandy leaving behind him Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, now Earl of Kent, and William Fitzosberne, Earl of Hereford, as regents. These Norman regents governed badly. Rebellions broke out in the south of England, and William returned to find that he must thoroughly conquer the whole country if he was to rule as undisputed King. His actual conquest of England took four years, four years of hard fighting and of terrible suffering for some parts of England. But William felt that no half-measures would do. His policy was pitiless as is the surgeon's knife, but like the surgeon's knife it was necessary. The rising in the south-east was put down first; then William went westwards where Harold's sons were in arms, subdued Exeter and conquered the whole west as far as Land's End. Then he had to turn north, for Edwin and Morcar had taken up arms against him. Edwin and Morcar soon submitted, and William after taking York gained possession of the whole country south of the Tees.

to Normandy.
Rebellion in
the South-
East, 1067.

Final Con-
quest of Eng-
land, 1067—
1071.

But next year the north again rose, assisted this time by Swegn, King of Denmark, and by Edgar Etheling. The Danes ravaged and plundered, but withdrew on William's approach. When the Conqueror reached York there was no enemy to oppose him. And now William resolved upon a dreadful act, an act which he thought necessary in order to prevent all further resistance in the north. The whole Vale of York was utterly devastated. Crops, cattle, everything was ruthlessly destroyed. There was terrible suffering in the north; but the work had not to be done twice. William was cruel, but there was policy, not mere wanton vengeance, in his severity.

The harrying
of the North,
1069.

From York William marched, amid terrible diffi-

culties, to Chester. Chester was subdued and also the counties on the Welsh border.

Hereward the Wake.

The last resistance of the English was under a valiant outlaw called Hereward the Wake. Hereward held out in his stronghold of the Isle of Ely in the fen country. Edwin and Morcar again deserted William, and joined Hereward. But Edwin was slain by his own men, and in 1071 Hereward and Morcar were driven to submit. Morcar was banished, but William knew the real worth of Hereward and pardoned him. Hereward became 'William's man.'

Malcolm of Scotland does homage, 1072.

In 1072 William invaded Scotland and forced Malcolm of Scotland to do him homage. Thus the conquest was completed.

We must now turn from regarding William as soldier and conqueror, and look at him in the character of statesman and administrator, for here his true greatness is most apparent.

To understand William's work in England we must first know something about the system which is called *Feudalism*. What was Feudalism?

Feudalism.

Personal relationship.

Hereditary nature of Feudalism. Holding of land associated with civil and judicial authority.

Feudalism was a curious social and political system which had grown up on the continent, and of which in England some features had established themselves. In Feudalism there are several distinguishing marks which must be especially noticed. First, it involved a great chain of *personal relationships*, that is to say, every individual was bound to another individual by certain clearly defined obligations: secondly the obligations were hereditary; they descended from a man to his heir; thirdly the Feudal relationships were associated with the holding of land, and generally, the exercise of civil and judicial authority over the lands held, and also with the duty of rendering military service.

At the head was the supreme Feudal lord, in England the King. He was the supreme landholder, and source of all authority. The supreme lord gave grants of land (fiefs) to his vassals (tenants-in-chief). These immediate vassals swore to be the king's men (homage and fealty); to render him certain Feudal dues and to serve under him in war. The great vassals had, in like manner, their own vassals, bound to themselves by similar ties, and those under-vassals might again have feudal subordinates, and so on.

The supreme Feudal lord.

Tenants-in-chief.

Sub-vassals.

Thus we see, that although the supreme Feudal lord was the source of all authority, and the supreme landholder, yet his relationship with those beneath him was only direct in the case of the tenants-in-chief. The rest swore to be faithful to their own immediate lords, not to the supreme lord. Such, on the whole, was continental Feudalism. In England before William's time we only see traces of the Feudal principle in the relations between the king and his thegns.

Indirect relationship of supreme lord and sub-vassals.

The strength of the Feudal system lay in the great Feudal army which the king could call into the field. Every Feudal landholder owed military service to some one. The king had only to summon his chief vassals; they in their turn summoned the inferior vassals, and a great host was immediately raised.

Strength of Feudalism.

The weakness of the Feudal principle lay in the absence of any direct bond between the supreme head and the under-vassals. The great lords became a source of danger to the kingdom. They could and did call into the field great armies to be used against each other, or even against the King; for the sub-tenants recognized no obligation to any one as

Weakness of Feudalism.

against their lords. Thus Feudalism often made for anarchy; it was directly contrary to the principle of nationality.

Modified
feudalism
introduced
into England.

It is the great glory of William that he transferred to England only so much of the feudal system as made for order. He retained the old English institutions, though some of them were modified in the direction of feudalism, but he introduced above the English institutions, and above the feudal relationships, changes which made possible a strong central government, which made England united under a single head, and which led the way inevitably to the development of a real and living *national* spirit.

William
strengthens
the central
authority
against (I)
English na-
tive popula-
tion, (II) Nor-
man nobles,
(III) The
Church.

After the conquest there were three distinct quarters which might be made sources of strength to the crown, or on the other hand might become causes of weakness. They were (1) the native English people, (2) the Norman nobles, (3) the Church. The English might rise against the foreigner; the powerful Norman noble might disobey and rebel against his lord; the clergy, by busying themselves with secular affairs, as they did in the Anglo-Saxon times, might exercise an undue influence, or might claim an independent authority derived from the Pope. In the precautions which he took against all these William showed consummate wisdom.

I. (1) For-
tresses.

I. (1) To overcome the native English he built in all the principal towns great fortresses of stone. Many of these still remain, so mighty were they. The great Tower of London may be mentioned as one.

(2) Confisca-
tion of land,
and feudal
tenure.

(2) William regarded all the English landholders who had resisted him as rebels. He accordingly took their lands from them and divided them amongst

his Norman followers to be held by Feudal tenure. Any land which remained in English hands was also held by the same tenure. The old English townships became Norman manors, and in the manor court the lord of the manor presided, either in person or through his steward. Thus the king was able to raise a great feudal array in case of an English rebellion.

II. Against the Norman nobles—whom we must now call Barons—William took the following precautions.

II. (1) Abolition of Great Earldoms.

(1) He abolished the great English Earldoms. There were to be no more great men of the stamp of Godwin, or Leofric, or Siward. Earls there still were, but they were not nearly so strong as the Anglo-Danish earls had been.

(2) The lands which the king gave to each of his greater Barons, were scattered in different localities. Thus a Baron could not easily gather together a great force at a short notice.

(2) Distribution of Baron's holdings.

(3) William was not content to take an oath of fealty from his tenants-in-chief. Every feudal tenant, no matter who his immediate lord was, was compelled to take an oath to be faithful to the king. This was directly contrary to the old feudal principle, and prepared the way for a far nobler idea. The oath was taken at a great assembly held by William at Salisbury in 1086.

(3) Oath of fealty exacted from sub-vassals.

(4) Finally, along side of the Feudal host, William still kept up the old national levy, the *Fyrd*. Thus we see how William looked to his Normans to be a strength against rebellious and discontented English, and to his English subjects as a help against insubordinate and turbulent nobles. William meant to be a strong king, to give all his subjects, English and Norman alike, peaceful and

(4) The *Fyrd* retained.

Aim of William.

just government. He was very far from wishing to be a great robber chieftain, with lesser robbers under him, all preying upon the defenceless English people. Some of the fierce Normans who had followed him may have wished for some such thing as this. If so, they were grievously disappointed. William moreover meant to be an *English* king. He even tried to learn the English language, but could not. This small thing was perhaps the only aim which this great man failed to accomplish. To the end he was a Norman, speaking Norman French, and swearing mighty Norman oaths (*par la splendeur de Dieu*—by the splendour of God) when, by lawlessness or disobedience, his terrible anger was aroused.

III. (1) Separation of secular and Ecclesiastic functions.

(2) Bishops appointed by king.

(3) William and the Pope.

Improvement in the Church.

III. Towards the Church William's policy was very similar. Ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction were made separate. The Bishop no longer presided in the shire-moot, nor was he elected by the Witan. The Bishops were all appointed by William, and were his 'men,' just as the temporal barons were. In each diocese there was a special court under the bishop to deal with matters ecclesiastical and spiritual.

About this time the Popes of Rome were putting forward great claims. They said that all kings derived their authority from them. William was a staunch Catholic, ready to acknowledge the Pope as his superior in all spiritual matter, but this claim he would not allow. His predecessors, he said, had never held their authority from the Pope; neither would he.

Under William the Church in England improved rapidly. Most of the English bishops were replaced by Normans, but William knew how to choose well.

In the see of Canterbury, in place of Stigand, he set the great and learned Lanfranc. Under Lanfranc the discipline of the monasteries improved, and learning flourished. Great cathedrals and monasteries arose on all sides, for the Normans were great builders, not only of castles, but of churches.

Strong government is always expensive, and William was careful that the crown should not lack a sufficient revenue. Men called him grasping and avaricious for this; but they were unable to judge wisely. William had, of course, the Feudal dues, sums of money that had to be paid on definite occasions by feudal vassals. He also retained all dues which were wont to be paid to his English predecessors; he even collected Danegeld, though he had no Danes to fear. In order that he might have a complete knowledge of all taxable property in England, he instituted a great survey of the whole Kingdom. The extent of every estate was carefully registered, its character, how much arable land it had, how much pasture, the number of cattle upon it, of sheep and of swine. Even the sheds and farming implements were numbered. All was recorded in a great register called, *Domesday Book* which was finished in 1086. The work had taken about four years, and was, like everything William set his hand to, complete. *Domesday Book* still exists.

Domesday Book.

The old English courts of the hundred-moot and shire-moot were still kept up. In the latter the king's interests (and by the king's interests, we must understand the kingdom's) were looked after by the sheriff, a royal officer.

Shire and hundred Moot.

Neither was the Witan abolished, though it assumed a new name, the *Great Council*, and a feudal

The Witan becomes the

Great Council.

character. The great council was now composed of the Bishops and the greater of the tenants-in-chief.

The Forest Laws.

In one thing William consulted his own pleasure. He and his successors were devoted to hunting. 'He loved the tall deer,' says an old English monk, 'as though he had been their father.' In order to gratify his taste for hunting, he set apart certain lands as royal forests, and about these lands grew up a body of laws which many found very oppressive. Thus he made a great forest in Hampshire called the New Forest, and to do so, he destroyed some hamlets. Probably no great suffering was caused by this, as the nature of the ground was not suitable for agriculture; but men felt it to be unjust, as indeed it was.

Rebellion of Norman Earls, 1074.

Such then was the work of William. But while he was accomplishing it he had many troubles to contend against. In 1074 two of the Norman nobles took up arms against him, Roger Earl of Hereford and Ralph Earl of Norfolk. Waltheof, the last Earl of English blood, was also in some way mixed up with this conspiracy. William had small difficulty in putting down the rebellion. Ralph fled the country, Roger was imprisoned and Waltheof executed. Four years later in Normandy William's own son Robert rebelled against him, supported by the king of France and some powerful barons. After some fighting, father and son were reconciled. Other troubles came before William's work was done, but all were successfully crushed.

Rebellion of Robert, 1078.

At last in 1087 while the Conqueror was making war on the French king in return for an insult he had received, his horse stumbled and William fell heavily forward on the pommel of his saddle. From the injury he sustained he never recovered, but died

Death of the Conqueror, 1087.

the same year. At the end his very sons forsook him, and his body was left deserted, stripped and dishonoured to be hurried into a mean grave at Caen.

William had done a great work for England. He was a stern grim man, with small pity for the rebel or the robber, but, as the English chronicler writes, 'mild to those who loved God.' He gave England strong and just rule, and his work lived after him. 'A child,' it was said, 'might fare across England with a purse of gold in his bosom,' unharmed, so orderly and peaceable was the land in William's time. Another thing that William did was to abolish the iniquitous slave trade that had gone on at the port of Bristol.

Character of
William and
his work.

In Anglo-Saxon times, England, rich in local institutions, with plenty of 'self-government' on a small scale, lacked a strong central administration. William supplied the want. On the continent the feudal system, as often as not, meant mere anarchy and perpetual civil war. William brought feudalism to England, but deprived it of its most dangerous features. William did a great work for England, and men gave him small thanks for it.

CHAPTER II. WILLIAM II.

Accession of William the Red—His character—Rebellion in favour of Robert—The English support the King—Death of Lanfranc—Tyranny of the Red King—Ranulf Flambard the Justiciar—William and Archbishop Anselm—Anselm leaves the Kingdom—The wars of William—Duke Robert and the First Crusade—William governs Normandy—Last years and death of the Red King.

William the Conqueror had left three sons, Robert, William, and Henry. William had much of

Accession of
William the
Red, 1087.

his father's ability and energy, and all his fierce determination of will. Robert was a weak and wayward man. And so the Conqueror wished his son William to reign in England after him, while he left Normandy to Robert, and a sum of money to Henry. As soon as his father was dead William hurried to England and, owing to the support and influence of Lanfranc, was acknowledged and crowned king.

Character of
William.

The system of Government established in England by the Conqueror was an excellent one and the only possible system for that time, but in order really to work well, it presupposed a king whose chief aim was justice and order. Under a bad and selfish king the machinery devised by the Conqueror became an instrument of tyranny and oppression.

Such an instrument it became in the hands of William whom men named Rufus, or the Red. He was a man of little principle, with few good qualities save energy. Openly irreligious, blasphemous, profligate, and frankly selfish, there was at least one good point about his reign. He kept down the barons with a stern hand, and though he oppressed the English people too, it is probable that they suffered less than they would have done, had the Red king been a weaker man, and had he left many small tyrants free to quarrel among themselves and plunder the weaker English. Thus we shall see that the English people supported the Red king loyally for all his wickedness. The Conqueror's just reign had taught them that the king's cause was really their own.

Rebellion in
favour of
Robert, 1088.

A proof of this is supplied by what took place in 1088. The Norman barons, fearing the strength of Rufus, wished Robert to be king, and took up arms

in his cause. Their leaders were Odo of Bayeux and Roger Earl of Shrewsbury. William at once flung himself upon the native English. He made many fair promises he never meant to fulfil, and then summoned the national levy (the fyrd), declaring that every man who refused to obey the summons should be branded as *nothing*, worthless. The English answered to the call and the rebellion was crushed. The English wanted to hang Odo, but William was content that he should be banished the kingdom for ever.

The English side with the king.

While Lanfranc lived the Red king was under some restraint; but Lanfranc died in 1089 and William was left free to follow his own evil will. One of the feudal dues which the conqueror had received was this. When lands fell to a minor, the crown took the guardianship of the estates during the minority, and received the revenue. When the heir came of age he received back the estates on paying a certain tribute called a *fine*, or *relief*. This was fair enough; but William the Red saw how to make great profits out of the arrangement. In his capacity as guardian he simply stripped his wards' lands: neither would he allow the heir to enter on his possessions until he had extorted from him an enormous relief. With church lands his procedure was even more scandalous. When a Bishopric or the headship of a monastery fell vacant he kept it vacant for a long time and in the meanwhile appropriated the revenues. When he did fill up an appointment he demanded from the nominee a great sum of money in return. In this way he practically sold church appointments. Thus on Lanfranc's death he kept the see of Canterbury without an Archbishop for four years, though he was often entreated

Death of Lanfranc, 1089.

Tyranny of the Red King.

to appoint a successor and give the Church of England a head.

Ranulf
Flambard.

In all these wickednesses the Red king found a willing tool in a certain Ranulf Flambard, a priest and royal secretary. It was he who made the feudal system in England a means of personal profit to the crown, and turned the supreme feudal lord into a legalised robber. In 1094 William made Flambard his *Justiciar*. The conqueror had been in the habit when he left England of nominating a regent under the title of Justiciar. With Ranulf the Justiciarship became a permanent office and the Justiciar became in fact prime minister.

The Justiciar.

William and
Archbishop
Anselm.

In 1093 the Red king fell sick and thought he was going to die. In a sudden fit of fear and repentance, such as falls upon base men, he was induced to appoint a successor to Lanfranc. The man he chose was Anselm, Abbot of Bec. This Anselm was a very holy man, gentle, peaceful, tender and devout. He was also a very learned man and a philosopher, having the subtlest intellect of any man then living. With great unwillingness Anselm accepted the see of Canterbury. But though Anselm was holy and mild he was firm and resolute in withstanding wrong, and it was from the gentle Anselm that the Red king met with the most determined resistance.

Quarrel
between
William and
Anselm.

Anselm's quarrel with the king turned upon several points. When Rufus recovered from sickness he became just as wicked as ever. Anselm reproved his vices, and moreover demanded that the king should restore the plunder he had stolen from Canterbury, and refused to pay the king a further sum of money which the king demanded from him in return for being appointed Archbishop. In all

this Anselm was in the right, and the Red king could do nothing against him, for, although the other Bishops, in fear of the king, did not support their Archbishop, the great Barons stood by his side. Another difference between William and Anselm arose on the question of Papal Jurisdiction ; and here Anselm, with the noblest intention, was partly wrong. Anselm would have gone back from the position established by the Conqueror, and would have made the Pope supreme in England. Nevertheless Anselm was striving for what he believed to be right. William had no thought but to gratify his own evil wishes. At last Anselm could endure the wickedness of the Red king no further, and withdrew to Rome. Rufus at once seized on his estates.

Anselm leaves the kingdom.

During the thirteen years of his reign William waged various wars, on the whole successfully. He defeated the Scots and compelled the Scotch King to do homage (1091). Twice he fought with his brother Robert in Normandy, the last time in 1094. The next year he was obliged to put down a rebellion of Norman nobles led by Mowbray Earl of Northumberland. This he did successfully, and was again supported by the native English.

The wars of the Red King.
(1) With Scotland.
(2) With Robert.
(3) With the barons.

This was the era of the First Crusade. These Crusades were religious wars in which Christians, under the blessing of the Pope, vowed to recover Jerusalem and the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of infidel Turks who had been subjecting Christian pilgrims to torture and ill-usage, sometimes even putting them to death. Robert of Normandy was anxious to go on the Crusade. But he had no money. Accordingly he pledged his dukedom to his brother in return for a large sum of money. William immediately took possession of Normandy,

Robert and the First Crusade, 1096.

William

governs
Normandy.

and it must be confessed, ruled it far more successfully than his brother had done, and far less tyrannically than he had ruled England.

The last
years of
William.

The last years of William's reign were crowned with success. All his enemies were crushed and Anselm had been driven out of the kingdom. A war which he waged with the King of France, though without permanent result, went on the whole in William's favour.

Death of the
Red King,
1100.

The Red king was, as his father had been, devoted to hunting, and under his rule the Forest laws had become more oppressive than ever. One day in 1100, he went hunting in the New Forest. From that hunting he never returned, but was found in the evening pierced through with an arrow. Whether his death was accidental or whether he was murdered was never known. None wept for the Red King. His body was carried to Winchester Cathedral and there buried without funeral rites.

CHAP. III. HENRY I.

Accession of Henry I.—The English support the king—Flambard imprisoned and Anselm recalled—Henry's Charter—Henry marries an Englishwoman—Invasion of Duke Robert—Rebellion of Robert of Belesme—Henry's wars in Normandy—Battle of Tenchebrai—Duke Robert imprisoned—Henry wins Maine—Compromise between Henry and Anselm—Henry's rule—Roger of Salisbury—The Curia Regis and the Court of Exchequer—The White Ship—The Council swear fealty to the Empress Maud—Death and character of Henry I.

Accession of
Henry I.
(1100—1135.)

As soon as he heard of his brother's death Henry hurried to Winchester and was there chosen and crowned king. The great Barons were once more

in favour of Robert succeeding to the throne. It suited their purpose better to have a weak man rather than a strong and energetic ruler, as they knew Henry to be, for king. Besides they had estates in Normandy as well as their English lands, and they therefore wished that England should be ruled by a king who was also Duke of Normandy.

Once more the English supported the king. He, on his part, at once took steps to conciliate them. He recalled the good Anselm; he threw the infamous Flambard into prison; he took for his wife an English princess; and he issued a charter of liberties.

The English support the king. Anselm recalled and Flambard imprisoned.

The wicked rule of the Red king had shown that in evil hands the conqueror's system of government might lead to gross oppression. The charter granted by Henry is therefore of great moment. It was the first step taken to limit the royal power in the interest of the subject, and it formed the basis of the famous *Magna Carta*, or great charter of King John. In his charter Henry promised to respect the rights of the church; to levy no feudal aids or reliefs from his tenants-in-chief, save such as were just and lawful, while the tenants-in-chief themselves were to observe the same rules towards their own vassals. The mass of the people were satisfied with the assurance that the 'laws of Edward the Confessor,' that is to say, the old free institutions and customs which had prevailed in the Confessor's time, should be retained.

Henry's charter, 1100.

Henry's bride, Edith (or Matilda, as she was afterwards called) was the daughter of Malcolm of Scotland, and niece of Edgar Etheling. This marriage gave great joy to the English people. It showed that Henry meant to reign as an English king. Once more one of English blood sat on the royal throne,

Henry marries an English princess.

and kings of English extraction should hereafter rule in England. It is through Matilda that the present Royal family traces its descent from the old line of Wessex. The Norman barons, on the other hand, were angry and indignant at the marriage. They scoffed at Henry and his Queen, calling them by the English nick-names of Godric and Godgifu.

Invasion of
Duke Robert,
1101.

But Henry could afford to despise the taunts of the barons. When in 1101 Duke Robert, stirred up by Flambar, who had escaped from prison, invaded England with the intention of making himself king, the English, summoned by Anselm, flocked round their king, and Robert was forced to make peace with his brother and withdraw over-sea.

Rebellion of
Robert of
Belesme, 1102.

Next year a rebellion broke out against Henry, headed by a fierce and cruel baron called Robert of Belesme. Once more the English stood by their King. They hated Robert of Belesme, and all lawless, tyrannical men of his stamp. Amid the rejoicings of the English Robert of Belesme was driven out of the kingdom, and from that time to his death, thirty-three years afterwards, Henry had nothing to fear from his barons, and England enjoyed peace.

Henry's
wars in
Normandy.

But Henry was not yet done with Robert of Belesme. In Normandy, whither Robert and other exiled rebels had gone, the English king had many vassals. These were oppressed and ill-treated by Robert of Belesme and his associates, neither would Duke Robert do anything to protect them. Accordingly they called upon Henry to help them, and Henry responded to their cry. He crossed over to Normandy, and in a great battle at Tenchebrai (1106), defeated Duke Robert, and took him pri-

Battle of
Tenchebrai,
1106.

soner. Robert was brought to England and confined in Cardiff Castle where he remained till his death twenty-eight years later.

Duke Robert
imprisoned.

Robert of Belesme meanwhile made peace, but some years later he again rebelled and being taken captive was kept in prison till his death. Henry had other wars in Normandy arising out of rebellions raised by the Norman barons who were sometimes supported by the King of France and the Count of Anjou; but in all he was successful, and, when finally peace was made in 1128, Normandy, as well as Maine, were united as dependencies to the English Crown.

Normandy
and Maine
conquered.

Although Henry at the beginning of his reign had recalled Archbishop Anselm, the dispute between the temporal and spiritual powers was by no means settled. Anselm was bent, as we have seen, upon making the Church independent of the Crown; Henry was as resolute as his father had been in his determination to be master of all his subjects, ecclesiastics as well as laymen. There was indeed in that age no possibility of any permanent settlement being arrived at. Anselm refused not only to do homage to the King on his own part, but refused to consecrate the bishops who had been appointed by, or, as it was called, had received their investitures from Henry. As Henry declined to give way, Anselm again left the kingdom (1103). But though no complete solution could be looked for, some sort of temporary compromise might be arrived at where the representatives of the rival claims were men who could respect each other.

Dispute be-
tween Henry
and Anselm.

To such a compromise Henry and Anselm mutually agreed. Anselm consented that the bishops should do homage to the King for their temporal

Compromise
between
Henry and
Anselm 1107.

possessions, and Henry consented that they should receive the signs of spiritual authority, the ring and pastoral cross, from the Pope. In the matter of the election of bishops and abbots, the King was no longer to exercise the sole right of appointment, but means were devised whereby he should enjoy a certain share in such elections. The dispute between Henry and Anselm was in reality only one instance of a great struggle, called the struggle about *Investitures*, which was at that time being carried on in Western Europe, between the highest secular power, the Emperor, and the highest spiritual power, the Pope. In England the struggle was renewed with great bitterness in the reign of Henry II, and re-appears at intervals in English history until, with the Reformation, the authority of Rome in all matters, spiritual as well as temporal, was shaken off.

Henry's rule.

Roger of
Salisbury.

Successful as Henry had been in war, he was more of a statesman than a soldier, more a man of peace than a man of war. He was a great administrator and organiser, and, as such, carried out still further, the work his great father had begun. In this he had the help of a wise and able minister, Roger of Salisbury. Roger was originally a poor priest, but Henry had recognised his abilities, had raised him to the Bishopric of Salisbury, and finally, in 1107, made him Justiciar.

The Curia
Regis, 1107.

The Court of
Exchequer.

Roger of Salisbury organised two new courts, the *Curia Regis*, or King's Court, and the *Court of Exchequer*. The *Curia Regis* was in fact a committee of the Great Council, and formed the King's Privy Council. It was also the supreme Court of Law. The *Court of Exchequer*, so called from the chequered cloth with which the Council table was

covered, was simply the *Curia Regis* sitting in another capacity. The business of this Court was to attend to all matters connected with the Royal revenue and finances. In both courts the Justiciar presided, and there was another official called the Chancellor. In later history the Chancery became an office of great dignity and importance. The judges of the Court of Exchequer also went on circuit throughout the land, hearing cases affecting the King (King's pleas), and making assessments with a view to taxation. This institution of itinerant justices is very important, for it brought the royal court and the old local courts more closely together. Here again we see another example of the work the great Norman Kings did in centralising government and consolidating England.

The Chan-
cellor.

Itinerant
Justices.

Henry had only one son, William, and he hoped that his son would succeed him. But one night, in 1120, while William was crossing from Normandy to England in a vessel called the *White Ship*, the ship struck on a rock and went down. Prince, crew and passengers, all perished, save one poor man, a butcher of Rouen who lived to tell the tale. It was a fearful blow for Henry. For a while no man dared to tell him what had happened, and after the truth was known, we are told, King Henry never smiled again.

The White
Ship, 1120.

Henry had a daughter named Matilda. She had been given in marriage to the Emperor Henry V, and on his death she wedded Geoffrey, Count of Anjou. No woman as yet had reigned in England, but Henry now determined that, since he had no son, his daughter should succeed him. Accordingly he caused all his bishops and barons to swear to accept the Empress Maud, as she was called, as their queen, and be true to her.

The Council
swears to
accept the
Empress
Maud as
Queen, 1120
and 1131.

Death of
Henry I, 1135.

Character of
his reign.

In the year 1135 Henry I died. He was a great king and had ruled successfully and well. He gave England a long period of peace and repose. 'He was a good man,' writes the chronicler; 'no man durst ill-use another in his time. He made peace for man and beast.' Under Henry England began to grow rich and prosperous. Towns sprung up and trade flourished. Industrious artisans flocked in from Flanders, and Henry settled them in Pembrokeshire on the borders of Wales. Building went on apace, and the style of architecture became more beautiful and graceful. More important than all this: the distinction between Norman and English was rapidly vanishing. The great Norman barons, thanks to their own rebellious spirit, had many of them been killed or banished and a new kind of nobility, mainly royal officials, was growing up in closer dependence on the king. But all these good things were rudely interrupted by the anarchy of the next reign.

CHAP. IV. STEPHEN AND MATILDA.

Stephen acknowledged King—Rebellion of Robert of Gloucester—Invasions of the Scots—Battle of the Standard—Misrule of Stephen—Roger of Salisbury imprisoned—Period of Anarchy; Misdeeds of the barons and misery of the people—War between Maud and Stephen; Stephen captured; Maud Lady of England—Maud leaves England—Henry Plantagenet and his possessions—Henry invades England—Peace of Wallingford and death of Stephen.

Stephen
(1136—54)
acknowledged
King.

It was in vain that Henry had exacted an oath from his barons. No sooner was he dead than Stephen, Earl of Blois, son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela, and nephew of Henry, hastened to

London and was there hailed as King by the London citizens with whom he was very popular. The barons also, forgetful of their oath, acknowledged him, and he was crowned at Winchester.

Then began a reign which lasted for nineteen years, years very disastrous for England. Before long some of the Barons revolted, and declared for Maud. The chief of them was Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a natural son of Henry I. David, King of Scotland, who was Maud's uncle, also took up her cause and twice invaded England on her behalf. His Celtic followers, men little better than savages, committed the most horrible atrocities in the north of England, massacring men, women and children. But on the second occasion the aged Archbishop of York, Thurstan, called up the levies of the north and defeated the Scots in a great battle at Northallerton (1138). The English Standard bearing the banners of the three Churches of York, Beverley and Ripon was placed on a cart in the midst of the army. Hence this fight was known as the Battle of the Standard.

Stephen turned this victory to no good account, but now as ever continued to act with the greatest imprudence and folly, injuring his own cause, weakening the royal power, and plunging the whole nation into confusion. Instead of relying upon his English levies as his predecessors had done, he surrounded himself with foreign mercenaries; he squandered on worthless favourites the royal lands and revenues which had been so carefully accumulated by Henry and Roger of Salisbury. To conciliate the people he granted charters as Henry had done, but he exasperated them by immediately breaking them. To make matters worse, he quar-

Rebellion of Robert of Gloucester, 1138.

David of Scotland invades England, 1137—38.

Battle of the Standard, 1138.

Misrule of Stephen.

Foreign mercenaries.

Squanders royal revenues.

Breaks Charters

Imprisons
Roger of
Salisbury.

relled with his Justiciar, Roger of Salisbury, seized him and cast him into prison. The consequences of this were twofold; first, the whole Church turned against him; even his own brother, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, declared against him; secondly, without the great Justiciar the royal finances fell into extreme disorder.

Period of
anarchy.

And now followed a period of mere anarchy. The kingly power ceased to be held in awe. The barons behaved as if the land had no king, and for a while England experienced unfettered feudalism in its worst aspect. The nobles waged war against each other, declaring for Stephen or for Maud just as it suited them. They governed or misgoverned their estates as if they were so many independent kingdoms, and the unhappy people, no longer protected by the crown, suffered the most miserable oppression. Strong castles grew up in every part of the land. 'Every rich man,' says the chronicler, 'built his castles and held them against the king, and filled the land full of castles. They greatly oppressed the wretched men of the land with working at the castles, and when the castles were made they filled them with devils and evil men.' These castles were strongholds of robbery, torture, murder and every kind of tyranny. The picture which the old monk paints of the reign of Stephen, forms the ghastliest picture in the Chronicle. After recounting the most terrible tortures inflicted by the barons in those castles he goes on: 'I cannot nor may not tell all the fearful wickednesses and pains they wrought on wretched men in this land, and that lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was king, and ever it was worse and worse..... Then was corn dear and

Misdeeds of
the Barons
and miseries
endured by
the people.

flesh and cheese and butter, for there was none in the land. Wretched men starved of hunger. Some lived on alms who had once been rich. Some fled out of the land.....The earth bore no corn, for the land was all fordone with such deeds; and it was said openly that Christ slept and his saints. Such and more than we can say we endured nineteen winters for our sins.' This was England under a weak king.

In 1139 Maud and her brother Robert landed in England, and two years after, in a battle at Lincoln, Stephen was captured and thrown into prison. Maud was acknowledged 'Lady of England,' but her rule exasperated men by its impolitic harshness, and the people rose in rebellion against her. Robert of Gloucester was captured and, to effect his release, Maud was compelled to let Stephen go free. Then war began again and the land suffered more than ever. At last on Robert's death in 1147 Maud abandoned her cause and left England.

War in England between Maud and Stephen, 1139—47. Stephen captured 1141. Maud, Lady of England.

Maud leaves England, 1147.

Maud had departed, but not anarchy. Stephen set to work to subdue his barons, and might in the end have succeeded but for the interference of a stronger than he.

Meanwhile over sea Maud's husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, had conquered Normandy, which had been nominally Stephen's, and on his death in 1151 left the dukedom together with his other possessions in France to his son, Henry Plantagenet. The next year Henry still further strengthened his power by marrying Eleanor, divorced wife of Louis VII of France, and thus securing her rich provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, Limousin, Guienne and Gascony. He was to add England, and even a part of Ireland, before very long.

Henry Plantagenet.

His great possessions.

Henry
invades Eng-
land, 1153.

Peace of
Wallingford,
1153.

Death of
Stephen, 1154.

Stephen had wished to secure the succession of his son Eustace, but the bishops refused to acknowledge him, and when in 1153 Henry invaded England not only the Church but a large part of the nation supported him. Eustace died the same year, and then Stephen felt that he might as well come to terms with Henry. A peace was made at Wallingford, by which it was agreed that Stephen should be king for the rest of his life, but that Henry should succeed him. Henry was to aid Stephen in reducing the land to order, and the 'adulterine' castles, that is to say, the castles which had been built without the king's permission, were to be pulled down. Together Stephen and Henry subdued the turbulent barons and peace was at last restored. Next year (1154) Stephen died and Henry became king.

PART III. THE PLANTAGENETS.

CHAP. I. HENRY II.

Henry restores Order—Scutage—Thomas Becket—Henry and the Church—Becket Archbishop—The Constitutions of Clarendon—Exile of Becket—Reconciliation with Becket—Murder of Becket—The Assize of Clarendon—The Jury System—The Inquest of Sheriffs—Partial conquest of Ireland—Rebellion of Henry's sons—The Assize of Arms—Last Years and Death of Henry II—His Work.

The first task which the new King had to perform was the restoration of order. This Henry was well qualified to do. He was a man of boundless energy, fiery determination of will, and possessed of great powers of organisation. He began by sending Stephen's mercenaries out of the kingdom. Then he destroyed the 'adulterine' castles, as they were called; fortresses built by the barons without royal permission, from which and in which so many enormities had been committed during the anarchy of Stephen's reign. Henry II knew, as Henry I and the Conqueror had known before him, that the great barons were the chief source of danger to the royal authority and to the peace of the realm. He therefore determined to weaken the power of the great barons and to draw the lesser barons and the people to the side of the crown. To prevent justice being chiefly administered in the baronial courts, Henry still further developed the functions of the *Curia Regis*, a court of which we have already spoken when dealing with the reign of Henry I.

Henry (1154-89) restores order.

Destroys 'adulterine' castles, 1155.

Develops the Curia Regis.

Itinerant
judges.

Under Henry II the judicial functions of this court come into greater prominence, whilst in connection with it *itinerant*, that is to say, travelling justices were sent throughout the kingdom for purposes of justice as well as of finance.

Summons
the Magnum
Concilium
frequently.

Prompted by the like policy the new King took care to summon the *Magnum Concilium* frequently, and to secure the attendance not only of the greater but of the lesser barons. Thus men were taught to look more and more to the King as the source of all government.

Scutage, 1159.

Another measure of Henry's still further strengthened the royal power and weakened feudalism. He changed the system of personal military service into a system of money-payment, called *scutage*, or shield-money (Latin *scutum*, a shield). Henry, as we have seen, had great foreign possessions. In defence of these he was frequently compelled to make war. For this purpose the national levy (the *fyrd*) was useless, as the *fyrd* was not bound to serve beyond the realm. The feudal vassals again were only bound to serve for forty days in the year. This was also a very inconvenient arrangement, and Henry therefore came to an agreement with his vassals to commute the personal service for the money-payment or *scutage* we have just mentioned. Thus the King, being able to hire mercenaries, was rendered independent of his barons.

Thomas
Becket, Chan-
cellor, 1154.

In carrying out his reforms, Henry had at first the support of a very remarkable man, Thomas Becket, son of a London merchant. Becket had become Henry's most intimate friend and had been appointed his Chancellor (1154). He was a priest, but so far had shown little of the spiritual nature.

He loved magnificent dress and luxurious living.
All this was soon to change.

We have seen that Henry could not endure that the barons should exercise any power independent of his own. He was in the same way bent upon depriving the Church of any authority in temporal matters which seemed inconsistent with the King's supremacy. William the Conqueror had given the Church separate courts for deciding purely ecclesiastical questions. These courts had since claimed criminal jurisdiction in all cases in which the accused were clerics even though they belonged to the lowest ecclesiastical orders. This claim often caused miscarriages of justice, as the ecclesiastical courts could not inflict the punishment of death, and thus a 'clerk' who committed offences, such as murder, punishable by death, was enabled to escape the just consequences of his crime, as the Church courts, jealous for their privileges, refused to hand him over to the lay courts. All this Henry determined to reform, and he thought that if he made his friend Becket head of the Church he would more easily be able to do so. Accordingly Becket was on the King's order elected Archbishop of Canterbury (1162). Henry at once found out how great a mistake he had committed.

Henry and
the Church.

Becket,
Archbishop,
1162.

Once Archbishop, Becket's whole mode of life underwent a complete change. Abandoning his former luxury and magnificence he adopted an excessive asceticism; he fed beggars, washed them with his own hands, and exhibited other marks of piety which, if sincere, were certainly ostentatious. He determined to be henceforth a churchman and nothing else. In spite of Henry's earnest entreaties he resigned the secular office of Chancellor, and

devoted himself to his spiritual duties. Immediately the King found that the man for whose help he had looked in his efforts to bring the Church under the crown would be his most determined opponent. Becket now thought his whole duty lay in defending to the uttermost the privileges of the clergy as against the crown. To this task he applied himself for the rest of his life.

The Constitu-
tions of
Clarendon,
1164.

In the very second year of his Archiepiscopate Becket withstood the King in a matter connected with taxation, it would seem successfully. Next year the quarrel took more definite shape. Henry, in order to determine exactly the authority of the crown over the ecclesiastical courts summoned a great Council at Clarendon (1164) to give sanction to sixteen clauses called the Constitutions of Clarendon. In these the question of the authority of the crown and the Church was laid down in the King's favour. Criminous clergy were to be tried in the King's courts; no clergyman was to quit the realm without the King's consent; appeals from ecclesiastical courts were to go to the King, and no further, *i.e.*, not to the Pope, without the King's consent; the King's chief vassals and ministers were not to be excommunicated without the King's consent; and in other ways the privileges of the clergy were curtailed and limited. To all Becket at the assembly at Clarendon at first gave a verbal assent, but he afterwards withdrew it, and opposed the constitutions with the utmost vehemence.

Resistance
and exile of
Becket, 1164.

The quarrel was renewed at the Council of Northampton, held the same year, to which Becket was summoned to give an account of a large sum of money entrusted to him when Chancellor. Becket

appeared, was branded as a traitor, appealed to the Pope, and fled in disguise to France. The King banished 400 of the Archbishop's friends and kinsfolk.

Becket's appeal to the Pope was fruitless. The Pope, Alexander III, was confronted by a rival Pope, Calixtus. Alexander feared that if he espoused the cause of Becket, Henry would declare for his rival. Becket remained in France for six years, trying to stir up the French King and the Pope against his former master.

The rival
Popes.

At length a reconciliation was brought about. The King was anxious to secure the succession of his eldest surviving son, Henry, and with this purpose caused him to be crowned during his own lifetime. The ceremony was performed by the Archbishop of York (1170). Becket from France at once excommunicated the bishops who had taken part in the coronation, declaring that the crowning of the King had always belonged to the See of Canterbury. Henry, fearing that the coronation might be invalidated, hastened to patch up some sort of peace with the Archbishop, and Becket returned to England. But he had forgotten nothing, and he was determined to uphold the excommunication of the bishops. Henry meanwhile had gone over to France, and there he heard of the defiant attitude still maintained by Becket. Henry flew into a furious rage and let fall some passionate words which four knights interpreted literally as a direct command. They crossed the sea, made their way to Canterbury and slew the Archbishop at the steps of the altar.

Reconciliation
between
Henry and
Becket, 1170.

Murder of
Becket, 1170.

It was a lawless and horrible deed, and was far

from benefitting the King. All sympathy now turned towards the murdered Archbishop, who seemed a martyr, not only for the Church, but for liberty, which in any high sense he was not. Miracles wrought by the dead saint—as he now appeared to be—were reported, and, as was the way in that age, were greedily believed. Henry was greatly disturbed. The Pope threatened excommunication unless the King cleared himself of all complicity in the murder of Becket, which Henry hastened to do (1172).

The Assize of
Clarendon,
1166.

We must now go back eight years. After Becket's expulsion from England in 1164 Henry had been left free to continue his administrative reforms. In 1166 a second great council was held at Clarendon from which a body of edicts called *The Assize of Clarendon* was issued. It arranged for the administration of justice in criminal cases throughout the provinces. It abolished the old primitive methods and substituted a system by which twelve sworn men from each hundred and township presented accused persons for trial. In the same way in civil cases, such as disputes about land, a similar method was adopted. Thus gradually grew up the *Jury system*. The Jurors were at first little more than witnesses, but as time went on they became, as they are now, judges as to the fact. We must not look for the beginning of the Jury system in Henry II's reign. There are traces of similar methods to be discerned far back in early Teutonic history, but undoubtedly Henry II did much to develop the practice.

The Jury
system.

The Inquest
of Sheriffs,
1170.

In 1170 the king took another step which helped to strengthen the power of the crown and to weaken the barons. The king had been absent four years

from the realm. On his return he made an 'inquisition,' or formal enquiry, into the way in which the Sheriffs had been administering affairs. Not being satisfied with their conduct he dismissed all of them. It is to be noticed that the dismissed sheriffs were great barons, and that the sheriffs appointed in their room were officials of the Court of Exchequer, men of inferior social importance, but personal dependents of the king. Thus again another step was taken to centralise administration, and another bond was drawn between the royal and local courts.

Another very important question in Henry's reign relates to Ireland. For the first time in English history an attempt was made to add Ireland to the possessions of England. Politically Ireland was in a very disorganised state, and at the same time the discipline of the Irish Church was not such as to satisfy the Roman See. Accordingly in 1154, Adrian IV, notable as the only Englishman who ever became Pope, made Henry a present of Ireland, it being believed at that time that all islands belonged to the Pope. At first Henry made no attempt to secure the gift for himself. But in 1166 an Irish chief, Dermot of Leinster, who had been driven from his kingdom, besought help from the English king, and Henry allowed him the services of any English nobles whom he could persuade to go. Accordingly a number of knights from South Wales crossed the sea. The chief of them was Richard de Clare, afterwards called Strongbow. The knights conquered lands on the east coast of the island and established themselves there (1169-70). But Henry saw that these

Partial conquest of Ireland, 1169-72.

barons, if allowed to be independent, might become a serious danger, and might give help against himself to the great barons of England. Accordingly in 1171 he crossed over into Ireland where he was welcomed by the native Irish chiefs who had been oppressed by Strongbow, and his supremacy over Leinster and Munster was acknowledged. Henry might have completed his work, but events following on the murder of Becket called him to Normandy. Before going, however, he brought about a reform which helped to conciliate the Pope whose displeasure he was anxious to appease. He called together a synod of the Irish Clergy at Cashel and there organised the Irish Church in accordance with the papal wishes. He then crossed over to France, submitted himself to the Pope's legate, finally cleared himself of the murder of Becket, and renounced, nominally at least, the Constitutions of Clarendon. Thus Becket seemed to have gained by his death what he had struggled for ineffectually during the later part of his life.

Rebellion of
Henry's sons,
1189.

But though Henry had made his peace with Rome, other troubles were in store for him. His eldest son Henry, thinking that, because he had been crowned, he was king indeed, and urged on by his mother Eleanor, fled to France, and obtained the help of the French king against his father. Then a general league against the king was formed which was joined by Queen Eleanor, by the princes Geoffrey and Richard, by many of the Norman barons, and by William the Lion, King of Scotland. Eleanor was imprisoned and remained a captive to the end of the reign. The English barons were defeated by the Justiciar Richard de

Lucy; Henry defeated the French in Normandy, and then crossed over to England where he sought to win popular favour by doing penance at the tomb of Becket; Runulf de Glanvil, afterwards Justiciar, defeated William of Scotland and took him prisoner. The Scotch king was not liberated until he had done homage to Henry for the Kingdom of Scotland. It is to be noticed that the English people, as distinguished from the great feudal barons, had stood firmly by their king.

Another considerable reform Henry was still to bring about. By the *Assize of Arms* (1181) the old national *fyrd* was remodelled. Henceforth the kings of England were to rely, not on hired mercenaries, nor on irregular feudal levies, but on the whole body of English freemen.

The Assize
of Arms.

The last years of Henry's reign were clouded by domestic troubles. England was indeed at peace, but not so the king's continental possessions; and Ireland was only nominally subject. In 1177 Henry had sent his son John to rule Ireland as lord, but John had acted with the greatest folly; had insulted and alienated the native chiefs, so that his father was obliged to recall him.

Prince John
in Ireland,
1177.

The possessions on the continent proved but the occasion of fighting between Henry's sons; quarrels into which both Henry himself and the French King Philip were drawn. The younger Henry died in 1183, regretted by no one save his father. Richard who had been set over Aquitaine and Geoffrey who ruled Brittany continued fighting. Geoffrey died in 1186. At last Henry was defeated by Philip of France and Richard, and was obliged to come to terms. The French king sent him a list

Last years of
Henry's life.

of the barons who had conspired against him. Heading the list was the name of his youngest son John who, of all men, Henry imagined, would have remained true to him. "Let things go as they will;" cried the miserable old man, "I care no more for myself or for the world." A few days afterwards he died muttering, "Shame, shame on a conquered King!" (1189).

The work of
Henry.

The work done by this great king can hardly be over-estimated. He had strengthened the central government on the lines laid down by the Conqueror and the first Henry; he had, by taking from the barons their power to do mischief, done much to prevent the land falling again into anarchy such as that of Stephen's reign; he had accomplished many useful reforms in the administration of justice and finance, and in establishing a national army; but his reign had not been a happy one for himself. Embittered at the beginning by the obstinate and fanatical resistance of his friend Becket, he was at the close still further saddened by the ungrateful and treacherous conduct of his sons. Ill-rewarded during his life, he was scarce better treated by posterity, which made a saint and martyr of his bitterest opponent. But careless of men's praise and blame, the work done took root and bore fruit. Henry helped to make England. Even during his own reign the distinction between Norman and English was fading away. Inter-marriages became common, so that, as it was said, it was difficult to distinguish who was Norman and who English.

CHAP. II. RICHARD I.

Accession of Richard—He raises money for the Crusade—The Third Crusade—Capture and imprisonment of Richard—Justiciarship of William de Longchamp—Richard's ransom and release—Justiciarship of Walter de Coutances—Richard's return—His war with France—His death—Justiciarship of Hubert Walter—William Fitz-Osbert and St. Hugh of Lincoln—Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Justiciar—General Progress.

On the death of Henry, Richard at once succeeded to all his father's possessions. Richard, lion-heart (*Cœur-de-lion*) as men called him, was by disposition far more of a warrior than a statesman: all his ambition was fixed on distinguishing himself in the Third Crusade to which he, together with most of the potentates of Europe, had vowed himself. Accordingly, his first thought was to raise money in order to equip a force. He wrung money by persecution from the Jews who, as usury was forbidden to Christians by the mediæval church, were the money lenders of those ages. They were only tolerated in the kingdom at all by the special sanction of the king, and for this toleration they had, of course, to pay heavily. In return, again, for a money payment Richard released William of Scotland from the engagement which he had made with Henry II. He also put up the highest offices in the land for sale, seized his father's treasure, and imprisoned the Justiciar Glanvil until he resigned his office and paid a heavy fine. Then he set out for the Holy Land. England saw little of her king. Though he reigned

Accession of Richard, 1189.

He raises money for the Crusade.

ten years in all he never set foot in the country save for a few months.

The third
Crusade, 1189
—92.

Richard's achievements in Palestine scarcely belong to English history. He performed many feats of valour, and was fabled to have performed many more, but the Crusade was, so far as its main object is concerned, a failure. Richard quarrelled with Philip of France and, after the capture of Acre, the French Crusaders sailed home. He quarrelled also with the Germans, and the camp of the Crusaders was given up to divided counsels. Twice the host appeared within sight of Jerusalem, and twice, despite himself, Richard was compelled to retreat. In 1192, with the hope of his life unattained, and with his presence demanded at home owing to the treacherous intrigues of his brother John, Richard set out for England. Jerusalem was still in the hands of the Saracens, but the victorious progress of their leader Saladin had been stayed, and the Moslems never found another captain like him.

Richard captured by the Archduke of Austria and imprisoned by the Emperor, 1192.

Travelling in disguise through Austria, Richard was discovered and delivered up to the Archduke Leopold, and by him handed over to the Emperor Henry VI who kept him prisoner until an enormous ransom had been paid, and until Richard had done homage to the Emperor, not only for continental possessions with which Henry VI invested him, but for England itself. From the latter obligation, however, Richard was afterwards released. (1194.)

Justiciarship of William of Longchamp, 1190-91.

England all this time had been left to the government of Justiciars. The first of these was William of Longchamp, Bishop of Ely. The strictness of Longchamp's rule, his personal arrogance and his contempt for the English, made him hated

by barons and people alike, and on the barons combining with Prince John, he was driven from his Justiciarship and from the kingdom (1191). He was succeeded by Walter de Coutances, Archbishop of Rouen.

In 1193 England was called upon to find money for Richard's ransom and responded nobly to the call. Every available sort of tax was resorted to, and the burden fell on all classes of the people. Not only was land assessed, but a very heavy tax was levied on movable property. John, whose conduct throughout was marked by extreme treachery and selfishness, endeavoured to delay matters, but in spite of his efforts the sum was raised, very largely owing to the exertions of Hubert Walter, nephew of Runulf Glanvil. Hubert Walter had been appointed by Richard from his prison Archbishop of Canterbury, and on the resignation of Walter de Coutances in 1195, he succeeded also to the Justiciarship. In the following year Richard returned.

Richard's
ransom.
Justiciarship
of Walter de
Coutances,
1191—93.

Richard remained but two months in England, and those months he spent in raising money for a war with Philip of France. Again offices were put up for sale, fines were exacted and various taxes raised. Richard then left England never to return.

Richard's
return, 1194.

For five years Richard waged war with France. Philip was aiming at the possessions of the English Kings on the continent. This, while Richard lived, he was unable to achieve, for Richard was more than his match in war. But in 1199, while besieging the castle of Chalus-Chabrol, where he had learned that a great treasure of gold had been discovered by the Viscount of Lymoges, Richard was

Richard's
war with
France, 1194
—99.

Death of
Richard, 1199.

struck in the shoulder by an arrow, and a few days after died from the effects of the wound.

Justiciarship
of Hubert
Walter, 1198
—99.

During Richard's absence England had been entrusted to Archbishop Walter. Hubert Walter was a statesman of the school of Henry II, and he further developed Henry's methods especially with regard to the application of the jury system to administration and finance. The jury system was very helpful in drawing together the central and the local governments, and, as the juries were indirectly chosen by the freemen of the shire, the people became accustomed to representation, and the way was paved for the establishment of Parliament.

Opposition of
William Fitz-
Osbert, 1195,
and of St.
Hugh of
Lincoln, 1198.

Hubert Walter had to raise great sums for Richard's wars, and he was not always allowed to do so without opposition. The poorer citizens of London, led by the demagogue, William Fitz-Osbert, rose in arms. The rebellion was promptly put down and Fitz-Osbert summarily hanged. In the Great Council Archbishop Walter was confronted by a far different opponent, Hugh, the saintly bishop of Lincoln, led by whom the nobles refused a grant of money which Richard through the Justiciar had demanded. Hubert Walter resigned his office and was succeeded by a much worse man, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, Earl of Essex.

Geoffrey
Fitz-Peter,
Justiciar,
1198-99.

General Pro-
gress.

In various ways the latter half of the twelfth century was in England a period of progress. That the land was able to bear the immense burden of taxation which Richard threw upon it, that it was found advantageous by statesmen to levy taxes on movable property, is a proof that the country was advancing in material prosperity. The towns were growing in importance, were beginning to claim,

and in the case of London, had acquired the right of Municipal Government. English literature, after a long sleep, again showed signs of reviving. A great University and centre of learning was establishing itself at Oxford. A further development is seen in architecture. In domestic architecture stone, in the houses of the richer classes, was taking the place of wood, whilst many magnificent ecclesiastical buildings were raised. With regard to the manner of building a change is to be noted. The noble, but somewhat rude style, known as the Norman, was giving way to the more graceful and soaring mode called 'Early English,' the first and purest of the so-called 'Gothic' styles.

CHAP. III. JOHN.

John acknowledged in France and England—Philip supports the claims of Arthur—Loss of the continental possessions—Death of Eleanor—Death of Hubert Walter—The struggle between John and Rome—The interdict—Excommunication of John—Threat of deposition—John the vassal of Rome—The struggle between king and people—The Council of St. Albans—Battle of Bouvines—The Great Charter—Renewed War—Invasion of Lewis—Death of John.

On the death of Richard, John was immediately acknowledged in Normandy, while, through the efforts of the mother-queen Eleanor, Aquitaine was also secured for him. Eleanor was indeed John's mainstay so far as the continental possessions were concerned. Anjou, Maine and Touraine had done homage to Arthur, the son of John's elder brother Geoffrey and

John acknowledged in France

of Constance, Duchess of Brittany. Constance, who was a bold ambitious woman, claimed for her son all the continental possessions of the Plantagenets, and in order to secure them she put her son under the protection of Philip of France who promised to support his cause.

and in
England.

In England John, though not the true heir, according to later ideas, was acknowledged king through the influence of Archbishop Walter, who consented to become Chancellor.

Philip supports the claims of Arthur, but soon makes peace with John.

Philip, though he had received Constance and Arthur at his court, was more alive to his own interests than to those of his ward. Finding it convenient to come to terms with John he made a peace with him in 1200. Arthur's claims were sacrificed, John's rights in England and on the continent were recognised, and the peace was strengthened by the marriage of John's niece Blanch to Lewis, eldest son of Philip.

Loss of the continental possessions.

This peace, however, lasted only two years. The barons of Poitou, hating John's oppressive rule, rebelled against him, and appealed to Philip. Philip, as John's feudal lord, summoned him to answer the charges of the Poitevins. John refused to appear and Philip thereupon declared him to have forfeited all his possessions in France. Arthur upon this, now fifteen years of age, attacked his grandmother Eleanor, who was holding out in the Castle of Mirabeau in Poitou. Instead of capturing her he was himself taken by John who came up suddenly to his mother's relief. Arthur was imprisoned and was never heard of again. It was generally believed that John had murdered him. Philip publicly accused him of the deed, and a second time

pronounced a sentence of forfeiture against him. But he was not content with words; he invaded Normandy which easily fell to him. John made scarcely an effort to save it. Next year (1204) Anjou, Maine and Touraine followed. Eleanor died in the spring of the year, and with her died John's hope in France. Nothing was now left to the English king but some fragments of Guienne.

Death of
Eleanor, 1204.

The loss of Normandy and the other continental possessions had important results. It made the English kings, kings of England and nothing else. It brought them face to face with the English people from whom henceforth their whole strength was derived. They could now no longer be regarded as foreign rulers. In the same way it made the nobles, already becoming Englishmen, Englishmen indeed. Having no ties and no possessions abroad, they learned that their strength, no less than that of the king, depended on their union with the English people. These effects of the loss of the French territories were seen in the later part of this reign, when all classes of the people of England combined against the tyranny of the king.

Results of
the loss.

The loss of Normandy marks the close of the first of three divisions into which this reign naturally falls. The second division is altogether taken up with a struggle with the Papacy, which ended as disgracefully as the struggle with France.

The quarrel arose out of the death of Hubert Walter (1205) whose loss not only occasioned the storm, but deprived John of the one counsellor who might have taught him to weather it successfully.

Death of
Hubert
Walter, 1205.

Three different parties claimed to have a voice in the appointment of an Archbishop of Canterbury,

The struggle
between John

and Rome,
1206—13.

each with some show of reason; the monks of Canterbury, the bishops of the Province of Canterbury, and the King himself. In the present case the monks chose their sub-prior Reginald, the king chose John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, whom the bishops disapproved of. All three appealed to the Pope, and Innocent III, on technical grounds, set aside both claimants and directed the monks to elect Stephen Langton, an Englishman, a Cardinal, and a scholar. On personal grounds no better choice could have been made, but John refused to receive the Pope's nominee, and Innocent, who had very high notions of the Papal power, placed England under an interdict, a very terrible punishment in those days, for it meant the closing of all churches and the withholding from the people of all religious rites save baptism and extreme unction, the first and last privileges of a Catholic Christian.

The interdict.

Excommunication
of
John, 1209.

In spite of this, John still held out. In 1209 Innocent followed up the interdict by the excommunication of John himself. John in revenge began to plunder the Church. Some of the barons, driven desperate by the extortions and cruelties of the king—for John spared no one—rose against him. But they were driven into exile. Other barons were treated with gross injustice and cruelty. Their castles were seized, their eldest sons taken as hostages, and these hostages were in some cases hanged or starved to death. John attempted to rule by terror. (1211).

Threat of
deposition.

At last Innocent threatened to depose John and to employ Philip of France as agent of the deposition. Philip was to get England as a reward. Philip got ready an army and John prepared to resist; but he knew that he could not depend on

his own people, and when an impostor called Peter of Wakefield, who pretended to be a prophet, began to foretell that before Ascension-day he should give up his crown, John, perhaps panic-stricken, perhaps merely prompted by low cunning, hastened to Dover to meet the Papal legate, Pandulf; made the most abject submission; consented to receive Langton; surrendered his kingdom to the Pope, and received it back as the vassal of the Roman See.

John the
vassal of
Rome, 1213.

Philip refused to desist from the invasion of England which he had undertaken at the bidding of the Pope, but John's fleet fell upon the French ships off the coast of Flanders and defeated them. Then the king proposed to cross over to France with an army and recover the lost possessions, but many of the nobles refused, and with this refusal begins the third and last struggle of this miserable but eventful reign.

The barons had good cause to resist John. From the beginning he had been a cruel despot, outraging the rights of his subjects, seizing their property, loading them with taxes, breaking solemn engagements. He was not even a successful tyrant. In spite of the great armies he had raised, he had lost England her continental possessions, and there was no likelihood that he would ever recover them. Indeed the English barons had now ceased to care about Normandy or Anjou, and they accordingly seized any pretext which would seem to justify refusal to serve. First they declined on the ground that John was excommunicated, and then, when Langton had absolved him, they declared that by their tenure, they were not bound to serve beyond sea. John was furious and was only prevented from

Struggle
between
King and
people, 1213-
16.

attacking his barons by the moderate counsels of Langton.

The council
of St. Albans,
1213.

In August 1213 a great council was held at St. Albans to consider the sums due to the Church by the crown. To this council came not only bishops and barons, but representatives from the towns in the royal demesne. This council of St. Albans is noteworthy as being the first assembly in English history at once representative and national. Various grievances were discussed and the Justiciar, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, promised in the king's name that the charter granted by Henry I at the beginning of his reign should be observed by John. At another council, held shortly afterwards in London, Langton produced the actual charter, and it was resolved to present it formally to the king. In the same year Geoffrey Fitz-Peter died and John appointed a foreigner, Peter des Roches, to succeed him. The appointment was a signal of defiance.

Langton pro-
duces the
Charter of
Henry I.

Battle of
Bouvines,
1214.

John meanwhile still hoped to be revenged on Philip, but all his hopes were crushed by a great victory won by Philip over combined German and English forces at Bouvines in Flanders (1214). John was at the time in Poitou. On hearing the news he at once made peace with Philip and hurried home. On his return he found the party of resistance stronger than ever. Langton now headed the movement, which was gradually joined by all classes of the nobility save a few personal adherents of the king. John in vain tried to bribe the Church by the offer of privileges, in vain endeavoured to make terms with individual barons, in vain assumed the cross and declared himself a crusader. The barons were in arms, the city of London had joined them,

and the king found himself deserted. Once again he surrendered abjectly, and on June 15th, 1215, at Runnymede on the Thames, between Windsor and Staines, he signed the *Great Charter*, which the national party had drawn up on the basis of the charter of Henry I. But the Great Charter differed from the charters granted by previous kings. It was no royal gift but a treaty exacted by force and concluded between the crown and the people. It did not secure the rights and privileges of particular classes alone; it considered the whole people. The rights which the barons demanded for themselves as against the king, they also secured for their own tenants as against themselves. The interests of traders, merchants and even villeins were consulted no less than the interests of bishops and great territorial magnates. Finally it was laid down once for all that Englishmen should be governed by fixed laws and not by the arbitrary will of an irresponsible despot.

The Great
Charter, 1215.

Its character.

To turn to particulars. The freedom of the Church was again asserted; in other words the king was not to have the whole voice in the appointment of bishops and abbots. This was a 'freedom' which was not destined to last; nor was it desirable in the interests of a wider freedom that it should. The feudal dues were to be strictly limited and no other feudal taxes to be raised save by the sanction of a council of bishops and barons. The judicial reforms of the previous reigns were confirmed; other safeguards were added, and it was laid down as a principle that no man should be imprisoned or otherwise punished save by the sentence of his equals or the law of the land. Various stipulations were made

Its chief
clauses.

in the interests of merchants, labourers and others, and a council of twenty-five barons was appointed to see that the clauses of the Great Charter were carried out.

Renewed
war.

John had yielded, but he had no intention of keeping his promise. It was not for nothing that he had become vassal of the Pope. He was to obey the Pope in order that the Pope might force his subjects to obey him; and so Pandulf at once excommunicated the leaders of the barons, and Innocent followed this up by declaring the Charter itself null, and by suspending Langton who had gone to Rome to protest against the action of Pandulf.

Lewis
invades
England.

War again broke out between king and people, and at first, owing to the mercenaries whom he had promised to send away, John was successful. But the barons now turned to France and offered the crown to Lewis, the French king's eldest son. In 1216 Lewis landed in England and was joined by the English barons. John retreated before him, plundering and destroying in wanton desperate fashion. Happily for England the tyrant was seized with sickness, and died at Newark (October 1216).

Death of
John, 1216.

CHAP. IV. HENRY III.

Regency of William Marshall and re-issue of the Charter—Departure of Lewis—Administration of Hubert de Burgh—Character of Henry and of his reign—Growth of Constitutionalism—The Friars and the spiritual revival—Government of Peter des Roches—Personal government of the King—His Marriage—Influx of Foreigners—Papal exactions—Simon de Montfort—Loss of Poitou—Parliament—The Crown of Sicily—The Provisions of Oxford—Annulled by the Pope—The Barons' War—Treaty of Amiens—Battle and Siege of Lewes—Battle of Evesham and Death of Earl Simon—Death of Henry.

When John died his son Henry was but nine years old. He had two guardians, the legate Gualo and William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. These caused him to be immediately crowned at Gloucester, and the conciliatory and wise policy of the latter, who became regent (Governor of the king and kingdom), is marked by a renewal of the Charter the same year. John died fighting against the Charter; the regent begins his rule by a solemn promise to abide by it. There were, however, some modifications in the charter of 1216. The clause which forbade taxation without consent of the council was dropped, as also that which appointed a committee of twenty-five to see that the Charter was carried out.

Lewis and the English barons who had joined him were still in arms, but as the country had no quarrel with the child-king, Lewis's cause naturally grew weaker. He was defeated at Lincoln; his fleet bringing reinforcements was destroyed at Thanet by Hubert de Burgh, the able minister of John, who had been holding out successfully for

Accession of
Henry III.
Regency of
William
Marshall,
1214—19.

Reissue of the
Charter.

Defeat and
departure of
Lewis, 1217.

some time past in Dover Castle. Lewis soon after made peace and left England (*Treaty of Lambeth, 1217*).

On his departure the regent again issued the charter, and the rest of the period during which William Marshall governed was devoted to the restoration of peace and order. This the regent brought about by measures rather of conciliation than of severity.

Administra-
tion of Hubert
de Burgh,
1219—32.

William Marshall died in the beginning of 1219, and the governing of the kingdom fell mainly into the hands of Hubert de Burgh, now Justiciar. This man, a statesman of the school of Henry II, aimed at two things; first, the strengthening of the central power by recovering the royal castles which had fallen into the hands of the greater barons, English and foreign; secondly, the expulsion from the kingdom of the foreigners who had been brought over during the later evil years of John's reign. Hubert's policy was to secure England for the English, and in this he was successful so long as the minority of the king continued; but in 1227 Henry declared himself fit to govern personally, and though Hubert remained Justiciar for five years, he did not receive from the king that support which he deserved, and when, in 1231, Peter des Roches returned from the Fifth Crusade, Hubert's influence with the king was undermined, foreigners were again favoured, and in the following year (1232) Hubert was charged with a number of offences, and was hurled from office.

Fall of
Hubert de
Burgh.

And now begins the long period of Henry's government, or mis-government of England. Henry was free from the worst vices of his father, but he was

none the less thoroughly unfit for the task he insisted on undertaking. He was weak, incompetent, vain, extravagant and entirely insincere. He extended favour to those who least deserved it, and alienated and drove into opposition those who might have been his truest friends and wisest counsellors. He accomplished nothing at home or abroad; he tried to accomplish nothing which could in the least have benefited his subjects. He was thoroughly subservient to the Pope and lightly pledged his country's credit in the interests of the Roman See. He was always in need of money, and quite unscrupulous as to the means by which he obtained it; and the wealth he extorted he lavished on worthless favourites or on wild schemes which came to nothing, and in which the English people had no interest. Naturally he met with constant, and latterly with violent opposition, and during a great part of his reign the kingdom was torn to pieces by civil war.

Henry III
and the
character of
his reign.

Such, if we regard chiefly the career of the king, is the general character of this reign. But there is another side. Henry II had completed a very beneficial work. He had beaten down petty tyrants and created in the crown a strong central power which he and the great ministers trained in his school had used, on the whole, justly and for the common good. But John and Henry III endeavoured to use this power unjustly, and for ends which were selfish and anti-national. It therefore became necessary to devise some means which should prevent the abuse of the royal power without introducing anarchy, and, during the reign of Henry III, attempts were made in this direction which, if not immediately successful, paved the way for institutions in which

Growth of
constitution-
alism.

popular and local forces combined with a strong central authority to produce a form of government which was at once free and orderly. In other words, attempts were made during the reign of Henry III in the direction of what is called Parliamentary Government, and Parliamentary Government has helped England to obtain the blessings which come from order and freedom. But forms of government are useless unless those who govern be capable, honest and self-sacrificing, and unless the governors are loyally supported by subjects possessing in their own degree similar good qualities. Hence it was well for England at this epoch that the party of opposition to royal oppression, the party through whose efforts the constitution came into being, found leaders who were devout and wise men; men like Earl Simon himself, like the Archbishops Langton and Edmund Rich; like the Bishops Hugh and Robert Grosstête, of Lincoln. It was well, too, that the people themselves, previous to the attainment of constitutional privileges, had been elevated in character by a religious revival of great significance.

The Friars
and the spirit-
ual revival,
1220—24.

This revival was the work of two new preaching orders, the Franciscan Friars (or brothers) and the Dominican Friars, bodies which were founded, the first by Francis of Assisi in Tuscany,—one of the most beautiful and saintliest characters the middle ages produced—the second by Dominic, a Spaniard. The Friars came to England about 1220. Both orders were mendicant, that is, begging; both were conspicuous for zeal and self-denial; but whilst the Dominicans appealed rather to the intellect and addressed themselves necessarily to those capable of understanding arguments on theological points,

the Franciscans, by the simpler and more emotional character of their discourses, and by their noble work amongst the afflicted and the destitute, touched rather men's hearts. Both orders were for a while great instruments for good, but in the end, like all human institutions, having done their work, they became corrupt and went their way, leaving their places to be filled by new spiritual forces such as altered times and conditions required.

To return to the outline of the outward events of Henry III's reign. On the fall of Hubert, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, became the King's chief minister and adviser. Peter called in the foreigners, thus reversing the patriotic policy of his predecessor. He was not unopposed. At first Richard Marshall, son of the late regent, headed the opposition. But the minister contrived Richard's death by treachery (1234). Then Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, a saintly and learned man, making himself the voice of the bishops, demanded the dismissal of Peter des Roches and the foreigners, and Henry was forced to give way.

Government
of Peter des
Roches, 1232
—34.

But the fall of Peter des Roches did not much improve matters. Henry was now his own minister; he determined to rule without counsellors. His plan was to degrade the great offices, making them merely clerkships, the holders of which were to carry out what the king himself had planned and resolved upon. The opposition, on the other hand, were learning that the national well-being would best be secured by wise and powerful ministers responsible not only to the king, but also, in some sort, to the people.

Personal
government
of Henry,
1234—58.

In 1236 Henry married. His wife was Eleanor of Provence, and the marriage was followed by an

Marriage of

the king,
1236.
Influx of
foreigners.

influx of foreigners on whom offices, lands and dignities were lavishly bestowed. For such purposes Henry required grants of money, and, though the barons protested, they did not as yet refuse, merely insisting that the king should confirm the charter. As this cost Henry nothing, seeing that he had no intention of observing the promises to which he bound himself, he made no difficulty about consenting. The charter was issued in all six times during this reign.

Papal exactions.

At the same time the papal agents were collecting money in the kingdom, causing thereby no little irritation amongst the clergy and people. These got neither sympathy nor help from the king, who was the slave of Rome and cared nothing for his own people. The anti-national policy continued. Foreigners were still favoured at the expense of Englishmen. The uncle of the Queen was made Archbishop of Canterbury; another uncle was made Earl of Richmond (1241).

Simon de
Montfort.

Mean time there had come to England the man who was afterwards to head the national cause. Simon de Montfort was himself a foreigner, and at first was not distinguished from the other foreigners who were being enriched at the expense of Englishmen. He claimed the Earldom of Leicester. His grandmother had been sister of the last Earl. His claim was allowed in 1231, and in 1238, Henry gave him his sister Eleanor, widow of the eldest son of William Marshall the regent, in marriage. This marriage was very unpopular, and not only did Simon find the English opposed to him, but shortly afterwards the fickle king turned against him, and, in disgust, he left the kingdom for two years.

Mean while Henry made an attempt to recover some of the foreign possession. His barons resisted;—they cared nothing now for territories abroad;—but Henry was obstinate. The only result was the loss of Poitou and a fresh influx of foreigners—Poitevins this time—who came to England in the train of the king in 1243.

Loss of
Poitou, 1241.

Against the king's extravagance and the papal extortions the barons and clergy still continued to protest in the great council. The council was now beginning to be known as Parliament, *i. e.*, talking assembly. Parliament not only complained of the heavy burdens laid unnecessarily on the nation, but also of the personal and irresponsible rule of the king, and demanded for itself some voice in the appointment of ministers. Barons and clergy were now united in policy, and they found leaders in Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, in Simon de Montfort, and in Robert Grosstête, Bishop of Lincoln. In 1254 the Parliament of bishops and barons was, for the first time in history, strengthened by two knights from each shire, elected by the free landholders. These were summoned at first simply as jurymen or witnesses to give evidence as to how much money might be obtained from the shires they represented, but they soon advanced from this position to that of the representatives of freemen without whose consent taxes could not be levied, and whose consent was not given until popular grievances had been redressed. Thus we see Parliament, not only in name, but also in functions and representative character, gradually assuming the shape it was to bear in after-times.

* Parliament.*

The king, however, continued in his old course,

The crown of
Sicily.

Money extorted and
further sums
demanded.

The Parlia-
ment and
Provisions of
Oxford, 1258.

incurring expenditure for ends other than national, and calling upon the Parliament to meet his debts. The Pope had need of money to prosecute war with his enemy Manfred, who had possessed himself of Sicily. He accordingly offered the crown of Sicily to Henry's brother, Richard, who had the sense to refuse it. Henry, however, accepted it for his second son Edmund, at that time but nine years of age and, in return for this shadowy honour, pledged his kingdom to find money for the Pope to wage a war which was neither to the advantage of England nor of religion. In order to help him to raise the money, the Pope granted Henry a tenth of the revenue of the English clergy, and great sums were extorted from the Church in consequence. Finally, in 1257, Henry presented Edmund to the Parliament as King of Sicily; and demanded fresh aids to meet the debt he still owed to the Pope. He succeeded in wringing from the clergy rather less than half the enormous sum he had asked. Next year (1258) he resolved to try again. But the cup of the nation's endurance was full. The barons appeared in arms at the Parliament under the leadership of Simon de Montfort, and, instead of granting money, demanded a new Government to reform the realm. Accordingly a committee of twenty-four was appointed to draw up measures of reform. These measures were placed before a Parliament which met in the summer of the same year, at Oxford, and were hence called the *Provisions of Oxford*. By these Provisions it was stipulated that a permanent council of fifteen should be appointed. This council should hold three annual Parliaments, and should communicate with another

body of twelve representing the barons. A third council of twenty-four should superintend finance, whilst the original twenty-four should undertake Church reform. Of course the different committees were largely composed of the same men, acting in different capacities.

Such was the constitution which Earl Simon designed to take the place of the personal rule of the king. It did not last long and perhaps was not intended to do so. The Provisional constitution was altogether aristocratic, the freemen of the towns and the shires were not represented in it. Mean time, however, Henry and his eldest son Edward swore to abide by the Provisions, and many of the detested foreigners were expelled from the land.

Unfortunately the leaders of the barons, Simon and Richard, Earl of Gloucester, quarrelled and the lesser nobility complained that the greater barons were governing the country in their own interest solely. The king as usual had no thought of keeping his oath, though his far nobler son counselled him to abide by the Provisions. In 1261, Henry declared that the Pope had freed him from his oath and disallowed the Provisions. Earl Simon was obliged to appeal to arms.

The Pope annuls the Provisions, 1261.

In 1263 the war known as the Baron's War broke out. The first year's results being doubtful, both sides agreed to invite Lewis IX of France, afterwards Saint Lewis, to arbitrate. Lewis, meaning well, did not understand the peculiar conditions of England. In France any diminution of the royal authority was fatal to peace and order. Lewis thought that the same must be true of England.

Outbreak of the Barons' War, 1263.

Mise of
Amiens, 1264.

Accordingly he decided altogether in Henry's favour. This decision is known as the Mise (*i.e.*, settlement) of Amiens (1264).

Battle and
Mise of
Lewes, 1264.

Neither the baronage nor the citizens of London, who had thrown in their lot with Earl Simon, were inclined to submit to the Mise. War broke out again, and at Lewes in Sussex the baronial party defeated the royal forces, and took the king, his brother Richard, who had again changed sides, and prince Edward prisoners. The victory was followed by another agreement, the Mise of Lewes. A new constitution was formed, with a governing council of nine, and a Parliament was summoned to which were called not only barons, bishops and knights of the shire, but representatives of the cities and boroughs as well;—another step in the development of parliamentary government.

Battle of
Evesham and
death of Earl
Simon, 1265.

Unfortunately the new constitution was no more successful than the last had been. Earl Simon quarrelled with Gilbert, Earl of Gloucester, son of Richard of Gloucester, now dead; prince Edward escaped from his confinement, and in conjunction with Gloucester defeated the great Earl at Evesham in Warwickshire. Simon de Montfort was killed, fighting valiantly (1265).

Death of
Henry III,
1272.

The remnant of Simon's party held out in the castle of Kenilworth, but terms, not altogether harsh to the vanquished, were agreed to in 1266, and under Edward's influence the remaining years of the reign were years of peace; so peaceable, indeed, that in 1268 Edward left the kingdom and joined the Crusade. Four years afterwards (1272) Henry died, and Edward, still far away, was at once acknowledged king.

CHAP. V. EDWARD I.

Character of the Reign—Return of Edward—Conquest of Wales—Reform of Curia Regis—Punishment of Judges—Legislation (a) De Religiosis, (b) Quia Emptores, (c) Statute of Winchester, (d) Banishment of the Jews—Edward and the Clergy—Edward and his Barons—Confirmation of the Charters—The Parliament of 1295—The Scottish succession—Award of Norham—Alliance between France and Scotland—First conquest of Scotland—William Wallace—Second conquest of Scotland—Robert Bruce—Third conquest of Scotland—Death of Edward.

At the close of the reign of Henry III a change, which we have already noticed as gradually taking shape, is seen fully accomplished. The sentiments of all classes of men dwelling in England have become thoroughly English. Various as had been the motives and aims of those who had opposed Henry III, all had been united in hatred of foreign influence; and now the foreigners had been finally driven out. The king, too, who had peacefully succeeded, without opposition, without even a formal election, was the first king since the Conquest who had borne a purely English name, the first who was actuated by purely English feelings and who pursued a purely English policy. In many respects Edward I was one of the greatest of English kings. With as high a conception of the kingly power and office as had been held by any preceding sovereign, he recognised to the full the kingly responsibilities. His father's reign had not been without valuable lessons for him. He had learned that an English king must govern, not arbitrarily, but according to law,

Edward I and the character of his reign.

and Edward's reverence for law was very great. He knew also that a national king should, as far as possible, associate his subjects with himself in the government of the country, and that their consent and approval, expressly or tacitly given, was essential to the success of all important measures of legislation and administration. The nobleness and wisdom of this king caused his reign to be one of the most remarkable in English history. Constitutionally it is of great importance, for Edward made the English constitution what it remained, more or less, for three centuries. The reign is also a great epoch of legislation. It is rich in great statutes; for Edward was not only a lover of law, but essentially a great law-giver. The reign is noteworthy in other respects. In it Wales was finally subdued and united to England, and for a short period the whole island, as well as Ireland and parts of France, acknowledged the English king as lord. Scotland indeed Edward could not permanently win. For four centuries Scotland preserved her independence; but though Edward failed, and deservedly failed, to add Scotland to the dominions of England, he was right in perceiving that the union of the two countries would be to the advantage of both.

Return of
Edward to
England,
1274.

Edward did not arrive in England till two years after he had been acknowledged king. The intervening time was spent in reducing to order the territories in France which still belonged to England. At home peace was maintained by the royal council and three ministers, the Archbishop of York, Roger Mortimer and Robert Burnell, who afterwards became Chancellor and Prime Minister. In 1274

Edward returned to England and was crowned.

Early in his reign Edward was compelled to take up arms against the Welsh. The Welsh princes had always been a source of danger. Nominally vassals of the English king, they had been practically independent. Special powers had to be given to the great lords on the Welsh 'marches' in order to protect England from Welsh inroads, and those special powers had made the great lords themselves a source of danger. The Welsh princes had always been ready to assist rebellious subjects of the English king. They had waged war with John and Henry III when favourable opportunities had arisen, and now Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, refused to swear allegiance to Edward. Edward in 1277 led a great army against him and reduced him to submission. The southern part of Wales was added to England, but otherwise the vanquished prince was treated with moderation. Four years later (1281) Llewellyn, urged on by his brother David, who had formerly been on the side of England, rose again in revolt. Edward again collected a great force and marched against him into North Wales. The Welsh resisted bravely, but Llewellyn was slain in a skirmish on the Wye, and next year David was captured, to suffer as a traitor a cruel death in 1283. Wales was now added to the English possessions. Edward, the eldest son of the king, took the title of Prince of Wales, and a statute was passed (the statute of Wales) which was intended to incorporate Wales with England as one kingdom. This work, however, was not thoroughly accomplished till the reign of Henry VIII.

Conquest of
Wales, 1277—
83.

In Edward's time a great reform was brought

Reform of the

Curia Regis. about in the *Curia Regis*. It was now divided into three separate courts; the Court of King's Bench, for deciding criminal or civil questions which concerned the king's rights, the Court of Exchequer for questions concerning the king's revenue, and the Court of Common Pleas, for civil suits between subject and subject. Edward was most anxious that his people should enjoy the blessings of a pure administration of justice. Complaints having been raised against the judges, Edward in 1289, after a careful investigation, fined the two Chief Justices and dismissed them.

Punishment
of Judges,
1289.

Legislation.

De Religiosis,
1279.

With regard to legislation we can only mention some of the chief statutes here. The statute *De Religiosis* or *Mortmain*, i.e., 'dead hand,' 1279, aimed at preventing lands falling into the hands of the Church. This was mainly a revenue question since lands held by the Church, being a corporation (a 'dead hand'),¹ necessarily escaped the feudal dues which the crown received on the succession, on the marriage, and during the minority of heirs.

Quia Emptores,
1290.

The statute *Quia Emptores*, 1290, was intended to check sub-infeudation. Before it was passed, if a man parted with some of his lands to another, that other became his vassal. Now it was enacted that a purchaser should step into the place of him from whom he received lands, becoming the vassal not of the man who parted with the lands, but of that man's lord.² The effect of this was to

¹ A corporation was said to have a 'dead hand' because it could not shift away property from itself.

² Thus if B, holding lands of A, parted with some of them to C, before *Quia Emptores* C became the vassal of B; after *Quia Emptores* C became the vassal of A. If A were the king then C became a tenant-in-chief.

increase the number of tenants-in-chief and thus draw many more individuals into a close relationship with the crown. In other words, feudal principles gave way to national.

The statute of Winchester (1285) remodelled Henry II's 'Assize of Arms.' It reformed the national militia and made it more efficient and more serviceable in times of danger. At the same time it provided for a better administration of justice in the local courts.

Statute of
Winchester,
1285.

Another measure, very popular at the time, but of questionable justice according to modern ideas, was the banishment of the Jews in 1290. The Jews, as we have seen, were the money-lenders of the middle ages, and were hated by the people on account of their religion and of the extortionate usury which they exacted for their loans. They were not permitted to return till the time of Oliver Cromwell.

Banishment
of the Jews,
1290.

On the whole Edward was throughout his reign loyally supported by all classes of his people, but it was impossible in days when the rights of king and subject were not yet determined that disputes should not sometimes arise. Happily Edward knew when it was time to yield, and possessed the rare merit of frankly owning when he was in the wrong. Like his predecessors Edward could not endure that Churchmen should be independent of the crown. At the beginning of his reign he had sternly forbidden the Archbishop of Canterbury to fix to the doors of churches the clauses of the Great Charter which guaranteed 'freedom' to the Church. Hence also the Statute of Mortmain. A more serious dispute arose in 1297. The Pope in 1296 by a bull called 'Clericis Laicos' had forbidden the

Edward and
the clergy.

clergy to pay taxes to the secular power. On the strength of this Archbishop Winchelsey refused a grant of money which Edward had demanded. The king's answer took a very practical form. He outlawed all the clergy, thus teaching them that if they were to enjoy the privileges of Englishmen, they must not shirk the duties. The clergy were forced to yield (1297).

Edward and
his barons.

The same year Edward quarrelled with his barons. The chief of them were now Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. Edward commanded these earls to lead an expedition as his lieutenants to Gascony. The earls replied that they were not bound to serve abroad except in personal attendance on the king. The barons were supported in their resistance by the Church and also by the mercantile classes, who were exasperated by the heavy taxes which the king had levied on wool and other commodities. Edward saw that he must give way. Archbishop Winchelsey offered to mediate between the king and his subjects. Edward publicly owned himself in the wrong, and by an act called *Confirmatio Cartarum* (confirmation of the charters) abandoned all right to tax his subjects in any way without their consent.

Confirmation
of the Char-
ters, 1297.

We now turn to the history of Parliament. Edward from the beginning of his reign had been in the habit of summoning the various estates of the realm to advise with him in the matter of legislation and to grant money. Not, however, before 1295 had the various classes met together. In that year was called the first Parliament, as we understand the term now; the Parliament which, to speak in general terms, formed the model for all succeeding Parliaments.

The Model
Parliament.

111
 112
 113
 114
 115
 116
 117
 118
 119
 120

The barons were summoned separately by special writ. The bishops were summoned, and elected representatives of certain of the lower clergy also came, while the sheriffs were directed by royal writ to send two elected knights from each shire and two elected representatives from each city and borough. As yet the division into two houses was not made, but the particular way in which the barons were summoned created a distinction between Lords and Commons. Only the greater barons were summoned by special writ, and the right to receive such writ became an hereditary privilege. The lesser barons became absorbed in the Commons. Subsequently the clergy, as a special estate, withdrew from the secular Parliament, but met together in their own houses of Convocation and voted money separately. The Convocations of the clergy met generally at the same time as the Parliaments. This arrangement lasted for nearly four centuries. The bishops, however, holding lands as barons, continued to be associated with the temporal lords in Parliament, though, of course, they sat in Convocation as well.

The necessity for summoning this Parliament and for demanding the grants which the estates voted, arose out of foreign complications to which we must now revert. In 1285 Alexander III of Scotland died, leaving, as only descendant, Margaret, his granddaughter, and daughter of Eric, King of Norway. Edward now saw an opportunity for peacefully uniting the two kingdoms, and got the Scots to agree that the "Maid of Norway," as she was called, should marry Prince Edward of Wales. But the Maid died on her way to Scotland (1290) and the king's plans came to nothing. A number of

The Scottish
 succession,
 1285—91.

persons now claimed the Scottish throne. Chief of those claimants were John Balliol and Robert Bruce. Both claimants were barons of Norman descent, holding lands in England as well as in Scotland; both claimed by the female line from David, Earl of Huntingdon, grandson of David I. of Scotland (1124—1153) and brother of King William the Lion (1168—1214). Balliol was the grandson of the eldest daughter of David of Huntingdon: Bruce was the son of the second daughter. According to modern ideas of succession Balliol's claim was undoubtedly the best; but these ideas had not been thoroughly established in those days, and Bruce thought he had the better right as he was a generation nearer the common ancestor. In order to prevent civil war the Scots begged Edward to decide, and Edward accordingly summoned the Scots to meet him at Norham in Northumberland. But the English king seized the opportunity of demanding from the Scots an acknowledgment of his own overlordship, an overlordship which applied not only to the Teutonic lowlands, but to the Celtic highlands as well. This point had been left undetermined in previous reigns. Indeed Richard I had on one occasion, for a money payment, abandoned the right to receive the homage of the Scotch king altogether. The acknowledgment being made, at least by the Scottish nobles, Edward went into the case and decided in favour of Balliol, who was accordingly crowned king and did homage (1292).

**Award of
Norham,
1292.**

**Alliance
between
France and
Scotland,
1294.**

Edward unfortunately endeavoured to press his rights as overlord too far. The Scots resented and Balliol himself began to waver in his allegiance. The French king, seeing in these disputes an

opportunity for recovering the English possessions in France, stepped in and made a league with the Scots (1294). There had been in 1293 a sea-battle between English and French mariners. The French had been defeated, and as Edward was the vassal of France for the provinces of Gascony and Guienne, Philip IV summoned Edward to appear before him to answer for the misdeeds of his subjects. On Edward refusing to appear, Philip declared him to have forfeited his possessions in France. It was now that Edward summoned the famous Parliament of which we have already spoken, and the same danger brought about the constitutional struggle with the barons, the clergy and the merchants which ended in the confirmation of the charters.

In 1296 Edward invaded Scotland. Balliol, who had now formally renounced his homage, was forced to surrender and was carried into England. Edward had declared himself direct king of Scotland, the under-king having forfeited the crown by treason. The Scotch barons were compelled to do him homage.

First conquest
of Scotland,
1296.

But though the barons might yield to the English king, not so the Scotch commonalty. Enraged at the oppression they endured at the hands of Edward's officers, they rose in revolt under a brave knight called William Wallace (1297). Wallace defeated an English army at Stirling, and afterwards invaded England, ravaging and plundering as far as Hexham. It was necessary for Edward to invade Scotland a second time. In 1298 at Falkirk, by superior generalship and the masterly use of English archers against the Scotch spearmen, against whose close ranks the cavalry had dashed itself in vain, Edward utterly defeated Wallace and his valiant

William Wal-
lace, 1297—
1305.

infantry 1298). Wallace himself escaped and fled to France, but returning to Scotland in 1305, he was betrayed to the English and put to a most cruel death. The year of Falkirk was also marked by a truce with France, which was converted into a peace in 1303.

Second con-
quest of Scot-
land, 1298—
1306.

Robert Bruce.

Scotland being conquered a second time, Edward endeavoured to incorporate the land with England. His aims were no doubt just and enlightened, but he entirely ignored the rights and wishes of the Scotch people, and the Scots found a man of genius and a deliverer in Robert Bruce, grandson of the claimant of the same name. Balliol being out of the way, Bruce claimed the throne. In this he met with the opposition of a kinsman, John Comyn, called the Red Comyn. A conference was arranged between the two to take place in the Gray Friars' church, Dumfries. Angry words were used on both sides and Bruce stabbed the Red Comyn, and rushed out of the church. Comyn was despatched by a follower of Bruce's.

Third con-
quest of Scot-
land, 1306.

Death of
Edward, 1307.

Bruce was now crowned king (1306). Edward denounced him as a traitor and a murderer and invaded Scotland, which was for the third time subdued. Bruce, however, escaped, and, after many wanderings, appeared again and many of the Scotch people arose at his call. Edward in a fury prepared to lead another army against Bruce, but he died before setting foot on Scottish ground, at Burgh-on-Sands, 1307.

CHAP. VI. EDWARD II.

Character of Edward II—Piers Gaveston—The Coronation oath—Thomas of Lancaster—Banishment and recall of Gaveston—The Lords Ordainers—End of Gaveston—Victories of Robert Bruce—Battle of Bannockburn—Rule of Lancaster—The Despensers—End of Lancaster—The right of the Commons to share in government finally recognised—Intrigues of Queen Isabella—Fate of the Despensers—Deposition and murder of Edward II.

Edward I, one of the ablest and best of English kings, was succeeded by one of the most incompetent. Edward II, though not positively vicious, was devoid of any virtuous or kingly quality. He was idle, hating public business, and loving a life of pleasure; he was powerless to act alone, and the favourites on whom he depended were, for the most part, self-seeking and unscrupulous men. His first favourite was a Gascon called Piers Gaveston, a man not without brilliant accomplishments, but an evil friend to Edward. Piers was his companion and instructor in all his idle and extravagant amusements. He was hated by the chief nobles for his insolence and his avarice, and Edward I, who had seen how bad an influence he exercised over his son, had banished him from the realm. On the old king's death he was at once recalled, created Earl of Cornwall, and loaded with other favours.

A peculiar feature in the oath which Edward II took at his coronation marks the stage in constitutional development which had been arrived at by the close of the previous reign. Amongst other things Edward promised to keep the laws and customs which the commonalty of the realm had chosen. But Edward was far from competent to play the part of a national king. When, in the first year of his reign, he

Character of
Edward II.

Piers
Gaveston.

Edward II's
coronation
oath.

went to France to be married to Isabella, daughter of Philip IV, he left Gaveston behind as regent of the kingdom. This enraged the barons who found in their opposition to the king a leader in Thomas, Earl of Lancaster.

Thomas of
Lancaster.

This man was the son of Edmund, second son of Henry III, whom the Pope had made nominal king of Sicily. Thomas had great lands, which had come to him partly by inheritance and partly by his marriage. He was bold and ambitious, and he sought to rival the position and achievements of Simon de Montfort; but he was a man of far lower stamp, and when his hour of rule came he proved himself neither a capable governor nor even a patriotic Englishman.

Banishment
and recall of
Gaveston,
1308—9.

Lancaster and the barons demanded the banishment of Gaveston, and Edward was forced for the time to yield (1308). He softened the blow, however, by making his friend Lord Deputy of Ireland, and in 1309 contrived to recall him. The barons were more exasperated than ever, and in a council held at Westminster (1310), they devised a scheme of government in imitation of the Provisions of Oxford (1258), by which rule should be taken out of the king's hands and placed in those of twenty-one bishops and peers. These were called the *Lords Ordainers*, and the provisions which they drew up and which were ratified by a Parliament of 1311 were called the *Ordinances*. By these Gaveston was banished, and the king was not permitted to choose ministers, or to levy war, or even to leave the kingdom, without the consent of the baronage.

The Lords
Ordainers,
1311.

The Ordinances mark a backward step. The great constitutional advance made in Edward I's reign was the recognition, as a necessary factor in government, of the third estate, the Commons. This third

estate was ignored entirely by the Ordainers, who, while they unduly limited the royal power, placed all real authority in the hands of the nobles.

Edward at first accepted the Ordinances, but afterwards, thinking himself strong enough to do so, annulled them and recalled Gaveston. Then Thomas of Lancaster took up arms. Gaveston was seized and put to death without trial (1312). The king, frantic with grief at the loss of his friend, was so helpless, that he was obliged to promise pardon to the perpetrators of this vindictive and lawless act.

End of
Gaveston,
1312.

Mean time in Scotland Robert Bruce had been availing himself of the opportunity granted him by these struggles to go on with the liberation of his country. His cause steadily progressed. Castle after castle fell into his hands, until, in 1312, Stirling was the only fortress occupied by an English garrison, and the governor of Stirling had promised to surrender if not relieved before the 24th June 1314. Accordingly Edward, with the help of such barons as would support him—for Lancaster held aloof—led a great force to relieve Stirling. The result was a crushing defeat at the hands of Bruce at Bannockburn (1314). The English army was routed with great slaughter of nobles and commons, and the king himself fled to Dunbar with five hundred knights, escaping thence to England by sea. Bruce was now master of Scotland, and in the following years, retaliated on his former oppressors by ravaging the northern parts of England. In 1318 Berwick was captured.

Victories of
Robert Bruce,
1307—13.

Bannock-
burn, 1314.

The defeat at Bannockburn made Edward utterly dependent on Lancaster. But Lancaster's government brought no prosperity to the country. The

Government
of Lancaster,
1314—20.

year 1315 was a year of great suffering, caused not only by the inroads of the Scots, but by a terrible famine. Lancaster did nothing against the Scots. He was even suspected of having treasonable communications with them. At any rate it is certain that, while the Scots devastated the lands of others, they spared the estates of Lancaster. The barons began to form factions. Private wars broke out, and general anarchy prevailed.

The Despensers.

The weak king had now a new favourite, Hugh le Despenser, a better and abler man than Gaveston had been, and one who had the advantage of being an Englishman and not a foreigner. He and his father, the elder Despenser, tried to form a party for the king, and with some slight success. But, though the Despensers evidently had some notion of statesmanship, and recognised, as the great Edward had recognised, the necessity of calling in the support of the commons in defence of the crown, they were avaricious, and their self-interested struggles for power and wealth made them generally detested. In 1321 they were banished by the Parliament. But the barons were divided; a party had formed in opposition to Lancaster, and Edward, taking up arms, defeated Lancaster in Yorkshire. He was tried and beheaded at Pontefract. Immediately on his death popular estimation exalted him to the rank of a saint and martyr, though his public and private actions very far from entitled him to such a character (1322).

End of Lancaster, 1322.

The right of the Commons to partake in government finally recognised, 1322.

And now for a while the Despensers were supreme. At a Parliament held at York the Ordinances were revoked, and the aristocratic system of government which the Ordainers had tried to establish was

expressly declared alien to the English constitution. It was now enacted that all national-measures should be treated in full parliament of king, bishops, nobles and commons. Thus the right of the third estate to a share in government was recognised by statute.

Next year, after an unsuccessful campaign, a truce was made with Scotland. But Edward's troubles were far from ended. The Despensers' rule was hated by the other nobles, and Queen Isabella, an able but not a good woman, also hated them and intrigued against them. In 1325 Isabella went to France to arrange about the homage which had to be done to the new king of France, Charles IV, for the English king's possessions abroad. Edward himself should have gone, but the Despensers would not permit him. Once in France, Isabella induced her husband to send his eldest son Edward to perform the necessary ceremony. Then mother and son refused to return, and the Queen fell altogether beneath the influence of Roger Mortimer, an enemy of the Despensers, who had escaped from England to France. Mortimer and Isabella determined to overthrow the king and be avenged on the Despensers. They collected an army, and, in 1326, landed in Suffolk. Many nobles joined them, and the citizens of London also espoused their cause. The party of the Despensers fell to pieces. Father and son were captured, and both were hanged. Edward himself was taken prisoner, and next year, at a Parliament held at Westminster, the wretched king was forced to declare himself unfit to govern and to resign his crown. The young Edward was declared king. Edward II was allowed to live eight months longer, and was then barbarously murdered at Berkeley Castle (1327).

Intrigues of
Queen Isabella,
1325.

Fall of the
Despensers,
1326.

Deposition
and murder
of Edward II,
1327.

CHAP. VII. EDWARD III.

Character of the reign—Increased feeling of nationality—Constitutional development—Significance of the division of Parliament into two houses—Improvement in the condition of the labouring classes—English language and literature—Foretaste of the Reformation—Rule of Mortimer—Independence of Scotland—Fall and death of Mortimer—Halidon Hill and capture of Berwick—The French succession—Claim of Edward III—Real cause of the French war—First invasion of France—Second invasion and Battle of Sluys—Campaign of Urci—Inroad of the Scots and Battle of Neville's Cross—Capture of Calais—Progress of Parliament—The Black Death—Statute of Labourers—Statute of Treasons—Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire—Campaign of Poitiers—The Jacquerie—Campaign of 1360—Peace of Bretigny—Death of John II—Pedro the Cruel—Renewed war—Anti-pupal legislation—The anti-clerical party—William Langland—John Wiclif—Lancaster and Alice Perrers—The good Parliament—Death of the Black Prince—Death of Edward III.

Character of the reign.

The long reign of Edward III is remarkable in several respects. The most striking feature in it is of course the war waged with France, nominally in support of an untenable claim to the French crown put forward by the English king; a war distinguished by great and brilliant victories, but which, so far as the claim itself is concerned, was worse than a failure. Nevertheless, in other respects, the war was not barren of results. By it the military and naval position of England was greatly advanced and a fuller national and patriotic feeling

Increased feeling of nationality.

created. Edward's victories were won mainly by the English archers, and the archers were the free yeomen of the land—a national force, not a feudal levy.

Again the king needed money to carry on the war, and this need led to the calling of frequent parliaments. But before the parliament would grant money, they first demanded the redress of grievances. Hence the reign is a period of constitutional development. The Commons acquired greater importance. Now, too, the division into two houses was permanently established, the lower house being made up of the elected knights of the shire and the elected representatives of the towns and cities. This arrangement is of no little significance. By it the barriers which separated classes were partly broken down, since the knights of the shire who were socially related to the nobility were politically associated with the socially inferior citizens, and so formed a connecting link between nobles and commons.

Another social change began to be brought about in the position of the labouring classes, who, owing to economical conditions to be mentioned afterwards, were able, in spite of adverse legislation, to make better terms for themselves with their employers.

Significant, too, is a law which enacted that pleadings in the law courts, hitherto conducted in Norman French, should henceforth be in English, as French had become unfamiliar to the people (1362). And with this triumph of the English language are also seen the beginnings of a great English literature. To this reign belong two poets who produced work of a far higher rank than anything that had

Constitutional development.

Significance of the division of Parliament into two houses.

Improvement in the condition of the labouring classes.

English language and literature.

appeared since the Conquest, one of them, Chaucer, being not only 'the Father of English Poetry,' but, by virtue of his genius, amongst the foremost of English poets of any age.

Foretaste of
the Reforma-
tion.

Lastly, in the anti-papal legislation of the reign and in the appearance of the reforming theologian Wiclif and his followers, the Lollards, we see a foretaste of the revolt from Rome and the religious reformation which was to come two centuries later.

From these general remarks we turn to sketch briefly the external history of the reign.

Rule of
Mortimer,
1327-30.

As the king was only fifteen years of age at the time of his father's deposition, the real ruler of England during the first three years of the reign was the Queen's favourite, Mortimer. Mortimer very soon got himself generally hated by the nobles, and the hostile feeling was intensified by a treaty he made with the Scots in 1328, by which the independence of Scotland was acknowledged. This was in itself a wise step, but none the less greatly contributed to Mortimer's unpopularity. However Mortimer was strong enough to crush two baronial conspiracies against himself, and even to bring to the scaffold the Earl of Kent, the king's uncle. But in 1330 the discontented barons found a leader in the young king. Edward seized Mortimer in Nottingham Castle. Mortimer was hanged, and Isabella imprisoned. Henceforth the Mother-queen played no part in public affairs.

Independence
of Scotland,
1328.

Fall and
death of
Mortimer,
1330.

England and
Scotland, 1329
—41.

The year after Mortimer had concluded the treaty acknowledging the independence of Scotland, the great Robert Bruce died and was succeeded by his son David, then a child five years old. Some English nobles, for reasons of their own, encouraged

and assisted Edward Balliol, son of that John Balliol who had once been king of Scotland, to invade Scotland; drive out the infant Bruce, and seize the kingdom. Balliol was for the moment successful. David Bruce was sent to France and Balliol crowned king. But very shortly afterwards the Scots expelled Balliol. Balliol fled to England and promised Edward, if he would help him to recover the crown, to hold it as vassal of England. Edward consented. An English army besieged Berwick-on-Tweed, and after a great victory at Halidon Hill—won chiefly by the English archers—over a Scotch army which had come to relieve Berwick, Berwick surrendered and was permanently annexed to England. Balliol was reinstated on the throne, but Edward, not content with a general overlordship of the whole of Scotland, added to English territory all the land south of the Forth (1333). This arrangement was not to last long. Next year Balliol was again expelled, and, though Edward once more invaded Scotland in his interest, he was not able to make good his claim. David Bruce eventually came back, Balliol escaped to England, and Scotland recovered all her possessions except Berwick-on-Tweed (1341).

Halidon Hill
and capture of
Berwick, 1333.

It had become impossible for Edward to give active assistance to Balliol, for he had become involved in the great struggle of his reign, the war with France.

On the death of Charles IV of France (1328), Edward had put forward, in some sort of way, a claim to the French throne, but had not attempted to make his title good. Philip of Valois, now Philip VI, cousin of the late king, had succeeded to the throne, and Edward had even done him homage

The French
succession.

for the English possessions in France. The question with regard to the French succession stands as follows:—Philip IV, father of Queen Isabella, and consequently grandfather of Edward III, had three sons, Louis X, Philip V, and Charles IV, who had been successively kings of France. None of these had sons except Louis X, whose infant son John had been nominally king for nine days and had then died, and whose daughter Joan became afterwards in her own right Queen of Navarre.* The French declared that the succession to the throne of France was regulated by a law called the Salic law, by which women were declared incapable of succession. Edward maintained that, though a woman could not herself succeed, she might transmit the succession, and he accordingly claimed the throne through his mother Isabella. Even had Edward's plea been a just one in 1328, by 1332 it had become worthless, as in that year a son was born to Joan of Navarre, who had obviously a better claim than Edward. Indeed Edward was never really serious in prosecuting his claim. He was really striving to secure the territories in France which he already possessed and which Philip VI was endeavouring to win from him. Philip had also given help to David Bruce, and his ships had attacked English ships in English seas. It was in return for these injuries that Edward undertook the French war. He had, however, various allies on the continent, amongst whom were the Flemings. Between England and Flanders there was a real bond of interest, for English wool was necessary to Flemish industry. But Flanders was a

Claims of Edward III.

Real reasons for the French war.

* See genealogical table in Appendix.

fief of France and owed allegiance to the French king. Accordingly to preserve the English and Flemish alliance and at the same time to satisfy the scruples of the Flemings, Edward in 1340 finally assumed the arms and title of king of France.

In 1339 Edward invaded France for the first time. However the French king declined to join battle, and Edward was compelled to return to England without effecting anything of importance.

First invasion
of France,
1339.

Next year Edward invaded France a second time. A great naval victory was won over the French at Sluys, a battle once more decided by the skill of the English bowmen. Edward then endeavoured to take Tournai, but, being unsuccessful, concluded a nine months' truce and suddenly returned home. During the next five years there was constant fighting in France between the parties of Edward and Philip, but nothing decisive was accomplished.

Second invasion,
1340.
Battle of
Sluys.

1341—46.

At last in 1346 Edward III, accompanied by his eldest son Edward, afterwards called the Black Prince, led a large army into Normandy, stormed Caen and devastated the country far and wide. He then endeavoured to make for Calais, but the French had broken down all the bridges over the Seine and the English were compelled to march south along the bank of the river till they came close to Paris. They then crossed and made for the Somme; but the French had broken down the bridges on that river also. The English, however, discovered a ford near the mouth, crossed and awaited Philip's army which was following. Here, near the village of Creci, a great battle was fought in which, owing to the superior generalship of the English king, and to the destruction wrought by the English

Campaign of
Creci, 1346.

archers, the French were defeated with terrible slaughter (Aug. 28th, 1346).

Inroad of the
Scots and
battle of
Neville's
Cross, 1346.

After the victory of Creci Edward began the siege of Calais; but at home the Scots had taken advantage of the absence of the English king with the flower of his cavalry and yeomanry, and had invaded the kingdom. They were, however, thoroughly beaten at Neville's Cross; and their king, David Bruce, taken prisoner.

Capture of
Calais, 1347.

Meanwhile Calais was starved into submission, and Edward only agreed to spare the lives of the townsfolk on condition that six of the chief burgesses should come out to him with the keys of the city, and with halters round their necks in token that they should die. Six noble-souled citizens volunteered to sacrifice themselves for their fellow-townsmen, but happily for the reputation of the English king, they were spared on the intercession of Edward's queen, Philippa. Calais was largely repeopled with English and remained an English possession till the disastrous reign of Mary Tudor, two centuries later.

Progress of
Parliament,
1340-41.

While the French war was in progress Parliament (finally divided into two houses in 1341) continued to acquire new privileges. The last fragment of royal power to tax without Parliamentary consent had been wrested from the king in 1340, and the next year the Lords secured the right that none of their number should be tried for an offence save by full Parliament or before his peers; while the Commons boldly asserted the responsibility of the king's ministers to Parliament. In return for these concessions, granted indeed, but not always faithfully observed, Parliament voted the king large sums of money.

Two years after the fall of Calais, England was visited by a great affliction. A fearful plague, known as the Black Death, which, having its origin in Asia, had swept over Europe, reached her shores and destroyed at least half the population. Terrible as were the immediate consequences of the Black Death, in the long run it indirectly benefited the labouring classes. The demand for labour remaining the same and the supply being greatly diminished, the labourers were able to demand and secure for themselves a higher rate of wage for work done. In those days it was believed that both wages and prices could and ought to be fixed by law, and not left to unfettered competition. Accordingly Parliament endeavoured to keep down wages by statute—the Statute of Labourers, 1349—a measure which was not successful in what it aimed at, and only served to create widespread discontent amongst the labouring classes, a discontent which thirty years after flamed into open revolt.

Other statutes were passed about the same time, more successful and more beneficial than the Statute of Labourers. In 1352 the Statute of Treasons defined the offences for which the awful penalty awarded to a traitor might be inflicted and the lands of the delinquent forfeited to the crown. This was a decided gain for the liberty of the subject as well as for justice. Two other measures, the Statute of Provisors (1351), and the Statute of Præmunire (1353), were directed against the patronage and jurisdiction exercised by the Pope in England. It will be more convenient to speak of these later.

The Black Death and its consequences, 1349.

Statute of Labourers, 1349.

Statute of Treasons, 1352.

Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire, 1351 and 1353.

We return once more to the French war. The

Campaign of
Poitiers, 1356.

truce concluded after the capture of Calais (1347) lasted till 1355, notwithstanding the death of Philip and the accession of his son, John II. However in 1355 a fresh invasion was planned. The Black Prince landed at Bordeaux and pillaged the south of France. Next year he went on a similar plundering expedition, but on his return was encountered at Poitiers by King John with a force many times greater than his own. None the less, owing to the skilful manner in which the Prince drew up his army and to the mistakes of King John, the battle ended in a great victory for the English, and the French king was taken prisoner (1356). Instead of marching on Paris the Prince made a truce for two years in 1357, and then sailed for England, taking his royal prisoner with him.

The Jacquerie,
1358.

In 1360 Edward III himself invaded France, which in the interval had been given up to untold misery. The wretched peasantry had been driven by despair to revolt against their masters and had been put down with merciless slaughter. This outbreak was known as the Jacquerie, Jacques-Bonhomme being a nickname given by the nobles to the peasants (1358). Edward found no foe to meet him, but the country was too exhausted to supply his troops with provisions, and so, after marching up to the walls of Paris, he concluded a peace at Bretigni, near Chartres. By the peace of Bretigni Edward gave up his claim to the French throne, but retained the Duchy of Aquitaine in the south and the districts round Calais and Ponthieu in the north, without the obligation of doing homage to the French king for them: King John was to be ransomed for an immense sum (1360).

Campaign of
1360.

Peace of
Bretigny,
1360.

John was soon set at liberty. But hostages were sent to England as securities for the payment of the ransom. Amongst these were two of the king's own sons, one of whom, the Duke of Anjou, treacherously escaped, and John, ashamed of this dishonourable conduct, himself returned to England where he died in 1364.

Death of
John II, 1364.

He was succeeded by his son Charles V, called the Wise, a man of great cunning who determined to recover the lands lost to France by the Peace of Bretigni. These territories were now governed by the Black Prince, who had taken the title of Duke of Aquitaine. His task was not an easy one, as the French people chafed against the English yoke, and the Black Prince made his position even more difficult by taking up the cause of the ex-King of Castile. This man, Pedro the Cruel, had been for his wicked deeds deposed by his subjects, and through French help his half-brother, Henry of Trastamara, had been seated on the Castilian throne. Pedro begged the Black Prince to help him, promising himself to pay all the war expenses. The Prince consented, invaded Spain, won a victory at Navarette (1367), and set Pedro on his throne again. But Pedro was as false as he was cruel. He refused to pay the money he had promised, and the Black Prince was forced to return to Bordeaux with his army terribly thinned by sickness, and himself loaded with debt. Next year Pedro was again dethroned, and, in an interview with his brother, was killed.

Pedro the
Cruel.

In order to pay his debts the Black Prince imposed heavy taxation on Aquitaine, and the people, in defiance of the Peace of Bretigni, appealed

Renewed
War, 1369-75.

to the French king. Charles summoned the Prince to appear before him at Paris, as a vassal before his lord. On the Prince's refusal war broke out again (1367). The English got small glory by the renewed war, and the Black Prince tarnished his name by the ferocity with which he punished the people of Limoges who had revolted (1370). The results of the brilliant achievements of the earlier part of the reign were all but undone. One by one the English possessions in France were lost. A great expedition led by the second surviving son of Edward, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, ended in disaster (1373), and when, two years after, a truce was concluded, nothing was left to England in France but Calais, Bordeaux and Bayonne (1375).

Anti-papal
legislation,
1351—66.

To return to the internal history of England. The most striking feature to be noticed is undoubtedly the growing revolt against papal pretensions, and the signs of discontent on the part of the laity called forth by the worldliness and corruption of the Church. In 1351 a statute already alluded to, the Statute of Provisors, aimed at putting an end to the iniquitous custom by which the Pope had given English benefices to his own alien nominees (1351). Two years after, the Statute of Praemunire forbade suits being carried out of the nation to foreign courts. The papal court was intended, although not definitely mentioned. Both these statutes were re-enacted in the next reign. Lastly in 1366, Parliament utterly rejected the Pope's claim to the annual sum which King John had promised to pay in token of his humiliating vassalage. This tribute had never been paid during the reign of Edward III, and now Parliament expressly declared

that it must not be paid, since John had no right to make his subjects slaves of a foreign power without their consent. The ground on which the refusal was based is significant.

There was also in England a party, afterwards headed by Lancaster, anxious to deprive the clergy of their wealth and influence. This party was strong enough in 1371 to dismiss from the Chancellorship William of Wykeham, the great Bishop of Winchester, founder of Winchester College and New College, Oxford. Wykeham was replaced by a layman, and bishops were declared incapable of holding offices of state. The anti-clerical barons, however, had no thought of effecting any spiritual or doctrinal reform. The indignation of good men against the worldliness of the clergy found a voice in the popular poet, William Langland, whose allegorical poem, 'The Vision of Piers Plowman,' held up to priest and layman the ideal life, a life of honest toil and plain morality, wherein only, and not in external religious rites, lies the way to truth. Langland, however, desired a purely spiritual reform. He attacked no Church doctrine. It was otherwise with the great theological reformer, John Wiclif. Wiclif was a distinguished Oxford scholar who had written and argued against the papal claims; he now wrote against the wealth of the clergy, insisting that priests should remain poor, as their Master had been, and should devote themselves to spiritual labour only. Such doctrines formed a connecting link between Wiclif and the anti-clerical party among the barons, and, accordingly when Wiclif was summoned before the Bishop of London in 1371, the Duke of Lancaster appeared at his side to support him and browbeat the bishop.

The anti-clerical baronial party.

William Langland.

John Wiclif.

Unfortunately Lancaster, while apparently a champion of reform in one direction, was a supporter of corruption in another. He was excessively unpopular. The London mob rose on behalf of their bishop, and Lancaster and Wiclif narrowly escaped with their lives. Of Wiclif's other 'heresies' and of his order of 'poor priests,' we shall speak in the next chapter.

Lancaster
and Alice
Perrers.

We must go back a little. After Lancaster's return from the disastrous campaign in 1373, he rapidly became the most influential man in the kingdom. The Black Prince was stricken with disease; the king had sunk into dotage, and was altogether under the control of a greedy evil woman, Alice Perrers, who for bribes used her influence with the king to defeat the ends of justice. With this woman Lancaster made common cause. The Commons were indignant at the corruption of the government, and when in 1376 the Prince of Wales suddenly put himself at their head, they were strong enough to drive out Lancaster's Council, to obtain the appointment of another in which Wykeham was included, and to impeach Alice Perrers and certain lords who had been guilty of corrupt practices. This is the first instance in English history of an *impeachment*, or trial in which the Commons are the accusers and the lords the judges. Other measures of a salutary kind were enacted by this Parliament, which was consequently called the Good Parliament.

The Good
Parliament,
1376.

Death of the
Black Prince,
1376.

Unfortunately the Black Prince died before the Good Parliament had concluded its sitting (1376), and Lancaster was able to recover his position. Alice Perrers came back to court, Wykeham was again deprived of his offices, and the Speaker of the House

of Commons was imprisoned. A new Parliament held in 1377 undid all that the Good Parliament had effected.

This year King Edward died. Ere he breathed his last, Alice Perrers stripped the jewelled rings from his fingers and left him alone. A charitable priest entered unbidden, and held a crucifix to the king's dying lips. Edward had only strength to kiss it and thank the priest.

Death of
Edward III,
1377.

PART IV. LANCASTER AND YORK.

CHAP. I. RICHARD II.

Accession of Richard—Parliament of 1377—Causes of popular discontent—The Peasants' Rising—Death of Wat Tyler—End and results of the Rising—Wicklif's Bible—The French War—Parliament of 1386 and the Duke of Gloucester—The Council of Eleven—The Lords Appellant—The Merciless Parliament—Richard assumes the Government—Eight years of Constitutional Government—Altered character of Richard's rule—Attack on the Lords Appellant—Murder of Gloucester—The Parliament of Shrewsbury makes Richard an absolute King—Banishment of the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk—John of Gaunt's estates confiscated—Return of Lancaster—Deposition of Richard II—Claim of Henry of Lancaster—True nature of the Revolution.

Accession of
Richard II.

On the death of Edward III, Richard II, son of the Black Prince, at once ascended the throne. The Good Parliament, aware of the ambition of John of Gaunt, had, on his father's death, recognised Richard as the heir. The young king was but eleven years of age when his grandfather died, and yet no regency was appointed. However, as the French were plundering the south coast of England and the Scots were attacking the north, John of Gaunt and William of Wykeham laid aside their differences in the face of the public danger; a council composed of representatives of both parties was appointed, and the new Parliament, of which the Speaker was Peter de la Mare, formerly Speaker of the Good Par-

Parliament
of 1377.

liament, freely voted money for carrying on the war, but asserted its own importance still further by appointing two members of the Commons as treasurers to see that the grant was properly applied. But John of Gaunt conducted the war, as usual, very disastrously, and became in consequence extremely unpopular.

There existed other causes of national discontent which were soon to flame up into open rebellion. The French war necessitated very heavy taxation, and the last Parliament of Edward III to defray expenses had levied on all classes of the people a very unjust sort of tax which was not proportionate to the income of the payer, but towards the payment of which the richest and poorest had to contribute equal sums. Other 'poll-taxes,' as they were called, equal in amount so far as the peasants were concerned, but graduated in the case of the higher ranks, were levied in 1379 and 1380, and the last was the occasion of the great Peasants' rising of 1381.

This revolt was indeed the expression not of one grievance, but of many. It was a rising of the lower orders of the people against the higher, of the governed classes against the governing. The Black Death, as we have seen, indirectly caused an increase in the rate of wages, which the Statute of Labourers endeavoured to fight against. This was one source of discontent. Again, closely connected with this, was the struggle on the part of the peasants to exchange the labour services (in return for which they held their lands) for fixed money rents, and the struggle on the part of the masters to enforce these services. United with these economical grievances were grievances of a purely political character; in-

Causes of
popular dis-
content.

The Poll-
taxes.

Economical
results of the
Black death.

Political
grievances.

Socialistic
doctrines.

dignation against the bad government of Lancaster and the oppressive taxation which was the outcome of it. The foolish and ostentatious luxury becoming more prevalent amongst the wealthier classes also contributed to stir up hatred against them amongst the poorer classes; whilst a number of preachers, some of whom were perhaps disciples of Wiclif, went up and down the country, spreading impossible doctrines of the natural equality of all men. Most famous of them was a priest called John Ball who was fond of repeating the doggerel question—

“ When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then a gentleman ? ”

Such doctrines found a ready acceptance amongst the multitude of people in England who had grievances of one sort or another against their social superiors, and it would seem that the revolutionary preachers not only preached extravagant doctrines, but were also instrumental in preparing the people in different parts of the country for an organised and simultaneous revolt.

The Peas-
ants' Rising,
1361.

The last poll-tax proved the occasion of the rising. One of the collectors of the tax insulted the daughter of a tiler of Dartford who in return struck the offender dead. Five days after all Kent was out in arms under the leadership of another tiler, Wat Tyler. One of the first acts of the insurgents was to liberate John Ball, imprisoned in Maidstone jail by the Archbishop of Canterbury. The towns in Kent welcomed them with open arms, and even in London they had friends enough to cause the city gates to be opened to them.

Meantime in other parts of the country the lower orders had risen, and from Essex and Hertford

large forces marched on London. For a while the higher orders were cowed, and the young king met the Essexmen at Mile-end and promised to grant all their demands, including the abolition of all labour services, which were the tokens of bondage. The Essexmen departed quite contented. But the Kentishmen, who had already destroyed the palace of their hated enemy John of Gaunt, broke into the Tower and put to death another enemy, Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury. However next day at a conference between the king and the insurgents at Smithfield, Wat Tyler showed so much insolence that the Mayor of London, William Walworth, struck him down with his sword. The multitude would have avenged him, but the young king showed such extraordinary presence of mind, that the danger was averted, and the Kentish rebels, like those of Essex, agreed to disperse, on similar promises being made to them.

Death of Wat Tyler.

The gentlefolk had now recovered their spirit. The rebellion was quickly crushed in different parts of the country, and very many of those who had taken part in it, including John Ball, were hanged. The king even revoked the charters of freedom he had given. Indeed he had right in the first place to grant charters of the sort without consent of Parliament. The Peasants' rising was not without results. The employers of labour dreaded another outbreak, and the freedom which the peasantry had sought by sudden revolution came to them by natural and gradual means. During the next century serfdom died out, the number of small landholders increased, and the material prosperity of the labouring classes generally was greatly ameliorated.

End of the Rising.

Effects of the Rising.

But the cause of spiritual and doctrinal reformation was pushed back. Wiclif and his 'poor priests' had been accused of inciting the Peasants' rising by preaching doctrines subversive of society, and Wiclif had now begun to advocate opinions contrary to the central doctrine of Catholicism, called *Transubstantiation*, concerning the mysterious nature of the change in the bread and wine in the sacrament of the Mass. These opinions found small favour with the majority. Wiclif's doctrines were condemned both at Oxford and London in 1382. The reformer himself died unmolested in 1384. Along with his many controversial writings Wiclif produced a work of greater interest to us. He planned and with the help of his friends executed the first complete translation of the Bible which had appeared in the English tongue.

The French War.

The war with France meanwhile was not carried on successfully. Richard ravaged the south of Scotland in 1385, but beyond that gained no advantage. John of Gaunt next year left the kingdom to prosecute an idle claim to the throne of Castile. The same year an invasion of England by the

Parliament of 1386.

French was expected. Parliament and people were highly discontented with the king's government, and demanded the dismissal of his chief ministers. These were Michael de la Pole whom Richard had made Earl of Suffolk, and Robert de Vere, Earl of

The Duke of Gloucester.

Oxford, afterwards created Duke of Ireland. The king had first refused to listen to the dictation of Parliament, but the opposition, now headed by the king's youngest uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, was too strong for him, and he was obliged to give way. Suffolk was driven from

favour, and Gloucester, not content with this, through Parliament introduced a new system of government to which Richard was forced to submit. A council of eleven was appointed to superintend the royal household and the kingdom generally.

The Council
of Eleven.

But Richard submitted no longer than he could help. Next year he obtained a decision from the judges that the council was illegal, and he prepared to recover his position by force. He was, however, anticipated by Gloucester and his party. Gloucester and four others, the Earls of Nottingham, Arundel, Warwick, and Derby (eldest son of John of Gaunt, and afterwards King Henry IV) took up arms and 'appealed' of treason Suffolk, the Duke of Ireland, and three other advisers of the king. The king's party was defeated and De Vere was obliged to escape to Ireland.

The Lords
Appellant,
1357.

The Lords Appellant, as they were called, were now triumphant. The Parliament which met in 1388, called the Wonderful Parliament, or more deservedly, the Merciless Parliament, was entirely under their influence. The judges were committed to the Tower for the advice they had given Richard, and the king's friends and advisers were impeached. Suffolk and the Duke of Ireland escaped the kingdom, but a number of persons were put to death. A council of regency was also appointed.

The Merciless
Parliament,
1388.

Gloucester was now virtually ruler of England, but his rule was by no means successful, and when, in 1389, Richard suddenly declared himself of age, and dismissed the council, no attempt was made to resist him.

Richard
assumes the
Government,
1389.

And now for eight years Richard ruled constitutionally and well. He governed with the advice

Eight years of
constitutional
rule, 1389—97.

of Parliament. Good and useful laws were passed; he made friends with his old enemies, the Lords Appellant, and admitted them to his council. In 1396 he concluded a twenty-five years' truce with France, and married as his second wife (his first had died in 1394) Isabella, daughter of the French king. This marriage was very unpopular.

Altered
character of
Richard's
rule.

But immediately after his marriage the character of Richard's rule strangely and suddenly altered, so strangely and so suddenly that some historians have supposed that all through the eight years of constitutional rule the king had been dissembling,—a very improbable supposition; whilst others, with more likelihood, have fancied that Richard's mind was giving way. At all events he appears to have determined to govern as an absolute king according to his own will. In the Parliament of 1397 the House of Commons was, by the agency of Richard's favourites, Bussy, Bagot and Greene, filled with persons ready to carry out the king's wishes, or, as it is called, was 'packed.' By this Parliament three of the Lords Appellant whom Richard suspected of intriguing against him, and whom he had caused to be arrested, his uncle Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, were accused of treason, not in connection with any recent offences, but because of their conduct in the Merciless Parliament ten years back. Warwick and Arundel were condemned, practically without a hearing, the first to perpetual imprisonment, the second to death. As for Gloucester, he had been conveyed across to Calais, where he suddenly died; it is almost certain that he was murdered.

Attack on the
Lords Appel-
lant, 1397.

Murder of
Gloucester.

The Parlia-
ment of

Next year the same packed Parliament sat at Shrewsbury, and in three days passed measures

which made Richard an absolute king. They repealed all the acts of the Merciless Parliament; they declared that no restraint could legally be put on the king's actions; they granted him the custom duties for life, and finally delegated their power to a committee of eighteen. These were men mainly devoted to Richard's interests.

Shrewsbury makes Richard an absolute King, 1398.

Two of the Lords Appellant, Derby (now Duke of Hereford) and Nottingham (now Duke of Norfolk), had been so far on the king's side. But Richard took advantage of a quarrel which had broken out between them to get rid of them both. Hereford accused Norfolk of high treason, and Norfolk indignantly denied the charge. Obviously both could not be guilty. Either Norfolk was a traitor, or Hereford had uttered a wicked libel against him. Richard, however, instead of examining the matter, ordered the quarrel to be decided by single combat, and then, when the combatants were about to join battle, he stopped the fight and banished both Dukes from England,—Hereford for ten years and Norfolk for life (1398). It was an entirely unjust proceeding, and was soon to prove fatal to the king. Norfolk died shortly afterwards, but Hereford soon found the means and the excuse to return.

Banishment of the Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, 1398.

Richard was now in every sense a despotic king, and he ruled accordingly. In 1398 the Duke of Lancaster died, and his estates, which rightly passed to Hereford, were seized by the king. In the face of such arbitrary conduct no man's lands seemed safe. Hereford, now Duke of Lancaster, conceived that this unjust action entitled him to disregard the promise he had given not to set foot in England for ten years, and at once began to make preparations for return.

John of Gaunt's estates confiscated, 1398.

Return of
Lancaster,
1399.

Unfortunately for himself, Richard had crossed over to Ireland in order to put down a rebellion there. Before his work was completed he was recalled to England by the news that Lancaster had landed in Yorkshire and had been joined by the Earl of Northumberland and the lords of the north, and that the Duke of York, another of the king's uncles, whom Richard had left behind as Regent, had joined the invader's party (1399).

Deposition of
Richard II,
1399.

As Lancaster grew stronger his claims also advanced. At first he declared he had only come to recover his own estates; then he gave himself out as the deliverer of the realm from the tyranny of Richard, and finally, as we shall see, he was to claim the throne. When Richard arrived in England he found himself deserted. His nobles and people had left him, and his friends Bussy and Greene had been put to death. He himself surrendered, was carried to London, and thrown into the Tower. A Parliament was summoned, which deposed Richard on the ground of incompetence, or, more strictly speaking, compelled him to abdicate. Henry of Lancaster then stepped forward and claimed the crown as the rightful heir. As a matter of fact Henry was not the next in succession. That right belonged to a child, Edmund Mortimer, who was descended from Lionel of Clarence, an elder brother of Henry's father, John of Gaunt. So Henry claimed not as coming from Edward III, but from Henry III, perhaps alluding to a silly story, according to which Edward I was not the eldest son of Henry III; his brother, Edmund Crouchback, having been set aside on account of personal deformity. From this Edmund, Henry was descended

The claim of
Henry of
Lancaster.

through the female line. If such a claim was really put forward it could only have been accepted by Parliament as a convenient way out of a difficulty. The Revolution of 1399 in reality marks a new and significant increase in the power of Parliament. By deposing Richard and appointing Henry, Parliament was exercising the right to dethrone a king for unconstitutional government, and of electing another whose claims on the score of birth were defective. Only on such ground can Henry's claim be accounted a just one.

True nature
of the Revolution
of 1399.

CHAP. II. HENRY IV.

First Parliament of Henry IV.—Rebellion of Rutland—Death of Richard II.—Rebellions in Wales—Scotland and France—Battle of Homildon Hill—Rebellion of the Percies—Battle of Shrewsbury—Rebellion of Scrope and others—Capture of James of Scotland—Henry and France—Death of Henry IV—The Church and the Commons—Persecution of heretics—Attack on Church property—Growth of the power of the Commons.

As was to be expected the first Parliament of Henry IV reversed all the proceedings of the Parliament of Shrewsbury and confirmed those of that Merciless Parliament in which the new king had borne a conspicuous part. Some of the lords, including the Archbishop of Canterbury, urged Henry to put Richard to death, but this the king refused to do. Richard was, however, imprisoned in Pomfret Castle. Now, and throughout the reign, the Commons and people generally acquiesced in the new régime, but from the first many of the lords were discontented. Some noblemen who had been friends of

First Parlia-
ment of
Henry IV,
1399.

Richard had been degraded. Among these was the king's cousin, the Earl of Rutland, formerly Duke of Albemarle. Rutland and the other degraded lords formed a conspiracy against Henry; but Rutland turned traitor and revealed all to the king, and the others, attempting to proclaim Richard at Bristol and elsewhere, were attacked by the people and summarily put to death (1400).

Rebellion of
Rutland, 1400.

This futile rebellion very probably brought about the death of Richard. At all events he died shortly afterwards at Pomfret, and the rumour that he had been murdered was never sufficiently disproved.

Death of
Richard II,
1400.

Henry had other difficulties to contend with. A rebellion broke out in Wales under a Welsh chief Owen Glendower, calling himself Prince of Wales, and though frequent expeditions were made against him by the king himself and his eldest son, afterwards the great warrior Henry V, Glendower could not be completely crushed. In 1400 Henry undertook an expedition against Scotland, and though he marched as far as Edinburgh and laid siege to it, he was not able to accomplish anything of importance. He had also danger to fear from France. The French refused to acknowledge him as king, and maintained that the truce concluded with Richard in 1396 came to an end at his death.

Rebellions in
Wales.

Scotland and
France.

Homildon
Hill, 1402.

In 1402 the Scots, under the Earl of Douglas, invaded England but were defeated at Homildon Hill by the Earl of Northumberland and his son Henry Percy called Hotspur. Douglas was taken prisoner. Unfortunately circumstances occurred which rendered this victory rather a misfortune to Henry than otherwise. The Percies hitherto had been friendly to him and had helped largely to win the

crown for him. But from various causes the Percies had become estranged. Owen Glendower, in one of his plundering expeditions into England, had taken several distinguished persons prisoners. Among these was Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the child Mortimer, Earl of March, the true heir to the crown, who was at present in Henry's custody. The other prisoners were ransomed, but Henry, glad to have a man out of the way who had a better right by birth than himself to the crown, expressly refused to allow Mortimer to be ransomed. The Percies were very angry at this, for Mortimer was connected with Hotspur by marriage, and having other grievances, they joined with Owen Glendower and Douglas, whom they had released, and raised a rebellion against the king. Some of the rebels declared that King Richard was still alive and declared for him; others said that Henry had caused Richard to be murdered and that the young Earl of March was rightful king. The Percies and Douglas marched southward in hope to join forces with Glendower, but Henry and his son intercepted them and defeated them in a battle at Shrewsbury, in which Hotspur was killed and Douglas taken prisoner. Some of the chief rebels were put to death, but Northumberland, who was not present at the battle, was, after a short imprisonment, pardoned (1403). Glendower was still unsubdued.

Rebellion of
the Percies,
1403.

Battle of
Shrewsbury,
1403.

But Northumberland was not pacified. In 1405 he raised another rebellion in which Scrope, Archbishop of York, and Mowbray, son of the king's old enemy, the Duke of Norfolk, took leading parts. The conspirators were, however, betrayed. Northumberland escaped into Scotland, but Scrope and

Rebellion of
Archbishop
Scrope, Mow-
bray and
Northumber-
land, 1405—
1406.

Mowbray were captured and beheaded at York. This was the first instance in English history of a prelate being judicially put to death. Northumberland once more rebelled (1408), but was defeated and slain at Bramham Moor in Yorkshire.

Capture of
James of Scot-
land, 1405.

This was the last insurrection with which Henry had to deal, if we except the continued rebellions of Owen Glendower, whose power, however, steadily declined owing to the military achievements of Prince Henry. But the king's health and spirits were worn out with the strain of constant anxiety. In his foreign relations he was more fortunate. Robert III, King of Scotland, fearing for the safety of his son and heir, Prince James, wished to send him to France. But the ship in which the prince sailed fell into the hands of the English, and James was brought to the English court. His father died broken-hearted soon after he heard the news, and James thus succeeded nominally to the throne of Scotland. But Henry kept him at his court as a security for the good behaviour of the Scots. Thus Henry was relieved from further danger on the side of Scotland. The young King of Scots, James I, received an excellent education in England; so much so that he became not only a distinguished poet, but after his release in the reign of Henry VI, an able and enlightened sovereign.

Henry and
France.

Internal dissensions and civil war prevented the French from waging war against England as vigorously as they would otherwise have done. Nevertheless there had been fighting at intervals throughout the course of the reign. English and French ships had contended in the narrow seas and Guienne had been plundered by a French army. Prince

Henry wished to adopt a consistent policy on behalf of one of the two French parties, but this did not suit his father's temperament. Accordingly, during the reign of Henry IV, England lent help first to one party and then to the other.

In 1413 Henry IV died. He had been subject to epileptic fits brought on probably by anxiety. He had never felt secure, for, besides open insurrections, various secret attempts had been made from time to time on his life. He had never been a strong king. His title was precarious, and his early popularity was owing rather to the tyranny of his predecessor than to any merit of his own. His throne had been shaken by rebellions on the part of the nobles, to put down which he had been obliged to tax the people heavily. His chief strength had lain in the House of Commons and the Church, but the interests of the Commons and the Church were sometimes opposed, and the fact that the royal authority was weak without their support increased the power of either body. John of Gaunt had supported Wiclif against the bishops, and Wiclif's followers, the Lollards, had been on the whole favoured by Richard II. Henry reversed this policy. He was altogether orthodox and persecuted the Lollards. In the third year of his reign a statute (*De Heretico Comburendo**) was passed, the first of its kind, by which persons convicted of erroneous opinions in matters of religion were to be burned alive. Heretics were to be tried by a Church Court, but handed over to the Civil authorities for punishment (1401). On the other hand the Commons made two deliberate attempts to confiscate the wealth of the clergy and

Death of
Henry IV,
1413.

The Church
and the Com-
mons.

Persecution
of Heretics.

Attack on
Church prop-
erty.

* That is, concerning the burning of a heretic.

turn it to secular uses. Both measures failed owing to the king's opposition.

Growth of the
power of the
Commons.

The reign of Henry IV marks the highest point to which the power of the Commons rose until the time of the Stuarts, two centuries later. No taxes were raised without their consent; they even obtained the right to originate money grants, as well as a certain control over public expenditure. They secured freedom of deliberation and of election, and they obtained no little influence in the appointment and composition of the council of the realm. The growth and influence of the House of Commons is the most important feature of the reign from a constitutional point of view.

CHAPTER III. HENRY V.

Strength of the position of Henry V—Conciliatory measures—Oldcastle and the Lollards—Henry revives the claim to the crown of France—Condition of France—Character of Henry's claim—Conspiracy of Cambridge, Scrope and Grey—First expedition into France and Battle of Agincourt—Visit of the Emperor Sigismund—Second expedition into France—Massacre of Armagnacs in Paris—Murder of the Duke of Burgundy—Treaty of Troyes—Battle of Beaugé—Third French expedition—Death of Henry V—Character of his reign—Parliament.

Strength of
Henry V's
position.

The position of the new king was far stronger than his father's had been. Though his claim was equally defective, he himself was not responsible for the intrigues and crimes which had exalted his family to the throne. He had irritated no class amongst nobility or people; his character was noble, his aims pure, and he had already proved

in the council chamber and in the field that he was possessed of high qualifications as statesman and as warrior. His orthodox views and fervent piety secured him the support of the Church, while the Commons continued unswervingly loyal. The stories which were told of his early profligacy and wildness, are, it would appear, if not quite baseless, at least grossly exaggerated, and even the stories bear witness to many virtuous qualities.

Henry began his reign with acts of conciliation. He liberated the Earl of March; he removed the body of Richard II from Pomfret to Westminster and raised a splendid tomb above it; he afterwards restored the heir of the Percies to the Earldom of Northumberland.

Conciliatory
measures.

On one class of people, however, Henry's hand bore heavily. At the beginning of the reign the Lollards were headed by a distinguished man, Sir John Oldcastle, who had become by marriage Lord Cobham. Oldcastle being convicted of heresy by a spiritual court, was confined in the Tower, from which, however, he contrived to escape (1413). Thereupon his followers conspired against the king and arranged to hold a great meeting by night in St. Giles' Fields, near London. Henry, however, received information of the plot, and himself fell upon the assembled Lollards with a body of troops. Very many were killed and others made prisoners (1416). In the next Parliament very severe laws were passed against heresy. Henry was determined to extirpate heresy altogether, and, though he was unable to do this, the Lollards were forced to conceal their opinions, and no important person henceforward joined their ranks. Oldcastle himself was seized

Oldcastle and
the Lollards.

three years afterwards and burnt as a heretic (1417).

Henry re-
vives the
claim on the
throne of
France, 1415.

We have seen that in the last reign while Henry IV was content to keep the balance between the contending parties in France, his son was eager to pursue a bolder policy. Accordingly at the beginning of his reign Henry wished to revive the claims put forward by Edward III to the French crown, and accordingly he summoned in 1415 a great council of peers and prelates to advise with him as to whether he might justly do so. The council, and particularly the bishops, counselled war, and war was in consequence resolved upon.

Condition of
France.

Circumstances favoured immediate action. France was in a wretched condition. The King, Charles VI, was an idiot, and the kingdom was distracted by the divisions caused by the rival factions, the Armagnacs or Orleanists and the Burgundians. Henry thought he would have the support of the Burgundians, as the latter were bitterly hostile to the Dauphin. And so Henry at once demanded that the French king should surrender his crown, or at least should restore to England the territories in France ceded by the treaty of Bretigni (1360), but since lost.

Character of
Henry's
claim.

Henry's position was very different from that of Edward III. Edward had really some claim to the crown of France, for if his interpretation of the Salic law was correct, he was, when he first put forward his claim, the true heir. But Henry had no such right, for not he but the Earl of March inherited such right as Edward III had possessed. Nevertheless Henry was thoroughly in earnest, whilst Edward had never really desired to become

king of France, but had simply assumed the title in order to secure the allegiance of the Flemings. The only reason which could at all justify Henry's war was the fact that the French had all along been hostile to the house of Lancaster, and had actually made war on England.

At the very moment of departure Henry discovered a plot, the only plot of the reign, directed against his person. The conspirators were Lord Scrope of Masham, Sir Thomas Grey and Richard, Earl of Cambridge, brother-in-law of the Earl of March. The conspirators had plotted to dethrone Henry and put the Earl of March on the throne. All three conspirators were put to death. This was the only blood Henry was forced to shed in defence of his dynasty. The Earl of March himself was taken into special favour.

Conspiracy of Cambridge, Scrope and Grey, 1415.

In the summer of 1415 Henry set sail. He landed his army near Harfleur which was besieged and captured. However great numbers of the English had fallen fighting, and fever and dysentery had broken out in the camp. Henry was advised to return to England, but he determined in spite of everything to make his way to Calais. He crossed the Somme some fifty miles south of Amiens, and then moved northward. At Agincourt, about forty-five miles south of Calais, he was opposed by a French force six times as numerous as his own. In spite of the enormous odds the English won a great victory. Once more, as at Crecy and Poitiers, the English archers were instrumental more than any other part of the army in deciding the day. But Henry's troops were too few and too sickly to achieve anything else, and the king was content to proceed to Calais whence

Henry's first expedition into France, 1415.

Battle of Agincourt.

he crossed over to England. The victorious sovereign was received by his subjects with every token of triumphant joy and enthusiasm.

Visit of the
Emperor
Sigismund,
1416.

The next year (1416) was spent in entertaining the Emperor Sigismund who entered into an alliance with Henry, and in endeavouring by diplomacy to win over the Duke of Burgundy to the English side. Burgundy proved very untrustworthy.

Second expe-
dition into
France, 1417-
20.

Next year Henry invaded France a second time. The country was in as unsettled a condition as ever, the Burgundians and Armagnacs being still violently opposed to one another. Caen and the whole of Normandy, except Rouen, fell into English hands in a very short time, and Rouen, after a heroic defence, was captured in 1419. Meanwhile there had been wild doings in Paris. The citizens rose against the Armagnacs and perpetrated a terrible massacre. The Burgundians were restored to power.

Massacre of
Armagnacs
in Paris, 1418.

Soon afterwards an attempt was made to conciliate the rival parties, and an interview was arranged between the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy. At this meeting Burgundy was treacherously assassinated by the Dauphin's party. This mad and wicked act at once benefited the English. The new Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, in revenge for his father's murder at once joined Henry, and enabled him to extort from the French the conditions of the treaty of Troyes. By this treaty the Dauphin was disinherited; during the life of the mad king Charles VI, Henry was to be regent, and on his death was to succeed to the French crown. Henry married Catherine, Charles's daughter (1420), who bore him a son in 1422.

Murder of the
Duke of Bur-
gundy, 1419.

Treaty of
Troyes, 1420.

Next year Henry returned to England with his

queen leaving his brother, the Duke of Clarence, to reduce the south of France which was still held by the Dauphin. But Clarence was singularly unsuccessful. He was defeated and slain at Beaugé in Anjou, and Henry was himself compelled to return to France. He was, as usual, victorious, but in 1422 was seized with dysentery and died. He was only thirty-four years of age.

Battle of Beaugé. Third expedition into France and death of the king, 1421—22.

The career of Henry V had been brilliantly successful, and as a king he had been adored by his people. His reign was in the highest degree glorious for England, and by the nobleness of his character he fully deserved the popularity he enjoyed. Nevertheless he had attempted an impossible task. Only through French dissensions could an English king for a time reign in France, and the great victories which Henry won came in the end to nothing.

Character of Henry's reign.

Henry, like his father, had been a constitutional king; but it was easy for him to be so, as his Parliament readily granted him such money as he required for his wars. In the Parliament which met after Agincourt, tonnage and poundage, that is to say, a custom levied on every tun of wine, and pound of other imported goods, was granted the king for life, and this grant was renewed at the beginning of the reign of every other king until the time of Charles I. One other point may be noticed in the constitutional history of the reign. In 1414 the Commons prayed that in turning their petitions into statutes the government should not make any alterations in the words of the original petition. The request was granted, and thus a very important step made in constitutional progress. Hitherto the king

Parliament.

Tonnage and poundage.

Statutes to be made in Parliament.

had been the direct legislator, laws being made, not by, but on the prayer of Parliament. Now the way was paved for the present system by which Parliament not only begs that laws be made, but directly makes them, the crown only retaining—and that in recent times only nominally—the right to disallow the laws passed by Parliament.

CHAP. IV. HENRY VI.—(1) The King's Minority.

The King's uncles, John, Duke of Bedford and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester—Gloucester invades Hainault—Bedford in France—Quarrel between Gloucester and Beaufort—Beaufort made a Cardinal—Orleans besieged—Joan of Arc—Joan relieves Orleans—Coronation of the Dauphin—Coronations of Henry VI—Joan captured and burned—Desertion of Burgundy—Death of Bedford—French successes.

The King's
uncles.

On the death of Henry V so firmly settled seemed the House of Lancaster that no one disputed the claim of the infant Henry VI. His father in his will had left directions that the Duke of Bedford should be regent in France, while Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, a younger brother, should be regent in England. But in the Council and Parliament it was resolved that Henry V could not so dispose of the government of the country, and setting aside his injunctions, they made Bedford Protector of the realm. During Bedford's absence in France Gloucester was to act as Protector, but his power was strictly limited by having to rule in accordance with the advice of the council.

John, Duke of
Bedford.

John, Duke of Bedford, the eldest uncle of the king, was a statesman and warrior endowed with many noble qualities, but in his aims both at home

and abroad he was thwarted by his younger brother Humphrey, a man of some brilliant gifts, but privately vicious, and in his public life, actuated by motives mainly selfish.

Humphrey,
Duke of
Gloucester.

On the death of Henry V, Henry VI had been proclaimed king in France as well as in England, and was generally acknowledged except in the south where the Dauphin still held out. Bedford's policy was to draw closer the alliance with the Duke of Burgundy, and this he effected by himself marrying Burgundy's sister. But the good effects of this union were cancelled by another. Gloucester, anxious to carve out a principedom for himself, had married Jacqueline, heiress of Holland and Hainault. The estates of Jacqueline were then ruled by the Duke of Brabant, a cousin of Burgundy, and when in 1424 Gloucester, in spite of Bedford's remonstrance, invaded Hainault in the interest of Jacqueline, or rather of himself, Burgundy was deeply offended, and began to regard the English cause with a coldness which afterwards led to his desertion and to the failure of Bedford's hopes.

Gloucester
invades Hai-
nault, 1424.

For several years, however, Bedford successfully maintained the ascendancy of the English arms. He won two important victories at Crevant (1423) which secured the communication between the English and the Burgundians, and at Verneuil (1424) which led to the reduction of Maine. For the moment the Dauphin's cause seemed hopeless.

Bedford in
France, 1422
—24.

But next year events occurred in England which necessitated Bedford's return. Gloucester had openly quarrelled with the most influential member of the council, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester. Beaufort, being a son of John of Gaunt, was Gloucester's uncle, and as the Beauforts were necessarily

Quarrel be-
tween Glou-
cester and

Beaufort,
1425.

devoted to the interests of the Lancastrian house, it was highly imprudent in Gloucester to quarrel with them. Bedford succeeding in making peace for the moment, but the council took the opportunity of demanding from both Dukes an acknowledgment of its own superiority over the Protector during the minority of the king. To this Gloucester assented very unwillingly.

Beaufort
made a Cardinal,
1427.

In 1427 Bedford returned to France taking Beaufort with him. The bishop, however, returned next year. During his absence the Pope had made him a Cardinal. This caused Beaufort to be for a while distrusted, for the English lords rather regarded him as a servant of Rome than an English minister, and Gloucester thought he would be enabled to crush his rival easily. But Beaufort wisely absented himself from the council, until he had given proof that, in spite of his Cardinal's hat, the interests of his own country were of greater weight with him than those of the Holy See.

Orleans be-
sieged, 1428.

Meantime in France Bedford had won for England the whole country north of the Loire except the city of Orleans, which was closely besieged. It seemed almost a certainty that it would fall when there appeared upon the scene a deliverer in the person of a humble peasant girl.

Joan of Arc.

Jeanne Darc, or as English people have always called her, Joan of Arc, was the daughter of a peasant in the village of Domremi in Lorraine. From her childhood religious and imaginative, she had seen visions and dreamed dreams. She had seen moreover the sufferings of her countrymen, and had 'great pity for the realm of France' At last it was borne in on her soul that she had been appointed by heaven to deliver her country from

the English yoke. At first she had great difficulty in persuading others of the divine nature of her mission; but she succeeded at last, and with the sanction of the Dauphin she led an army to the relief of Orleans. Over the French soldiers she soon exercised a marvellous influence for good. Her purity and goodness shamed them out of their vile ways of life, and the belief that she was a saint inspired by heaven with supernatural power, heightened their courage and made them invincible. The English on the other hand, were in equal degree dismayed. They thought Joan a witch, possessed by the devil.

Joan's army was entirely successful. The English raised the siege of Orleans, and this first victory of the 'Maid's' was followed up by other successes. Joan had turned the tide. She now conducted the Dauphin to Rheims where he was crowned king of France under the title of Charles VII (1429). As yet Henry VI had not been crowned. It was not thought advisable to delay the ceremony longer. He was crowned king of England in Westminster the same year, and two years later Beaufort crowned him at Paris. With the coronation the protectorate ceased.

In the interval Joan of Arc had been captured by the English, who to their great shame caused her to be accused of witchcraft before a Church court by which she was condemned to be burned alive. The terrible sentence was carried out at Rouen (1431). "We are lost," said an English soldier who stood by, "we have burned a saint." The English, however, must not bear the whole blame of this crime. It was natural for them to disbelieve in Joan's mission, and if they had accused her, her judges were French bishops, and her countrymen made no attempt to save her.

Joan relieves
Orleans, 1429.

The Dauphin
crowned at
Rheims, 1429

Henry VI
crowned at
Westminster,
1429, and at
Paris, 1431.

Joan captured
and burned at
Rouen, 1431.

Desertion of
Burgundy,
1435.

But the English cause in France was doomed. At home the government was weakened by renewed quarrels between Gloucester and Beaufort. In France Burgundy grew cooler in his friendship, and at last, after an unsuccessful attempt had been made to conclude peace (1435), himself made peace with Charles VII and deserted the English altogether. Just before his final departure the Duke of Bedford died, heart-broken at the failure of his policy (1435).

Death of Bed-
ford, 1435.

French suc-
cesses, 1436—
44.

After Bedford's death war was continued under various leaders the ablest of whom was Richard, Duke of York, son of the Earl of Cambridge, who had been executed for treason at the beginning of the previous reign. But the French gradually regained Guienne and Normandy. Gloucester in England still advocated war, but Beaufort's party was in favour of peace, and Beaufort's party was destined to prevail.

CHAP. V. HENRY VI.—(II) The Wars of the Roses.

Henry VI of age—His character—Eleanor Cobham compasses the king's death—Truce with France—The king's marriage—Arrest and death of Gloucester—Death of Cardinal Beaufort—Unpopularity of Suffolk—Loss of Normandy—Impeachment of Suffolk—His Banishment and Murder—Cade's Rebellion—The Dukes of York and Somerset—Loss of all the French possessions except Calais—Insanity of the king and First Protectorate of York—Recovery of the king—First battle of St. Alban's and beginning of the Wars of the Roses—Second Protectorate of York—Battle of Bloreheath—Panic at Ludlow—Battle of Northampton—York claims the Crown—Battle of Wakefield and death of York—Battle of Mortimer's Cross and second battle of St. Alban's—Edward IV king.

In 1442 Henry had reached his twenty-first year, and it might have been expected that he would now personally undertake the government. But Henry was of all men most unfitted to control the destinies of England in those wild times. He was the most unfortunate of English kings, but, it must also be admitted, he was also one of the most incompetent.

Henry VI of
age, 1442.

At the beginning of the reign an infant, at the close of it an imbecile, he was at all times a weak and incapable man. Of a gentle and peace-loving character, learned, refined and deeply religious, he seemed utterly destitute of those sterner virtues which were necessary to secure, not only successful, but just and orderly government. It cannot be said that he reigned badly: he did not reign at all.

Henry's cha-
racter.

Meantime Bedford's death had left Gloucester, if the succession were confined to the house of Lancaster, next heir to the crown. Gloucester's public and private life continued to be as unedifying as ever. He had soon grown tired of his first wife, Jacqueline, and had deserted her for a mistress, Eleanor Cobham, whom he afterwards married. Eleanor, dazzled with the hope of one day becoming queen of England, began to dabble in witchcraft with the intention of shortening Henry's life. These proceedings were detected, and the Duchess of Gloucester, though not condemned to death, was compelled to do public penance for her crime (1441). These things, combined with the fact of Gloucester's notoriously profligate life, were not likely to lead the pious king to look with favour on his uncle. Accordingly, as Henry could not stand alone, he fell altogether under the influence of Beaufort and another minister, William de la Pole, Earl, and afterwards Duke of Suffolk, son of that de la Pole

Eleanor Cob-
ham com-
passe the
king's life,
1441.

Truce with
France, 1444.

who had been Richard II's adviser. The policy of Beaufort and Suffolk was peace with France, a policy to which Gloucester was violently opposed. Henry, in accordance with his natural inclinations, also favoured peace, and Suffolk in 1414 arranged a few months truce with France, which he hoped to convert into a lasting peace by a marriage which he also arranged between the king and Margaret of Anjou, daughter of René, Duke of Anjou, a prince closely connected with the French king. The marriage was celebrated in 1447, and Suffolk himself brought back Margaret to England.

The King's
Marriage,
1445.

Unpopularity
of the marri-
age.

Influence of
Suffolk.

But the conditions of the marriage were unpopular. The new queen brought no marriage portion, and Henry had secretly surrendered to René, Anjou and Maine, the keys of Normandy. Suffolk, however, still maintained his influence, and he was warmly supported by Margaret, a woman of far stronger will than her husband. The truce was renewed with France from time to time, but as yet a proper peace could not be brought about.

Arrest and
Death of
Gloucester,
1447.

Suffolk was even more hostile to Gloucester than was Beaufort, for Suffolk had not the same scruples as the Cardinal against doing what would certainly weaken the Lancastrian dynasty. Suffolk secretly accused Gloucester of treason and obtained Henry's permission for his arrest. In 1447 at a Parliament at Bury St. Edmund's Gloucester was seized and thrown into confinement. A few days after he died. Whether his death was brought about by natural causes or not, will never be known. The people, with whom the 'Good Duke Humfrey' had always been a favourite, suspected Suffolk.

Shortly after the mysterious ending of Gloucester his old rival, Cardinal Beaufort, also passed away,

and with him the one statesman capable of giving wise counsel to the king and of supporting the failing dynasty.

Death of Beaufort, 1447.

Suffolk was now, it seemed, without a rival, but though he was secure in the Queen's favour, he had enemies among the nobles, and he was unpopular on account of the humiliating conditions agreed to at the king's marriage. And now further disasters in France, for which indeed he was not responsible, increased the disfavour in which he was held. The English had given the French reason to declare that the truce had been broken and to renew the war. The result was the loss of Normandy (1449). The popular discontent showed itself in lawless fashion by the murder of the Bishop of Chichester, one of Suffolk's ministers, by some soldiers and sailors at Portsmouth. In 1450 Suffolk was himself impeached of treason by Parliament, the most damaging charges being highly improbable. Suffolk threw himself on the king's mercy, and Henry, with criminal weakness, would not pronounce him either innocent or guilty, but banished him the kingdom for five years. But the people, perhaps instigated by persons in high places, determined to be avenged on the man they could not reach by lawful process. The ship in which Suffolk had embarked was followed and captured by another, and Suffolk was beheaded and his body thrown on Dover sands (1450.)

Unpopularity of Suffolk.

Loss of Normandy, 1449.

Impeachment of Suffolk.

His banishment and murder, 1450.

The murder of the Bishop of Chichester and of Suffolk was but the prelude of popular lawlessness. Under a weak king the Lancastrian system had broken down. It was a small matter that the government was constitutional when it was powerless to govern, to keep the peace, or to do justice

Cade's rebellion, 1450.

between man and man. The same month which witnessed the murder of Suffolk saw the rebellion of Jack Cade. Cade was an Irishman, living in Kent. He called himself Mortimer, and pretended to be a cousin of the Duke of York. This man, with a following of 30,000 people, marched on London which at once fell into his hands. Cade's cry was for better government, and he demanded that the Duke of York should be recalled from Ireland (where he was at present Governor) and should take his place in the Council. These demands were just enough, but Cade presently showed his true character. He relaxed the discipline he had at first maintained; he took to plundering, and he murdered Lord Say, one of the Councillors, and Say's son-in-law, the Sheriff of Kent. Then the citizens, who had at first favoured the insurgents, turned against them and forced them to leave the city. Cade himself, after endeavouring to cause further mischief, was killed in a scuffle in Kent. Cade's rising was, however, followed by others of a like nature.

The Dukes of York and Somerset.

The claimants for power were now Richard, Duke of York, and Edmund, Duke of Somerset, a nephew of Cardinal Beaufort. The Duke of York was by birth the rightful heir to the throne, since his mother was the sister of that Earl of March whose claims had been set aside when Henry IV seized the throne. Up to this time, however, York had put forward no claim but had served the Lancastrian dynasty faithfully and well both in France and Ireland. Somerset was a favourite with the King and Queen, but by the people was hated on account of the losses which under his leadership England had sustained in France. In 1450, after Cade's re-

bellion, both returned to England. But Somerset for some time was able to keep York out of the council. In 1452 York took up arms to compel the king to dismiss Somerset. He was, however, induced by fair promises to dismiss his troops, and when he had done so, found that he had been deceived. Somerset had still the king's ear, though he dared not go to extremes against York.

Next year Somerset made an effort to recover Guienne and his own reputation; but all that came of this, was the defeat of the Earl of Shrewsbury, Somerset's general, at Chastillon, and the loss of all the English possessions in France except Calais. This was the net result of the great Hundred Years' War, and it did not add to Somerset's popularity. The same year King Henry became insane, and the lords in Parliament chose York Protector. Somerset had been previously committed to the Tower, where he remained over a year. During Henry's illness his queen bore him a son who was called Edward, but the king's mind was so weak that he was unable to understand what had happened (1454).

The new Protector began his rule well, and in time would perhaps have restored the country to order, but in 1455 the king recovered; the Protectorate ceased; Somerset was set at liberty, and at once regained his influence in the state. York, fearing for himself, again appealed to arms, and defeated the royal forces under Somerset at St. Albans. The king was captured and Somerset was amongst the slain. This was the first battle of the Wars of the Roses, so called after the badges of the two houses in support of whose claims the war

Loss of all the French possessions except Calais.

Insanity of the King and first Protectorate of York 1454.

Recovery of the King and first battle of St. Albans, 1455.

Beginning of the Wars of the Roses.

was waged, the red rose of Lancaster and the white rose of York. But so far the Duke of York had put forward no claim to the crown.

Second Pro-
tectorate of
York, 1456.

Soon after the battle of St. Albans Henry again became insane, and York was appointed Protector for the second time. On the king's recovery he did not lose all his influence, and in 1458 there was a public ceremony of reconciliation between the party of York and the party of Queen Margaret in whom the Lancastrian cause now found a head. But the quarrel soon broke out again. An attempt made by the Queen to arrest Lord Salisbury, the chief of York's friends, who had collected a force in the North and was marching southwards, resulted in a Lancastrian defeat at Bloreheath, and in the same year (1459) the armies of York and of the king faced each other at Ludlow. Some of York's followers, however, deserted to Henry, and the Yorkist army dispersed without fighting. York himself with his second son, the Earl of Rutland, fled to Ireland.

Battle of
Bloreheath,
1459.

Yorkist panic
at Ludlow?
1459.

And now York and his party were branded as traitors, and there were no hopes any more of peace till one side had thoroughly crushed the other. In 1460 York's eldest son, Edward Earl of March, accompanied by Salisbury and his son Warwick crossed the channel from Calais, met the royal forces at Northampton, thoroughly defeated them and captured the king. The Queen fled to the north. The Parliament, which was afterwards summoned, reversed the attainders against the Yorkists. Before the same Parliament York, on his return from Ireland, for the first time presented his claim to the throne as inheriting by lineal descent from Edward III. Parliament could neither quite reject

Battle of
Northampton,
1460.

the claim nor quite accept it, but the king himself agreed to a compromise by which, though he was himself to retain the crown for life, York was to succeed him, and the claim of prince Edward was put aside.

York claims the crown, 1460.

Queen Margaret, however, was not likely to submit to the exclusion of her son. She had got together a force in the north, and when York came against her, she defeated him at Wakefield with great loss. This fight was more ferociously contested than any that had gone before. York, Rutland and Salisbury were slain, and Margaret caused the head of her enemy to be adorned with a paper crown and fixed upon one of the gates of York.

Battle of Wakefield and death of York, 1460.

The deed was not long to remain unavenged. Immediately on hearing of his father's death, the Earl of March, who was at Gloucester, marched on Shrewsbury; but being followed up by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, half-brother of the king, he turned back and defeated him at Mortimer's Cross in Herefordshire. Meantime Margaret was approaching London, and the Earl of Warwick, bringing the king with him, came out to meet her. The hostile armies met a second time at St. Albans. The Lancastrians were victorious. Their opponents fled leaving the king behind them. But soon Edward joined his forces to those of Warwick and marched on London where the citizens, with whom Margaret was very unpopular, received him with joy. A council of lords deposed King Henry and declared Edward IV king. Unlike that of Henry IV, the title of Edward rested on right of birth alone. No parliamentary recognition seemed necessary.

Battle of Mortimer's Cross.

Second battle of St. Albans, 1461.

Edward IV becomes King, 1461.

CHAP. VI. EDWARD IV.

Battles of Ferrybridge and Towton—Parliament of 1461—Battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham—The 'King-maker'—Marriage of the King—The Woodvilles—Rebellion of Robin of Redesdale—Flight of Clarence and Warwick—Restoration of Henry VI—Return of Edward—Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury—Murder of Henry VI—Henry Tudor—Benevolences—Edward invades France—Treaty of Pecquigny—Murder of Clarence—Gloucester invades Scotland—Death of Edward IV—Character of the reign.

Edward had been acknowledged king, but another victory was necessary to secure his position. He accordingly marched against Margaret who had withdrawn to the North, and though his advance guard was repulsed at Ferrybridge, he himself, after a fiercely contested battle, utterly defeated the Lancastrians at Towton in Yorkshire. Margaret with her husband escaped into Scotland, and Edward returned to London where he was crowned. His two brothers, George and Richard, were created Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester.

The Parliament of 1461 declared Henry VI, Margaret and their supporters traitors and pronounced all the Lancastrian kings usurpers. The hereditary principle seemed to have triumphed, and Parliament tacitly confessed itself incapable of determining the succession, for it was in virtue of a Parliamentary choice that these kings, now termed usurpers, had ruled. Indeed constitutional government had failed. The Commons and the Council had claimed a share in government which they were unable to use aright, and England under a weak king had drifted through civil war to a monarchy resting

Battles of
Ferrybridge
and Towton,
1461.

Parliament of
1461.

entirely on right of birth, and in power almost absolute. Accordingly Parliament during the Yorkist period sinks into well deserved insignificance. Edward IV was very largely able to rule without it since he had been granted an income for life, and he found other more irregular methods of raising money. During the whole of his reign not one statute was passed possessing more than a trifling and temporary importance.

Margaret had by no means given up hope of recovering the throne for her husband. She had obtained some help in the way of money and soldiers from the crafty king of France, Lewis XI, to whom she promised to restore Calais in the event of her efforts being successful. An attack on the north of England in 1462 failed, and Margaret, after many adventures, at last succeeded in escaping to the continent. King Henry himself appeared in the north two years after, but his forces were twice defeated at Hedgeley Moor and at Hexham by Lord Montague, brother of the great Earl of Warwick, and Henry himself was captured next year and thrown into the Tower (1465). A number of leading Lancastrians were put to death after the battle of Hexham. Among these was the Duke of Somerset, son of the Somerset who had been the rival of Edward's father. Continued civil war had made men savage, and Edward was determined to make an end of his enemies.

No one had helped more to put the Yorkist dynasty on the throne than Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, called the 'king-maker.' For the first three years of this reign the Neville influence was supreme, but the king was by no means content

Battles of
Hedgeley
Moor and
Hexham, 1466.

The 'King-
maker.'

Marriage of
the King.

The Wood-
villes.

Rebellion of
Robin of
Redesdale,
1469.

under it. Gradually he became estranged from the men to whom he owed so much. In the first place they differed with regard to foreign policy. Warwick was anxious for an alliance with France, and wished to marry Edward to the sister-in-law of Lewis XI. Edward rather inclined to the Duke of Burgundy, the enemy of Lewis, and perhaps thought of reviving the English claim to the French throne. Meantime he had secretly married to please himself. The lady was Elizabeth Grey, Widow of a certain Sir John Grey. She is, however, better known by her maiden name, Elizabeth Woodville. Her father was Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, who had married Jacquetta, widow of the Duke of Bedford. All the new queen's relations had been Lancastrians, and her first husband had been killed at the second battle of St. Albans. In 1464 Edward announced his marriage. Warwick and the Nevilles were greatly disgusted. Not only had the king married beneath him, but in order to counteract the Neville influence, he was raising to power and affluence his wife's relations, persons whom the great nobles regarded as upstarts. Not only did the Nevilles resent the promotion of the Woodvilles, but Edward's brother Clarence was also highly dissatisfied. Warwick was still further alienated from the king by a charge which was brought against him of intriguing with the Lancastrians; and, though the charge broke down, Warwick was permanently embittered against Edward. Clarence and Warwick drew together. Clarence married Warwick's eldest daughter, Isabella, and the Earl and Duke secretly stirred up a rebellion in Lincolnshire, the leader of which, a knight who hid his identity under the name of

Robin of Redesdale, put forth a manifesto inveighing against the Woodvilles and demanded the punishment of evil counsellors. The rebels won a victory at Edgecote (1469). The queen's father, Lord (now Earl) Rivers, and his son, Sir John Woodville, were taken and put to death, and for a while Edward was himself a prisoner in the hands of Warwick and Clarence, who, however, released him on certain conditions. Edward issued a general pardon, but next year was forced to take arms against another body of insurgents who wished to make Clarence king. These he thoroughly routed at Stamford, and Warwick and Clarence, fearing for their safety, fled over sea to France. (1470).

Flight of
Clarence and
Warwick,
1470.

Warwick now saw that he could never regain his position in England unless he went over to the Lancastrian side. Through the influence of Lewis XI, an alliance was brought about between Warwick and Clarence on the one side and Margaret on the other. Warwick's second daughter, Anne, was to marry Prince Edward, only son of Margaret and Henry VI. This arrangement could not have been agreeable to Clarence, but for the present he stood by Warwick and joined him in an expedition to England. King Edward was quite unprepared, and being unable to meet Warwick in the field, fled over sea and took refuge with the Duke of Burgundy.

Restoration of
Henry VI,
1470.

Henry VI was drawn from the Tower, and for a few months was once more, if only in name, king of England. In less than six months Edward returned. In March 1471 he landed at Ravenspur where Henry IV had landed in 1399. Like Henry Edward at first declared that he had only come to claim his own estates as Duke of York; like Henry's

Return of
Edward;
Battle of Bar-
net, 1471.

such declaration was forgotten as soon as possible. Clarence, a false and weak man, again changed sides and joined his brother. Edward entered London and then, taking Henry VI with him, went out to meet Warwick. Warwick was defeated and slain at Barnet (1471). Warwick's brother, Lord Montague, also fell.

Death of
Warwick.

Meantime Queen Margaret, ignorant of what had happened, was coming back from France to join her husband in his (as she supposed) safely recovered kingdom. In spite of Barnet, she was able to collect a party on her landing. She was, however, pursued by Edward and completely defeated at Tewkesbury. Margaret herself was captured, and Prince Edward perished either in the battle or immediately afterwards. Edward then returned to London. On the night of his arrival king Henry died in the Tower. There is little doubt that he was murdered by Edward's command. While his son still lived Henry was a useful prisoner; now the Yorkist king had no further need of him; he was better out of the way.

Battle of
Tewkesbury
1471.

Murder of
Henry VI.

Edward was at last secure on his throne. There was no representative of the house of Lancaster left, save a boy fourteen years of age now in exile, Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, son of Margaret Beaufort, and through her, great-great-grandson of John of Gaunt. In 1470 Queen Elizabeth had borne Edward a son. The king had also another son and five daughters by her. The Yorkist dynasty therefore seemed secure.

Henry Tudor.

In 1475 Edward invaded France to prosecute his claim to the French throne. In order to raise money for the expedition the king had recourse to a new plan. Wealthy persons were called upon to sub-

scribe sums of varying amounts. These subscriptions were called *Benevolences*, or good-will gifts. They were, however, far from deserving the name.

* Benevolences.

Edward landed a magnificent army in France, but he found no work to do. Lewis sent courteous messages, and begged for peace, and Edward at length agreed to a seven years' truce on condition that Lewis should pay a large yearly pension. A marriage was also arranged between Edward's eldest daughter and the Dauphin Charles. This marriage never took place. Lewis afterwards found a match for his son which he deemed more advantageous, and the princess Elizabeth became in later years the wife of the Earl of Richmond whom we have already mentioned. But these events lay in the future. The French treaty was sworn to by both kings at a personal interview at Pecquigny on the Somme, and Edward then returned to England, where he released Queen Margaret according to the treaty.

Edward invades France, 1475.

Treaty of Pecquigny.

One other act of bloodshed was to stain Edward's reign. The Duke of Clarence again quarrelled with his brother, and Edward himself in 1478 accused him of treason before the peers. Clarence was condemned to death, and a few days afterwards disappeared in the Tower in a very mysterious manner. There is little else to chronicle in Edward's reign. A short war with Scotland in 1482 gave the young Duke of Gloucester an opportunity of proving himself an able and skilful soldier. Berwick, which the Scots had obtained in 1461, was recaptured, but otherwise the results were insignificant. Next year Edward himself was preparing another expedition against France to avenge himself on Lewis for breaking faith in the matter of the Dauphin's marriage. In

Murder of Clarence, 1478.

Gloucester makes war on Scotland, 1482.

Death of Edward IV, 1483.

the midst of his preparations the king died, probably from the effects of his vicious and self-indulgent habits.

Character of
the reign.

The reign of Edward IV is barren of matter of constitutional interest. Parliament, as we have seen, seldom met, and when it did meet, legislated only on things of temporary importance. Neither in any other sphere of national life has the historian of this reign anything to record at all great or worthy, unless it be the introduction to England of the Printing Press by William Caxton in 1476. Edward himself was a tall handsome man with engaging manners which made him a great favourite with the citizen of London. On occasion he showed himself capable of great energy, but he was in general idle and dissolute in the extreme, and, as is often the case with such persons, he was at times mercilessly cruel. In no sense can he be regarded as a great statesman or a great king.

CHAP. VII. EDWARD V.

Parties at the death of Edward IV—Arrest of Rivers and Grey and fall of the Woodvilles—The Queen takes sanctuary—Arrest and execution of Hastings—Rivers and Grey executed—Dr. Shaw's sermon and Buckingham's speech—The Crown offered to Gloucester.

Parties at the
death of
Edward IV,
1483.

On the death of Edward IV the strife between the parties which had been kept under a semblance of unity at once broke out. There were three distinct parties, that of the Woodvilles with the Queen at its head, that of the lords of the council, chief of whom were the Lords Stanley and Hastings, while a third was formed by the Dukes of Gloucester, Suffolk and Buckingham. The two last parties were at one in opposition to the Woodvilles.

The young king Edward was only twelve years of age when his father died, and was at that time at Ludlow, whence he moved towards London accompanied by his uncle, Lord Rivers, and his half-brother, Sir Richard Grey. Gloucester and Buckingham believed that the Woodvilles meant to keep the young king in their hands and so control the government. Gloucester was in Yorkshire. Coming south he met Buckingham at Northampton, and agreed with him to anticipate the Woodvilles. They went together to meet the king, and at Stony-Stratford seized Rivers and Grey, accused them of treason, and sent them to be imprisoned at Pontefract.

Arrest of
Rivers and
Grey.

These things received the support of Lord Hastings, who also in the council helped to raise Gloucester to the Protectorate. The Queen, alarmed at what was happening, took shelter, with her second son, Richard, Duke of York, in the sanctuary of Westminster. The young king's coronation which was fixed for May was put off to June.

The Queen
takes sanc-
tuary.

Hastings, Gloucester and Buckingham had so far worked together; but now, either Hastings cooled down in his friendship and intrigued against the Protector, or Gloucester, finding him unprepared to support him in further designs which he entertained, determined to get rid of him by a false accusation. At all events Gloucester and Buckingham appeared one day before the council, and the former, baring his arm, which had been actually withered from his birth, declared that it had been suddenly transformed by witchcraft, and that Hastings, the Queen and others were plotting against his life and had practised these sorceries against him. Hastings was seized and immediately beheaded.

Arrest and
execution of
Hastings.

Rivers and Grey executed.

Dr. Shaw's sermon and Buckingham's speech.

The crown offered to Gloucester.

Gloucester's next step was to get the young prince Richard out of his mother's hands. Elizabeth was at length worked upon to give him up, and he was lodged with his brother Edward in the Tower. Rivers and Grey meanwhile were executed at Pontefract.

And now Gloucester set about to obtain the crown for himself. To sound the people a certain Dr. Shaw was sent to preach a sermon at Paul's Cross. He chose for his text the words, 'Bastard slips shall not take deep root,' and tried to prove that the children of Edward IV were illegitimate as Edward had before his marriage with their mother been contracted to another, namely, the lady Eleanor Butler. The sermon proved a complete failure. Buckingham a little later repeated the same story to a meeting of citizens with rather more success. Some servants of his own flung up their caps into the air and cried, 'God save king Richard.' This was taken as expressing the assent of the citizens that Gloucester should be king.

Next day a Parliament, informally summoned, declared Richard, Duke of Gloucester, lawful king on the ground of the pre-contract, and of the children of Clarence being debarred on account of their father's treason. On June 26, Richard III assumed the kingship, and early next month he was crowned with great magnificence.

CHAP. VIII. RICHARD III.

Richard goes on a progress—Murder of the princes—Buckingham's rebellion and first invasion of Richmond—Benevolences declared illegal—Richard names a successor—Death of the Queen—Second invasion of Richmond—Battle of Bosworth and death of Richard III—Character of the period.

After his coronation the new king went on a progress and was received with great enthusiasm. For a while, with the people if not with the nobility, he was very popular. The Woodvilles had been generally disliked, and Richard had much of his eldest brother's charm of manner. His ability too was undoubted. He had distinguished himself in the Scotch war; he had opposed the not very honourable peace which Edward had concluded with France; and the faithful and consistent way in which he had stood by Edward contrasted favourably with the weak and treacherous conduct of Clarence. In after years it was believed that he had himself murdered the son of Henry VI after the battle of Tewkesbury, and had also murdered Henry VI himself, but if these stories were believed at all at the time, they were condoned.

But Richard, whether guilty or innocent of these crimes, now perpetrated another blacker than any which had disgraced that violent and bloody age. The young princes in the Tower disappeared. There can be little doubt that they were murdered by their uncle's direction. The deed, when it became known, aroused universal indignation, and Richard gradually became as generally detested as he had before been popular.

Richard III goes on a progress, 1483.

Murder of the Princes, 1483.

Buckingham's rebellion, and first invasion of Richmond, 1483.

Before the murder of the princes a conspiracy had been formed in their behalf in which Buckingham was implicated; for Buckingham had now quarrelled with Richard over certain estates which he had expected but which Richard had refused, Buckingham had begun to think of claiming the throne for himself, for he also was descended from Edward III. The design, however, was abandoned, and Buckingham, led on by Morton, Bishop of Ely, began to plot in favour of Henry, Earl of Richmond, then an exile at the court of the Duke of Brittany. Buckingham was to rise in Wales whilst Richmond was to invade England at the same time. The rebellion proved a failure. Buckingham was betrayed, captured and immediately executed. Richmond's armament was driven back by a storm (1483).

Benevolences declared illegal, 1484.

In 1484 Richard's only Parliament met. It confirmed his title afresh, and, amongst other statutes of no great moment, a law was passed declaring Benevolences illegal. This law no doubt was passed in order to gain the favour of the wealthy classes, but Richard did not observe it strictly.

Richard names a successor.

Richard had married Anne Neville, the same who was to have been the wife of the son of Henry VI. By her he had one son, Edward, who died in 1484. Richard being childless declared his nephew John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, heir to the crown, thus passing over the Earl of Richmond. The Earl of Lincoln was the son of Richard's sister Elizabeth, his father being descended from the de la Poles who were ministers to Richard II and Henry VI.

Death of the Queen, 1485.

Next year Queen Anne died, and Richard, being a widower, thought he might strengthen his position

by marrying his own niece Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV. His own supporters were greatly opposed to this, and Richard was obliged publicly to disavow his intention.

Meantime Richmond was preparing for another invasion. He too was anxious to marry the princess Elizabeth, for such a union would unite the houses of York and Lancaster and would give Richmond the support of those Yorkists who hated Richard. Richard did all he could to induce the Duke of Brittany to surrender Richmond to him, but Richmond was warned and for a while took refuge in France. In August 1485 Richmond landed at Milford Haven where he was joined by many adherents. Richard, however, had got ready a much larger army, but he could not trust his commanders. The opposing forces met at Bosworth. During the fight Lord Stanley passed over to Richmond's side, and the Earl of Northumberland withdrew from the battle and looked on. Richard saw that he was betrayed and that all was lost. But cowardice was not amongst his faults. He fell overpowered by numbers, desperately fighting to the last. The crown which had fallen from his helmet was picked up, and on the field of victory placed by Stanley on Richmond's head.

Second invasion of Richmond, 1485.

Battle of Bosworth and death of Richard III.

With the battle of Bosworth the disastrous wars of the Roses came to an end. They had been fought for no great principle, but merely for personal claims in which the mass of Englishmen had no interest. They had afforded the great nobles an opportunity for fighting out private quarrels, and private quarrels in many cases determined the side which this or that great family adopted. But the great

Character of the period.

Effects of the Wars of the Roses. families had been terribly thinned, and the power once held by the great feudal lords very greatly diminished. To the lower orders of the people the war was not so disastrous as it might at first appear. The battles for the most part had been fought out by the nobles and their armed retainers. There were no sieges. To the peasant and the artisan the period was one of increased material prosperity. Serfdom had died out, wages were high and the necessaries of life plentiful. In other respects there is little in the history of the period worthy of admiration save the short period in which Henry V had awakened the nobler feelings of his countrymen. But even Henry's wars were unjustifiable. In most respects the age was one of general decay. The old religious spirit which had marked the best times of Catholicism was dying out. The clergy had become worldly and worse; the orders of monks and friars had degenerated, and Lollardism was a premature birth. The country was ill-governed. Force was frequently the rule in place of justice, and small private wars were common. The Yorkists governed no better than the Lancastrians. There had been a marked advance in constitutional progress under the Lancastrian kings, but that too was premature, and constitutionalism, having during the weak reign of Henry VI proved its insufficiency, expired without an effort under Edward IV. The period is also barren of really great literature. There was no great writer after Chaucer. That great poet indeed had a school of imitators, but the best of them was the Scottish king, James I. In architecture, too, signs of decline are not wanting. The style then prevalent, now called the Perpendicular, is the last and the basest of

An age of decay.

Religion.

Government.

Literature.

Architecture.

the 'Gothic' modes, elaborate indeed in ornamentation and display, but, when compared to what had preceded, deficient in grace, and lacking invention. The days were days of change. The middle ages were passing and the modern world opening out. The use of gunpowder was revolutionising the art of war, abolishing the old feudal castle and all the conditions of life which hung round it. Already something of that revived interest in learning and scholarship which abroad was called the Renaissance, or New-birth, had penetrated to England, and the Printing press had been set up to disseminate knowledge and facilitate study.

Signs of
change.

The Renais-
sance.

PART V. THE TUDORS AND THE REFORMATION.

CHAP. I. HENRY VII.

Claim of Henry VII—Henry's marriage—Lovel's insurrection—Insurrection of Lambert Simnel—Battle of Stoke—The Court of Star Chamber—Henry's foreign policy—Benevolences and 'Morton's Fork'—Invasion of France, and Treaty of Etaples—Perkin Warbeck—Perkin in France—Perkin supported by Margaret of Burgundy—Perkin in Scotland—Capture of Perkin—Execution of Warwick—Marriage of Prince Arthur to Catherine of Aragon—Death of Prince Arthur—Catherine betrothed to Prince Henry—Marriage of Princess Margaret to James IV of Scotland—Last years of Henry—Empson and Dudley—Death of Henry—Character of the reign—Poyning's Law.

Claim of
Henry VII.

Henry VII had no real claim to the throne by right of birth. The Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, had a better right; so had the Earl of Lincoln whom Richard had declared his successor, and his brothers. Of course the true heir was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, whom Henry had promised to marry. But Henry was unwilling to owe his crown to his wife; neither did he wish to base his claim on conquest. Accordingly the Parliament merely settled the crown on Henry and his issue without stating the grounds. And so the right of Henry VII, as that of Henry IV, rested entirely on a Parliamentary sanction.

Henry's mar-
riage, 1486.

To prevent disturbances Henry shut up the Earl of Warwick in the Tower, and to conciliate opponents he next year married Elizabeth of York (1486).

But Henry was by no means secure on his throne. There was a Yorkist rising in 1486 under Lord Lovel, one of Richard's councillors and friends. Fortunately it was easily crushed. Lovel escaped to Flanders, where he was protected by Margaret of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV, a vehement partisan of the Yorkist cause and a foe to Henry's peace.

Lovel's insurrection,
1487.

Next year (1487) there was a more important insurrection. A young man called Lambert Simnel, son of an Oxfordshire tradesman, of course prompted by great persons, put himself forward as true heir to the throne, claiming to be Earl of Warwick, Clarence's son. The imposture was glaring, as the real Earl of Warwick was at that time in the Tower. So the pretended Warwick first appeared in Ireland where he was actually crowned. The Irish chiefs espoused his cause, as they would have espoused that of any reputed Yorkist. The rule of the great Duke of York had been very popular and the Irish did not forget it. Simnel was also warmly supported by Margaret of Burgundy. She sent 2,000 Germans under a renowned captain, Martin Swartz. Then the Irish, joined by Swartz and Lords Lincoln and Lovel, crossed over to England and landed in Lancashire. After marching through the country they met the royal forces at Stoke in Nottinghamshire and were thoroughly defeated. Lincoln and Martin Swartz fell in battle, and Lovel came to his end soon after; how is not quite known. As for Simnel, he was too contemptible to be dangerous, and Henry accordingly pardoned him and made him a turnspit in the royal kitchen. Henry VII was always averse to shedding unnecessary blood. After

Insurrection
of Lambert
Simnel, 1487

Battle of
Stoke.

this insurrection Henry thought it advisable to celebrate the coronation of his queen which had been purposely delayed.

The Court of
Star Chamber.

In this year by act of Parliament was established a court which afterwards became very famous in history. This was the court of Star Chamber, so called, probably, because of the stars with which the roof of the chamber in which it sat was decorated. The court of Star Chamber was in reality a committee of the King's council, and exercised criminal jurisdiction similar to that exercised by the council in Henry VI's time. Its object was to secure general order by bringing to justice great and wealthy persons who had been able to overawe by force, or to bribe the juries of the ordinary courts. Such persons were unable to overawe the king and council, and their power to do mischief to honest peaceable people was greatly diminished. Such a court, though in some ways opposed to the general principles of English law, was quite necessary in these times. In another way Henry, and the Tudor line generally, protected the middle and lower classes against the great. They set their faces against the practice by which great nobles surrounded themselves with bodies of armed retainers. Other kings had made laws against this practice, but their laws were on the whole failures. The Tudors were more successful. On such things their strength and popularity largely depended.

Foreign
policy of
Henry.

In his foreign relations Henry's desires were all for peace. Nevertheless he was more than once obliged to send armies abroad. The monarchy of France, as he and other kings thought, was becoming too powerful. Henry was accordingly driven to ally

himself with Ferdinand of Aragon, a very crafty and politic king, who, having married Isabella, Queen of Castile, now ruled an united Spain. Ferdinand wished to recover certain provinces from Charles VIII of France, son of Lewis XI; Henry wished to prevent Brittany from being annexed by France. Unfortunately the allies were not willing to work together, and Brittany fell to France, as Anne, Duchess of Brittany, was induced to marry Charles VIII. However Henry, in accordance with engagements he had made, prepared to invade Brittany. For this purpose it was necessary to raise money, and Henry resorted to Edward IV's invention of Benevolences. In the reign of Richard III Benevolences had been declared illegal, but Henry did not consider the acts of an usurper to be binding. In raising Benevolences the king had a very able assistant in his Chancellor, Cardinal Morton, a man who had been his friend throughout. If a man lived in luxurious fashion, Morton told him it was evident he was rich enough to help the king: if he lived simply and frugally, Morton said it was clear he must have saved money, and could thus spare the king something. This device was known as Morton's Fork.

Benevolences
and 'Morton's
Fork.'

Henry invaded France in 1492. He fought no battles, however, but concluded a peace with Charles VIII at Etaples. The French king paid Henry large sums of money, and the English left France. Henry preferred substantial benefits to empty and expensive glory. He had sufficiently, as he thought, fulfilled his obligation to his allies, whom he knew were intent on their own interest, and cared nothing for him.

Invasion of
France and
Treaty of
Etaples,
1492.

But Henry's peace, if not his throne, was again endangered by an imposter. This was Perkin Warbeck, son of a Fleming of Tournay. He, like Simnel, was first put forward by the Irish, who insisted that he was Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV (1491). The real Richard, as is now known, had been murdered in the Tower by the orders of Richard III. From Ireland Warbeck passed over to France where he was acknowledged by Charles VIII and entertained at Paris. But after the peace of Etaples Warbeck had to leave France (1493). He betook himself to Flanders where he was enthusiastically received by Margaret of Burgundy, who, whether she believed or not in Perkin's claims, was glad to support an enemy of Henry. It is said that from Margaret Perkin learned all that was necessary to make him play his part successfully. For two years and a half Warbeck remained in Flanders; then he made an attempt on Kent, but, being without military skill or personal courage, he was easily repulsed by the Kentishmen (1495). Then he tried Ireland, but was again beaten back at Waterford. Afterwards he is found in Scotland where James IV embraced his cause, and even gave him a kinswoman of his own in marriage. Perkin and James IV made an inroad into England (1496), but, save that they plundered the northern counties, nothing was effected.

But now an insurrection broke out in Cornwall, not on behalf of Warbeck, but against the imposition of a tax which Parliament granted Henry to enable him to make preparations against further Scotch invasions. Some thousands of discontented Cornishmen marched up to London, but at Blackheath they were surrounded by the royal troops and

Perkin Warbeck.

Perkin in France, 1492.

Margaret of Burgundy supports Perkin, who attacks Kent, 1495.

Warbeck in Scotland, 1496.

Rising of Cornishmen, 1497.

defeated. Henry, merciful as usual, only executed two or three of the leaders; others were pardoned on payment of fines of varying amounts (1497).

Meanwhile Warbeck had been sent off from Scotland. He again tried Ireland, but the most powerful of his former supporters, the Earl of Kildare, had been conciliated by Henry who had made Deputy of Ireland. Accordingly Warbeck found no help there, and so he turned to Cornwall, thinking that the people, having grievances of their own, would rise in his name. He was not deceived. Six thousand Cornishmen joined him and marched to Taunton. But Warbeck was a coward and his heart failed him. He fled from his supporters, surrendered himself to Henry and made a full confession of his imposture. Henry, though Warbeck had caused him very great trouble and anxiety, had no thought of revenge. He merely imprisoned him in the Tower. Warbeck, however, twice tried to escape, and on the second occasion induced the unfortunate Earl of Warwick to join him. Both were captured and executed.

The execution of Warwick was a piece of great injustice, for Warwick had committed no treason. Henry seems to have resolved on this his one blood-thirsty act from reasons of state policy. He had long been negotiating a marriage between his eldest son Arthur and Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The politic Ferdinand was unwilling to wed his daughter to a prince whose chance of succession might be endangered by the presence of one who had a better hereditary claim. Perhaps Warwick was sacrificed to Ferdinand's misgivings.

The marriage of Arthur and Catherine was celebrated in 1501, but the young prince died a few

Capture of
Perkin War-
beck.

Execution of
Warwick,
1499.

Marriage of
Prince

Arthur to Catherine of Aragon, 1501, and death of Arthur.

Catherine betrothed to Prince Henry, 1505.

Marriage of the Princess Margaret to James IV of Scotland, 1502.

Last years of Henry VII.

months afterwards. Ferdinand, anxious to maintain the alliance with Henry, wished that Catherine should be married to Arthur's younger brother, Henry, then a boy eleven years of age. Such a marriage was against the law of the Church, and it was doubtful whether even the Pope could grant a dispensation. The Pope, however,—Julius II—was prevailed upon to allow it, and Catherine was betrothed to the young Henry in 1505, but the marriage was not celebrated during this reign, although Catherine was kept in England. There were doubts about the legality of the union from the first, and perhaps Henry never wished it to be completed. Perhaps he was only unwilling to give back Catherine's dowry, half of which had been paid. These doubts in the next reign led, as we shall see, to events of great importance, not only to England, but to the civilised world.

Another marriage contrived by Henry VII was destined to have great results. In 1502 Henry's daughter Margaret was married to James IV of Scotland and peace was made with that country. To this marriage we owe the union of the crowns of England and Scotland a hundred years afterwards.

During his later years Henry VII accumulated great quantities of money. He levied Benevolences, he exacted fines for various breaches of the law. Rebels, as we have seen, were fined instead of being executed. Nobles who infringed the law about retainers had also to pay heavily. One noble, the Earl of Oxford, collected a band of retainers to do honour to Henry, who was then his guest. "I thank you, my lord," said the king, 'for your good cheer; but my attorney must speak with you.' The

earl had to pay an enormous fine. In collecting money Henry had the assistance of two unscrupulous agents called Empson and Dudley. These men seem to have invented charges against wealthy persons and made them pay for their pardons. By such means, justifiable and unjustifiable, Henry, on his death, left to his son a sum of nearly £2,000,000.

Empson and
Dudley.

Death of
Henry.

In spite of such exactions Henry VII. was a very great king. Under him the power of the crown was strengthened, but only at the expense of the great nobles. The power of Henry rested not on force, for he had very little at his disposal, but on the good-will of the middle and industrious classes, who knew that under Henry peace and order would be kept. Henry waged no useless wars, and he made various laws and treaties which encouraged trade and industry; thus in 1496 he concluded a Treaty called the '*Intercursus Magnus*' (the great Intercourse) which secured free trade between England and Flanders. He also encouraged navigation and foreign exploration. It was in this reign that the Cabots from Bristol discovered the mainland of North America. Thus England had her share in those great discoveries which about this time revealed to Europe the existence of hitherto unknown lands beyond the Atlantic.

Character of
his reign.

The relations between England and the English colony in Ireland were drawn closer by Henry through a statute called Poyning's law which declared that all English laws should be binding on the English colony, and no bills should be submitted to the Irish Parliament which had not previously received the sanction of the king and council.

Poyning's
Law, 1494.

CHAP. II. HENRY VIII. (I) Cardinal Wolsey.

Character of Henry VIII—His marriage—Execution of Empson and Dudley—Foreign policy—The Holy League; Invasion of France and Battle of Spurs—Battle of Flodden—Rise of Wolsey—Alliance with France—General European peace—The Holy Roman Empire—Charles V—Field of the Cloth of Gold—Henry VIII and Luther—Execution of Buckingham—The divorce question—Anne Boleyn—Fall of Wolsey—The Reformation Parliament.

Character of
Henry VIII.

Henry VIII was eighteen years of age when he came to the throne. He was tall and handsome, and excelled in all feats of bodily strength and skill. His mind was equally well furnished. He had great natural talents, and he had been carefully and thoroughly educated. He possessed, too, in great measure the power so essential to a king of being able to judge the character of others. 'King Henry knew a man,' his subjects used to say of him. Young, affable to all, fond of pleasure and extravagant display, and with the physical and mental gifts described, it was natural that Henry should be immensely popular, and this popularity through a long reign of thirty-eight years the king never altogether forfeited, though he did many things of which large numbers of his subjects intensely disapproved.

His marriage.

In the first year of his reign he married Catherine of Aragon. This match was in the end to prove miserable for both parties, but at present all seemed well.

Execution of
Empson and
Dudley,
1510.

In 1510 Empson and Dudley, the agents of the extortions of Henry VII, were thrown into the Tower, and, attempting to escape, were executed on a charge

of high treason. This act was undoubtedly popular, but the laws which regarded such offences as treasonable appear now unnecessarily severe. The practices which had made Empson and Dudley useful to Henry VII were altogether alien to the nature of his son. At present Henry showed a far greater aptitude for spending than for saving money.

In other ways the new King was a contrast to his father. Henry VII had tried to keep England as far as possible out of the quarrels of foreign potentates, and to develop the resources of peace. Henry VIII, as was natural in a spirited young man, was eager to play a conspicuous part in foreign politics, perhaps even to regain the English possessions in France which Henry VI had lost. Accordingly he made many treaties and waged some wars. In themselves these wars and treaty-makings were not important, and by them the treasure accumulated by Henry VII was wasted, and fresh taxation rendered necessary; but they undoubtedly improved the naval and military position of the country which under Henry VII had become almost unused to war.

At first Henry allied himself with his father-in-law Ferdinand, with the Emperor Maximilian and with Pope Julius II, in what was called the Holy League. The object of this was to turn the French out of Italy. In 1512 Henry sent an expedition to the south of France, but it proved an utter failure. Next year the King himself landed with an army at Calais and defeated the French in a battle derisively called the Battle of Spurs, because that day the French made more use of their spurs than of their swords. After this Henry took the towns of Terouenne and Tournay, but these conquests, while useful

Foreign
policy of
Henry.

The Holy
League;
Henry
invades
France, 1512,
1513.

Battle of
Spurs.

to Henry's ally, the Emperor, were quite useless to England.

Battle of
Flodden, 1513.

While Henry was in France, James IV of Scotland, following the example of his predecessors, broke the peace Henry VII had made, and, on the plea of some small grievances, invaded England. He was, however, utterly defeated by the Earl of Surrey at Flodden on the borders, and the king and the flower of his nobility were left dead on the field (1513).

Thomas
Wolsey.

Henry's power 'to know a man' led him to promote and finally to employ as chief minister a very able churchman called Thomas Wolsey, a man of humble origin, but of very great talents. Wolsey had first been taken up by Henry VII and had been made Dean of Lincoln. Henry VIII admitted him to the Privy Council, after the capture of Tournay, made him Bishop of that place, and in 1514 raised him to the Archbishoprick of York. Next year the Pope made him a cardinal, and Henry appointed him Lord Chancellor. All departments of government were in Wolsey's hands. Wolsey's great idea was to promote peace on the continent; but to do so in such a way as to advance the position of England. At home he was anxious to reform abuses in the Church, and particularly in the monasteries. For this purpose he obtained a special commission from the Pope as Legate, which put him over the head of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and gave him complete control over all the clergy in England, including the monks. But to hold such an office was contrary to the law of England, and Wolsey was obliged to obtain a special license from the king. Wolsey afterwards had even good hopes of being made Pope, but this ambition was doomed to disappointment.

Wolsey, Car-
dinal, Chan-
cellor and
Papal Legate,
1515-17.

Meantime Henry's foreign relations had undergone a change. His allies Ferdinand and the Emperor had proved untrustworthy friends. So Henry made an alliance with France in 1514 and married his young sister Mary to the old king of France, Louis XII. Fortunately for Mary her husband died next year, and Mary determined, since she had once been sacrificed for reasons of state, to consult her own inclinations. The husband she married was Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. From Suffolk and the Princess Mary was descended the ill-fated Lady Jane Grey, of whom we shall hear afterwards.

Alliance with France, 1514.

In 1518 Wolsey's peace policy seemed to be crowned with success. Louis XII of France had been succeeded by his cousin Francis I. Ferdinand of Spain, who had died in 1516, had left his dominions to his grandson Charles, who was also grandson of the Emperor Maximilian; and now these potentates, together with the Pope and the English king, made an universal peace, all promising to stand by one another. But next year Maximilian died, and despite Wolsey's efforts, in the contest for the Empire the league broke up.

General European peace, 1518.

We must say a few words about this Empire. It was called the Holy Roman Empire, and it claimed to be in temporal matters what the Papacy was in spiritual. In theory the Emperor was the head of Christendom; in practice he exercised a limited authority over the princes of Germany. The imperial dignity was not hereditary. Each Emperor was elected by a certain number of ecclesiastical and lay princes of Germany. And now Francis I and Charles were candidates for election. Henry VIII at first intended to put himself forward, but,

The Holy Roman Empire.

Charles V. having no chance of success, he supported the candidature of Charles, who was elected. Charles V was now a very great prince. In addition to being Emperor, he ruled in his own right, Spain, Austria, the Netherlands, Naples and Sicily, and a part of Burgundy. Between Francis and Charles there could be no peace.

Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.

Henry was doubtful which side to take. He had personal interviews with both monarchs. The meeting with Francis near Calais was made the occasion of most costly and magnificent display, and was known, then and since, by the name of the Field of the Cloth of Gold (1520). But all this led to nothing. Two years afterwards Henry made an alliance with Charles V and invaded France (1522). Yet Henry again changed sides. Francis in 1525 was defeated with great loss by Charles at Pavia. It seemed that Charles would become too powerful; accordingly Henry turned to Francis. A treaty was concluded which was renewed two years afterwards. The soldiers of Charles had just sacked Rome, and Henry at that time was extremely zealous for the honour of the Papacy. Six years before he had himself written a book in support of the Pope against the great German reformer, Martin Luther, and had been rewarded by the Pope with the title of Defender of the Faith.

Henry VIII and Luther.

Execution of Buckingham, 1521.

The Papacy was soon destined to lose its royal champion. Henry was much troubled as to the succession. A disputed succession would mean another War of the Roses. Already in 1521, the Duke of Buckingham, son of that Buckingham who had been executed in the reign of Richard III, had been put to death for treasonable words let fall. The king

feared that Buckingham, being himself of the blood royal, might be tempted hereafter to grasp at the crown. Only one daughter had been born to the king, the princess Mary. Catherine of Aragon had indeed given birth to sons but they had died. The absence of male issue seemed like the divine judgment on a sinful union. From the first, as we have seen, doubts were entertained as to the lawfulness of Henry's marriage with his brother's widow. Now the doubts were increased and the king became anxious to secure a divorce from the Pope. Wolsey undertook to obtain one, and perhaps the Pope might have consented, but Catherine of Aragon was the aunt of the Emperor Charles V, and the Pope at that time dared not offend the Emperor. At first, however, the Pope, Clement VII, gave a commission to Wolsey and another Cardinal, Campeggio, to try the case in England. But Catherine appealed to Rome and to Rome the question was carried (1526—1529).

The Divorce
Question.

Unfortunately for Henry's reputation, motives which might charitably be set down to religious scruples and state policy, were mixed with personal inclinations. A young lady of the court, Anne Boleyn, found favour in his eyes, and he wished to marry her, in the hope that by her he might have a son. Wolsey was much opposed to this. If Henry married again, he wished him to marry a foreign princess, and he had good reasons for disliking and distrusting Anne Boleyn. Moreover Wolsey soon saw that the divorce was likely to lead to a serious breach with Rome. Henry could get no definite decision from the Pope, and the repeated delays began to wear out his patience. He had

Anne Boleyn.

vehemently supported the Papal claims as against Luther. Now his eyes were being opened. If the Pope's judgments were immediately inspired by God, then all men were bound to obey them. If they were dictated by an earthly and secular prince, the matter was entirely different. And the present Pope seemed merely the tool of the Emperor. Wolsey naturally was bitterly opposed to any rupture with the Holy See and became lukewarm on the subject of the divorce. The great Cardinal's fall was imminent. He was hated by the nobility as a proud and arrogant upstart. To the laity generally he represented that ecclesiastical spirit which they had never loved; and now his king was deserting him. In 1529 the Chancellor's seals were taken from him and given to the wise and good Sir Thomas More.

Fall of
Wolsey, 1529.

The Reforma-
tion Parlia-
ment.

Events were moving rapidly. The year of Wolsey's fall witnessed the opening of one of the most important Parliaments—perhaps the most important—in English history; the Parliament that in its seven years' life severed England from Rome.

CHAP. III. HENRY VIII. (2) The Separation from Rome.

Importance of the Reformation Parliament—Death of Wolsey—Humiliation of the Clergy—Anti-papal legislation—Separation from Rome—The Protestants—Divorce of Catherine and marriage of Anne Boleyn—Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More—Thomas Cromwell—Dissolution of the Monasteries—Execution of Anne Boleyn—The translation of the Bible—The Pilgrimage of Grace—Reginald Pole—The Bull of Deposition—Birth of Prince Edward—The Six Articles—Anne of Cleves and fall of Cromwell—

Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr—Further religious reforms—Henry King of Ireland—Solway Moss—Invasion of France—Execution of Surrey—Death of Henry VIII—The Succession.

The student will remember the struggle between Church and State, between Pope and King, between the spiritual and temporal power in the reigns of William Rufus, of Henry II, and of the first and third Edward. He will remember the constitutions of Clarendon of Henry II, the outlawry of the clergy by Edward I, the Provisors and Præmunire statutes of Edward III, and the attempts of the laity in the reign of Henry IV to confiscate Church property and apply it to secular uses. This long-continued struggle had never been decided, but now the great question was settled by the Parliament of Henry VIII, in the only possible way. It was the work of this Parliament to assert the supremacy of the crown over all classes of subjects, spiritual as well as lay, and as a necessary consequence to abolish the authority of the Pope in England. Of course everything was not done at once, but this was what the various statutes passed by this Parliament in fact amounted to.

Importance
of the Ref-
ormation
Parliament.

First, the Parliament attacked the revenues of the clergy by limiting their sources of income. Certain fees paid by the laity were cut down, and the worst abuses of the ecclesiastical courts reformed (1529). Then Parliament turned on the great fallen minister. By accepting the office of Papal Legate, Wolsey had infringed the Præmunire laws. It was useless for Wolsey to plead the royal license. He was royal adviser and, it was held, was bound to point out to the king the unlawfulness of the proceeding.

Death of
Wolsey, 1530.

Wolsey knew this, and threw himself unreservedly on the king's mercy. His estates and offices were taken from him, but he was allowed to retain the Archbishopric of York. Unfortunately for himself Wolsey began to hold communications with foreign ambassadors. These were discovered, were held to be treasonable, and Wolsey's arrest was ordered. His person was accordingly secured, but he died at Leicester on his way to London (1530).

Humiliation
of the Clergy,
1531.

But Parliament held that not only had Wolsey broken the statute of Præmunire in his own person, but the whole of the clergy, by submitting to his authority, had partaken in his guilt. The clergy also were forced to throw themselves on the king's mercy, and were only pardoned on paying a sum exceeding £100,000, and on their acknowledging Henry as *Head of the Church and Clergy* (1531).

Anti-papal
legislation,
1533-4.

So far the Pope's authority was not directly called in question. That was to follow. During the next four years statutes were passed which [1] forbade all appeals to Rome (1533); [2] prohibited the payment to Rome of 'Annates' or first-fruits, that is, the first year's revenue of Bishops and Archbishops; [3] vested the power of appointing bishops in the king's hands; [4] took away from the clergy the power to make laws for themselves in Convocation; and [5] abolished the Pope's authority in England altogether (1534). [6]. The ecclesiastical courts were by various statutes further reformed, and 'benefit of clergy,' *i.e.*, the privilege claimed by the clergy of being tried only before ecclesiastical tribunals, was done away with so far as the lower orders of the clergy were concerned. This was what the constitutions of Clarendon had tried to

The separa-
tion from
Rome.

effect in vain. [7]. In 1535 was passed the Act of Supremacy, and Henry VIII assumed the title, partly acknowledged by the clergy, of *Supreme Head of the Church of England*.

The Act of
Supremacy,
1535.

So far no Catholic doctrine had been touched. The Reformation was political, not, in the first place, religious. The Pope's authority had been shaken off and the power of the clergy weakened. Nevertheless *Protestantism* had spread to England from Germany; Lollardism had never been quite stamped out, and there was a minority of earnest souls in London, Oxford and elsewhere who wished to see doctrinal changes brought about, and a return made—as they thought—to the precepts of the Bible and the practice of the first Christians. These people were bound to come to the front sooner or later.

The Protest-
ants.

Meantime in close connection with the anti-papal and anti-clerical legislation the divorce had moved forward to its close. In this matter Henry had now as chief adviser Thomas Cranmer, a churchman who was afterwards created Archbishop of Canterbury. On Cranmer's suggestion Henry applied to the various Universities of Europe for their opinions on the question. Some Universities answered one way, some another; but the whole inquiry was a farce, for the Universities were bribed or intimidated by one side or the other. Finally Henry, seeing that he had nothing to expect from the Pope, took the matter into his own hands. He married Anne Boleyn in 1533, and Cranmer held a court in which he pronounced the marriage with Catherine null and void. The acts restraining appeals to Rome and abolishing the Pope's authority prevented this judgment being quashed by the Pope. Next year

Divorce of
Catherine and
marriage of
Anne Boleyn,
1533.

Birth of
Elizabeth,
1533.

(1534) Parliament settled the succession on the issue of Anne Boleyn. She had already given birth to a daughter who afterwards became Queen Elizabeth. All Englishmen were obliged to swear to observe the Statute of Succession.

Bishop Fisher
and Sir
Thomas More.

This obligation proved the ruin of two distinguished men. Bishop Fisher of Rochester, an aged and holy prelate, refused to swear to the Acts of Supremacy and Succession. He could not admit that a marriage sanctioned by Rome could be invalid. Sir Thomas More, a man nobler than Fisher, and far wiser, also refused. More had at first been a reformer, but he was opposed to violent change, and he had now become a staunch upholder of the Papal claims. He had resigned the Chancellorship in 1532. More would have acknowledged the succession of Anne's children, for he held that Parliament might give the crown to whom it willed, but he would not admit the invalidity of Henry's first marriage, nor the validity of the second. More and Fisher were committed to the Tower (1534). While they were in prison the Pope very unadvisedly made Fisher a Cardinal. This could not help him, and only exasperated the king. Every effort was made to induce More and Fisher to submit, but they were resolute. It was discovered, too, that Fisher had been engaged in correspondence of a very treasonable nature. Next year they were tried and executed (1535). It is impossible not to pity the fate of these two men, both conscientious and devout, and one of them a man of true genius and of great beauty of character. But it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. Very many men in England thought as did Fisher and More. If the great were permitted to disobey

Execution of
Fisher and
More, 1535.

the law, the example would have been infectious in the extreme, and the work Parliament had just accomplished would have been endangered. They were stern violent times, and they demanded stern and violent measures, which later times, free from the same perils, are apt to denounce as savagely cruel.

The king's chief minister now was Thomas Cromwell, a very able man, but of humble extraction. He had been Wolsey's servant, and had valiantly defended his master before Parliament. He was now a reformer at heart, and was much more tainted with the new doctrines than the king. Henry appointed him Vicar-General over the Church. As Vicar-General Cromwell instituted a visitation of the monasteries and nunneries. These bodies had become very corrupt, and many of the monks and nuns led scandalous lives. Moreover in altered times and conditions they had ceased to serve any useful purpose. The monks were rich and idle, and were, of course, violently opposed to the reforming spirit. The visitors sent by Cromwell brought back terrible tales of the misdoings of monks and nuns. These stories may have been much exaggerated, but that monastic life in England had become degenerate, and that nothing short of dissolution was likely to mend it was clear enough. At present the king was satisfied when Parliament dissolved the smaller monasteries, confiscated their property, and pensioned off the monks and nuns (1536). Three years afterwards the greater monasteries followed. Monasteries had formed a prominent feature in the old Catholic life, and their destruction was a sign of altered times.

Thomas
Cromwell.

Dissolution of
the Monasteries,
1535—39.

We return to the king's domestic affairs. The marriage with Anne Boleyn was far from fortunate.

Execution of
Anne Boleyn,
1536.

In 1536 she was accused of immoral conduct with several persons. Such an offence in a Queen came within the scope of the treason laws, and the wretched woman and her accomplices were after trial condemned and executed. Moreover, owing to a confession, the nature of which is not known, made by Anne to Cranmer, her marriage with Henry was declared to be void, and the princess Elizabeth, like her half-sister Mary, was pronounced illegitimate. Again Parliament altered the succession. The crown was to go to the issue of Henry's third wife, Jane Seymour.

Henry mar-
ries Jane
Seymour,
1536.

Meantime the tide was setting in the direction of doctrinal reform, and the king was moving with it. In 1536 ten articles of religion, dealing with doctrine and ritual, were promulgated, which, though moderate, tended towards Protestantism. Far more important was a measure of the same year. The reformers declared the Bible to be the repository of true faith and religion, and insisted that the people should be allowed to read it. The Catholics, on the other hand, had withheld the scriptures from the laity. They maintained that the laity should learn from the Church, not directly from the Bible. But now the Bible was translated into English and a copy placed in every church where all might read it.

The transla-
tion of the
Bible, 1536.

These changes, though supported by a powerful and earnest minority, were none the less distasteful to the majority, who lamented the introduction of novelties and the removal of venerable institutions. A rebellion broke out in the northern and eastern counties under the leadership of a certain Robert Aske, a man not only talented, but brave and honest. The insurgents called their movement the

Pilgrimage of Grace, and they demanded the punishment of Cromwell, the restoration of the monasteries, the punishment of 'heretics,' and the repeal of much of the recent anti-papal legislation. The rebels had also other grievances, not of a religious nature, some of which were just. It was not till the next year that the disturbances in the north were finally put down. Aske and other leaders were put to death, as were also a number of monks. For answer to the Pilgrimage of Grace, the greater monasteries, as we have seen, were dissolved in 1539.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536.

But from abroad Henry had other dangers to face. His kinsman, Reginald Pole, to whom he had formerly shown great kindness, was a violent Catholic. He had written, from the safe shelter of the continent, a book against Henry, denouncing him as a monster of iniquity, and had done all he could to stir up a religious war in which foreign princes and discontented Englishmen should unite to hurl the heretical king from his throne. For these services Pole had been made a Cardinal by the Pope and the Pope in 1538 launched a furious Bull against Henry in which he declared the English King deposed and excommunicate. But Pole's endeavours utterly failed. The Pilgrimage of Grace, from which he had hoped much, came to nothing, and his own brother, the Marquis of Exeter, and his mother, the Countess of Salisbury, being implicated in his treasonable designs, were brought to the scaffold, the former in 1538, the latter in 1540.

Reginald Pole.

The Bull of Deposition, 1538.

In 1537, to the great joy of Henry and of such of his subjects as were well disposed towards him, a son, afterwards King Edward VI, was born to Jane Seymour, of whose legitimacy there could be no

Birth of Prince Edward, 1537.

doubt, for Catherine of Aragon had died the previous year. Queen Jane unfortunately died a few days after the birth of her son.

The Reformation course was still advancing. Not only had the monasteries been destroyed, and the Bible put into the hands of the people, but a great many relics and images, once the objects of superstitious adoration, were given over to destruction. But Henry and his Parliament were not inclined to go as far as the extreme Protestants. The king dreaded the imputation of heresy, and in those days the principle of universal toleration was neither understood nor possible. In 1539 a statute, called the Six Articles, was passed, by which, on pain of death and other penalties, some essentially Catholic doctrines were enforced, and chiefly the central doctrine of the faith, Transubstantiation (see page 138). Thus it seemed that men were to be hanged for adhering to the Pope and burned for denying his doctrines. However the general sense of the country supported the Act, which was, moreover, not allowed to be rigidly put in practice, as the king, putting forward the extraordinary powers* recently granted him by the confidence, or, if we prefer it, the subservience of his Parliament, checked the persecution which the reactionary bishops had begun.

The Six Articles, 1539.

Anne of Cleves and fall of Cromwell, 1540.

Next year Henry married again. His bride, Anne, daughter of the Duke of Cleves, was chosen for him by Cromwell, who wished to make a league between England and the Protestant princes of Germany. On her arrival Anne failed to please

* That proclamations of the king, within certain limits, should have the force of law (1539). This was a temporary measure, and was far from asserting the right of the crown to make laws without consent.

the king, and a divorce was eventually arranged. But Cromwell, now Earl of Essex, had forfeited his master's favour, and his enemies, of whom there were many both among the clergy and nobility, seized the opportunity to strike him down. Cromwell fell as Wolsey had fallen. He was accused of treason by the Duke of Norfolk. It was said that as minister he had gone beyond his power, that he had even used threatening words against the king. The matter was brought before Parliament and Cromwell was condemned to death by an Act of Parliament called an Act of Attainder. Cromwell and Cranmer were the most powerful friends of the Reformation in England. The Archbishop interceded for his friend, but in vain.

Anne of Cleves being divorced, Henry married Catherine Howard, niece of Cromwell's enemy, the Duke of Norfolk. But Catherine was discovered to be a loose bad woman, and her crimes brought her to the block (1542). Henry married yet another wife, Catherine Parr, who survived him. His matrimonial history was neither fortunate nor edifying.

Catherine Howard and Catherine Parr.

Before the reign of Henry ended further steps were taken in the matter of religious reform. Hitherto all the services of the Church had been conducted in Latin. Now Cranmer ordered that some of the prayers should be said in English, and he also issued for private use an English prayer-book, or primer. Henry was still moving with the tide, and inclining more than ever to the new doctrines which he had once so strongly opposed. It is probable that, had he lived, he would have gradually instituted some at least of the changes so violently

Further religious reforms.

brought about in the reign of Edward VI and so violently reversed in the reign of Mary.

Henry, King
of Ireland,
1541.

Henry had, like his predecessors, much trouble with Ireland. There had been rebellions which had to be put down with a heavy hand. In 1541 Henry took the title of King of Ireland, instead of Lord of Ireland, the title borne by English kings since Henry II. But his attempts to introduce order into Ireland, and to make Irishmen English in sentiment and civilisation signally failed.

Solway Moss,
1542.

During the later year of the reign England was involved again in wars with Scotland and France. James V, King of Scotland, adopted an anti-English policy, and in 1542 a disorderly army of Scots invaded England. The Scots, however, were put to utter rout at Solway Moss by a small English force. The Scotch king died the same year, leaving behind him an infant daughter, the ill-fated Mary Queen of Scots. Henry tried to make peace with Scotland and to unite the two kingdoms by a marriage between his son Edward and the young queen, but there was a strong anti-reforming and anti-English party in Scotland, closely allied with France, and the arrangement came to nothing. In fact Henry thought it necessary to invade Scotland in 1544. The leaders in this expedition were Lords Hertford and Lisle of whom we shall hear more in the next reign.

Invasion of
Scotland,
1544.

Invasion of
France, 1544.

On the continent Henry was drawn into an alliance with Charles V, who had now quarrelled with the Pope, and as a consequence into a war with France. France had for allies, strangely enough, the Pope and the Turks. Henry invaded France in person and took Boulogne; but Charles deserted him, made

a separate peace with Francis I, and Henry made peace soon after.

One other state trial remains to be mentioned. Lord Hertford, uncle of prince Edward, was now leader of the reforming party among the nobles; his chief rival was the Duke of Norfolk. Hertford managed to bring a charge of treason against Norfolk and his son, the Earl of Surrey. They were both condemned to death and Surrey was executed. The death of Henry VIII himself saved Norfolk from the block. The Earl of Surrey is famous in English literary history as a poet of some talent. He does not appear to have been a very wise man.

Parliament had given Henry power to nominate his successor, and had also declared the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth capable of succeeding. Henry VIII accordingly willed the crown to Edward and his issue; that failing, to Mary, and after to Elizabeth. After these he named the issue of his sister Mary, once Queen of France and afterwards Duchess of Suffolk, thus passing over the elder sister Margaret and the Scotch royal line.

Execution of
Surrey.

Death of
Henry VIII,
1547.

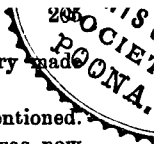
The succes-
sion.

CHAP. IV. EDWARD VI.

The Protector Somerset—His Protestant policy—Battle of Pinkie—Confiscation of Church property—The First Prayer-book of Edward VI—Popular distress—Rising in the West—Ket's rebellion—Fall of the Protector Somerset—The Earl of Warwick's rule—Execution of Somerset—The Second Prayer-book of Edward VI—Northumberland's Conspiracy—Death of Edward VI—Public Schools.

The late king, whose government had so skillfully avoided the extremes of either party, wished that

The Protector
Somerset.



the same policy should be followed during the minority of his son. Accordingly he had by will directed that the governing council should be composed of adherents of both religious parties. Lord Hertford, the young king's uncle, now created Earl of Somerset, was strong enough to set aside Henry's will, and, under the title of Protector, to usurp power sufficient to enable him to follow what policy he pleased.

His Protest-
ant policy,
1547.

Somerset belonged to the party of advanced reformers. In some ways a brilliant, and even a noble-minded man, he was very ambitious and excessively imprudent. From the first he irritated all those who had tender feelings for the old forms of worship. He ordered a general visitation of churches and the destruction of images, painted windows, and other things which the Protestants thought idolatrous.

Battle of
Pinkie, 1547.

Somerset then, with the best intentions, tried to force upon the Scots a close alliance with England, to be cemented by the marriage of the young Queen Mary with Edward VI. He invaded the northern kingdom, and defeated the Scots with great loss at Pinkie Cleugh near Edinburgh. Somerset got great glory by this, but he alienated such Scots as were disposed to be friendly to England. Patriotic feelings threw the Scots on their old allies, the French. The party in Scotland opposed to England and the Reformation became stronger than ever, and Mary of Scotland was sent to France where she was next year married to the Dauphin. Such was the end of the marriage scheme.

Meantime the movement for so-called reform went on. Church property was confiscated, and the

wealth which might have been used for good purposes was appropriated by greedy nobles whom selfish motives—perhaps more than anything else—made zealous champions of religious reform and supporters of a reforming administration.

Confiscation
of Church
property.

Cranmer's work was of a nobler and purer character. In 1549 the first book of public prayer in the English language, mainly compiled by him, was put forth by Act of Parliament. The same Parliament permitted the marriage of clergy.

The First
Prayer-book
of Edward VI,
1549.

But Protestantism was as yet far from popular, save in London and in some parts of the country where the majority of the population were inhabitants of towns. The Government and the nobles had elsewhere made the Reformation movement odious. For the rich land-owners, not content with the spoils of the Church, had lately been enclosing common lands and depriving the poor of the advantage which the common lands afforded. In other ways the poor suffered. Land-owners had lately found that it was more profitable to breed sheep than to grow corn, and this change threw many labourers out of employment. Again Somerset, to defray his war expenses, had resorted to the disastrous expedient of debasing the coinage. This resulted in a great rise of prices. These things caused great discontent. To many of the English people the Reformation, besides taking away from them old customs and sacred institutions which familiarity had rendered dear, seemed to mean rank oppression and injustice. In 1549 there was a rising in the west. The rebels demanded not only the restoration of the enclosed lands, but the repeal of the Protestant legislation. Unfortunately Somers-

Popular
distress.

Rising in the
West, 1549.

set was known to sympathise with the social grievances of the people, and they were thus encouraged to commit many lawless acts. Somerset was accused by the nobles of showing too great lenience in dealing with popular disorder. The rising in the west was, however, speedily put down.

Ket's rebellion, 1549.

In the eastern counties there was another insurrection under one Ket, a tanner. Here the grievances of the people were purely social. The Reformation had advanced further amongst the people of Norfolk and Suffolk than amongst those of Devonshire. This latter revolt was, with some difficulty, put down by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick. This man was the son of Dudley, the minister of Henry VII. Under the title of Lord Lisle he had shared in the expedition against Scotland undertaken in the latter part of the reign of Henry VIII.

Fall of the Protector Somerset, 1549.

Somerset's government had been a thorough failure. The Scotch war had brought on a French war. The majority of the people disliked the violent religious reforms; there was great economical distress and the nobles hated the Protector because of his sympathy with the people in the matter of enclosures. So the Earl of Warwick and other lords of the Council conspired to bring about his fall, and Somerset, after a futile attempt to retain his position by carrying off King Edward to Windsor, and appealing to the people of London to use force against the Council, was obliged to resign the Protectorship (1549).

The Earl of Warwick's rule.

The chief man in the Council was now the Earl of Warwick. Warwick had no religious belief, and it was thought at first that he might adopt the Catholic side. But for reasons of his own Warwick chose

to support the party of the reformers, and became more violently Protestant than even Somerset had been. The Protestant divines who had come over from Germany, and who cared more for the propagation of certain theological doctrines than for just government, were delighted with him. But Warwick was a worse ruler than his predecessor had been and an infinitely worse man. His government was marked by failure at every turn. The French won back Bologne, and England was nearly involved in a war with the Emperor, owing to Northumberland's attempt to forbid the Princess Mary the use of the mass. The coinage, too, was further debased, and distress amongst the people increased. So hated had Warwick become that Somerset began to hope that he might recover power. But Warwick—now Duke of Northumberland—anticipated him. He brought false charges against him, and Somerset was condemned to death and executed (1552).

Execution of
Somerset,
1552.

The Reformation, however, went on. A second Prayer-book, much more Protestant in tone, especially as regards the sacrament, than the first had been, was issued in 1552. The churches underwent further disfigurement, and bishops, such as Stephen Gardiner of Winchester and Edmund Bonner of London, were deprived of their sees. Gardiner and Bonner indeed had been confined to the Tower during the greater part of the reign, and had not been induced to love Protestantism in consequence.

The second
Prayer-book
of Edward VI,
1552.

These things, however pleasing to noblemen who were enriched by the spoil of the Church, and to divines who cared more for dogmas than for duty, were far from pleasing to the majority of the people.

Northumber-
land's con-
spiracy, 1553.

The noblest Protestants, such as the great Bishop Latimer, bewailed the decay of charity and denounced the avarice of the great, while the mass of the people were made ready for a Catholic reaction. The Princess Mary was popular and Northumberland hated. And now Edward VI was seen to be dying. Northumberland knew that the accession of Mary would mean his own ruin, and by a bold stroke he determined to keep her from the throne, and retain his own influence. He married his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, to Lady Jane Grey. She was the granddaughter of Mary, the second sister of Henry VIII, who had been successively Queen of France and Duchess of Suffolk. Lady Jane Grey was a sincere Protestant. Edward was induced to believe that, like his father, he possessed the right to will away the crown. He did not understand that Henry had been granted this power by Parliament by a special act which applied only to himself. The young King believed—and rightly—that the accession of Mary would bring about a return to Catholicism. Accordingly he made a will in which the claims of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth were passed over and the crown bequeathed to Lady Jane Grey. The Judges and Lords of the Council were induced to sign the will. Cranmer for a while stood out, but was at last moved to yield by the piteous entreaties of the dying boy. Northumberland's triumph seemed to be complete. The heir to the throne was a Protestant and his own son's wife. Then King Edward died (1553).

Death of
Edward VI,
1553.

Public
schools.

Amid the miserable deeds of this reign history remembers with gratitude one bright feature. The cause of learning was to some extent advanced, and public schools were founded in different parts of England.

CHAP. V. MARY I.

Queen Jane proclaimed—Return of Mary—Execution of Northumberland—Mary's aims—Repeal of the religious laws of Edward VI—Rebellion of Wyatt—Execution of Lady Jane Grey and others—Mary marries Philip of Spain—Reconciliation with Rome—Persecution of Protestants—Burning of Ridley and Latimer—And of Cranmer—Effects of the Persecution—The Queen disappointed in her hopes for a child—More persecutions—Loss of Calais—Death of Mary and of Cardinal Pole.

For some days Edward's death was kept a secret. Then Queen Jane was proclaimed. But the proclamation was received in silence. The people were unwilling to see the rightful heir excluded. Mary had soon an army at her back, for Catholic and Protestant alike hated treason. Northumberland left London with a force to oppose Mary, but his soldiers deserted him, and he was, despite himself, compelled to proclaim Mary. In London she had already been proclaimed by the council. Amid immense enthusiasm the lawful Queen entered the capital. Lady Jane Grey, the innocent victim of a worthless man's ambition, was thrown into prison. Northumberland and two of the principal confederates in the late conspiracy were put to death. On the scaffold the Duke crowned his infamous career by declaring that he had always been a Catholic at heart.

And now the Catholic reaction began. Gardiner and Bonner were taken from prison, and Gardiner made Chancellor. Several Protestant bishops, in particular Cranmer, Ridley and Latimer, were arrested, and the mass was restored. Mary's heart

Proclamation
of Queen
Jane.

Return of
Mary.

Execution of
Northumber-
land, 1553.

Mary's aims.

was set on two things; first and foremost the complete restoration of the Pope's authority in England; secondly, a marriage with Philip, son of the Emperor Charles V, and a close alliance with Spain, her mother's country, and in no small sense her own, though she had never been there.

It was to be seen how far her subjects would go with her. The misdeeds of the Protestant rulers in the last reign had brought discredit on the extreme Protestants and thrown back the Reformation. Mary had therefore little difficulty in inducing her first Parliament to repeal all the religious legislation of Edward VI, and to restore the state of things which had existed at the end of the reign of Henry VIII. But the Church lands the laity refused to part with, and they still insisted that the crown was supreme head of the Church in England. Parliament was also much opposed to the Spanish match, and petitioned the Queen to marry an Englishman. The obstinate attitude assumed by this Parliament on matters she had so much at heart induced Mary to dissolve it (1553).

Repeal of the religious legislation of Edward VI, 1553.

As it was certain that the Queen would marry Philip, some of her subjects who were most opposed to it raised a rebellion to put the Princess Elizabeth on the throne. The Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, was to raise the midlands; Sir Thomas Wyatt, son of the poet Wyatt, was to raise Kent. Suffolk's part in the rising came to nothing, but Wyatt raised Kent and actually marched to London where he was captured and cast into prison. Mary, merciful in the first glow of popularity, now determined to be rid of her enemies. Suffolk was executed; so also were Lady Jane Grey and her

Rebellion of Wyatt, 1554.

Execution of Lady Jane Grey and others, 1554.

husband. Wyatt of course suffered, after having been tortured in order to extract from him some sort of confession which should implicate Elizabeth in treasonable practices. It was in vain. Elizabeth was for a while imprisoned in the Tower, but Mary, though anxious to be rid of a dangerous rival, dared not put her to death unjustly. Elizabeth was regarded as the heir to the throne, and Englishmen would not suffer her to be touched (1554).

But the rebellion had strengthened the Queen's hands. The Parliament of 1554 consented to the Spanish marriage. Philip came to England and was married to a wife twelve years older than himself, plain of feature and unattractive. Mary passionately loved her husband, and tried to deceive herself that her love was returned.

Mary marries
Philip of
Spain, 1554.

Cardinal Pole was now permitted to return to England, not as a pardoned traitor, but as Papal Legate. The anti-papal laws of Henry VIII were repealed; the old statutes against heretics were revived, and Parliament, in the name of the nation, consented to receive at Pole's hands absolution for the sin of separation from Rome. England was reunited to the papacy, but the reconciliation was a bargain after all. The laity refused to surrender a foot of Church land in their possession, and the acknowledgment of the Papal supremacy was made conditional on their rights never being called in question. Neither would they allow any mention of the Pope's dispensing powers in the matter of marriage laws, since by such acknowledgment the Princess Elizabeth would be declared illegitimate (1554-55).

Reconciliation
with
Rome, 1554.

And now the persecution which has made this

Persecution
of Protestants.

reign for ever infamous began, urged on by Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, in whose eyes the awful death by fire seemed a small penalty for an error of judgment, and the extirpation by such means of heretical opinions a duty they owed to God. Hooper, a Protestant bishop, and some other well-known clergymen came first, followed by humbler victims,—unimportant gentlemen, tradesmen, apprentices and artisans. Later in the year Ridley, the most learned, and Latimer, the bravest, noblest and greatest of the Protestants, suffered together at Oxford. “Be of good comfort, Master Ridley,” cried the heroic old man, as the flames began to leap about them: “Play the man; we shall this day light such a candle, by God’s grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out.”

Burning of
Ridley and
Latimer,
1555.

Burning of
Cranmer,
1556.

A more illustrious victim had yet to be offered up. Cranmer had been made Archbishop of Canterbury before the revolt from Rome. It was therefore necessary for the Pope to deprive him of his office before proceedings could be taken against him. The Pope readily consented, and Cranmer was condemned to death. At the end his resolution gave way and he signed a recantation of the Protestant doctrines he had taught. None the less his enemies determined to burn him. His better self returned to him, and when they expected a public confession to add to his shame and their own triumph, he confounded them by vehemently abjuring the Pope, and offering first to the flames the right-hand that had so deeply offended (1556). Pole now became Archbishop of Canterbury.

• Effects of the
Persecution.

But Englishmen were growing tired of these horrible sights. The Protestant cause gained

more in its hour of trial and suffering than it had lost during the period of its triumph. The courage of the martyrs aroused enthusiastic admiration, and much as the people pitied their sufferings, they urged them to stand firm, and regarded a recantation as a public calamity. "You have lost," wrote a lady to Bishop Bonner, the most brutal of the persecutors—"You have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank Papists this twelvemonth."

The Catholic reaction had spent its force. Mary was now as much detested as she had at first been popular. There were two plots against her throne, which, though failures, were significant of the general feeling. The Queen longed to restore the abbeylands to the Church, and to resume the payment of 'Annates' to the Pope. Parliament would not hear of the first, neither could the second be effected. She yearned for a son who should succeed her and carry on the Pope's work in England. The child, much prayed for, would not come. Her husband was seldom with her, and she realised at last that he did not love her. Her people loathed her, and she knew it. God's hand seemed very heavy on her, and her pitiful superstition taught her to believe that her chief offence was mildness to heretics. She bade the bishops set more fires blazing, and the bishops obeyed. Nearly 300 persons suffered at the stake during Mary's reign, besides those who perished in prison of starvation and from other causes.

The Queen disappointed in her hopes for a son.

More persecutions.

The Emperor Charles abdicated in 1558, and Mary's husband became Philip II of Spain. Philip was at war with France, and to please him Mary

Loss of
Calais, 1558.

threw England into the struggle. But careless of everything but her religion, Mary had allowed the defences of England to fall into decay. Even Calais was in no state to resist a siege, and when this year the French attacked it, the last possession of England on the continent was lost.

Death of
Mary and of
Pole, 1558.

Other misfortunes were in store for the wretched Queen. By waging war with the French, Mary had made an enemy of the Pope, for the Pope and the French king were then firm friends. She had the mortification of seeing her one remaining friend, Cardinal Pole, not only deprived of his Legateship, but even accused of heresy. Stricken by disease, childless, abandoned by her husband, hated by her subjects, treated with ingratitude by the Pope, Mary passed away in the latter part of 1558. Pole died a few days after.

CHAP. VI. ELIZABETH (1)

Religious views of Elizabeth—Cecil becomes her Secretary—The Elizabethan Settlement—The Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity—Difficulty of Elizabeth's position—Mary Queen of Scots assumes the title of Queen of England—The treaty of Edinburgh—Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth—The question of Elizabeth's marriage—Lord Robert Dudley—Peace with France—Parties in Scotland—Murder of Darnley—Mary takes refuge in England—The commission at York—Rising on behalf of Mary—The Pope excommunicates Elizabeth—The Ridolfi plot and the execution of Norfolk—England and Spain—The Desmond Rebellion.

On the accession of Elizabeth the work of Mary in the matter of religion was completely undone and

a return made to the state of things which had existed in the later years of Henry VIII. Elizabeth's own views were indefinite. In some respects she sympathised with the old forms of worship, and she certainly disliked extreme Protestantism. On the other hand she would not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and she would never be ruled by the clergy. She was anxious to conciliate hostile opinions and to find, if possible, some religious settlement which, while strictly national, would in time satisfy moderate men of both sides. To persecution she was averse.

Religious
views of
Elizabeth.

For counsellor she had the wise and faithful Sir William Cecil, a man of Protestant leanings, self-sacrificing and unwearied in the service of his Queen and country. Cecil became Elizabeth's Secretary.

Cecil becomes
her Secre-
tary.

The Parliament of 1559 passed two important acts; first the *Act of Supremacy* by which the crown again resumed the headship of the English Church, though Elizabeth did not actually assume the title which had been granted to her father: secondly, the *Act of Uniformity* by which all other forms of public worship were forbidden in England save that laid down in a new Prayer-book. This Prayer-book was based on the second of Edward VI, but in some important matters of doctrine inclined rather to the first book which was, as we have seen, more Catholic in tendency. All Mary's bishops but one resigned their sees rather than accept the altered conditions, but the great majority of the lower clergy fell in with the change.

The Eliza-
bethan Settle-
ment.
The Acts of
Supremacy
and Uniform-
ity, 1559.

But the young Queen's position was very difficult. Her subjects were divided amongst themselves in re-

Difficulty of Elizabeth's position.

ligion; the military defences of the kingdom had been allowed to fall into decay; and she had no friends abroad. Her only chance lay in the suspicion with which the two great Catholic powers of Europe, France and Spain, regarded each other. But she had reason to fear both.

France and Scotland. Mary assumes the title of Queen of England.

The first danger came from France. In 1559 the Dauphin Francis became king of France. His wife, it will be remembered, was Mary Queen of Scots. Mary now assumed the arms and title of Queen of England, thus showing that she regarded Elizabeth as a bastard and a usurper, as indeed she was, if the Catholic theory as to the Pope's dispensing power was true. There were in Scotland at this time two rival parties, that of the French, headed by the regent Mary of Guise, mother of Mary; that of the reforming nobles and clergy, the greatest of whom was the Reformer John Knox. If the French party succeeded in making their influence supreme, it would be very dangerous for Elizabeth. She accordingly gave help to the reforming party; and with English assistance the 'Lords of the congregation,' as the reforming nobles were called, captured Leith, and extorted from the French party the terms of the treaty of Edinburgh, by which the French agreed to leave Scotland and acknowledge Elizabeth as rightful Queen of England (1560).

Treaty of Edinburgh, 1560.

Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

The same year died Francis II, and Mary, now a widow, was compelled to return to her own kingdom in 1561. But Mary refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and Elizabeth on her part refused to consent that Mary should be named as her successor. Between these two queens, both women of great mental powers, there thus arose a struggle in which

great interests were involved; Elizabeth representing the reformed religion and a national spirit which scorned a foreign rule, Mary representing Catholicism, and the Papacy. Happily for England Elizabeth's aims and motives were, despite her many faults, far loftier and purer than Mary's. Elizabeth worked for England; Mary cared nothing for her own people.

Yet Elizabeth's position was singularly lonely. She had no husband to look up to, and her heir was her enemy. At different times foreign princes sought her hand, but though for political reasons she held out hopes to such suitors, she knew that a foreign marriage would compel her to take a definite side in European politics and involve England in quarrels which it was Elizabeth's aim to avoid. Had she been permitted as a private woman to consult her own inclination, Elizabeth would undoubtedly have married Lord Robert Dudley, a handsome and rather worthless person, the youngest son of that Duke of Northumberland who in Mary's reign had closed his infamous career on the scaffold. But Elizabeth knew that such a marriage would be highly distasteful to her subjects, and though she was weak enough to love Dudley, she was strong enough to forbear marrying him.

The question of Elizabeth's marriage.

Lord Robert Dudley.

In France as in Scotland there was war between Catholics and Protestants. To the French Protestants, who were called Huguenots, Elizabeth, vainly hoping to recover Calais, sent some assistance, but the Huguenots were defeated, and Elizabeth was forced to make peace with France in 1564 without getting back Calais.

Peace with France, 1564.

As Elizabeth had helped the Huguenots in France

Parties in
Scotland.

so also she was again induced to help the Protestant malcontents in Scotland. These were now led by Lord James Stuart, Earl of Murray, half-brother of Queen Mary. In 1565 Mary married her cousin, Henry Lord Darnley. Darnley was a Catholic, and as he also had some claim to the English crown, the marriage was distasteful to Elizabeth as well as to the reforming nobles of Scotland. Elizabeth urged Murray to rebel and Murray actually did so, but being unsuccessful was driven out of Scotland and took shelter in England. Elizabeth was even forced to deny all responsibility for Murray's insurrection.

Mary was for the moment strong, but soon her own passion lost her the temporary advantage. She had borne a son to Darnley, but she had grown tired of her husband, who was, indeed, a weak vain boy and who had mortally offended Mary by causing the murder of an Italian favourite of Mary's called David Rizzio. Rizzio was put to death by some lords in Mary's presence, Darnley looking on the while. The Scottish Queen, moreover, had conceived a guilty passion for another Scottish nobleman, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, a violent unscrupulous man. Bothwell, probably with Mary's knowledge, contrived Darnley's death. A house near Edinburgh in which Darnley was lying sick was blown up by gunpowder, and Darnley, trying to escape, was murdered. Then Bothwell carried off the Queen and married her (1567).

Murder of
Darnley,
husband of
Mary of
Scotland,
1567.

And now Mary's subjects rose against her. Defeated in battle she was for a while imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle and forced to resign her crown in favour of her son, the infant James VI. In 1568

she managed to escape and, rallying her Catholic friends to her side, was once more defeated. She now fled to England and demanded from Elizabeth, not only protection, but restoration to her throne

Mary takes refuge in England, 1568.

This demand Elizabeth could not comply with, and yet she was loth to admit the right of subjects to depose their sovereign. A commission at York investigated the question of Mary's share in Darnley's murder. Her guilt seemed evident; but Mary declined to plead her cause before the commission, and demanded instead a personal interview with Elizabeth. This Elizabeth refused, and Mary remained a prisoner in England.

The commission at York.

She was indeed a very dangerous prisoner, as, being a Catholic and the heir to the English crown, she became the centre of Catholic plots. In 1569 some of the northern lords rose in her behalf and actually celebrated mass once more in Durham Cathedral. But the rising was speedily put down with very great severity. A great number of persons were hanged, but the leaders escaped into Scotland.

Rising on behalf of Mary, 1567.

Elizabeth had put down the rising in the north, but many dangers still threatened her. In 1570 her best friend in Scotland, the Earl of Murray, was shot down by a Catholic assassin, and in the same year Pope Pius V put forth a Bull of excommunication against Elizabeth in which he declared the English Queen deposed, released her subjects from their obedience and forbade them to recognise her as their sovereign. Happily for England neither Spain nor France was in a position to support the Bull by an armed invasion. France had reasons at that time for not interfering too decisively in the Catholic interest, and Spain was

Elizabeth excommunicated by the Pope, 1570.

busily engaged in endeavouring to crush the Dutch who were bravely fighting for liberty. But Elizabeth was seriously alarmed. She even thought of marrying the Duke of Anjou, brother of the French king, in order to secure the French as friends.

The Ridolfi plot, 1572.

A plot was now set on foot (1572) by a certain Italian merchant, resident in London, by name Ridolfi. The Spaniards were to send 6,000 men from the Netherlands; the English Catholics were to rise; Elizabeth to be deposed and Mary Queen of Scots to be released from prison, married to the Duke of Norfolk, and placed on the English throne. But the ever-watchful Cecil discovered the plot, and the conspirators only succeeded in sending Norfolk to the block. The House of Commons, which had now become very Protestant in feeling, wished to have Mary executed as well, but Elizabeth refused, and Mary was left for another fifteen years to endanger the security of Elizabeth and her government. It was a fortunate circumstance in connection with designs such as that of Ridolfi, that the Spaniards were unwilling to send an army of invasion before the English Catholics themselves rose in arms, while the English Catholics would not move before such a force was actually in England.

Execution of the Duke of Norfolk, 1572.

England and Spain.

It became, however, very clear that Spain was the foreign enemy whom England had most to fear. It was Spain that Mary now regarded as her chief friend, and it was with Spanish help that the discontented Catholics hoped to overthrow Elizabeth and Protestantism. But it was not on the ground of religion alone that England and Spain were opposed. The new world discovered in the West

was claimed by the Spaniards as their own possession on the ground of a gift from the Pope. All other nations they strove to exclude, not only from colonisation, but from trading. English sailors were not likely to endure this, and they plundered Spanish ships whenever opportunity offered. In return the Spaniards seized English seamen and had them tortured and put to death as heretics. Though no war had been declared between the governments, there was constant fighting between Spaniards and English and a feeling of national hatred was developed in which commerce and religion were curiously mingled. Either side regarded the other as the enemy not only of their country, but of God.

But in England itself there was peace for some years after 1572. In 1579, however, a small force landed in Ireland in the name of the Pope, hoping to strike at England most effectually in that quarter. They achieved no success. Next year a number of Italians and Spaniards also landed in Ireland, but these also the English Lord Deputy was able to overthrow. But now the Irish rose under the Earl of Desmond, and the rebellion was not put down until 1583.

The Desmond
Rebellion,
1580-83.

CHAP. VII. ELIZABETH (2).

The Jesuits in England—Plots to assassinate Elizabeth—The Association—Elizabeth sends help to the Dutch—The Babington Plot—Execution of Mary Queen of Scots—Results of Mary's death—Drake 'singes the King of Spain's beard'—The 'Invincible Armada'—Destruction of the Armada—Importance of the English victory—Continued war with Spain—Rebellion of Hugh O'Neill—Essex in Ireland—Treason and execution of Essex—Ireland subdued—Death of Elizabeth—The House of Commons and Monopolies—The Puritans and the Court of High Commission—The Age of Elizabeth; national prosperity and foreign enterprise; Architecture, &c.; the First Poor Law; Literature.

**The Jesuits in
England.**

In Ireland the danger had been open, but at home Elizabeth's government had to contend against difficulties of a far more subtle character. Many Englishmen were sincerely devoted to the old faith. Some of these had gone into exile, had been trained in religious colleges abroad, and had become priests. These priests burned with a desire to restore England to Catholicism, and many returned as missionaries for this purpose. The most influential of these Catholic missionaries belonged to the order of the Jesuits, that is, the Society of Jesus, an order which had been founded by a certain Spaniard called Ignatius Loyola, for the express purpose of converting heathens and heretics, that is to say, Protestants. Now since the Pope had declared the English Queen excommunicate and deposed, and since the Jesuit priests insisted that the Pope must be obeyed by all true Catholics in all things, it was scarcely possible in those days for a man to be a

faithful Catholic and a loyal Englishman at the same time. It is true that the Jesuit missionaries did not urge their converts to rise against Elizabeth, but as they would not admit that the Pope had no power to depose the Queen, and would not declare that it was the duty of English Catholics to remain faithful to the Queen even though the Pope commanded them to rise against her, it was justly thought by the Government that their missionary work, if permitted to go on, would prove a danger to the realm. The number of disaffected subjects would increase, and the English Catholics would probably rise in support of any foreign army which might invade England in the name of religion. Accordingly some of the priests were seized and put to death, not indeed as teachers of false religion, but as traitors to the Queen. Also in 1581 Parliament passed some very severe laws against the Catholic priests and against those who became Catholics or refused to attend the services of the Established Church.

These measures were undoubtedly necessary, but it is scarcely wonderful that they drove extreme Catholics desperate. With the sanction of the Pope, and of the Spanish King, conspiracies were set on foot to assassinate Elizabeth, to bring foreign troops into England and to make Mary queen. These plots were happily discovered by the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers, and more than one would-be assassin was put to death. On the other hand an Association was formed of all loyal Englishmen to defend the Queen, and in the event of her being murdered, to put to death the person on whose

Plots to assassinate Elizabeth.

The Association, 1584.

behalf the crime was committed. Of course Mary Queen of Scots was intended.

Elizabeth sends help to the Dutch, 1585.

As Philip of Spain was known to be contemplating an invasion of England, and as he had plotted with Jesuits and others against her life, Elizabeth determined to send armed help to the Dutch who were still fighting for freedom against the Spaniards. The English army was commanded by Dudley, now Earl of Leicester. Leicester was ill-supplied with money and consequently did nothing of merit. But many Englishmen went over of their own accord and lent their services to the Dutch. Noblest of these was the famous Sir Philip Sidney, courtier, poet, scholar and soldier. Sidney fell at the battle of Zutphen, 1586. Meantime in the western seas Sir Francis Drake and other adventurous mariners struck many a blow at the wealth and influence of Spain.

The Babington plot, 1586.

Another Catholic plot against Elizabeth's throne and life was discovered in 1586. It is called the Babington plot, from Antony Babington, the leading conspirator. As Mary Stuart was implicated in the plot Elizabeth was at last induced to allow her to be brought to trial. She was found guilty and sentenced to death. For a long while Elizabeth shrank from signing the warrant for her execution. At last she yielded, and the council, fearing that she might still relent, authorised Davison, Elizabeth's secretary, to despatch the warrant without further delay. Elizabeth was very angry with Davison and dismissed him from his office. Mary Stuart perished at Fotheringay Castle, and with her ceased the secret plotting which had so long

Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, 1587.

disturbed Elizabeth's reign. Henceforth the enemies of the Queen must act openly.

Elizabeth had now much less to fear from her Catholic subjects. Whatever right to the throne Mary had possessed now passed to her son James VI. But James was a Protestant and his accession would in no way be advantageous to Catholicism. Hence it was no use killing or deposing Elizabeth, and English Catholics had to choose between acquiescence in the present state of affairs and the subjection of England to a purely foreign rule. The vast majority of Catholics were far too good Englishmen to choose the latter alternative, and when Philip of Spain invaded England there were few Englishmen that wished him well.

Results of
Mary's death.

For Philip now claimed the English crown for himself on the ground that he was descended from a daughter of John of Gaunt. A great fleet or 'Armada' was got ready for the invasion of England, but in 1587 the adventurous Sir Francis Drake with some thirty ships ran into Cadiz and other Spanish ports, destroyed the ships which contained the stores and provisions for the enterprise on England, and thus prevented the great Armada from sailing that year. This achievement he called 'singeing the King of Spain's beard.' In 1588 however the 'Invincible Armada' put out. The intention was to sail up the channel to Flanders, where an army of Spanish veterans under the Duke of Parma was to be taken on board and landed in England. But it fared ill with the Armada. Although the Spanish vessels were greater in number and in build than the English ships which were awaiting them, they were not nearly so well constructed for action, while the

Drake 'singes
the King of
Spain's
beard,' 1587.

The 'Invincible
Armada,'
1588.

Spanish Admiral, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, was a man who knew nothing of war either by land or sea. The English fleet was commanded by Lord Howard of Effingham. Under him served such skilled mariners as Sir Francis Drake and other famous sea-captains. When the Armada entered the channel, Lord Howard, who was at Plymouth, allowed it to pass, and then followed with the wind. All up the channel there was a running fight, the English ships having much the best of it. The Armada then put into Calais roads, but Lord Howard sent in fire-ships which drove out the Spanish fleet. An engagement followed in which the Spaniards suffered very great loss. It was impossible for the Armada to take Parma's army on board. The fleet was borne northwards with the wind. As long as their ammunition held out the English pursued the flying enemy, working still further destruction upon them. Then a storm burst on the shattered fleet and drove it still further north. Doubling the north coast of Scotland many ships were wrecked among the Hebrides and on the Irish coast. Out of the 131 ships which had sailed from Spain only 65 returned, and of the 240,000 men that had embarked only 10,000 survived to tell the tale.

Destruction
of the Arma-
da.

Few events in human history have been more decisive than the overthrow of the Spanish Armada. By it the great question as to whether England was or was not to remain a Protestant country was finally settled, and on the victory of Protestantism in England the existence of continental Protestantism very largely depended.

Importance
of the English
victory.

The war with Spain continued, but the English were now the assailants. Yearly expeditions were

made against Spain and Spanish possessions. Help was given to Henry IV of France who was also at war with Spain. In 1596 Lord Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, and a new favourite of the Queen's, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, took and sacked Cadiz.

Continued war with Spain, 1589—96.

The last year of Elizabeth were troubled by further disturbances in Ireland. In 1598 Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, headed a revolt in Ulster, brought about in large measure by an attempt to plant English settlers on Irish lands. O'Neill expected help from the Spanish King, but Philip II died before he was able to send an army. Nevertheless O'Neill defeated an English force at the Blackwater. Next year Elizabeth sent her favourite Essex to conquer Ireland. But Essex mismanaged matters. Instead of at once marching against O'Neill he wasted time and finally concluded a peace with the rebel Earl which was practically dishonourable to England. He then hastened to England despite the Queen's prohibition.

Rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, 1598.

Essex in Ireland, 1597.

On his arrival Elizabeth ordered him to be thrown into confinement for a while, but very soon restored him to liberty. The Queen's chief minister was now Robert Cecil, son of the wise statesman William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, who was now dead. Essex hated Cecil whom he regarded as his rival, and chafing under his disgrace (for he was excluded from the Council and the Court) he fell into treason, and called upon the citizens of London to rise on his behalf against the Queen's ministers. The attempt was thoroughly unsuccessful. Essex was immediately arrested and paid the penalty for his many faults and follies on the scaffold (1601).

Essex executed for treason, 1601.

Ireland subdued, 1603.

Ireland meanwhile was subdued by the very capable Governor, Lord Mountjoy. A force of Spaniards came to the assistance of the rebels, but it was defeated and Tyrone made his submission (1603).

Death of Elizabeth, 1603.

The same year Elizabeth died. Before her death she expressed a wish that James VI of Scotland should succeed her.

The House of Commons.

During Elizabeth's reign the strength and importance of the House of Commons had been steadily increasing. The Commons were strongly Protestant, many of them inclining towards that severe form of Protestantism which is called Puritanism. Their religion helped to foster in them a spirit of independence which, while it furnished additional strength to a government in sympathy with the best aspirations of the nation, was likely to lead to fierce struggles between King and Parliament should that sympathy cease. The Tudor sovereigns had been strong mainly because they had acted in conjunction with Parliament, and because instead of persisting in measures to which Parliament was strongly opposed, they preferred to yield gracefully. Thus at the close of Elizabeth's reign Parliament loudly complained against a practice which the crown had adopted for the purpose of rewarding courtiers at the expense of others. These favoured persons were granted *Monopolies*, that is, the exclusive right to sell certain articles. By Monopolies prices were of course enhanced and private enterprise interfered with. Elizabeth at once agreed to cancel all monopolies which were grievous to the people and even thanked the Commons for bringing the matter to her notice.

* Monopolies, 1601.

We have mentioned the Puritans. They were

Protestants who strongly objected to various religious ceremonial observances which the Established Church had retained, and in many cases insisted on certain theological doctrines which the English Church had left doubtful. Some of the Puritans disliked the government of the Church by Bishops, while an extreme party, called the Separatists, maintained that each congregation should be independent of all interference from without, whether ecclesiastical or secular. Now Elizabeth was as little inclined to tolerate Puritans who would not conform to her settlement as she was to tolerate Catholics. She had no sympathy with Protestant theology, and she did not understand the noble earnestness of the Puritan temper. She insisted upon uniformity in the matter of worship. Accordingly in virtue of a clause in the Act of Supremacy a court, called the *Court of High Commission*, was established which deprived the non-conforming clergy of their benefices and even imprisoned them. This court became in time an instrument of great oppression.

The Puritans and the Court of High Commission.

In spite of many unbeautiful features the age of Elizabeth was a period in the national history of which all true Englishmen are justly proud. From the terrible contest with Spain and the Papacy England had emerged splendidly triumphant. England had become a great European power, feared and respected abroad, unrivalled on the seas, prosperous and wealthy at home. Agriculture, which had declined under the early Tudors, revived, manufactures flourished, a spirit of adventure and commercial enterprise took hold of the people; great trading companies were established, particularly the *East India Company* which in 1600 obtained its first charter. It was a

The age of Elizabeth.

National prosperity, and foreign enterprise;

Architecture,
&c.;

The first
Poor Law ;

Elizabethan
Literature.

great age of navigation. Sir Francis Drake had twice sailed round the globe ; another famous seamen, Martin Frobisher, reached the coast of Labrador, and Sir Walter Raleigh planted a settlement in North America which afterwards became the colony of Virginian. The increased prosperity of the country was seen in the magnificent houses which nobles and gentlemen erected all over the land. These were no longer, as in mediæval times, fortified castles, but rather splendid palaces. In the matter of furniture and articles of household use, as well as in the splendid costume affected by the wealthy, many changes were introduced in the direction of comfort and luxury. To this reign also we owe the first *Poor Law*, to force the idle to work, and relieve helpless poverty at the public expense by compulsory taxation.

But perhaps the greatest glory of the Elizabethan era is its literature, more especially its poetry. In 1580 Edmund Spenser began his great allegorical poem, *The Faery Queen*. Now too a great national drama had arisen ; and before the death of the Queen, William Shakespeare, the mightiest of English dramatists and poets had produced some of his greatest work. In the region of prose the names of Francis Bacon, the philosopher, and of Richard Hooker, the Ecclesiastical writer, are conspicuous. But these four names are but the highest out of many.

PART VI. THE EARLY STUARTS AND THE PURITAN REVOLUTION.

CHAP. I. JAMES I.

Accession of James—Imprisonment of Raleigh—James and the Puritans—The Hampton Court Conference—James and the Catholics—The Gunpowder Plot—The first Parliament of James—The Post-nati—Question of Privilege and Prerogative—The Impositions—The Great Contract—Parliament dissolved—Robert Carr—The order of Baronets—Death of Salisbury—The Undertakers—The 'Addled' Parliament—Foreign affairs—Marriage of Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine—The Spanish marriage scheme—Last voyage and execution of Raleigh—The Thirty Years' War—James's Third Parliament—Fall of Bacon—Dissolution of the Third Parliament—George Villiers—The journey to Madrid and collapse of the Spanish Match—Fourth Parliament of James—Death of James—The Virginian and New England Colonies—The Plantation of Ulster.

On the death of Elizabeth, James I was acknowledged king without opposition. He was the son of Mary Queen of Scots and Lord Darnley. Both on the father's and the mother's side he was the great-grandson of Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII. James at once appointed Sir Robert Cecil to be Secretary of State, and this office he filled till his death in 1612. In the very first year of the reign Sir Walter Raleigh was condemned to death on a charge of having been involved in treasonable com-

Accession of
James I, 1603.

Imprison-
ment of Sir
Walter Ra-
leigh, 1603.

munications with Spain. The sentence was not carried out, but Raleigh was kept a prisoner in the Tower. It is impossible that Raleigh, all his life an inveterate enemy of Spain, could have been really guilty of the offence he was charged with.

James and
the Puritans.

Both Catholics and Puritans entertained hopes that the new king would do something for them. On his way towards London a petition was presented to James by the Puritan ministers begging for certain changes to be made in the liturgy and ritual of the Church of England. This was called the *Millenary Petition* as it was intended to be signed by a thousand clergymen. Next year (1604) the king summoned certain of the Puritan divines to a conference at Hampton Court, a palace near London, to discuss with the leading Bishops. The Puritans got no good out of this conference. The king declared against them, for he saw that the Puritans wished to associate the *Presbyters*, or ministers, with the Bishops in the government of the Church. James had had experience of the Presbyterian system in Scotland and thoroughly hated it. He believed that any lessening of the bishops' authority would weaken the power of the crown. 'No Bishop, no King' became a settled maxim with him. The Puritans were told that they must conform to the existing state of things. A large number of Puritan clergy were eventually expelled from their posts for refusing to do so.

The Hampton
Court Confer-
ence, 1604.

James and
the Catholics.

James was by nature averse to persecution for religion's sake; at the same time he dreaded an increase in the number of English Catholics. At the beginning of the reign the severe laws enacted against Catholics in Elizabeth's time (the *Recusancy Laws*) were not put in force. The result was that

the number of recusants, that is, persons who refused to attend service in the English Church, increased to an alarming extent, now that the fines formerly exacted for non-attendance were not levied. James began to be seriously afraid. He knew that, although the Catholics at present only asked for toleration, the priests and the Catholic powers abroad would never be content till the Roman faith was once more supreme in England and all other religions crushed out. Accordingly the priests were once more banished the realm and the recusancy laws revived. As a direct consequence of this a wild conspiracy was set on foot by some desperate Catholic gentlemen, the leader of whom was a man named Robert Catesby. Catesby's design was to blow up the Houses of Parliament on the day of opening (November 5, 1605) and thus destroy at one stroke the King, the Princes Henry and Charles, together with all the Lords and Commons. At the same time the young princess Elizabeth was to be secured, declared Queen and brought up in the Catholic faith. This wild and wicked design was fortunately discovered. The barrels of gunpowder were found in a cellar under the House of Lords, and with them a certain Guy Fawkes, a soldier, who had been brought over from Flanders to superintend this part of the plot. The other conspirators were at once pursued. Some fell fighting; others were captured and executed. Two priests suffered for having had knowledge of the plot. The Gunpowder Plot was the work of a very small minority of the Catholics, but the inevitable result was the enactment of still severer laws against Catholicism (1606).

The Gun-
powder Plot,
1604-5.

James and
his First
Parliament.

For the moment King and Parliament were of one mind, having escaped from a common danger. But James was from the first really out of sympathy with the Commons, and as time went on the difference only increased. Throughout the Commons were far more anti-Catholic than the King. Again the Commons would have made the points of difference between the Bishops and the Puritans as far as possible optional; James was for rigid conformity. The Commons looked upon Spain as the natural enemy of England; James wished to make friends with Spain. James was anxious to bring about a complete union with Scotland. Parliament was strongly opposed, and James was only able to get from the Judges a decision that Scotchmen born after the present king's accession (*Post-nati*) were naturalised Englishmen and could hold landed property in England. In the very first session James sent a message to the Commons in which he laid down that the privileges of Parliament were matters of *grace*, that is, were gifts from the King. The Commons on the other hand maintained that their privileges were of *right*, and thus were not dependent on the King's favour. They did not at present press the point, but this conflict of ideas lay at the root of the long struggle between the Stuart kings and their Parliaments. The King stood by his *Prerogative*, Parliament by its *Privileges*.

The Post-
nati.

Question of
privilege.

Impositions,
1610.

In 1610 there was another dispute on the important question of revenue. James claimed the right to levy *Impositions*, that is, duties on certain imported articles. The Judges declared for the King, but the Commons denied his right as being contrary to the *Confirmatio Cartarum* in the reign of Edward I.

One member said that the king might as well dispose of their property altogether. The king and his chief minister, Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, tried to conclude a bargain with the Commons. James was to abandon the impositions as well as some oppressive feudal dues, such as wardship and marriage, and was to receive in return a large sum of money annually. But the *Great Contract*, as it was called, broke down. James was annoyed with the tone with which the Commons discussed his Prerogative, and dissolved Parliament in disgust. He even thought of imprisoning some of the members.

The Great Contract, 1610. Parliament dissolved. 1611.

The king was now in great straits for money. His government was far from economical, partly because he wasted much wealth on favourites, and partly because, in other ways, owing to a corrupt system of administration much public money found its way into private purses. James's chief favourite was now a worthless young Scotchman named Robert Carr, who rapidly rose to great wealth and distinction. Carr was created Viscount Rochester in 1611 and Earl of Somerset in 1613.

Robert Carr.

In order to raise money, James created a new order of nobility, that of Baronets. Baronetcies were given to those who were willing to pay for them. But these expedients were not sufficient, and James was obliged to call another Parliament in 1614.

The order of Baronets, 1611.

The Earl of Salisbury was now dead and James had appointed no chief minister in his place. He meant to be his own chief minister. He was not, however, without wise advisers. Bacon urged him to give up bargaining with Parliament, and rather to put himself at its head and join with it in useful legislation. Bacon's advice fell on deaf ears. James

Death of Salisbury, 1612.

The Under-
takers.

tried to get a subservient House of Commons elected through agents known as *Undertakers*. The scheme deservedly failed, but James renewed his efforts to conclude a bargain with the Commons. The Commons were in no mood to comply. They once more raised the question of impositions, and complained of other grievances. Without having received any supplies James dissolved his second Parliament, and afterwards sent several members to prison for things said in the House. From its ineffectual character this Parliament became known as the *Addled Parliament* (1614).

The 'Addled'
Parliament,
1614.

Foreign
affairs.

We turn now to foreign affairs. Since the beginning of the reign there had been peace with Spain. The great ambition of James was to become the peace-maker of Europe, and something he might have done in this direction, had Parliament and king been of one mind, and had James been able to convince foreign powers that he was not to be trifled with, and that England was prepared to act with firmness. But James, because his wishes with regard to foreign affairs appeared to himself wise and just, fancied that foreign rulers would lay aside their quarrels and pretensions at his dictation. One method of securing peace adopted by James was to marry his children abroad. Thus, in 1613, his daughter Elizabeth was wedded to Frederick Elector Palatine, chief amongst the German Protestant princes. So far from bringing peace, this union helped to bring on a terrible and disastrous war. Another marriage scheme was a match between Prince Henry and the Spanish Infanta. The Spaniards, however, only regarded the match with favour, because through it they hoped to secure a full tolera-

Marriage of
the Princess
Elizabeth to
the Elector
Palatine, 1613.

The Spanish
marriage
scheme.

tion for Catholicism in England, and this toleration again was only valued as a step towards the complete restoration of the Roman religion. Even a full toleration James could never have given even if he wished it. But Prince Henry died in 1612, and the match for the moment fell through. It was, however, soon revived in favour of Prince Charles who was now heir to the throne.

Although James was anxious to secure the friendship of Spain and have the Spanish king's help in effecting a general European peace, his want of money drove him into a course of action which could not fail to exasperate the Spaniards. Raleigh was released from prison in 1616 and allowed to go in search of a gold mine near the river Orinoco in South America. Of this mine Raleigh said he had obtained information in a former voyage. It is true that Raleigh solemnly promised to do no injury to Spain, but both he and the king must have known that to keep such a promise was almost an impossibility. Raleigh never reached the mine, and his men attacked and destroyed a Spanish settlement on the Orinoco. The king of Spain was very angry, and to appease him James ordered Raleigh's execution. Owing to certain legal technicalities he could not be condemned for his real offence. He was accordingly executed on his old sentence. In other words, Raleigh, whose true offence was an attack on Spain, was beheaded on a charge of being too friendly with Spain. The English people were indignant. Raleigh, they thought, had been put to death at the bidding of the king of Spain for advancing the interests of England (1618).

The last voyage and execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, 1618—18.

In 1618 there broke out in Germany the terrible

The Thirty
Years' War
and the Pala-
tinate, 1618.

war afterwards known as the Thirty Years' War. It was in part a struggle between Catholics and Protestants, in part a contest between the Emperor and the German princes. The Protestant nobles of Bohemia deposed their king Ferdinand and invited Frederick, the Elector Palatine, to accept the crown. In so doing they hoped that the Elector would be supported by his father-in-law James I. James, however, disappointed them. Next year Ferdinand became Emperor and soon retaliated upon Frederick. Not only was Frederick driven out of Bohemia, but he was in danger of losing the Palatinate as well. James was unwilling to see this, and accordingly allowed English volunteers to go over to assist his son-in-law. His chief hope, however, was that the king of Spain would interfere and save the Palatinate. This hope proved very delusive.

James's Third
Parliament,
1621.

In 1621 James's Third Parliament met. The Commons were anxious for war on behalf of the Elector Frederick and German Protestantism, but when they saw that James was unwilling to begin war at once, they refused to grant more than a small supply, and proceeded to complain of various abuses. Several courtiers were attacked for holding monopolies; Bacon, now Lord Chancellor, was impeached for taking bribes and forced to surrender his office. Finally the Commons presented a petition to the king on the state of religion, in which they urged him to abandon the Spanish marriage scheme and marry Prince Charles to a Protestant Princess. James replied that the Commons had gone beyond their province in discussing high affairs of state, and again reminded them that privileges were 'of grace' and not 'of right.' The Commons in turn

Fall of
Bacon.

drew up a protestation declaring the right of Parliament to consider all matters affecting the interests of the commonwealth, and once more asserting that the privileges of Parliament were of right. James called for the Commons' Journal, tore out the protestation with his own hand, dissolved Parliament, and imprisoned three members of the House, one of whom was John Pym (1622).

Dissolution of
Parliament.

James had now a new favourite. Somerset had been disgraced in 1616. He with his wife had been mixed up in a conspiracy to poison a certain Sir Thomas Overbury. Lady Somerset was certainly guilty. Her husband's share in the crime is doubtful. His place in James's affection had been taken by George Villiers, who rapidly gained all the influence, and even more, which Somerset had possessed in the court and council. He was created in turn Earl, Marquis, and lastly Duke of Buckingham. No one could hope to obtain office or promotion unless he had previously secured the good-will of the favourite.

George
Villiers, Duke
of Bucking-
ham.

Negotiations for the Spanish match still went on. In order to hasten matters Charles and Buckingham resolved to make a journey to Spain themselves and bring back the Infanta. They thought that their presence at the Spanish court would so delight the Spanish king that he would grant all the conditions which James wanted, especially with regard to the Palatinate. They very soon discovered their mistake. Philip IV would take no hostile steps against his kinsman the Emperor, and the Spaniards would not consent to the match at all unless such conditions as were plainly impossible were made in favour of Catholicism in England. Charles and

The journey
of Charles
and Bucking-
ham to Mad-
rid and the
breakdown
of the Span-
ish match,
1623.

Buckingham returned to England full of angry feelings against Spain. James's peace policy had utterly broken down (1623).

Fourth Par-
liament of
James, 1624.

The English people and Parliament were delighted that the Spanish match had fallen through. The Fourth and last Parliament of James met in 1624. Buckingham and Charles were for the moment immensely popular. Money was voted for war purposes, but the Commons stipulated that it should be mainly devoted to a war with Spain by sea, whereas James was only anxious to recover the Palatinate. He sent 12,000 Englishmen to Germany to fight under Count Mansfield, a soldier of fortune. As they were not properly supplied with money or provisions, most of this force perished before reaching the scene of action.

Death of
James I.

In 1625 James died. Before his death a marriage had been arranged between Charles and Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII of France.

The Virginian
and New
England Col-
onies, 1607—
1620.

In the reign of James I the colony which Raleigh had endeavoured to found in Virginia took actual shape (1607), and in 1620 a band of Puritan 'Separatists' crossed the Atlantic in a ship, called the 'May Flower' and settled in North America. These 'Pilgrim Fathers' were the founders of the *New England* colonies.

The Ulster
Plantation.

In Ireland too there was colonisation. In 1610 James seized the opportunity of treasonable conduct on the part of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell to confiscate six counties in the north of Ireland, although according to the principles of Irish law the land did not belong to the chiefs but to the tribes collectively. Into the confiscated land English and Scotch colonists were introduced, and thus

there grew up in Ulster a population differing from the original Irish both in race and religion.

CHAP. II. CHARLES I. (1) The Rule of Buckingham and the Petition of Right.

First Parliament of Charles—Charles's marriage and the French alliance—Parliament dissolved—Expedition to Cadiz—Charles's Second Parliament—Sir John Eliot—Impeachment of Buckingham and dissolution of the Second Parliament—Forced loans and tonnage and poundage—War with France and expedition to Rhè—Charles's Third Parliament—Sir Thomas Wentworth—The Petition of Right—Assassination of Buckingham—Religious grievances—Stormy proceedings and dissolution of the Third Parliament—Eliot and others imprisoned.

The Duke of Buckingham had exercised a great influence over James I; over Charles I his influence was even greater. For the first three years of the new reign Buckingham in reality ruled England. Buckingham, in spite of many brilliant qualities, was devoid of all true statesmanship, and most of the schemes he took in hand ended in failure. The disastrous ending of the attempt made in 1624 to recover the Palatinate did not encourage Parliament to place great trust in the government. Accordingly while voting certain supplies, the Commons passed a bill granting Charles tonnage and poundage for one year only instead of for life, as had been the custom since the reign of Henry VI. The measure was not carried through the Upper House.

Influence of Buckingham.

First Parliament of Charles, 1625.

Meantime Charles had married Henrietta Maria, and an alliance had been concluded with France. Charles, since his bride was a Catholic, had promised

Charles's marriage and the French alliance.

to suspend the recusancy laws. As Parliament was extremely anxious that these laws should remain in force, Charles was obliged to break his word with France.

Parliament dissolved.

As a plague was raging in London Parliament removed to Oxford. Again supplies were refused unless Parliament could be assured that the money would be properly used, and the Commons even attacked Buckingham by name. This roused Charles to dissolve Parliament.

Expedition to Cadiz, 1625.

Charles and Buckingham now thought that, if some brilliant success against Spain could be achieved, confidence would be restored, and there would be no more talk of mismanagement. Accordingly a great expedition was sent against Cadiz. The expedition failed ignominiously and Buckingham was chiefly responsible for the failure (1625).

Charles's Second Parliament, 1626.

In 1626 Charles's Second Parliament met. In order to silence opposition the king had made the leaders of the Commons Sheriffs of their counties, as their duties would prevent them from attending Parliament. For a similar reason he had sent no writ to the Earl of Bristol who was known to be hostile to Buckingham. Such stratagems were useless. The Commons found an eloquent and zealous leader in Sir John Eliot, a pure-minded patriot, who combined a profound belief in the greatness of Parliamentary institutions with a thorough conviction that Buckingham was responsible for the unsatisfactory way in which Government was being conducted: Buckingham was impeached, and Charles, to save his friend, dissolved the Parliament.

Sir John Eliot.

Impeachment of Buckingham and dissolution of the Second Parliament.

Again no supplies had been voted; and Charles was driven to raise money by other than Parlia-

mentary means. He first tried to induce wealthy persons to make free gifts, but men so distrusted Buckingham, that no response was made to his appeal. Charles was then advised that, though benevolences were illegal, it was permissible to raise money by *forced loans*. The term 'loan' was a misnomer, for there was no chance that the money borrowed would ever be repaid. Several persons refused to lend, and five knights were sent to prison for so refusing. The Judges indeed declared in favour of the loans, but previously the Chief Justice Crewe had been dismissed for deciding that they were illegal. In addition to the loans, the king continued, in spite of the refusal of Parliament to grant tonnage and poundage, to levy those duties on his own authority.

Forced loans
and Tonnage
and Pound-
age.

To add to other difficulties of the Government, Charles had involved himself in a war with France. He had failed to keep his word with his brother-in-law in the matter of Catholic toleration; he had even dismissed the Queen's personal attendants. He now thought it necessary to send an expedition to help the Protestants of Rochelle, who were holding out against Louis XIII. The expedition was commanded by Buckingham in person. It only added another to his list of failures. Buckingham had plenty of personal courage, but he was without experience, his officers were discontented and his soldiers mutinous. He endeavoured to secure a position on the island of Rhè opposite Rochelle, but he was driven out by the French and forced to return home with half the men he had taken with him (1627). The expedition could not even be said to have been on behalf of Protestantism. The

War with
France and
expedition to
the Isle of
Rhè, 1627.

French Government at that time was willing to tolerate the Huguenots. They merely refused to allow Rochelle to be independent.

Charles's
Third Parlia-
ment, 1628.
Sir Thomas
Wentworth.

In 1628 Charles's Third Parliament met. During the first part of the session the leader of the Commons was Sir Thomas Wentworth. Unlike Eliot, Wentworth had no particular veneration for Parliamentary Government, or Parliamentary Privileges. He was an enthusiast in the cause of a strong, orderly and peaceful government. Disorder and mismanagement he hated with his whole heart, and he believed that, with Buckingham at the head of affairs, nothing but these evils could be looked for. The wars with France and Spain he regarded as mere folly. Charles began by demanding supplies; the Commons, on the other hand, insisted that their grievances should be first redressed. Not only had tonnage and poundage and forced loans been levied, but soldiers had been billeted in the houses of private individuals without their consent, and civilians had been punished by forms of law only applicable to soldiers (Martial Law). Wentworth endeavoured to reconcile King and Parliament by proposing to bring in a bill which should declare such practices illegal for the future. This bill would have saved the king's honour, as it did not question the legality of the late proceedings. Nevertheless Charles refused to accept the compromise, and Wentworth, unwilling to weaken Government by a quarrel between the administrative and legislative bodies, retired from the leadership of the Commons.

The Petition
of Right.

After this Eliot and the lawyers introduced a measure called the *Petition of Right*. The Petition declared all taxation without consent of Parliament;

all imprisonment of subjects except in accordance with the ordinary law of the land, all billeting of soldiers in private houses, and all Martial law to be illegal. Charles in vain tried to satisfy the Commons by returning evasive answers. The Commons were steadfast, and the Petition of Right became law. In return the Commons voted the king a large sum of money.

In spite of the Petition of Right, Charles continued to collect tonnage and poundage. The Commons protested, but the king maintained that he had never given up his right to the duties in question. There was indeed some doubt as to whether tonnage and poundage could be technically termed a *tax*, and it was only against unparliamentary *taxation* that the Petition had provided, but there can be no doubt that Eliot and his followers had intended through the Petition to settle for ever the supremacy of Parliament in matters of revenue. If the king could still raise a revenue without Parliamentary sanction, the chief grievance of the people remained unredressed. There was great dissatisfaction. Once more the Commons attacked Buckingham, and Charles ordered Parliament to be prorogued.

Before Parliament met again Buckingham had been assassinated at Portsmouth, whither he had gone to make preparations for another expedition to relieve Rochelle. The murderer was a fanatic named Felton, who had a personal grievance against the Duke. None the less the expedition sailed, but was again unsuccessful. Rochelle surrendered the same year (1628).

On the reopening of Parliament the question of grievances again came to the front. To the majority of the Commons it seemed that true religion was

Tonnage and
Poundage
still levied.

Assassination
of Bucking-
ham, 1628.

Religious
grievances.

endangered by the support given by the Government to certain of the clergy who held and preached doctrines very displeasing to extreme Protestants. At the same time the clergy had been forbidden to touch on certain controversial doctrines to which Puritan preachers attached great importance. Notice was also drawn to the revival of religious observances which the Commons regarded as savouring of Catholicism and idolatry. These last were earnestly encouraged by William Laud, now Bishop of London, and a prominent member of the Council. A Remonstrance against tonnage and poundage and against innovations in religion was brought forward by Eliot, and when the Speaker declared that the king had ordered him to adjourn the house, something like a riot took place. The Speaker was forcibly held in his chair until the Remonstrance had been read and passed. After this scene the king dissolved Parliament (1629). It was not summoned again for eleven years. Eliot and some other members were imprisoned. Eliot himself died in confinement in 1632, and two of those imprisoned with him were not released until the eve of the next Parliament.

Stormy proceedings in, and dissolution of, Parliament.

Eliot and others imprisoned.

CHAP. III. CHARLES I. (2) Eleven years Arbitrary Government.

Wentworth, President of the Council of the North—Wentworth in Ireland—Charles raises money without Parliamentary consent—Star Chamber fines—John Hampden and Ship-money—Laud's religious innovations—The High Commission Court—Barbarous punishment of Puritans.

Meantime a great man had passed over to the king's side. In 1628 Sir Thomas Wentworth had been

raised to the peerage. Shortly afterwards he was sworn of the Privy Council and appointed President of the Council of the North, a court which had been constituted after the rising of the Pilgrimage of Grace in the reign of Henry VIII, and which in character somewhat resembled the Star Chamber. Wentworth, as we have said, was a zealous champion of strong and just government. His principle of rule was, in his own phraseology, 'thorough.' He supported the Commons against Buckingham because he believed Buckingham's rule to have been bad. By the Petition of Right the Commons, he thought, had gained enough. To gain more would be to weaken Government. In the North Wentworth ruled with a strong impartial hand. On the whole he supported the poor as against the rich, but he made the king's government feared by all, if it was not loved. In 1633 he was sent to govern Ireland as Lord Deputy, and in Ireland he showed the same qualities as in the North. All opposition from whatever source was borne down. The Irish Parliament was induced to pass good laws and grant supplies. Ireland became more prosperous than it had ever been before, and many flagrant abuses were brought to light and punished. Unfortunately the native Irish were not conciliated; for Wentworth disregarded their peculiar customs, and endeavoured, moreover, to make them conform to a church with which they had no sympathy.

Charles's determination to govern without a Parliament forced him to adopt various questionable devices for raising money. The king did not mean to set his own authority above the law. He was indeed anxious to do nothing which was not techni-

Wentworth,
President of
the Council
of the North,
1629—33.

Wentworth
in Ireland,
1633—39.

Charles raises
money with-
out Parlia-
mentary
consent.

cally legal, and most of his measures were actually declared to be so by the Judges. But, as these Judges were in various ways dependent on the crown, their decisions were scarcely impartial, and men rightly felt that, whether or no the acts of the king were justified by the letter of the law, his rule was none the less unconstitutional, since it departed from the principle of associating the nation with the crown in all matters affecting the general weal. Tonnage and poundage and other impositions continued to be levied; monopolies were granted to trading corporations, for which they had to pay heavily; old laws which had fallen into disuse were revived, and persons who had infringed them had to appear before the Star Chamber and forced to compound for their offences with a heavy fine.

Star Chamber
fines.

But the most famous of these expedients for raising a revenue independently of Parliament was Ship-money, that is, money to furnish a fleet. The writ was at first addressed to towns and counties on the coast (1634). Next year the writ was sent also to inland parts. Of course, if Ship-money were to be levied at all, it was but just that all should bear the burden, since those who lived inland were equally interested with those who dwelt near the sea in the defence of the kingdom. The real question at issue was whether the king had any right to levy the tax at all. In 1637 John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, resolved to contest the point. He refused to pay the sum demanded from him. The case was argued before twelve Judges. Five declared for Hampden and seven for the king. The verdict gave general dissatisfaction. The property of Englishmen seemed henceforth at

John Hamp-
den and Ship-
money, 1637.

the disposal of the king. It seemed that the king need no longer take the advice or consult the wishes of the nation through Parliament.

Religious questions also contributed to widen the gulf which separated the king from the majority of his subjects. The latter had become strongly Protestant in sentiment. To many Protestants doctrines on abstruse subjects constituted the essence of religion, and they regarded as little less than idolatry the solemn ceremonial observances so dear to the hearts of Laud and those who thought as he did. In 1637 Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury, and his power was thereby very greatly increased. More than ever he strove to silence the controversial preachers, and at the same time to enforce uniformity in the matter of ritual. Laud, like Wentworth, was a lover of order, and he sincerely believed moreover that outward reverence helped men to be inwardly reverent. The Puritans, on the other hand, as sincerely believed that this outward reverence was a hindrance to true religion which was a thing not outward but spiritual, and they suspected that Laud was consciously endeavouring to lead England back to Popery. This was by no means true, but the fact that several persons connected with the court had actually become Catholics, made the suspicion not altogether unnatural. The leading clergy who held Laud's views were promoted to bishoprics, while the ministers who refused to conform to the ritualistic innovations were called before the High Commission Court and deprived of their posts. Also certain Puritans who had published books inveighing against Laud, the bishops and the innovations, were tried by the Star Chamber and sentenced to stand

Laud's religious innovations.

The High Commission Court.

Barbarous punishment inflicted on Puritans, 1637.

in the pillory and have their ears cut off. Thus political and religious discontent combined to make Charles's government unpopular, and if Charles should be compelled to summon another Parliament, it was certain that both sorts of grievances would be sternly looked into.

CHAP. IV. CHARLES I. (3) The Breach between King and Parliament.

Religious affairs and Scotland—The Liturgy and the National Covenant—The First Bishops' War—Wentworth becomes Earl of Strafford—The Short Parliament—The Second Bishops' War—The Long Parliament meets—Impeachment, attainder and execution of Strafford—The Triennial Act—Abolition of Star Chamber and High Commission Courts—Ship-money, &c., declared illegal—Charles gets a party in the Commons—The Irish rebellion—The Grand Remonstrance—Attempted arrest of the five members—Parliament claims the power of the sword—Outbreak of the Civil War.

Religious
affairs in
Scotland.

The necessity to summon Parliament arose in due time, and it arose indirectly from an attempt on the part of the king to extend to Scotland something of the same uniformity in religious practices which had given such grave displeasure in England. The form of Church government which the Scotch people liked best was Presbyterianism, that is, a system in which bishops find no place, and in which Church matters are settled by Assemblies of ministers (Presbyters) and laymen representing the congregations. James I, however, had succeeded in thrusting bishops on the Scotch Church, and the bishops, who were merely nominees of the crown

and in no way in sympathy with the Scotch clergy, now, at Charles's command and with the active assistance of Laud, drew up a liturgy, or form of Common prayer for the Scotch Church. The Protestantism and the patriotism of Scotland were alike aroused. It seemed that Popery, or something like it, was to be forced upon them by a foreign power. An attempt to introduce the Prayer-book in 1637 resulted in a riot in Edinburgh, followed soon by a great *National Covenant*, which was enthusiastically signed through the length and breadth of the land, and in which the Scotch people swore 'by the great name of the Lord their God,' to defend with their lives the Protestant religion as it had been received in Scotland. In the face of this national outburst, Charles was obliged to withdraw the Prayer-book, and to allow a General Assembly to meet at Glasgow. When the Assembly began to attack the bishops, Charles dissolved it, but the Assembly, in defiance of the king's order, continued to sit on and abolished Episcopacy (1638).

The Liturgy
and the
National
Covenant,
1637-38.

The Assembly
at Glasgow,
1639.

This practically amounted to a declaration of war. Charles scraped together money to equip a force and marched against the Scots. The Scots, however, were able to raise an army, not indeed more numerous than the king's, but far superior in discipline and experience, for many of the Scots had fought on the Protestant side in the great war still going on in Germany. Charles dared not fight, and so, without bloodshed, the *First Bishops' War*, as it was called, was concluded by a treaty signed at Berwick in 1639. Charles agreed to the meeting of a Parliament and another Assembly at Edinburgh. When these bodies met they once more

The First
Bishops' War,
1639.

declared Episcopacy abolished. Charles refused to consent, and once more determined to put down the Scots by force.

Wentworth becomes Earl of Strafford.

The same year Wentworth returned from Ireland, was created Earl of Strafford and became the king's principal adviser. Strafford did not yet realise how thoroughly Charles was distrusted by his people. He thought that Parliament would still be willing to help the king. He advised that a Parliament should be summoned.

The Short Parliament, 1640.

And so in 1640 the Fourth Parliament of Charles, afterwards called the *Short Parliament*, met. The king found that he could look for no help against the Scots. John Pym, now the leading politician amongst the Commons, at once entered on the question of political and religious grievances, that is to say, the question of Ship-money and other unparliamentary methods of raising money on the one hand, and the Laudian innovations on the other. When the Commons went on to recommend the king to abandon the Bishops' War, Charles at once dissolved Parliament. It had sat only three weeks.

The Second Bishops' War, 1640.

The *Second Bishops' War* was more unsuccessful than the first. The Scots invaded England and routed some of the royal forces on the river Tyne. Charles had hoped that the Scottish invasion would rouse English patriotism against them. He was fatally mistaken. The English did not regard the Scots as enemies, but rather as friends and fellow-sufferers under a common oppression. Charles was forced to enter into negotiations with the Scottish army, and promised to pay them a large sum of money. The Scots remained meanwhile in the northern counties.

A council of Peers whom, as hereditary advisers of the crown, Charles summoned to meet him at York, could only advise the king to call another Parliament. In November 1640 the Fifth Parliament of Charles I, afterwards known as the *Long Parliament*, assembled. The king was indeed helpless. Unless Parliament would give him money he could not pay off the Scots, and they would renew the war. Unless he assented to all that Parliament demanded, no supplies would be granted. The Commons began by impeaching Strafford of high treason. Hitherto treason had signified an offence against the king personally. Of such crime Strafford was clearly innocent. But the Commons now interpreted treason in the wider sense of an offence against the State. They said that Strafford had advised Charles to use his Irish army to put down the Parliament. Whether Strafford had ever really done this is doubtful. But the Commons regarded him as a wicked traitor to the liberties of England which he had once defended, and the foremost instrument of tyranny. Strafford made a noble defence, and it seemed likely that he would escape. The Commons then abandoned the impeachment and proceeded against Strafford by bill of attainder. The bill passed the two Houses, and Charles was driven by fear of mob violence, by which the safety of the queen was endangered, to give his assent. In May 1641 the only man of genius who had looked for good from the government of Charles I ended his great life on the scaffold. Laud meanwhile had been imprisoned, and other officials fled the country. Laud remained in prison till the fourth year of the

The Long
Parliament
meets, 1640.

Impeach-
ment, attain-
der and exe-
cution of
Strafford,
1640.

Civil War when, by an act of attainder, he was beheaded (1645.)

Parliament was now rapidly advancing along the path of revolution. They took the question of religion into their own hands. They appointed a commission to destroy all the Popish ornaments in churches. They passed an act—*The Triennial Act*—which secured that no more than three years should elapse between the dissolution of one Parliament and the meeting of another. Afterwards the king was forced to agree never to dissolve Parliament without its own consent. Statutes were passed abolishing the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, the Tudor Courts which had been the principal instruments in enforcing Charles's arbitrary measures, political and religious. After this Ship-money and other unparliamentary methods of raising revenue were declared illegal, and a bill was also introduced—the Root and Branch bill—to abolish Episcopacy.

The Triennial Act.

Abolition of Star Chamber and High Commission Courts.

Ship-money, &c., declared illegal.

Charles gets a party in the Commons.

The Irish rebellion, 1691.

So far the king had been without a party in the Commons. But there was a minority led by Edward Hyde and Lucius Carey Lord Falkland, who disliked Puritanism, and had no wish to see Episcopacy overthrown in England and Presbyterianism introduced. This party was soon to oppose Pym and the majority on matters other than religious. In the autumn of 1641 Charles went to Scotland. Pym knew that he was trying to raise in Scotland an armed force which would enable him to control the Parliament. About the same time a horrible rebellion took place in the north of Ireland. The native Irish rose against the English and Scotch colonists and massacred them in thousands. It was

necessary to raise an army to put down the insurgents, and yet Parliament dared not trust the king with such a force lest he should afterwards use it against themselves. Thus, owing to their profound distrust of the king, Pym and his followers were driven to adopt measures which amounted to a complete revolution, namely, an assumption on the part of Parliament of sovereign power. They determined to appeal from the king to the nation. They drew up a '*Grand Remonstrance*,' in which they recounted all the unconstitutional acts of the king from the beginning of his reign, and as remedies they proposed that ministers of government should be appointed who should be directly responsible to Parliament, and that Church matters should be regulated by an assembly of divines nominated by Parliament. Hyde's party opposed the Remonstrance. It was carried by a small majority of eleven. It was then printed and published.

The Grand
Remonstrance.

Charles now determined to strike a blow at the Commons. Pym, Hampden and three other members of the Commons had entered into communications with the Scots at the time of the Bishops' wars. Charles resolved to impeach the five members of treason, and, in the beginning of 1642, he came in person to the House to arrest them. But the members had been warned and had taken refuge in the city. The citizens of London were now enthusiastic in the cause of Parliament. Six days after the attempted arrest the five members were brought back in triumph to Westminster, and the same day Charles left London. The Queen went abroad to raise money on the crown jewels. Civil War was indeed inevitable, unless the king would consent to

Attempted
arrest of Pym
and four
others.

Parliament
claims the
power of the
sword.

Outbreak of
the Civil
War, 1641.

surrender his sovereign power into the hands of Parliament, by transferring to them, as they now demanded, the control of the national militia and of the fortified places in the kingdom. Charles refused, and both sides began to raise forces. Sir John Hotham, Governor of the garrison in Hull, on the order of Parliament, shut the gates of the city in the king's face. It was a declaration of war. On August 22nd, Charles raised the royal standard at Nottingham.

CHAP. V. THE CIVIL WAR.

The contending sides—Campaign of 1642; Battle of Edgehill—Campaign of 1643; Death of Hampden; Fighting in the North and South-West; First Battle of Newbury; Death of Falkland; Cromwell and the Eastern Association—The Solemn League and Covenant—Death of Pym—The Committee of Both Kingdoms and the Westminster Assembly—Campaign of 1644; Marston Moor; Essex surrounded in Cornwall; Second Battle of Newbury—The New Model and the Self-denying Ordinance—Campaign of 1645; Battle of Naseby; The King's correspondence; Montrose defeated at Philiphaugh—The Presbyterian Parliament versus the Independent Army—Charles surrenders to the Scots—Charles given up to the Parliament—The Agitators—Charles in the hands of the Army—Charles escapes to the Isle of Wight—The Second Civil War—Pride's Purge—Trial and Execution of the King.

The contend-
ing sides.

In the great struggle which had now begun the king had the support—roughly speaking—of the majority of the nobility and gentry. Parliament, on the other hand, could rely on the middle classes.

The middle classes naturally had most influence in the most thickly-populated districts where trade and manufacture chiefly flourished. Geographically, the south-eastern parts of England were for the Parliament; the north, the west and south-west stood by the king.

Parliament appointed as commander of their forces the Earl of Essex, son of Queen Elizabeth's favourite. Essex was a staunch Presbyterian, an upright well-meaning man, but very far from a military genius. The king's head-quarters were at first at Shrewsbury. Thence he intended to march on London. At *Edgehill*, in Warwickshire, the opposing forces met. The battle was indecisive. The king's cavalry, commanded by Prince Rupert, son of Frederick, late Elector Palatine, and consequently Charles's nephew, prevailed over the Parliamentary horse; but, on the other hand, the London trained bands proved too much for the king's foot. On the whole the Royalists had the advantage. Essex retreated, and Charles advanced on London. At *Turubam Green*, near London, the city bands came out to oppose the king, and Charles, shirking an engagement, withdrew to Oxford where he remained for the winter. The Royalist forces never came so near the capital again.

The campaign of 1643 was equally indecisive. Essex advanced towards Oxford from London. The king's aim was to march to London from Oxford. A skirmish at *Chalgrove field*, near Oxford, is chiefly memorable from the fact that in it John Hampden was killed.

While the main armies were operating about the valley of the Thames, there was fighting in the north, south-west and east of England. In York-

Campaign of
1642.

Battle of
Edgehill.

Campaign of
1643.
Death of
Hampden.

Fighting in
the North and
South-West.

shire the Earl of Newcastle won a victory for the king, but the Parliamentary forces could not be dislodged from Hull. Similarly in the south-west the Royalists were successful against the Parliamentary commanders, and Bristol was sacked by Prince Rupert; but as the Royalists failed to take Gloucester, which was really the key to the possession of the whole west, their victory was not complete. The Royalists besieged Gloucester, but Essex came to its relief, and the besieging force withdrew. After that Charles endeavoured to intercept Essex's retreat to London. A fierce battle was fought at Newbury. The result was again indecisive, but Essex was able to resume his march. In this battle Lord Falkland fell. He sought his own death. He longed for peace above all things, and peace seemed farther off than ever.

First Battle of Newbury and death of Falkland.

Oliver Cromwell and the Eastern Association.

It was in the east that things went best for the Parliament. The eastern counties had in behalf of the Parliament formed themselves into an Association with common funds. The moving spirit of this Association was Oliver Cromwell, a Huntingdonshire gentleman. Cromwell, as a member of Parliament, had once or twice interposed in debates with good effect. But it was not till the war broke out that the genius of the man began to be apparent. Cromwell's whole life was guided by a deep and ever-present religious belief, but he possessed in addition an iron will and a clear intellectual insight into what was immediately needed and immediately possible. He saw from the beginning that the cavalry at the disposal of Parliament could not hope to contend successfully with the Royalist horse, formed as it was of gentlemen of

fiery spirit who fought for honour. He set himself to organise a force composed of men inspired by a sense more powerful than that of honour—religious enthusiasm. He suffered no man to serve under him whose heart was not in the Puritan cause, and who was not at the same time a good soldier, ready to submit to discipline. He was, however, far too tolerant and sensible to inquire too closely into niceties of religious opinion. So long as his soldiers were God-fearing men, who fought well and did their duty, Cromwell was content. In a short time Cromwell's cavalry proved itself irresistible. Cromwell and the Eastern Association prevented Newcastle from conquering the east of England as well as the north.

Towards the close of 1643 Parliament entered upon a solemn agreement with the Scots. This was called the *Solemn League and Covenant*. The Scots were indeed deeply interested in the issue of the Civil War, for, if the king should be victorious, he would probably restore Episcopacy in Scotland. Parliament on its side was anxious for the assistance of the Scots against the king. By the Covenant both nations engaged to maintain Presbyterianism in both kingdoms. Money was promised to the Scots, and they undertook to raise an army. The Covenant was the work of Pym. It was his last great public action. He died in December 1643.

Next year there was formed a body called *The Committee of Both Kingdoms* composed of members of both Houses of Parliament together with four Scotch Commissioners. This Committee, under Parliament, governed the country until its dissolution in 1648. About the same time there began to sit at West-

The Solemn
League and
Covenant,
1643.

Death of
Pym, 1643.

The Com-
mittee of
Both King-
doms and the
Westminster
Assembly.

minster an *Assembly of Divines* the members of which were English and Scotch ministers with a few laymen. To this body matters affecting religion were referred by Parliament, but the assembly had no power independently of Parliament. The Westminster Assembly continued to sit until 1652.

Campaign of
1644.
Marston
Moor.

In 1644 the Scots, under Alexander Leslie Earl of Leven, advanced into the north of England, and in conjunction with the Parliamentary troops under Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell, defeated Prince Rupert and the Earl of Newcastle at *Marston Moor*, near York. This victory, gained mainly by the skill of Cromwell, gave the whole of the north to Parliament. In the south and west, however, the king gained several advantages. Amongst other successes he surrounded the forces of Essex in Cornwall. Essex himself escaped, but his troops were obliged to surrender. A second battle of Newbury was as indecisive as the first had been. The Earl of Manchester, who commanded for the Parliament, might have prevented the king's retreat to Oxford. He failed to do so, and was afterwards attacked in Parliament by Cromwell for his negligence in this matter.

Essex sur-
rounded in
Cornwall.

Second Battle
of Newbury.

The New
Model and the
Self-denying
Ordinance,
1645.

It was indeed necessary to get rid of the old Parliamentary generals and replace them by more efficient commanders, and at the same time to reorganise the army from top to bottom. Accordingly in 1645 Parliament formed what was called a *New Model Army*, of which Sir Thomas Fairfax was general, and Cromwell afterwards became lieutenant-general. Also there was introduced a '*Self-denying Ordinance*,' by which no member of Parliament, whether Peer or Commoner, was to hold any

command in the army. Essex, Manchester and some others laid down their commands, but an exception was made in favour of Cromwell, who could not be spared.

The New Model at once showed its efficiency. Charles was completely defeated at *Naseby* in Leicestershire. Prince Rupert was forced to surrender Bristol, and the Royalists elsewhere lost towns and were beaten in battle. Moreover, after *Naseby* some of the king's private correspondence fell into the hands of Parliament, from which it was discovered that Charles had been endeavouring to bring over Irish and foreign armies to fight against Parliament. This knowledge estranged the people even more from the king. In fact the campaign of 1645 practically decided the war. A gleam of success indeed showed itself in Scotland, where the gallant Marquis of Montrose had raised the Highland clans on the king's behalf and had won a series of victories. But at the end of 1645 Montrose was utterly defeated at *Philiphaugh* by a detachment of the Scotch army from England, which marched against him under David Leslie, nephew of the Earl of Leven.

In the beginning of 1646 the king's cause was hopeless. The only question for him to decide was to whom he should surrender himself. Charles knew that his enemies were by no means of one mind. The majority in Parliament and the Scots were all for Presbyterianism. There should be no toleration of other Protestant sects. The New Model Army, however, was fast becoming a political power, and the most influential men in the army were for the most part *Independents*, and wished for a considerable amount of religious liberty. It was little to these

Campaign of 1645, Battle of *Naseby*.

The King's Correspondence taken.

Montrose defeated at *Philiphaugh*.

The Presbyterian Parliament versus the Independent Army.

men that Episcopacy should have been crushed if another reign of intolerance, harsher and narrower than Laud's had ever been, were to take its place. With such views Cromwell on the whole agreed.

Charles surrenders to the Scots, 1646.

Charles finally resolved that it would be better for him to give himself up to the Scots. In June he appeared in the Scotch camp at Newark. He hoped that the Scots would restore him to his throne on easy conditions, but he at once found himself a prisoner. In July certain propositions were put before him in the name of Parliament and the Scots. He should again become king on condition that Presbyterianism remained the established religion, and that Parliament had the control of the militia for twenty years. Charles would only consent to these concessions for three years. He hoped that ere that time had passed his enemies would have quarrelled irreconcilably and that he would have become strong enough to restore Episcopacy and his own authority to their old position. The Scots were not deceived as to the true nature of the king's proposals. Charles was handed over to certain Parliamentary Commissioners, and the money owed by Parliament to the Scots for the armed assistance they had rendered having been paid, the Scots crossed the border into their own country. Charles was conveyed to Holmby House in Northamptonshire (1647).

The king given up to the Parliament, 1647.

As the Civil War was now over, the Parliament wished to get rid of the army, more especially as the army wished to secure religious toleration, whereas the Parliament was anxious to impose Presbyterianism on all England. They determined to disband the army. But as they also resolved to pay the troops only a part of the arrears due to them, the

The Agitators, 1647.

soldiers protested and formed themselves into a political organisation, with elected '*Agitators*' or agents to consult for the interests of the army. Cromwell sympathised with the views of the soldiers, though he was at first unwilling to enter into a conflict with Parliament, but when he discovered that the leading Presbyterians were negotiating with the Scots and urging them to raise an army on the king's behalf, Cromwell instructed a certain Captain Joyce to secure the person of the king. Joyce accordingly appeared with some troops at Holmby House and carried off Charles to Newmarket, whence he was afterwards removed to Hampton Court.

Charles in the hands of the Army.

The army now offered Charles the terms on which they were ready to restore him to his throne. These were a complete toleration for all except Roman Catholics; Episcopacy and Presbyterianism were to exist side by side, along with other Protestant sects; Parliament was to have the power of the sword and the appointment of the chief ministers of State for two years; and various beneficial reforms were to be introduced. These were on the whole wise and moderate measures, but Charles rejected them altogether. Some of the most vehement of the *Agitators* now began to speak loudly of bringing the king to justice as the true author of all the nation's sufferings. Charles, alarmed for his safety, contrived to escape and fled to the Isle of Wight, where, however, he remained a prisoner in Carisbrook Castle.

Charles escapes to the Isle of Wight, 1647.

From Carisbrook Charles continued to communicate with the Scots and the English Presbyterians. He was only seeking to gain time and had no thought of granting any permanent concessions. The

The Second
Civil War,
1648.

army by this time had learned that nothing was to be hoped for from the restoration of the king. But the army was but a small minority of the nation. In 1648 there broke out what is called the *Second Civil War*. A Scottish army invaded England, and Royalist insurrections took place in Kent and in Wales. The rising in Kent was put down by Fairfax, that in Wales by Cromwell, who afterwards turned against the Scots in Lancashire and thoroughly defeated them (1648).

Pride's Purge,
1648.

But the Parliament still hoped for a reconciliation with Charles which should ensure their own supremacy and the establishment of Presbyterianism. The army would have none of this; the day after Parliament had resolved to conclude an agreement with the king a body of soldiers under Colonel Pride entered the House of Commons and expelled the Presbyterian majority. This affair was known as *Pride's Purge*. The House thus 'purged'—fifty-three members in all—appointed a Special Court of Justice to try Charles. The Lords refused to sanction this, whereupon the Commons, that is, the fifty-three Independents who had been left by Pride, declared that their own decisions had the force of law without the sanction of King or Peers. In January the Court of Justice met. The king, as well he might, refused to acknowledge its jurisdiction. That, however, could not save him. He was sentenced to death, and was beheaded in front of Whitehall, January 30, 1649.

Trial and execution of
Charles I,
1649.

CHAP. VI. THE COMMONWEALTH AND
PROTECTORATE.

Abolition of the House of Lords and the Monarchy—The Levellers—Cromwell in Ireland; Sack of Drogheda and Werford—Cromwell in Scotland; Battle of Dunbar—Battle of Worcester—The Navigation Act and the Dutch War—The 'Rump' and the Army—Cromwell expels the Rump—The 'Little' or 'Barebone's' Parliament—The Instrument of Government and Protectorate of Cromwell—Oliver's administration—The Protector's First Parliament—The Major-Generals—The War with Spain—The French Alliance—Oliver's Second Parliament—The Humble Petition and Advice—Oliver refuses the title of King—Dissolution of the Protector's Second Parliament—Capture of Dunkirk—Death of Oliver Cromwell—Richard Cromwell Protector—Anarchy—General Monk—The Declaration of Breda.

A few days after the execution of King Charles the remnant of the Long Parliament which Pride had left abolished the House of Lords and the Monarchy, and appointed a council of state composed of forty-one persons. As these persons generally formed the majority in the Parliament, the council was practically absolute.

Abolition of the House of Lords and the Monarchy, 1649.

There was at this time in the army a party of fanatics called Levellers who wished for a more thorough-going revolution in politics, religion and social matters. They wished to introduce democratic principles everywhere, even in the army. They thought the officers ought to be elected by the soldiers. They also had notions of dividing up the land, or at least the unenclosed land, amongst the

The Levellers.

people. Some of these raised a mutiny and had to be put down forcibly by Cromwell and Fairfax.

Before the new Commonwealth could be properly established dangers had to be faced in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland the Marquis of Ormond was trying—and with some momentary success—to unite the various sections of the population, Presbyterians, English Catholics and Native Irish, in the cause of Prince Charles, the late king's eldest son.

Cromwell in
Ireland; Sack
of Drogheda
and Wexford,
1649.

Cromwell was appointed to take the command against him, and in 1649 he landed in Ireland, and stormed and sacked Drogheda and Wexford. When the garrisons refused to surrender Cromwell allowed no quarter to be given and great numbers of Irish and English Royalists were put to the sword. Cromwell believed that this ruthless severity was really the most merciful policy. He was right. The massacres of Drogheda and Wexford had not to be repeated. The other towns surrendered, and in a few years the conquest of Ireland was complete. Cromwell himself, however, was recalled to England in 1650.

In Scotland in the meanwhile the Presbyterians had proclaimed Charles II king. Charles had landed in Scotland and had consented to swear to the Covenant. In doing so he undoubtedly perjured himself, and the Scots must have known it. Cromwell now hastened to Scotland and defeated the Covenanting army with great loss at Dunbar (September 3, 1650). Edinburgh soon after surrendered, but the Scotch army, taking the young king with them, set off for England. Cromwell, leaving a force in Scotland under General Monk, pursued the Scots, came up with them at Worcester, and utterly des-

Cromwell in
Scotland;
Battle of
Dunbar, 1650.

Battle of
Worcester,
1651.

stroyed them (September 3, 1651). Charles II managed to escape, and, after many wanderings and adventures, got safely to France.

These victories of Cromwell made the Commonwealth supreme in the three kingdoms, but it now became involved in a war with Holland. The main causes of this war were commercial. Parliament in 1651 passed a 'Navigation Act,' which forbade foreign goods being brought into England except in English ships or in vessels belonging to the countries from which the imported articles came. Now the Dutch deeply resented this, for the greater part of the carrying trade of Europe was in Dutchhands. On the whole the English had the best of it in this naval war, and the greatness of England on the sea was much advanced owing to the genius of the Admiral Robert Blake, one of the very greatest of English seamen.

The Navigation Act and the Dutch War, 1651—53.

The continued existence of that fragment of the Long Parliament which sat at Westminster and which was known derisively as the *Rump*, gave great dissatisfaction to many, and especially to the army. The Rump exercised absolute power on the ground—manifestly absurd—that it represented the nation. The Rump was doing nothing to benefit the nation, and some of the members of it were using their influence to benefit themselves. In other words, they took bribes. Cromwell and his officers now called on the Parliament to dissolve itself, making at the same time some provision for a settled government which should secure peace and liberty. An absolutely 'free Parliament,'—that is to say, a Parliament to which all classes of Englishmen might elect and be elected—was out of the question. The

The 'Rump' and the Army.

Royalist interest was too strong. The Rump sought to avoid the difficulty by enacting that in the next Parliament they themselves should sit without re-election, and should also form a committee for rejecting such of the newly-elected members as they judged, for one reason or another, undesirable. In short they resolved to perpetuate their own absolute power.

Cromwell expels the Rump, 1653.

This was far from pleasing to the army. The leading officers appealed to Cromwell, and Cromwell, thoroughly sympathising with them, came down to the House with a body of armed men just as the bill was about to be passed. After listening for a while to the debate, he rose, vehemently denounced the Parliament, and then, calling in his troops, bade them begone;—a violent act but not undeserved.

Then Cromwell and the officers took upon themselves the responsibility of making a settlement. It was characteristic of Cromwell that he first called to his assistance an assembly of the most 'godly' Puritans he could discover in different parts of the country. Accordingly these nominees—for they were not elected—met in July 1653. This '*Little Parliament*,' or as it was otherwise called '*Barebone's Parliament*,'* was not a success. The nominees were well-meaning men, but not practical, and they wished at once to institute a number of reforms in Church and State, which, though most of them have since been adopted, would at the time have only increased the national confusion. Happily the Little Parliament included a minority of more moderate views. These succeeded in effecting a dissolution and a sur-

The 'Little' or 'Barebone's' Parliament, 1653.

* Praisegod Barebone, a London leather-seller, was a member of it.

render of their authority into Cromwell's hands. (December 1653).

Cromwell's supporters now drew up an *Instrument of Government*, which provided that the affairs of the Commonwealth should be administered by a Lord Protector (Cromwell), a council of state, and a Parliament composed of one chamber only. The Protector's power was strictly limited by the Council and the Parliament, and in the appointment of members of council, both Protector and Parliament had a share. The power to make laws was altogether in the hands of the Parliament, the Protector being permitted only to delay for a short period, but not definitely to refuse, any bill which had passed the House. Parliament was to be summoned once in every third year, and was not to be dissolved until it had sat at least five months. Representatives were to be sent from Scotland and Ireland as well as from England.

The Instrument of Government, Cromwell Protector, 1653.

It cannot be said that in this 'Instrument' Cromwell grasped too much power for himself. He believed in the government of a 'single person' associated with a popular assembly, and he hoped that the new Parliament would earnestly co-operate with himself in furthering good government. He was bitterly disappointed.

Oliver's hopes.

Oliver's first Parliament met in September 1654; but before it assembled Cromwell made peace with Holland, united Scotland and Ireland to England, and carried out some legal and religious reforms. The legal reforms were of a moderate character, for Cromwell was no revolutionist; the religious reforms were as far as possible in the direction of toleration. At the same time he had to guard

Oliver's administrations.

himself against the plots of Royalists on the one hand, and of Levelling fanatics on the other.

The Protec-
tor's First
Parliament,
1654-5.

When Parliament met, instead of recognising what Cromwell termed the 'Fundamentals' of the Instrument of Government, that is to say, the rule of a single person and a Parliament, it began to question the authority by which it sat. No laws were passed, no supplies voted; time was merely wasted in endless debating as to whether a settlement should be accepted to which, in Oliver's judgment, the Parliament owed its existence, and which it had no power to call in question. For five months Cromwell allowed the Commons to debate, and then, the period laid down in the Instrument having elapsed, in a speech full of sorrowful reproach, he dissolved this futile Parliament (1655).

The Major-
Generals,
1655.

Cromwell's first attempt to rule constitutionally had failed. But some strong government was absolutely necessary. Taxes had to be collected, insurrections put down, and a war with Spain, on which Oliver had found it necessary to embark, had to be carried on. Cromwell once more fell back on the army. He divided England into ten districts, over each of which he set a Major-General. The Major-Generals did their work thoroughly. Money was raised very largely from rebellious Royalists, order was enforced, and a Royalist conspiracy of a widespread nature discovered and crushed before it had time to become really dangerous. Moreover as the Major-Generals were upright men who strove to rule with moderation and justice, this period of military government was acquiesced in by the people as a temporary expedient, which was all that Cromwell intended it to be.

The war with Spain already alluded to was waged partly for commercial, partly for religious reasons. Cromwell demanded that Englishmen should be allowed to trade freely in the West Indies, and should also be permitted to worship according to their own fashion in Spanish dominions. These things the Spanish king refused; whereupon Cromwell in 1654 sent out two fleets, one to the Mediterranean under Blake to get reparation for injuries inflicted on English merchant vessels, and one to the West Indies to take the island of San Domingo. Blake was successful, but the other fleet failed in its attempt on San Domingo, though it secured Jamaica (1655).

The war with Spain, 1654-5.

Cromwell was now negotiating an alliance with France which was also at war with Spain. Cromwell was to send troops to assist the French. The combined French and English forces were to take Dunkirk which was then to be handed over to England. Both Cromwell and the French minister, Cardinal Mazarin, were anxious for this alliance, but before the treaty was signed, Protestant Europe was horrified by the news of a cruel persecution which the Duke of Savoy had entered upon against some of his Piedmontese subjects. Cromwell, to whom the cause of Protestantism was the cause of God, refused to sign the treaty until Mazarin had brought influence to bear on the Duke of Savoy to stop the persecution and allow religious toleration to the Piedmontese. Mazarin consented and the alliance was concluded. Thus under the great Protector England had become strong enough to force the chief minister of a Catholic country, who was also one of the highest dignitaries of the Catholic church, to take active steps for the protection of Protestants (1655).

The French alliance, 1655.

Oliver's
Second
Parliament,
1656.

The Humble
Petition and
Advice, 1657.

Oliver refuses
the title of
King.

Dissolution of
Oliver's
Second
Parliament,
1658.

Next year Oliver withdrew the Major-Generals, and once more tried the experiment of Parliamentary Government. As he began by excluding about a hundred members likely to be troublesome, his Second Parliament was at the beginning more successful than the first had been. Supplies at least were duly voted. After this, Parliament presented to Cromwell a scheme, called *The Humble Petition and Advice*, for remodelling the constitution. Cromwell was offered the title of king with power to nominate his successor; there was to be a second chamber, or House of Lords; Cromwell was no more to interfere with the composition of the House of Commons. Other articles of less importance were added. After some hesitation Cromwell refused the title of king; he knew that the army was against it, and the arguments of the lawyers—the class which was most anxious for the revival of the old form of government—did not convince him. The other articles of the *Petition and Advice* he accepted, with some modifications.

The Humble Petition and Advice unfortunately did not tend to make matters easier for the Protector, or to improve his relations with Parliament. In accordance with the Petition the excluded members of the Lower House resumed their seats, and with their return began again the fruitless debates which had proved fatal to the First Parliament. This time, however, it was the position of the 'second chamber,' not that of the 'single person,' that was assailed. Again Oliver saw that he was likely to get no help, but only hindrance, from Parliament; and on February 4, 1658, after a speech, in which he showed the Parliament the grave dangers to

which by their conduct the nation was exposed, he dissolved this Second Parliament, calling upon God 'to judge between them and him.'

Meantime abroad the war with Spain had been brilliantly successful. Blake, in 1656, captured a Spanish Treasure Fleet, and next year he won a great victory at Santa Cruz in Teneriffe, while the combined English and French forces defeated a Spanish army near Dunkirk. Dunkirk soon after surrendered and was placed in Cromwell's hands.

Capture of
Dunkirk,
1658.

At home there was still need for the Protector to use all vigilance; plots were springing up on all sides against his Government and his life. Several desperate persons were executed and the prisons were full. Nevertheless it is possible that, had Cromwell had time, he might have crushed all disaffection, and the people of England might have learned to acquiesce in his rule, seeing that the fruit of it was peace and prosperity at home, and glory abroad. But it was not to be. Oliver's strength was prematurely exhausted from the constant struggle and the constant anxiety. He had already issued writs for a new Parliament when, on September 3, 1658,—the anniversary of his victories of Dunbar and Worcester—in the sixtieth year of his age, the great Protector passed away.

Death of
Oliver Crom-
well, 1658.

Oliver's death plunged the country into anarchy and made the restoration of the Stuart dynasty inevitable. There was no one to take his place. It was supposed that Oliver had nominated his eldest son Richard as his successor, and, for the moment, Richard Cromwell actually became Protector, at least in name. The new Parliament in some sort supported him, rather out of hostility to the army

Richard
Cromwell,
Protector,
1658.

than from love for Richard. The favour of Parliament, however, was a weak support. The army forced the Protector to dissolve Parliament, and Richard himself abdicated shortly afterwards.

Anarchy,
1659.

General
Monk.

The Declara-
tion of Breda.

Once more the army was supreme, but the army without Oliver at its head was worse than the Parliament. First the soldiers restored the Rump; then they quarrelled with it and drove it out. Then they quarrelled among themselves, and restored the Rump again. Finally, after much confused trouble, General Monk, who commanded the Commonwealth army in Scotland, crossed the border to quell the anarchy into which England had fallen. When he arrived in London, Monk found that the Rump had quarrelled with the City authorities. He took the side of the City and restored to Parliament the Presbyterian members who had been expelled by Pride two years before. Parliament so constituted determined on a dissolution to be followed by a free election. Before the new Parliament met Charles from Breda had issued a Declaration promising pardon to all save those excepted by Parliament. Parliament on assembling accepted the Declaration, and Charles II on May 25, 1660, landed at Dover and was received with much rejoicing. The Puritan Revolution was over.

PART VII. THE RESTORATION AND THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION.

CHAP. I. CHARLES II. (1) The Clarendon Administration and the First Dutch War.

The Restoration brought about by Presbyterians and Royalists; Its character—Character of Charles II—The Lord Chancellor Clarendon—The Convention Parliament and its work—Proposal for religious toleration—The Savoy Conference—The Cavalier Parliament—The ‘Clarendon Code’ and its results; (1) The Corporation Act, (2) The Act of Uniformity, (3) The Conventicle Act, (4) The Five Mile Act—The Triennial Act repealed—Marriage and foreign policy of Charles—The sale of Dunkirk—The First Dutch War and its causes—Policy of Louis XIV—Naval engagements—The Great Plague and the Fire of London—Negotiations for peace—The Dutch sail up the Thames—Peace with Holland—The fall of Clarendon.

The restoration of the Stuart dynasty was brought about by a union between Presbyterians and Royalists, for the Presbyterians had been as much opposed to the execution of Charles I and the military rule of Cromwell as had the Royalists. The general idea of the Parliament was to bring back the state of things which had existed in the middle of 1641, that is before Hyde's party broke with that of Pym. It was not the intention of Parliament to undo the

The Restoration brought about by Presbyterians and Royalists:

Its character.

work of the Long Parliament altogether, far less to make the king absolute. In these ideas Charles II for the time acquiesced.

Character of
Charles II.

Charles II was a man of considerable mental abilities. Intellectually he was superior to his father; morally he was far inferior. The good-nature which constituted his principal charm was rather due to a profound selfishness and indolence than to anything else. His private life was vicious in the extreme, and he was totally devoid of any sense of duty or honour. He wished to make himself independent of Parliament, but he was too shrewd and too lazy openly to advance claims which he knew would be vehemently resisted, and he rather trusted to get what he wanted in the end by biding his time and intriguing when convenient. Such religious convictions as he had were Roman Catholic, and he was naturally anxious to secure toleration for Catholics, but he never avowed his faith. He had no affection for the Anglican Church, but he cordially disliked Presbyterianism. His chief object in life was to please himself, but it should not be forgotten that he was not altogether indifferent to some of the interests of his country, and strove now and then to advance its commerce, its foreign trade and its rising colonial empire.

The Lord
Chancellor
Clarendon.

His chief minister at first was Edward Hyde, now Earl of Clarendon and Lord Chancellor, the man who had given Charles I a party, and had shared the exile of Charles II himself. Clarendon was an honest, well-meaning man who believed strongly in the monarchical principle, but also believed as strongly in the usefulness of Parliament. He thought that both King and Parliament should

have a certain amount of power, should be content with that, and work together harmoniously. He did not understand that such an ideal had become impossible. For the rest he was a staunch Anglican, believing in the necessity of uniformity of worship according to the English Prayer-book and the rule of Bishops. Monk was also a prominent member of the council and was created Duke of Albemarle.

The Parliament which had recalled Charles continued to sit until the end of 1660. As it had not been summoned by the king it was not regarded as a regular Parliament and was known by the name of the *Convention Parliament*. It (1) disbanded the Cromwellian army, (2) restored to some of the Royalists the lands they had lost during the time of the Commonwealth, (3) passed an act of pardon and indemnity for all save thirteen regicides (that is to say, persons who had been concerned in the death of the late king) and two others. The bodies of Cromwell, Pym and Blake were dug up from their graves and exposed to hideous indignities. (4) Certain obsolete feudal dues of the crown were abolished and a revenue secured to the king from more modern sources. The sum granted was far from sufficient to make the king independent of Parliament.

A scheme was brought forward to introduce a modified form of Episcopacy to which Presbyterians might be willing to submit. At the same time other religious persuasions were to be tolerated, including Catholics. The last proposal, which was indeed the king's, wrecked the measure. In December the Convention Parliament was dissolved.

In the interval between the dismissal of the Convention Parliament and the meeting of another, a

The Convention Parliament and its work, 1660.

Proposal for Religious Toleration.

The Savoy
Conference,
1661.

fruitless attempt was made to settle some of the differences between Anglicans and Presbyterians. Some bishops and certain selected Presbyterian divines met at a conference in the Savoy Palace. They failed to come to an agreement and the settlement of ecclesiastical questions was left to Parliament (1661).

The 'Cava-
lier' Parlia-
ment, 1661.

The First Parliament proper of Charles II, sometimes called the Cavalier Parliament, met in May 1661. In character it was, as its name implies, enthusiastically Royalist. After confirming the acts of the Convention, it proceeded to declare that Parliament was incapable of legislating by itself, that the power of the sword belonged to the king alone, and that it was unlawful for Parliament to levy war against him. This was very satisfactory to Charles. The ecclesiastical settlement was not so pleasing, though it was altogether in accordance with the views of the Chancellor Clarendon. The Bishops were restored to their seats in the

The 'Claren-
don Code'⁹
and its
results.

House of Lords. Then in the course of some years a series of enactments was passed, since commonly styled the *Clarendon Code*. These laws enforced conformity to the rites and doctrines of the Anglican Church. The hopes of the Presbyterians were thus dashed to the ground. They could no longer hope to be included within the Church; they could only strive to be allowed to exist alongside of it. Henceforth we see religious England split up into three classes—(1) The Established Anglican Church, (2) The *Dissenters*, including all other Protestant sects, (3) The Roman Catholics. The aims of the last two classes were now mainly bent on acquiring for themselves, first, liberty of worship;

secondly, equality of privilege in secular matters with members of the first class. Meantime the Clarendon Code, together with some subsequent legislation, absolutely deprived them of both. The *Corporation Act* (1661) declared all persons refusing to receive the Sacrament according to the rites of the English Church incapable of holding Municipal offices. This was directed against the Presbyterians who were specially strong in the towns. The *Act of Uniformity* (1662) deprived all clergymen of their livings who would not be ordained by Bishops, and who declined to accept the Prayer-book as it stood. In consequence of this 2,000 ministers were driven out of the Church. The *Conventicle Act* (1664) made all meetings for religious purposes other than those connected with the Church, under very severe penalties, illegal. The *Five Mile Act* (1665) forbade Dissenting ministers from teaching in schools and from coming within five miles of a Municipal town. So far Dissenters were not disqualified from holding offices under the crown. That was to come later.

(1) The Corporation Act, 1661.

(2) The Act of Uniformity, 1662.

(3) The Conventicle Act, 1664.

(4) The Five Mile Act, 1665.

The Cavalier Parliament repealed the Triennial Act of 1641; but it is to be noted that with all its enthusiastic love of the kingly power, it did not dream of re-establishing the Star Chamber or the Court of High Commission.

The Triennial Act repealed, 1664.

In 1662 Charles married a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza. The match had important political results. After some hesitation Charles had determined to adhere in the main to the foreign policy of Cromwell, namely, alliance with France, and hostility to Spain. Charles, like Cromwell, was anxious to further English trade and commercial enterprise. It was the only point of resemblance

Marriage and foreign policy of Charles II, 1662.

between the two men. Charles also wanted money for himself. Now Catherine brought with her a very substantial dowry. Also Portugal was in close alliance with France and at enmity with Spain. Again by this marriage England secured the foreign possessions of Tangiers (important for the Mediterranean trade), and Bombay (the first possession of the English crown in India), whilst religious liberty was secured for Englishmen in Portuguese territories. This was a great gain for English merchants as Portugal had extensive possessions in the far East and West.

But, unlike Cromwell, Charles cared nothing for a continuation of friendship between English and Continental Protestantism. Accordingly he sold Dunkirk to the French. Cromwell had valued Dunkirk because it gave England a footing on the continent; in other respects it was useless and expensive. Nevertheless its sale aroused much indignation in England and made the minister Clarendon very unpopular. Men said that he had been bribed by the French King, Louis XIV, to do it.

The sale of
Dunkirk,
1662.

In 1665 England declared war on the Dutch. In hatred of the Dutch, King, Parliament and people were at one. Charles had indeed private and family reasons for disliking the Dutch Government, for he considered that his nephew, William of Orange, was being kept out of his rights by it, but the Dutch people also remained the chief rivals of England on the seas. Both in the East and West, Dutch and English had come to blows even before war was declared; in various parts of the world English traders had been interfered with. Parliament voted a very large sum of money for the war. Charles

The First
Dutch War,
1665-66:

Its causes.

perhaps hoped that Louis of France would assist him, although Louis was bound by treaty to help the Dutch. Louis' real wish, however, was to see the two sea-powers destroy one another that France might step into their place, and though, after the first year of the war, he nominally declared war on England, he gave his allies very little real assistance and ere long entered upon secret negotiations with Charles. In 1665 England was on the whole successful and the king's brother, James Duke of York (afterwards James II), defeated the Dutch in a sea-battle off Lowestoft. Next year a fierce engagement was fought off the North Foreland. The Duke of Albemarle (Monk) was the English admiral. The battle lasted four days, but the result was indecisive. Six weeks after the English secured a victory and burned a Dutch town.

Policy of
Louis XIV.

Naval en-
gagements,
1665-66.

Meanwhile a terrible calamity had visited England in the shape of a plague which raged with peculiar virulence in London. The rich people fled from the city: general panic prevailed; people died in hundreds; decent burial was impossible, and the dead were flung coffinless into great pits which had been dug for the purpose. This was in 1665. Next year when the plague had ceased a fire broke out in London which raged for three days. A great part of the old city was consumed including the great cathedral of St. Paul (1666.)

The Great
Plague, 1665,
and the Fire
of London,
1666.

Peace with Holland became more than ever desirable. The resources of Government were seriously crippled by the cost of the war, by the damage wrought by the fire, and by the wasteful expenditure of the court; for Charles lavished money on worthless favourites and worse than worthless plea-

tures, whilst he left his sailors unpaid, and neglected to repair his fleet. The Dutch, too, were anxious for peace, in order to prepare to meet another foe, namely; Louis of France, who had entered upon a career of conquest and was already attacking the Spanish Netherlands. Negotiations were begun, but before they were concluded, the Dutch determined to force peace on their own terms. They sailed up the Thames and threatened London. England, recently raised to such a pitch of glory by the great Protector, had never known, and never knew again, such a disgrace. But the Dutch got what they wanted. Peace was signed in 1667. England lost the island of Polaroon in the East Indies which she had been anxious to retain, but she was allowed to keep New York (formerly called New Amsterdam) which had been wrested from the Dutch before war was openly declared.

Negotiations
for peace.

The Dutch
sail up the
Thames.

Peace with
Holland, 1667.

The fall of
Clarendon,
1667.

The indignation which these things aroused vented itself on the head of the Chancellor Clarendon. Clarendon was disliked by almost all parties. The Commons, now recovered from their fit of loyalism, had begun to claim control over the Government expenditure, found themselves thwarted by a minister anxious to uphold the prerogative. The Protestant Dissenters hated him on account of the Clarendon Code; the king and the courtiers disliked him because he would have no toleration for Roman Catholics, and more because he rebuked the open licentiousness of the court, and strove to check the squandering of public money on the loose women whom Charles delighted to honour. The people believed him to be responsible for the sale of Dunkirk and the disgraceful ending of the Dutch

war. And so, when the Commons proceeded to impeach him on charges which were mainly false, Charles dismissed him from office and Clarendon fled over sea. Charles in his relief at getting rid of a distasteful adviser did not remember how much he owed his faithful minister, and failed to see that the dismissal of a minister at the bidding of the Commons was in reality a victory for Parliament over the crown. In fact the old struggle between Prerogative and Parliament had begun again.

CHAP. II. CHARLES II. (2) The Cabal and the Second Dutch War.

The 'Cabal' and its aims—Parliament opposed to toleration—The Triple Alliance—The Secret Treaty of Dover—Government robs the Goldsmiths—Declaration of Indulgence—The Second Dutch War—Heroism of the Dutch—Battle of Southwold Bay—The Test Act—End of the Cabal—Danby chief minister—Peace with Holland.

On the fall of Clarendon Charles became his own chief minister. He, however, took certain counsellors into his confidence more than others. These became known as the *Cabal*, or body of secret advisers, and curiously enough the initial letters of their names taken together made up the word Cabal,—Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Cliford; Henry Bennett, Earl of Arlington; George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham (son of Charles I's favourite); Antony Ashley Cooper, Lord Ashley; and John Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale. These persons were not all in complete agreement with one another, but they were all willing to support the king in carrying

The 'Cabal'
and its aims.

out the following policy: increase of the royal power, toleration for Protestant Dissenters and Catholics, an alliance with France, and another war with Holland.

Parliament
opposed to
Toleration.

Parliament, though rapidly learning to imitate the Long Parliament in other respects, was strongly Anglican and would hear nothing of any scheme for toleration and only granted the king money on condition that he would abandon the idea. Charles to outward appearance gave way and supplies were voted.

The Triple
Alliance,
1668.

Although the king and his ministers secretly intended to come to an understanding with France and to make war against Holland, they openly began by joining a league called the *Triple Alliance*. The other parties were Holland and Sweden, and the object was to oppose the ambitious projects of France. The Alliance did actually check Louis for the time being and drove him to make peace, but Charles's real aim was to frighten Louis into granting him favourable terms, and to throw dust in his people's eyes by leading them to believe that he was the enemy of the power by whose assistance he hoped to accomplish his cherished designs: for the idea of Charles was to become independent of Parliament by means of foreign gold and a standing army, and to set up Catholicism once more in England.

The Secret
Treaty of
Dover, 1670.

In 1670 having secured another grant of money, again on the understanding that religious uniformity should be enforced, Charles prorogued the Parliament, and then proceeded to get more money out of France by very different promises. At Dover in the same year a secret treaty was concluded between Charles and Louis. Charles was to assist Louis in

fighting the Dutch by land and sea, and was to declare himself a Catholic as soon as should be found convenient. In return he was to receive the aid of thirty French ships, and £300,000. In the event of the Dutch being thoroughly beaten, various foreign territories were to be added, and in the event of Charles's subjects resisting his conversion to Catholicism, Louis was to lend Charles a French force and more money to enable him to put them down. The Catholic part of the treaty was known to Clifford and Arlington alone of the Cabal ministers. Both of those were themselves Catholics.

On Parliament meeting again Charles, on the pretence that it was necessary in defence of English commercial interests to begin a war with the Dutch and the French, procured another large sum of money; but as his finances were still in a disordered state owing to his reckless and wicked extravagance, he resorted to a plan which was nothing better than downright robbery. There was in the Exchequer at that time about a million and-a-half of money advanced by the Goldsmiths who in those days acted as bankers. Government announced that the principal of this sum was not to be repaid, and the usual interest diminished. Many of the Goldsmiths were utterly ruined.

Government
robs the
Goldsmiths,
1672.

After this achievement, Charles, acting on the advice of Ashley, who was a great believer in religious toleration, claimed the power to suspend Acts of Parliament and issued a *Declaration of Indulgence* in favour of Catholics and Protestant Dissenters. This was in itself a good measure, but it was none the less arbitrary and illegal, and the king's object, as Ashley afterwards discovered, was not to

The Declara-
tion of Indul-
gence, 1672.

advance the principles of toleration, but to help forward the Catholic cause.

The Second
Dutch War,
1672.
Heroism of
the Dutch.

At the same time the Second Dutch war began. By land Louis was at first very successful and captured one Dutch town after another, until at length his victorious career was stopped by a heroic act of self-sacrifice on the part of the Dutch. They cut the dykes, opened the sluices and laid a great part of their country under water.

Battle of
Southwold
Bay, 1672.

At sea an action was fought off Southwold Bay in Suffolk. The English navy was not what it had been during the first war, far less what it was in Cromwell's and Blake's time, and the Dutch had the best of the day.

The Test Act.

The Parliament which met in 1673 was not unwilling to grant further supplies towards the war, for the Dutch were still hated as the commercial rivals of England, but they first insisted that Charles should withdraw his *Declaration of Indulgence*. They then passed an act called the *Test Act* by which all holders of offices were compelled to take the sacrament according to the rites of the English Church and to abjure the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation. Parliament was particularly annoyed with the Duke of York, who had been publicly received into the Roman Church in 1672, and the Test Act was specially levelled against Catholics, for whilst Protestant Dissenters loathed Transubstantiation even more than Anglicans did, and would occasionally (some of them at least) consent to receive the sacrament from an Anglican clergyman, no Catholic would ever renounce the central doctrine of his faith. The Duke of York, Clifford and Arlington resigned their offices; Ashley,

now Earl of Shaftesbury, had learned of the Catholic clauses in the Treaty of Dover and withdrew in disgust. Soon after Buckingham was dismissed, and the shameful Cabal ministry came to an end. Lauderdale, whose duties lay in Scotland, alone retained his post. Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby, now became chief minister. His policy was somewhat similar to that of Clarendon, namely, support of the Prerogative and religious uniformity.

End of the Cabal.

Danby, Chief Minister, 1673.

In 1673 the war with Holland did not go well. In a naval engagement the French ships had conspicuously held off from assisting the English. This aroused national indignation against France and peace was made with Holland in 1674.

Peace with Holland, 1674.

CHAP. III. CHARLES II. (3) The Exclusion Bill and the French Pension.

Political questions in England and on the Continent—The 'Whig' party—Charles a Pensioner of France—Shaftesbury and others sent to the Tower—Second marriage of the Duke of York—Marriage of Mary Stuart to William of Orange—Aims of Louis and of the Whigs—Titus Oates and the Popish Plot—The Parliamentary Test Act—Impeachment of Danby and the dissolution of the "Cavalier" Parliament—Parliament of 1679: the Exclusion Bill—The Habeas Corpus Act—Whigs and Tories—Halifax and the Exclusion—Parliament of 1681—Impotence of England as a European Power—Whigs partly to blame—Reaction in popular feeling—Condemnation of Whig leaders—Death of Charles II—Scotland and Ireland: Cromwell's work in Scotland undone—Persecution and rebellion of the Covenanters—Bothwell Bridge—The Duke of York in Scotland—Argyll sentenced to death—The Irish Act of Settlement.

Political questions in England and on the Continent.

The 'Whig' party.

Charles, a Pensioner of France, 1675.

Shaftesbury and others sent to the Tower, 1677.

From this point to the close of the reign we have to watch the development of two different but not independent struggles. The one was continental, the other purely English and constitutional. Against the aggressive designs of Louis XIV a European league was forming under the leadership of Charles's nephew, William Prince of Orange (afterwards William III of England), who had now recovered his influence in Holland. Louis was very anxious that England should not join the league, and was quite willing to pay heavily for her non-interference in his designs. In England cordial relations between king and Parliament were rapidly becoming impossible. Not only did the majority in Parliament oppose the king in some of his most cherished projects, for instance, the toleration of Catholics, the friendship with France, and the establishment of a standing army; but a powerful minority was forming under Shaftesbury, afterwards to develop into the 'Whig' party, which aimed at the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession on the plea of his Catholicism, the toleration of Protestant Dissenters, and the weakening of the royal power in various ways. In 1675 Charles, finding Parliament unmanageable, prorogued it for fifteen months. For this he received £100,000 from Louis. Louis was at present anxious to make Charles independent of his Parliament, for he feared that Parliament would urge the king to join the Dutch against him. Thus an English king became the 'Pensioner of France' (1675).

Shaftesbury, Buckingham and some other lords were very anxious that the present Parliament should be dissolved. It had sat too long, in their opinion, and the majority were strongly Anglican

in sentiment. And so when Parliament met again, they tried to maintain that the Parliament having been prorogued for over a year had ceased to exist. For this they were sent to the Tower, where Shaftesbury remained for a year (1677).

Charles was undecided as to what foreign policy he should pursue. The Duke of York had become even more unpopular on account of a marriage he had contracted in 1673. His first wife, Anne Hyde, daughter of the Chancellor Clarendon, was dead, having left two daughters, Mary and Anne, both of whom were Protestants. As second wife he married Mary of Modena. This match was strongly in the French interest. Moreover if she had a son, he, after James, would be the heir to the throne, and he would in all probability be a Catholic. Charles was anxious above all other considerations to keep the succession in the direct line, and he was quite ready to desert Louis, if by so doing this could be more easily realised. He therefore arranged a match between James's daughter Mary and the Prince of Orange. This marriage was solemnised in 1677. The majority in Parliament was very well pleased with this alliance, and voted large sums of money to enable Charles to go to war with Louis on William's behalf. But Shaftesbury and the minority were more anxious to exclude the Duke of York than to check the aggressions of Louis. Accordingly they entered into secret communications with the French ambassador and received bribes from him in return for a promise to do all they could to prevent the war. In fact about this time Louis was paying money to both sides so as to bring King and Parliament into conflict, for he knew that without the sup-

Second marriage of the Duke of York, 1673.

Marriage of Mary Stuart to William of Orange, 1677.

Aims of Louis
and of the
'Whigs.'

port of Parliament Charles could do nothing for the Dutch. In 1678 he made a second secret treaty with Charles, promising to pay him more money if he would only dissolve Parliament and disband his army. Now these things were exactly what the Whigs wanted, though for different reasons. They wanted a Whig Parliament to exclude the Duke of York, and they were afraid Charles might use his army, not against France, but against his own subjects.

Titus Oates
and the
'Popish Plot,'
1678.

Meantime an event occurred which roused in the country a furious anti-Catholic feeling. An impostor and liar called Titus Oates came forward and offered to prove the existence of a great Catholic conspiracy or 'Popish plot' to murder the king, to set James on the throne, and to put down Protestantism with the help of a French army. Oates was only too readily believed and other impostors of a like infamous character came forward with similar lying stories. There was probably some foundation for a belief that Catholics were devising some method for improving their position in England, and undoubtedly the king himself, whose life, according to Oates, was aimed at, was the chief mover in an unquestioned 'Popish plot;' but Titus and his imitators were unscrupulous liars all the same, and a number of perfectly innocent persons were imprisoned and sentenced to death on the falsest of evidence. Shaftesbury and his friends took advantage of the supposed plot to influence the country against the Duke of York and the Catholics. Danby thought it politic to fall in with the national delusion, while Charles, far too clever not to see through Oates, nevertheless thought it prudent openly to simulate a belief in the plot lest he should be supposed to favour the Catholics.

The effect of the Popish plot on Parliament showed itself in the passing of a *Parliamentary Test Act*, by which all Catholics were prohibited from sitting in either House. The Duke of York, however, as the king's brother, was exempted by name, but only by a majority of two. Louis, seeing that the anti-popish excitement had for the moment united king, Parliament and people, resorted to a very effectual method of separating them. The French ambassador revealed to the Parliamentary opposition the second secret treaty with Danby's name attached to it. The Commons at once impeached Danby, and Charles, to avoid inconvenient disclosures, at once dissolved Parliament. The 'Cavalier' Parliament had sat eighteen years. It had begun by asserting the rights of the monarch, it had ended in asserting its own (1679).

The Parliamentary Test Act, 1678.

Impeachment of Danby, and dissolution of the 'Cavalier' Parliament, 1679.

A new Parliament met two months after. In the elections the opposition had been triumphant. There were only thirty members in the Commons on whom Charles could rely. The impeachment of Danby was renewed and he was committed to the Tower. A bill was then introduced to exclude James from the succession. To this Charles would never consent. It was not only that he wished to protect his brother's rights, but that in the Exclusion Bill a great principle was at stake. If Parliament might alter the succession, then Parliament was above the king, and the monarchy was in a way elective. The Parliament was dissolved (1679).

Parliament of 1679: the Exclusion Bill.

In the Parliament of 1679 an act of some importance, called the *Habeas Corpus Act*, was passed, which put an end to certain practices by which persons who were charged with various offences were kept in prison for a long time without trial.

The Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.

Whigs and
Tories.

Parliament of
1680.

Halifax and
the Exclusion
Bill.

Parliament of
1681.

Impotence of
England as a

For a year there was no Parliament. In the country political feeling ran high, and the two great parties, the Whig and the Tory,* the former for the Exclusion Bill, the latter against it, began to form themselves. When another Parliament met in 1680, the Exclusion Bill passed the Commons, but the Lords, persuaded by a talented politician, Lord Halifax, rejected it. Halifax had no great love for James, but he had less for the designs of Shaftesbury and the exclusionists. These not only wished to exclude James; they put forward the claims of the Duke of Monmouth, a bastard son of Charles by one of his numerous mistresses, who was commonly, but falsely, believed to have been actually married to the king. If Monmouth was to succeed, not only would James be set aside, but his Protestant daughters, Mary and Anne, would also be excluded, and William of Orange, Mary's husband, would be grievously offended. In the interest of Europe, Halifax thought England and Holland ought to act together, and the Exclusion Bill would probably prevent this. The Commons, however, refused to consider European questions. They were determined to have the Exclusion Bill, and, as they would grant no supplies without it, Charles again dissolved Parliament (1681).

Another Parliament, called a few months after, fared no better. That too was dissolved. Charles II summoned no more Parliaments.

All this was exactly what Louis XIV wanted. With King and Parliament at hopeless variance,

* *Whig* was a name given to the fanatical Scotch Covenantors; *Tories*, the name given to certain wild Irish. Both were ridiculous nick-names, and were far from accurately describing the characteristics of the rival political parties.

England, as a European power, was reduced to impotence. Louis therefore gladly consented to pay Charles a large yearly salary on Charles agreeing to support France generally and do without Parliaments. Charles had got the better of his own subjects, but he had done so at the expense of the honour and independence of England.

European power.

The king however was not the only person to blame for this state of things. The Whigs also had taken French money; they had striven to divert the succession from the direct line, and had put forward as heir to the crown a bastard who had no personal merits to set-off against the stain of his birth. They had also by keeping alive the flame of popular fury in the matter of the Popish plot, sent very many guiltless persons to death.

The Whigs partly to blame for this.

The English people knew nothing of Charles's subservience to France; they disapproved of the extreme Whigs and they loved the monarchy. During the last year or two the tide began to turn. People were beginning to recover their senses with regard to Oates and his fellows, and several persons accused by these scoundrels had recently been acquitted. When their last victim, the aged Earl of Stafford, sentenced by the Peers on evidence manifestly false protested his innocence on the scaffold, the people answered him with cries of 'We believe you, my lord! God bless you, my lord.'

Reaction in popular feeling.

Charles took advantage of this reaction in popular feeling. Shaftesbury was prosecuted for treason and obliged to fly the kingdom. Some other Whig leaders were charged with complicity in a plot against the king, and condemned to death on very insufficient evidence. Monmouth was banished (1682-83).

Condemnation of Whig leaders.

Death of
Charles II,
1685.

- In 1685 Charles II died. To the end he had concealed his true religious convictions, but when he was sinking, the Anglican divines were huddled out of the royal bed-chamber, and a Catholic priest introduced by a private entrance, from whose hands Charles received the last rites of the Church.

Scotland.

In 1660 Cromwell's policy with regard to Scotland had been completely reversed. Scotland was no longer represented in the Parliament at Westminster, and Scotchmen ceased to enjoy equality of privilege with Englishmen in the matter of trade. Episcopacy was once more restored, though no attempt was made to impose a liturgy on the Scottish Church. Charles II ruled Scotland for many years through his minister, the Duke of Lauderdale, and Lauderdale's power was almost absolute. He forced the Scotch Parliament to pass very severe laws against religious non-conformity. Presbyterianism was practically crushed out, except in the western lowlands.

Cromwell's
work in
Scotland
undone.

Persecution
and rebellion
of Covenant-
ers.

where, in defiance of government, the Covenanters worshipped after their own fashion in open air 'conventicles,' and armed themselves to resist interference. In order to suppress these zealots government let loose upon them a host of half-savage highlanders. This only goaded the Covenanters into open rebellion, a rebellion which was not put down without difficulty. One of the most prominent servants of government employed in hunting down the Covenanters was a gentleman called John Graham of Claverhouse, a brave and experienced soldier. Claverhouse, however, was worsted in a battle at Drumclog (1679), but the same year the Duke of Monmouth, then the king's representative in Scotland, defeated the Covenanters at Bothwell Bridge. After

Bothwell
Bridge.

this Monmouth was recalled and the Duke of York was sent to Scotland. James took a savage delight in persecuting the Presbyterians, and many of these poor people were subjected to the most excruciating tortures.

The Duke of York in Scotland, 1680.

The Earl of Argyll, one of the most influential men in Scotland, looked with disfavour on James's measures. James accused him of 'leasing-making,' that is of stirring up sedition. Argyll was sentenced to death, but succeeded in escaping from prison. He took shelter in Holland (1681).

Argyll condemned to death, 1681.

The Irish Catholics had hoped on the Restoration to recover the estates they had lost during the Commonwealth. The matter was looked into in 1661 and an Act of Settlement passed. A certain number of Catholics regained their lands, but the greater part of cultivable land in Ireland remained in the hands of Protestants.

The Irish Act of Settlement, 1661.

CHAP. IV. JAMES II AND THE REVOLUTION.

Accession of James II—James and Louis XIV—Punishment of Oates—James and the Catholics—Temperament of James—James and the Protestant Dissenters—Trial of Baxter—Argyll's rebellion—Monmouth's rebellion—The Bloody Assize—Halifax dismissed from the Council and prorogation of Parliament—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—Case of Sir Edward Hales and the Dispensing Power—Catholics promoted to University appointments—James's Ecclesiastical Commission Court—Dismissal of the Hydes—The Declaration of Indulgence—Expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen—Parliament dissolved—Case of the Seven Bishops—Birth of a son

to James—William of Orange invited to England—Landing of William and Flight of James—The Convention—The Crown offered to William and Mary—Character of the Revolution.

Accession of James II.

The Tory reaction which had set in during the later years of Charles II showed no signs of decreasing at the beginning of his brother's reign. James's religion did not prevent him from receiving the warm support of the Church of England and the Anglican peers. Parliament, too, when summoned in 1685 willingly granted supplies and was quite satisfied when James promised to uphold the English Church and the constitution.

James and Louis XIV.

With regard to foreign affairs James was altogether in the French interest, the more so as Louis had taken the precaution to secure his favour by a voluntary gift of money.

Punishment of Oates, 1685.

In the first year of the reign, before the meeting of Parliament, Titus Oates was tried for perjury, and sentenced to be publicly flogged.

James determined to help the Catholics.

A Catholic himself, James was naturally anxious to obtain for the English Catholics liberty of worship and equality of privilege with the members of the Established Church. The situation indeed was a very inconsistent one. A Catholic might be king, but might not hold the meanest office under the crown, or in a municipality, and could not be a member of Parliament. Perhaps if the king had been willing to wait patiently, and Englishmen had found that no injury was intended against the National Church, James might have obtained some measure of toleration for his co-religionists. But this was exactly what James could not do. In temperament he resembled his father far more

Temperament of James.

than his brother. If a thing seemed to him right and desirable he was determined to have it, no matter what the people thought about it, and he was under the same delusion as Charles I had been, that Englishmen would patiently endure the most distasteful measures if only they bore the outward stamp of legality.

Now there were two courses open to James. First, he might endeavour to secure a general toleration which should include Protestant Dissenters as well as Catholics. Secondly, he might strive to obtain relief for Catholics alone. The first course had the better chance of success, but James could not bring himself to consent to it until it was too late. The king hated the Dissenters, and his attitude towards them was shown by a trial which took place in the very first year of his reign. Richard Baxter, the most influential of the Dissenters, to whom Charles II had actually offered a bishopric, was accused of seditious writing. His judge was the brutal Jeffreys, and the trial was a mere farce, but Baxter was sentenced to fine and imprisonment.

James and the Protestant Dissenters.

Trial of Baxter, 1685.

The Duke of Monmouth, who was still in exile, thought that if he appeared in England the people would rise in his favour. At the same time the Earl of Argyll, who had met Monmouth in Holland, determined to return to Scotland and raise a rebellion against the government. Argyll's venture proved a disastrous failure. The western clans, indeed, of whom he was chief, rose at his call, but, advancing into the lowlands, they were seized with panic and dispersed. Argyll was captured and put to death on the sentence passed against him in 1681.

Argyll's rebellion, 1685.

Monmouth's
rebellion,
1685.

Monmouth fared little better. He landed in Dorsetshire: The peasants and middle-class people flocked to his standard, but the higher orders would not stir. Monmouth took the title of king. But his followers were without military training, and were completely defeated at Sedgemoor by the royal forces under Lord Feversham and John Churchill (afterwards the great Duke of Malborough). Monmouth himself escaped but was caught some days after and brought to London. James granted his nephew a personal interview but refused to pardon him. There was no trial. Parliament had already decreed his death by act of attainder. He was executed on July 15, 1685.

The Bloody
Assize.

Of Monmouth's followers—ignorant people most of them, whom a wise and merciful king would have spared—very many were put to death by the soldiers without trial. Of the rest over 300 were hanged and 800 sent as slaves to the West Indies, after being tried by Judge Jeffreys. This business acquired the well-deserved title of the Bloody Assize.

Halifax dis-
missed from
the Council
and Parlia-
ment pro-
rogued, 1685.

James's success in crushing the Monmouth rebellion made him more than ever sanguine with regard to his Catholic designs. He wished to have the Test Act repealed so that he could give civil and military appointments to Catholics. Lord Halifax, whose help had been so valuable to James at the time of the Exclusion Bill, was dismissed the Council for opposing this. Henceforth James would have no ministers who were unwilling to help forward his favourite scheme. Parliament naturally would hear nothing of a repeal of the Test Act, and even expostulated with the king for having, in anticipation

of Parliamentary approval, given military commissions to some Catholics. Such being the feeling of Parliament, the king prorogued it (November 1685).

The time was indeed singularly unfavourable for projects such as James cherished. A great wave of anti-Roman feeling had recently swept over Europe owing to a bigoted act on the part of Louis XIV. He had revoked an Edict—called the Edict of Nantes—which secured toleration for French Protestants. The Protestants were subjected to a cruel persecution. Many thousands of them fled from France and settled in other countries. As the French Protestants were mostly skilful and industrious craftsmen and artisans, France was distinctly the loser by this transaction. Very many of the exiles found a refuge in England where their descendants continue to this day. The pulpits rang with denunciations of Popery. James tried to silence controversial preaching, but in vain:

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Since Parliament proved intractable, James, as his father had done, turned to the Judges, and, like his father, secured a favourable decision from them by dismissing those who were hostile to his views. The infamous Jeffreys proved a willing tool. A suit was brought against a certain Catholic, Sir Edward Hales, for holding a post in the army in defiance of the Test Act. Hales pleaded a dispensation from the king. The Judges decided in his favour, and ruled that the king had power to dispense with the laws in particular cases. James fondly imagined that since the law had declared in favour of the dispensing power, the people would quietly acquiesce.

Case of Sir Edward Hales and the Dispensing Power, 1686.

Catholics promoted to University appointments.

Offices of State being now open to Catholics, James resolved that the lucrative ecclesiastical posts should also be within their reach. In virtue of the dispensing powers he appointed avowed Romanists to some of the most coveted posts in the University of Oxford. Ridiculously enough James, though a Catholic, was by law head of the English Church. In that capacity he set up an Ecclesiastical Commission Court of which Jeffreys was the principal member.

James's Ecclesiastical Commission Court.

This Court suspended an English bishop, Compton of London, for refusing to suspend a clergyman who had preached in defence of the English Church and against Romanism.

In Scotland and Ireland similar measures in favour of Catholics were carried through.

Dismissal of the Hydes, 1687.

These things alienated from James the best of the Anglican Tories to whom he owed his throne. But the infatuated king persisted in the course he had entered on. Catholicism was no longer a bar to promotion; it had become the only passport thither. James's Council was filled with Catholics, and the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, sons of the Chancellor Clarendon, were dismissed from office, Clarendon to make room for a Papist, and Rochester because he would not change his religion (1687).

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1687.

And now James, finding that the Anglicans were bitterly opposed to his designs, determined to court the Dissenters. In 1687 he issued a *Declaration of Indulgence*,* suspending the operation of all penal

* The *Suspending Power*, claimed by James, differs from the *Dispensing Power*. The latter simply frees particular individuals from penalties or disqualifications imposed by law; the former temporarily repeals laws altogether.

laws against Non-Conformists, Catholic as well as Protestant. By some Protestant Dissenters the *Declaration of Indulgence* was received with gratitude, but the majority regarded the gift with suspicion, understanding the king's real motives.

What these motives were was made clear by a further attack on the University of Oxford. The Ecclesiastical Commission ordered the Fellows of Magdalen College to elect a Catholic as head of their House. The Fellows had already elected a Protestant, and they refused to depose him in favour of the king's nominee. For their constancy the Fellows were driven out homeless and penniless. Oxford had always been extravagantly loyal to the Stuarts. James had now raised the great University against him.

Expulsion of the Fellows of Magdalen, 1687.

After this James dissolved Parliament. He wished to pack another which should make the *Declaration of Indulgence* law. But public feeling was too strong. The king only succeeded in uniting against himself Anglicans and Dissenters, and in driving the Tories to abandon their once cherished doctrine of the sinfulness of resisting kings.

Parliament dissolved, 1687.

In 1688 James issued another Declaration of Indulgence, and ordered that it should be read aloud in all Churches. Seven of the bishops, including Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, drew up and presented to the king a petition praying that the clergy might not be forced to read the declaration. James was very angry. He insisted in regarding the Petition as a seditious document, and ordered the seven bishops to be tried for publishing a false, malicious and seditious libel. The Church had come forward as the champion of English

Case of the Seven Bishops, 1688.

liberties, and for the moment she enjoyed a popularity such as she has never experienced at any other time. All shades of Protestants united in doing honour to the bishops, and when the Jury returned a verdict of not guilty, the enthusiastic joy of the London citizens knew no bounds. Even the troops which James had collected near London, to overawe the populace if necessary, shared the general enthusiasm and greeted the acquittal of the bishops with loud shouts.

Birth of a son
to James.

While the trial of the bishops was proceeding, a son was born to James. This event dashed the hopes of those who were inclined patiently to endure the rule of a Catholic king in the hope that he would in no long time be succeeded by a Protestant heir. Many gave out that the child was not really the Queen's, but had been secretly introduced into the palace. A number of leading men, Tories as well as Whigs, addressed a letter to William of Orange, inviting him to come with an army to defend the liberties of England.

William of
Orange
invited to
England,
1688.

William consented, not that he cared very much for the liberties of England, but because he was exceedingly anxious that England should throw herself into the scale against the designs of France. This, while James was king, was not to be looked for. However, had it not been for a blunder made by Louis, William would not have been permitted by the Dutch to leave Holland. Louis was then hesitating as to whether he should invade Holland or the Palatinate. Fortunately for William and unfortunately for James he chose the latter. William was now free to go. In November 1688 he sailed for England and landed at Torbay. He was

Landing of
William and
flight of the
King.

soon joined by many influential persons, both Whigs and Tories, while the north and midlands also rose in his name. William moved slowly on London, and James advanced from the capital to meet him, but his troops deserted him, and ere long he was left almost completely alone. Even his daughter Anne went over to the enemy. James returned to London whence he determined to fly the country. He sent his wife and child on before him to France. He himself tried to follow but was stopped near Sheerness by some fishermen and brought back to London. But William was only too anxious that James should escape, and did nothing to hinder a second flight. In December 1688 James II left England for ever.

Meantime William had arrived in London. There he summoned all those who had been members of Charles II's Parliaments, together with the Lord Mayor and the City Council, to decide what should be done. This assembly recommended that a Convention Parliament should be summoned. The Convention met in the beginning of 1689. All parties were anxious to have done with James, but the Tories still clung to the principle that Parliament had no right to depose or appoint kings. The Whigs adhered to the contrary opinion. Finally a compromise was arrived at which secured unity at the expense of consistency. It was resolved that James II, having broken the original contract between king and people (a purely Whig conception), having ruled tyrannically, and having abdicated, the throne was vacant. It was a mere fiction to style the enforced flight of James a voluntary resignation, but it was enough to expel the scruples of the

The Conven-
tion, 1689.

The Crown
offered to
William and
Mary.

The Decla-
ration of
Right.

Character of
the Revolu-
tion.

Tories. The crown was then offered to William and Mary jointly. William was actually to govern, but in the event of the death of one, the survivor was to reign. A *Declaration of Right* was drawn up in which the illegal acts of James were enumerated. William and Mary accepted the crown from the hands of the Convention, and the Revolution was complete. Whatever the Tories might fancy, the doctrine of the Whigs had prevailed. The right of the people to depose their sovereign had been announced by deeds if it had not been clearly put forward in words, and the principle that a king could not dispense with the laws or act independently of the legislative was very definitely asserted.

PART VIII. THE PROTESTANT SUCCESSION.

CHAP. I. WILLIAM III AND MARY II.

Twofold character of the reign—The Continental struggle and the growth of Cabinet Government—The Convention Parliament—The Mutiny Act—The Toleration Act—The Nonjurors—The Bill of Rights—The Convention dissolved—The Revolution in Scotland—Establishment of Presbyterianism—Battle of Killiecrankie—Massacre of Glencoe—The Revolution in Ireland—Siege of Londonderry—James II in Ireland—William in Ireland—Battle of the Boyne—Pacification of Limerick—The war with France—Beachy Head—Jacobite Plot discovered—Invasion of England planned—Battle of La Hogue—Successes of Louis XIV—The Whig Junto—Whig and Tory foreign policy—The National Debt and the Bank of England—The Triennial Act—Death of the Queen—The Duke of Leeds impeached—The Liberty of the Press—William recaptures Namur—Jacobite plot to murder the king—The Association—Peace of Ryswick—Question of the Spanish Succession—The First and Second Partition Treaties—Break-up of the Junto—Death of Charles II of Spain—The Act of Succession—The Kentish Petition—Death of James II; Louis acknowledges the Pretender—The Grand Alliance—Death of William.

The reign of William III is of twofold importance; first, as regards the growth of the power of Parliament and the beginning of the modern system

Twofold character of the reign.

The continen-
tal struggle.

The growth
of Party and
Cabinet
Government.

of Party and Cabinet Government; secondly, as regards the European struggle between Louis XIV and the powers threatened by his ambitious schemes William was the life and soul of the opposition to Louis and, as we have seen, he chiefly valued the English crown because it immensely increased his chance of resisting Louis with success.

William, however, gradually learned that, unless the majority in the Commons supported him and unless the ministers of the crown was approved by the majority in the Commons and were united amongst themselves, his connection with England would prove rather a hindrance than a help towards his great designs. Thus, though anxious not to abandon the real rights of the crown, he was forced to give his assent to various measures by which the authority of Parliament was increased. For similar reasons he was led to select as ministers of the crown persons who belonged to the same party, and who were not distasteful to the majority of the Commons, otherwise neither Parliament nor ministers would lend the necessary assistance for his continental purposes. And so foreign conditions contributed greatly towards the development of that system of which the first necessity is that the chief ministers of the crown should enjoy the confidence of the dominant party in the House of Commons.

Cabinet
Government;
what it is.

The chief characteristics of *Cabinet Government* are as follows:—The greatest ministers of the crown form a small body called the Cabinet. These ministers are selected from the party which for the time being has a majority in the Commons. If Parliament throws out any measure of importance brought forward by the Government, the Government is expected

to resign. If any member of the Cabinet feels bound to oppose measures which have the support of his colleagues, he also is expected to resign his office. Thus Cabinet Government roughly comes to mean the government of the country by a sort of committee of the dominant Parliamentary party.

Of course this peculiar system did not establish itself all at once. Even at the close of the reign it was only beginning to take shape. It came about rather in spite of, than because of, the conscious efforts of men. Parliament indeed struggled against it at first, as it threatened to make Parliament rather dependent on the ministers than the ministers dependent on Parliament. The king also, in his desire to get the support of both parties, wished to choose as his ministers representatives of both. But circumstances in the end proved too strong, and men learned to acquiesce in this system of government, because it was found to be the only one which would work. William's first ministry was of a mixed nature: Danby, Nottingham, Godolphin (Tories), Halifax and Shrewsbury (Whigs).

We now turn to the course of events. As it was doubtful what the result of a general election would be, the Convention Parliament declared itself a regular Parliament. A regiment of soldiers having mutinied, it was necessary to enforce discipline by Martial Law. But by the Petition of Rights (1628) Martial Law was illegal in times of peace. Parliament accordingly passed a special law (The *Mutiny Act*) sanctioning Martial Law for a year. This act has subsequently been renewed yearly. By this means Parliament secured an indirect control over the army, for, even if the Government found means

Cabinet
Parliament
resisted at
first by
Parliament
and king.

The Conven-
tion Parlia-
ment, 1689.

The Mutiny
Act, 1689.

to keep up a force without Parliamentary money-grants, a refusal by Parliament to pass the yearly Mutiny Bill would amount practically to disbanding the army, since only by Martial Law can military discipline be maintained (1689).

The Toleration Act, 1689.

Two other acts of importance were passed the same year. First the *Toleration Act* which, under certain conditions, secured protection in their worship to Protestant Dissenters. In consequence of Parliament requiring all persons holding office in Church and State to take an oath of allegiance to the new Government, seven bishops, including Archbishop Sancroft, and about 300 clergy who were true to the principle of hereditary succession, resigned their charges. These were called the 'Nonjurors.'

The Non-jurors.

The Bill of Rights, 1689.

The second act passed by Parliament was the *Bill of Rights*, which turned the *Declaration of Right* into a statute. Amongst other things this law declared the illegality of the suspending and dispensing powers, of the Ecclesiastical Commission Court and all similar courts, of a standing army (without Parliamentary consent), and of the levying of money without consent of Parliament. It also enunciated the right of the subject to petition the king, and the right of free election to Parliament and of freedom of speech within it, and laid down that no person who was a Catholic or who married a Catholic could be king of England.

The Convention dissolved, 1690.

The dissensions between the Whigs and Tories in Parliament led William to dissolve the Convention in the beginning of 1690. The king wished that party differences should be healed and past offences forgotten. The Whigs, on the other hand, desired to keep alive old quarrels and to weaken

the opposite party by excluding from office and bringing to punishment all those who had been in any way concerned in the illegal acts of James II.

Scotland had followed the lead of England in throwing over James II and recognising William. The former was declared by the Scotch Parliament to have forfeited the crown. Moreover, as the Episcopalian bishops and clergy refused to recognise William as lawful king, and as those who preferred the Presbyterian to the Episcopalian system seemed to form a majority in Scotland, William consented to the disestablishment of Episcopacy and the substitution of Presbyterianism.

The deposed king had however a party in Scotland ready to take up arms in his cause. The moving spirit of this party was Claverhouse (now Viscount Dundee). Dundee went to the highlands and raised the clans for King James, as his kinsman Montrose had once done for Charles I. It was Dundee's aim to entice William to Scotland and to leave Ireland free for James. This he would very probably have done had he lived. Dundee and the highlanders utterly defeated a royalist army at Killiecrankie in Perthshire. But Dundee himself fell, and with him died all James's hopes in Scotland. The clans were gradually reduced to submission. One chief however, Maclan Glencoe, head of a section of the Macdonald clan, neglected to take the oath of allegiance until the last date fixed by the Government for the purpose had elapsed (December 31, 1691). For this delay—for it was nothing more—the Scotch Government determined to extirpate the clan altogether. The deed was carried out in a peculiarly treacherous and savage

The Revolution in Scotland.

Establishment of Presbyterianism.

Battle of Killiecrankie 1690.

- Massacre of Glencoe, 1692.** fashion. A body of troops was quartered on the Macdonalds, and was hospitably entertained by them. One dark February morning the clansmen were surprised in their beds and massacred. Some indeed managed to escape, but of these many perished in the snow. How far King William was responsible for this horrible crime has never been determined (1692).
- The Revolution in Ireland.** At the Revolution Celtic and Catholic Ireland naturally adhered to the cause of James II. Only two towns held out for William, Londonderry and Enniskillen. Londonderry was closely besieged, but the Protestants held out with the greatest heroism.
- Siege of Londonderry, 1689. James II in Ireland.** In March 1689, James II himself landed in Ireland, bringing with him a number of French officers and a quantity of arms and ammunition supplied by Louis XIV. A Parliament was held at Dublin, which was almost entirely composed of native Irish Catholics. This Parliament set up Catholicism, passed an Act of Attainder against 2,500 persons, and issued a debased coinage. In July Londonderry was relieved. Late in the year William sent Marshall Schomberg to Ireland with some English troops. He himself followed in the spring of 1690 with a mixed army of English, Dutch, Danes and others. Louis in the meantime had sent a French force to assist James. The great continental struggle was, for the moment, to be fought out in Ireland.
- William in Ireland.** At the battle of the Boyne James's army was completely defeated. James himself fled to Kinsale, and thence to France. William left the rest of the conquest of Ireland to a Dutch soldier called Ginkel. The last fortress which held out for James was Limerick, and Limerick surrendered in October 1691.
- Battle of the Boyne, 1690.**

By the Pacification of Limerick a certain amount of toleration was promised to Irish Catholics. This promise was not carried out, as the Irish Parliament, now exclusively Protestant, refused to be bound by the Pacification.

Pacification
of Limerick,
1691.

The Convention had declared war against France in 1689, and the following Parliament, which met in 1690, had voted liberal supplies, at the same time taking the opportunity to establish a Parliamentary control over the national expenditure. Whilst William had been employed in Ireland Louis had secured several successes on the continent, and a French fleet had beaten a combined English and Dutch fleet off Beachy Head (1690). Next year a plot was set on foot by the *Jacobites*, as the supporters of James were called,* to bring back James with the help of a French force while William was absent on the continent. This plot was happily discovered before William left England.

The war with
France.

Beachy Head,
1690.

Jacobite Plot
discovered.

Next year Louis and James planned an invasion of England. They were in hopes that there would be simultaneously a rising in the country itself, and that many leading men would join. The promotion by William of Dutchmen to high places had given much offence, and some statesmen, including Malborough and the Admiral, Lord Russell, had entered into secret communications with the exiled king. But though William was unpopular, James entirely miscalculated in supposing that Englishmen would receive him back at the bidding of the French king. Hatred of foreigners was the dominant political feeling in England, and if the English disliked the Dutch, they disliked the French more.

Invasion of
England
planned, 1691.

* The word *Jacobus* is Latin for James.

Battle of La
Hogue, 1692.

The French fleet was utterly defeated near La Hogue in 1692, and the danger of invasion warded off.

Successes of
Louis XIV,
1692-93.

On land Louis was far more successful. He took the important fortress of Namur, and he defeated William in two battles, Steinkirk (1692) and Landen (1693). A merchant fleet also, carrying goods of immense value to the East, and sailing with an insufficient guard, was intercepted in the Mediterranean by the entire French fleet, and in great part destroyed. Still these reverses were far from decisive. France was becoming exhausted, whilst there was still much money in England, could William only obtain it.

The Whig
Junto, 1693-
94.

Meantime in England, both in Parliament and Council, the quarrels between Whigs and Tories continued. On the whole the Whigs prevailed in the Commons, but the ministry was mainly Tory. These dissensions made it unlikely that William would receive from England that strenuous support which was necessary for a successful prosecution of the war. He was therefore advised to select his chief ministers from the Whig party alone. Somers, a great Whig lawyer and statesman, Montague, a brilliant finance minister, Russell, the admiral, and Wharton, a very skilful party leader, became his chief ministers. This combination of Whig politicians is known as the *Junto*, and is the beginning of Cabinet Government. William was led to throw himself on the Whigs rather than on the Tories, because the foreign policy favoured by the Whigs on the whole corresponded with his own. The Whigs thought that England should carry on war vigorously both by land and sea. The Tories, then and for long after, held that England should have as

Whig and
Tory foreign
policy.

little to do as possible with European conflicts, and should content herself with maintaining her supremacy on the sea.

In order to raise money without exasperating the people by increased taxation, Parliament in 1693 resolved to borrow a million of money from those who were willing to lend. Special taxes were to be set aside for the payment of interest on the loan. This was the beginning of the *National Debt*. In 1694 it was necessary to raise another loan, this time of £1,200,000. Accordingly a number of merchants were incorporated as a Bank, and the Bank was granted certain privileges by Parliament. The Bank advanced Government the money desired on Government promising to pay a certain rate of interest, which should serve the Bank for working capital. This was the beginning of the *Bank of England*. The advantage of these measures was twofold. Government expenditure was spread over a large number of years, whilst those who wished to invest money found a ready and safe means for so doing. At the same time the poorer classes were not irritated by burdensome impositions, and the capitalist classes became interested in supporting the Revolution settlement, since in the event of another Revolution, it was pretty certain that they would never see principal or interest again.

In 1694 William gave his consent to an act called the *Triennial Act*, limiting the duration of a single Parliament to a period of three years. On a former occasion the king had rejected the bill.

The same year, to the great and inconsolable grief of William, Queen Mary died. Her death broke up any union which had ever existed between

The National Debt and the Bank of England, 1693-94.

The Triennial Act, 1694.

Death of the Queen, 1694.

The Duke of
Leeds im-
peached.

Whigs and Tories. The Tories attacked the Whig ministers, while the Whigs more effectually impeached the Tory Duke of Leeds (Danby) for taking bribes, and drove him from office. There was now only one Tory left in the ministry, Godolphin, and his opinions were not of an extreme character (1695).

The Liberty
of the Press,
1695.

The Parliament of 1695 is chiefly memorable, not so much from what it did, as from what it refrained from doing. Hitherto the Press had been subjected to a strict censorship. No man might publish a book, pamphlet or newspaper, unless it had been licensed by persons appointed for the purpose. The licensing act had expired and the Commons refused to renew it. It had worked very ill, and had been attended by a number of inconveniences. To the desire to avoid these, and not to any prevalent belief in supposed rights on the part of the subject to write and publish what he pleased, the Press owes the establishment of that liberty which it now enjoys.

William re-
captures
Namur, 1695.

The year 1695 was a prosperous one for William. He retook the fortress of Namur, and the event made him rather more popular in England. On his return he dissolved Parliament, and summoned another which was strongly Whig in composition, and was willing to back up the foreign policy of the king: A Jacobite plot to murder William and a design of the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James II, to invade England, were discovered in 1696. This only increased the loyalty of Parliament and people.

Jacobite plot
to murder the
king.

The 'Associa-
tion,' 1696.

An *Association*, such as that in Elizabeth's reign, was formed, to defend the king and to insure the succession of the Princess Anne in the event of his death.

Peace of Rys-
wick, 1697.

In 1697 peace was concluded at Ryswick between England, Holland and France. The support of

England had turned the tide against Louis. Louis recognised William as king of England, and surrendered all the places he had captured since 1678.

The Peace of Ryswick was received with great rejoicings. People thought that times of quiet and security had really arrived at last, and Parliament disbanded a large part of the army. William and the leading Whigs knew better. They were aware that Louis was cherishing still further ambitious projects, although as to the full extent of his designs even they were ignorant. Charles II of Spain was dying. He had no children, but he had a number of more or less distant kinsmen belonging to various princely or royal families in Europe. Louis wished to secure for France as much of the Spanish dominions as possible. William and the Dutch were anxious to split up the Spanish empire in such a way as to preserve the European 'Balance of Power.' No power was to be allowed to become so strong as to be a distinct danger to the rest. What the wishes of the various 'peoples' concerned might be no one took the trouble to inquire. In 1698 William and Holland concluded a secret arrangement with France called afterwards the *First Partition Treaty*. As France had been weakened by the war, and William had recently been successful, the terms of this treaty were on the whole favourable to the opponents of Louis. The bulk of the Spanish Empire was to go, on the death of Charles II, to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. France indeed was to have a share in the spoil, but not a very considerable one. Unfortunately the Electoral Prince died in 1699, and it became necessary to conclude a *Second Partition Treaty*. But

Question of
the Spanish
Succession.

The First and
Second Partion
Treaties,
1698-99.

Break-up of
the Junto.

now William's position was not so favourable. He was not on very good terms with Parliament, Parliament had insisted on dismissing his Dutch bodyguard, and in other ways reducing the army and navy. William was so grieved that he was with difficulty dissuaded from abdicating. Parliament had called in question the grants which William had made to his Dutch friends. The crown had also been deprived of certain profits accruing from the coinage. The Junto had been broken up, and William had been forced to make some Tories ministers. These things prevented William from getting such good terms from France as in the first Treaty. It was now arranged that the greater part of the Spanish dominions was to go to the Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Leopold I. France was to be rewarded with the Province of Lorraine.

The Will and
Death of
Charles II of
Spain, 1700.

But Louis, unknown to William, was intriguing for additions to France far wider than anything contemplated in the Partition Treaties. His agents had been working on the enfeebled mind of Charles II, and had persuaded him secretly to will away the whole of his dominions to Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis. As soon as Charles died (November 1700) Louis threw over the Partition Treaties and accepted the conditions of the will. William to his great mortification found that he had been duped.

The 'Associa-
tion,' 1696.

Peace
wick, 16

Meantime in England the question of the succession had come up again. William and Mary had no children. The Princess Anne, married to George of Denmark, had several, but they were all dead. The Duke of Gloucester, the second son of George of Denmark, was called

upon to pass another Act of Succession. The Tories were now in the ascendancy and yet no attempt was made to restore the direct line. All the Catholic branches of the House of Stuart were passed over, and—after Anne—the crown was to go to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her heirs, *being Protestants*. Sophia was the daughter of Elizabeth Electress Palatine, and consequently the granddaughter of James I. But while the Tory Parliament had abandoned the hereditary principle in favour of Protestantism, they added to the Act of Succession certain clauses which amounted to a censure on the Whig king. The sovereign was forbidden to leave England without consent of Parliament; he was not to appoint any foreigner to an office of State; he was not to involve England in any war on behalf of his foreign dominions. At the same time the power of the king was reduced by a clause which forbade Judges being dismissed unless for some serious offence, or on an address from both Houses of Parliament. Other clauses attempted—fruitlessly enough—to check the system of Cabinet Government. The feeling of Parliament was further shown by the impeachment of the principal Whig ministers and by a petition to the king to dismiss them from office.

In Parliament the Tories predominated, but in the country a reaction set in, mainly owing to two acts of Louis. The Partition Treaties had not been popular. Even after the grandson of Louis had become King of Spain, Englishmen had anticipated no particular danger. Up to this time the fortresses on the borders between France and the Spanish Netherlands had been garrisoned by forces half

Louis and the
Barrier
Towns, 1701.

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Break-up of
the Junto.

But Louis, unknown to William, was intriguing for additions to France far wider than anything contemplated in the Partition Treaties. His agents had been working on the enfeebled mind of Charles II, and had persuaded him secretly to will away the whole of his dominions to Philip of Anjou, the grandson of Louis. As soon as Charles died (November 1700) Louis threw over the Partition Treaties and accepted the conditions of the will. William to his great mortification found that he had been duped.

The Will and
Death of
Charles II of
Spain, 1700.

The Act of
Succession,
1701.

Meantime in England the question of the succession had come up again. William and Mary had no children. The Princess Anne, married to Prince George of Denmark, had several, but they were all dead; the last, the Duke of Gloucester, dying in 1700. Once more Parliament was called

upon to pass another Act of Succession. The Tories were now in the ascendancy and yet no attempt was made to restore the direct line. All the Catholic branches of the House of Stuart were passed over, and—after Anne—the crown was to go to Sophia, Electress of Hanover, and her heirs, *being Protestants*. Sophia was the daughter of Elizabeth Electress Palatine, and consequently the granddaughter of James I. But while the Tory Parliament had abandoned the hereditary principle in favour of Protestantism, they added to the Act of Succession certain clauses which amounted to a censure on the Whig king. The sovereign was forbidden to leave England without consent of Parliament; he was not to appoint any foreigner to an office of State; he was not to involve England in any war on behalf of his foreign dominions. At the same time the power of the king was reduced by a clause which forbade Judges being dismissed unless for some serious offence, or on an address from both Houses of Parliament. Other clauses attempted—fruitlessly enough—to check the system of Cabinet Government. The feeling of Parliament was further shown by the impeachment of the principal Whig ministers and by a petition to the king to dismiss them from office.

In Parliament the Tories predominated, but in the country a reaction set in, mainly owing to two acts of Louis. The Partition Treaties had not been popular. Even after the grandson of Louis had become King of Spain, Englishmen had anticipated no particular danger. Up to this time the fortresses on the borders between France and the Spanish Netherlands had been garrisoned by forces half

Louis and the
Barrier
Towns, 1701.

Spanish and half Dutch. Louis now arranged with the Spaniards to expel the Dutch and put French soldiers in their place. No one after this could doubt what the French king's designs really were.

The Kentish
Petition, 1701.

The gentlemen of Kent petitioned the Commons to vote liberal supplies to enable the king to meet emergencies. The Commons regarded the petition as an insult, and ordered the five gentlemen who had actually presented the petition to be imprisoned. This arbitrary proceeding aroused much indignation. The Tories, who had once been the supporters of Royal prerogative against Parliament and People, were now the champions of Parliamentary privilege against king and people. The Bill of Rights had declared it lawful in the subject to petition the king; it was still a crime in the subject to petition Parliament.

Death of
James II.
Louis XIV
acknowledges
the Pro-
tender, 1701.

But Louis committed another and a greater folly. At the end of 1701 James II died. Louis caused his son, James Edward (the elder Pretender), to be proclaimed King of England, and promised to support his cause. When the news reached England a storm of indignant Patriotism was aroused. Englishmen would have no king at a foreigner's bidding. William was at the time abroad arranging a 'Grand Alliance' between England, Holland and Austria against France. He hastened home, and was received with extraordinary enthusiasm. Parliament was dissolved, and another summoned. In this the Whigs had a majority. The Tory ministers were dismissed; troops and money were voted and preparations for war set on foot.

The Grand
Alliance.

Death of Wil-
liam, 1703.

William's policy had prevailed, but William himself was not to direct it. Whilst he was riding

in Hampton Park one day in the spring of 1702 his horse stumbled and he was thrown to the ground. Some days after he died from the injuries he had sustained.

CHAP. II. QUEEN ANNE AND THE WAR OF SPANISH SUCCESSION.

Character of Queen Anne—Her First Ministry—War with France—Genius of Marlborough and the difficulties of his task—The War of Spanish Succession—How the European States ranged themselves—The Methuen Treaty—Campaigns of 1703-4—Victory of Blenheim—Results of Blenheim—Capture of Gibraltar—Achievements of Peterborough in Spain—The year 1706; Victory of Ramillies—Victory of Oudenarde—Negotiations for peace—Battle of Malplaquet—Political parties in England—The Whigs and Cabinet Government—Dr. Sacheverell's sermon—Dismissal of the Whig Ministers—Harley and St. John—The Tories push on the peace—Marlborough dismissed—The English desert the allies—The Occasional Conformity Act—Creation of twelve Tory Peers—The Peace of Utrecht—The 'Asiento'—The question of the Succession—Death of the Electress Sophia—Oxford dismissed—Death of Anne—The Union of England and Scotland.

Queen Anne was a good natured woman without any high gifts or any great strength of character. She disliked the Whigs and inclined to Tory views, especially with regard to the Church, to which she was devotedly attached. She was opposed to the idea of party Government, and so at first chose her ministers from both sides. But whilst the Tories on the whole predominated in the Cabinet, the chief

Character of
Queen Anne's
her First
Ministry.

of these Tories, Marlborough and Godolphin, were Tories only in name, and latterly not even that. Moreover the wife of Marlborough exercised a great personal influence over the Queen. And so it came about that Anne, so far at least as concerned foreign affairs, adopted a policy which was purely Whig. Before Parliament met war was declared with France (May, 1702).

War with
France, 1702.

Marlborough,
his genius
and the diffi-
culties of his
task.

During the reign of William Marlborough had played a very doubtful part, and had been for a while dismissed from office. But latterly William, who knew his great abilities, again employed him and sent him abroad to arrange matters with the allies. Marlborough was indeed a very great man, and was eminently fitted to carry on the work William had begun. In coolness of temper and diplomatic skill he was his former master's equal; in military genius he was many times his superior. His task was not without great difficulties, for in resisting the designs of France he was under this great advantage. Louis had not only very able generals and great armies at his disposal; but his schemes were not being perpetually thwarted by divided counsels. The allies, on the other hand, were a miscellaneous body with a variety of independent aims, and it was difficult to make them work in concert. And yet this result Marlborough with consummate skill was able to bring about, at least in a great degree.

The War of
Spanish Suc-
cession. How
the states
ranged them-
selves.

At the beginning of the war the states of Europe ranged themselves as follows. On the side of France were Spain (under Louis's grandson, Philip) and the Electors of Cologne and Bavaria. The last was a very useful ally, for his country was easily

reached by French armies, and afforded a very convenient basis for attacking the Austrian dominions. On the side of the allies there were the Emperor, England, Holland, Prussia (recently made a kingdom), and the Electors of Hanover and the Palatinate.

In 1703 Savoy and Portugal also joined the allies. The Archduke Charles, who claimed to be King of Spain, promised Portugal some Spanish cities, and England concluded with the same state a commercial treaty which, while favourable to Portugal, was unfavourable to France. This treaty was called the Methuen treaty after Paul Methuen, the English ambassador at Lisbon.

The Methuen
treaty, 1703.

His first two campaigns (1702-3) Marlborough devoted to securing a strong position on the Lower Rhine and protecting Holland from invasion. This he did with entire success by capturing a number of those fortresses which Louis in 1701 had filled with French garrisons. Elsewhere the efforts of the allies were not so successful, and a French army occupied Bavaria and threatened Vienna which was practically defenceless. If Vienna fell the Emperor would be detached from the allies and the war would be decided in the favour of France. Marlborough knew this and resolved to save Vienna at all risks. The Dutch however wished to keep him in North Germany. This Marlborough knew would ruin everything, and so, without letting the Dutch know what his real objects were, he managed to get away, formed junctions with other armies of the allies, notably with that of the excellent Imperial General, Prince Eugene, came up with the French and Bavarians at Blenheim on the Danube and inflicted on them a most crushing defeat (1704).

Campaigns of
1702-3.

Victory of
Blenheim,
1704.

Results of
Blenheim.

The victory of Blenheim had the most important results. The Empire was saved; the French were driven out of Germany; and the pride and confidence of France received a terrible shock. For over sixty years before Blenheim the French had won every battle they had engaged in.

Capture of
Gibraltar,
1704.

In the same year in another part of Europe, England achieved another glorious conquest. Gibraltar was surprised by some English sailors of the fleet of Sir G. Rooke, who climbed the rock while the garrison were at their devotions and planted the English flag on the battlements. Gibraltar has remained an English possession ever since (1704).

Achieve-
ments of
Peterborough
in Spain,
1705.

In 1705 the chief interest of the war centres in Spain. There the brilliant Lord Peterborough captured Barcelona, the capital of Catalonia. The Catalans adopted the cause of the Archduke Charles (now crowned king by the title of Charles III), because they were jealous of the Castilians. Peterborough overran Valencia, but the allies were never able to make any permanent impression on Spain, although in the course of the war they won several victories and twice occupied Madrid. With the exception of the Catalans the Spaniards clung to King Philip and bitterly resented the attempt of the allies to thrust upon them a king who was not of their own choice.

The year
1706; Victory
of Ramillies.

The year 1706 was for the allies the most glorious year of the war. Prince Eugene won a great victory in northern Italy; the English occupied Madrid, and Marlborough utterly defeated the French at Ramillies in the Spanish Netherlands. This victory gave the allies the whole of the Netherlands except a few fortresses, and here, as we now see, the

war should have ended, for Louis was ready to agree to terms of peace very favourable to the allies.

Next year was a year of disasters, but in 1708 Marlborough won a splendid victory at Oudenarde and captured the fortress of Lille. After this Louis entered into negotiations for peace. The demands of the allies were excessive, but France seemed utterly exhausted, and Louis was willing to abandon all the Spanish dominions to Charles, and to give up various French possessions and fortresses to the Emperor, to the Dutch, to the English, and to other of the allies. But the allies were not content. They insisted that if Philip refused to withdraw from his Spanish kingdom, Louis should take up arms against him to compel him to do so. This was too much. Louis declared that, if he must fight, he preferred fighting his enemies to fighting his own family. He threw himself on the patriotism of his impoverished subjects, and they responded nobly to the call. War was renewed, and though Marlborough won another battle at Malplaquet (1709), it was not without terrible loss. After this the war languished. In England meanwhile a change of feeling was taking place which was to substitute a Tory policy of peace for the Whig war policy.

Marlborough had been able to carry on the war vigorously because his wife possessed the ear of the Queen, and because the able minister Godolphin was of one mind with him with regard to foreign affairs. Gradually the Tory element in the Cabinet had been got rid of; first, the extreme Tories were dismissed and then the moderate Tories followed. By 1708 the ministry was entirely Whig. The great victories of Marlborough had also produced their

Victory of Oudenarde, 1708. Negotiations for peace, 1700.

Battle of Malplaquet, 1709.

Political parties in England, 1702-10.

The Whigs and Cabinet Government.

effect on the country, and in the Parliament of 1708 and following years, the Whigs had a majority. Thus the system of Cabinet Government was greatly forwarded, for whilst the 'Junto' in William's reign had been appointed by the king himself of his own free choice, the Whig ministers were forced on Anne who disliked the Party system, and who personally disliked some of the individual Whigs whom she was obliged to select as her ministers.

Dr. Sacheverell's sermon, 1709.

The triumph of the Whigs, however, was not to last long. Apart from the temporary popularity of the war, Whig principles had taken no deep hold of the country. In 1709 a foolish and noisy High Church clergyman named Dr. Sacheverell preached a sermon in St. Paul's in which he denounced Toleration, declared the Church to be in danger, upheld the old Tory doctrine of the wickedness of resisting the king, no matter on what provocation, and attacked Godolphin under an offensive nickname. The Whigs, in order to have their own political doctrines proclaimed authoritatively, very unwisely resolved to impeach Sacheverell. Sacheverell all at once became a popular idol. There were riots in London, and Dissenting place of worship were destroyed. The Lords found Sacheverell guilty, but as the punishment they imposed only amounted to the burning of his sermon and a prohibition to preach for three years, the sentence was regarded as a Tory victory. It would have been well for the Whigs had they treated Sacheverell with the contempt he deserved.

Dismissal of the Whig Ministry, 1710.

Queen Anne, recognising the bent of popular feeling, seized the opportunity to break the Whig supremacy. She had already grown tired of the Duchess

of Marlborough and had transferred her affections to a Mrs. Masham, a relative of the Tory statesman, Robert Harley. The Whigs were dismissed and Harley became chief minister. An attempt was made to form a mixed ministry, but that failed and the Cabinet became entirely Tory. The most important member of it was Henry St. John, a very brilliant orator and prose writer. In 1710 the majority in the Commons were Tory, but the Whigs still had a strong party in the Lords.

Harley and
St. John.

The Tory Government at once entered into secret negotiations for peace with France. Many people in England thought that England had no further interest in the war which had indeed been waged mainly on behalf of the allies. Now, too, (1711) the Archduke Charles, on the death of his father and elder brother, had been elected Emperor, and had succeeded to the Austrian dominions. It was justly thought that if the Spanish dominions were added to the Austrian the danger to Europe would be greater than if a French prince continued to be king of Spain. Marlborough and the Whigs, however, were anxious to continue the war, whilst the Emperor would be satisfied with nothing short of the whole of the Spanish dominions. The Tory influence was too strong. The great Marlborough, who had been made a Duke in 1703, and for whom, after the victory of Blenheim, a grateful nation had erected a splendid palace near Oxford, was now dismissed from his command with ignominy, and was even charged—falsely enough—with appropriating public money to his own private use. His wife was at the same time dismissed the court, and another Whig statesman, Sir Robert Walpole, was

The Tories
push on
peace.

Marlborough
dismissed.

also charged with peculation and sent to the Tower.

The English
desert the
allies, 1711.

The peace meantime was pushed on, and so anxious were the Tories not to offend Louis that they sent orders to Marlborough's successor, Ormond (a Jacobite), which resulted in the English troops—much against their will—deserting the allies in the face of the enemy.

Although the majority in the House of Commons was Tory, the Whigs still thought they might obstruct the peace in the Upper House. Accordingly they entered into a bargain with a section of the Tories who were more anxious to legislate against the Dissenters than to settle the relation of the European states. These Tory lords agreed to oppose the peace on condition that the Whigs consented to a certain measure which the Tories were very anxious to pass. A practice had grown up amongst the Dissenters which enabled them to evade the Test Act and to hold office. Some officials were in the habit of 'occasionally conforming,' that is, of receiving the sacrament now and then in an Anglican church, without otherwise abandoning their position as Dissenters. The Tories had several times endeavoured to pass an Occasional Conformity Bill, but the bill had regularly been rejected by the Lords. The Whig Lords now agreed to throw over the Dissenters and the Lords passed the bill in 1711. The *Occasional Conformity Act* declared that any official who after conforming attended a Dissenting place of worship during his term of office should be deprived of his post and should pay a fine.

The Occa-
sional Con-
formity Act,
1711.

Creation of
twelve Tory
Peers, 1711.

The Whigs got no good by this unworthy intrigue, for Harley induced the Queen to create twelve new peers and these changed the peace minority into a

majority. Thus a means was discovered to force the Lords to give their assent to measures on which the Ministry and the Commons had set their heart.

In 1713 peace was concluded between England and France at Utrecht. The Dutch, unable to carry on the war without English help, also agreed to it, but the Emperor held out for another year. By the *Peace of Utrecht* it was agreed that Philip should be King of Spain, but the crowns of France and Spain should never be united. Austria got the Spanish Netherlands and some Spanish territories in Italy; the Dutch acquired the right of garrisoning the 'barrier-towns;' England got Gibraltar, Minorca and some territories in North America, while by the *Assiento*, or contract, she secured the privilege, the morality of which no one then doubted, of supplying the Spanish colonies in America with Negro slaves, together with certain rights--utterly insufficient as it afterwards turned out--of trading with the same colonies in more innocent forms of merchandise. By this peace France, in spite of the beating Marlborough had given her, practically lost nothing, and England and the allies gained very little. Historians have differed very greatly as to the merits of the Peace of Utrecht. Without entering into the details of the argument, we may conclude that if the peace was unsatisfactory, both political parties were to blame. The Whigs had insisted on continuing the war after all just cause for it had ceased to exist, and had refused to accept terms of peace which were plainly most favourable. The Tories as unquestionably were content with too little, and their conduct in deserting the allies was very far from honourable.

The Peace of Utrecht, 1713.

The 'Assiento.'

The Question
of the Suc-
cession.

During the last years of Anne's reign the question of the succession greatly occupied the minds of politicians. Would the House of Hanover be allowed to succeed in accordance with the Act of Settlement of 1701, or would the Tories bring back the Stuarts? Some of the Tories were Jacobites and actively in favour of the Pretender; the great mass of them were probably undecided. It is pretty certain that if the Pretender had consented to abjure the Catholic religion he would have been welcomed back, but this, greatly to his credit, he firmly refused to do. The conduct of the ministry was doubtful. They feared, and justly, that if the House of Hanover succeeded, the Whigs would at once come into favour and their own influence would be at an end.

Death of the
Electress
Sophia, 1714.

In June 1714 the Electress Sophia died and her son George Lewis became Elector, and, according to the Act of Settlement, heir to the English throne. St. John (now Lord Bolingbroke) resolved in every way so to strengthen the Tory party, that George, if he succeeded, should not be able to shake it. He may have intended much more than that. At any rate he became disgusted with Harley (now Lord Oxford) who was not prepared to support his schemes warmly. Accordingly he managed to secure his dismissal from office. But Bolingbroke had no time to mature his schemes, whatever they were. Before Oxford's successor had been appointed Anne became seriously ill. A Council was held and the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was in favour of the Hanoverian succession, was appointed to fill Oxford's place. Oxford had been dismissed on July 27th; the Council met on July 28th, and on August 1st, Queen

Oxford dis-
missed.

Death of
Anne, 1714.

Anne died and George I was immediately proclaimed king.

One great event which happened during this reign we have reserved to the last. In 1707 the union between England and Scotland was made complete. Since the accession of James I, although a single person had occupied the thrones of the two countries, the kingdoms themselves—save for the brief interval of the Protectorate—had been quite distinct. Great statesmen had seen the advantages which would result from a union of the two Parliaments. Bacon had been in favour of it, Cromwell had for a while actually accomplished it, and William III had urged his Parliaments to take the matter in hand. But, till the union became absolutely necessary, Parliament did little or nothing. The Scots meanwhile had grievances against England. They were not allowed to trade freely with the southern kingdom, and they were not permitted to share in England's commercial advantages. Special causes of irritation had arisen in William's reign. Accordingly the Scotch Parliament in 1703, so far from passing an Act of Succession similar to that passed by the English Parliament, actually made a law declaring that the person who succeeded to the Scotch throne should not be the same as the person who occupied the English throne, unless conditions had been previously arranged which should secure Scottish religion freedom and trade. Thus England would again find in Scotland a completely independent power ready on occasion to ally itself with her enemies. To avert this the English ministers resolved to give the Scots what they wished in the matter of commercial equality, and by 1707 arrange-

The Union of
England and
Scotland,
1707.

Its terms and
conditions.

ments had been made for a complete union, and bills for the same had passed both Parliaments. Scotland was to send 45 members to the House of Commons and 16 Peers to the House of Lords. The Presbyterian Church, however, and the Scotch system of law were preserved intact.

CHAP. III. GEORGE I.

Accession of George I and Triumph of the Whigs—Parliament of 1715—Tory leaders attacked—The 'Fifteen'—The Septennial Act—The Whig Schism—Foreign affairs: England and France; Schemes of Elizabeth Farnese and Cardinal Alberoni; The Triple and Quadruple Alliances—The South Sea Company—Bursting of the bubble and downfall of the Stanhope administration—Walpole's administration—'Quies non movens'—Wood's pence—Corruption under Walpole—Legislation: Repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts; Act to enable the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland; The Peerage Bill—Death of George I.

Accession of
George I and
triumph of
the Whigs.

The accession of George I at once brought the Whigs to power. The Tories were kept out of office until the reign of George III, forty-five years later. It was natural that the early Hanoverian kings should lean on the Whigs. Their right to the throne rested on the general acceptance of Whig principles; the Whigs had always supported their claims, whilst the Tory party was in great measure composed of Jacobites. Until the king arrived Government was vested in a council of seven leading Whigs and eighteen 'Lords Justices,' all of whom were nominated by the king. In September George I

arrived in England. He was fifty-four years of age, heavy and somewhat dull in disposition, but upright and honourable. He never was popular, and never could be, but the English people feared Popery more than anything and put up with him. He could not speak a word of English. Only one of his ministers could talk to him in his own language; with the others he had to converse in Latin. This small fact had somewhat important results. Since George could not understand English he naturally absented himself from the meetings of the Cabinet. Succeeding sovereigns followed his example. Thus the Cabinet became much more independent of the crown and the sovereign took a smaller part in public business. The ministers chosen by George were all Whigs.

The Parliament which was summoned in 1715 was very strongly Whig. Every influence had been brought to bear on the electors to induce them to return members pledged to uphold the Hanoverian succession. In those days the great landowners had very great influence in determining elections, and the great landowners were mainly Whig. The smaller landholders and the clergy were chiefly Tory; the commercial and industrial classes in the towns were strongly Whig. Except in the towns the middle classes had little political influence, and the lower classes none at all.

The Parliament of 1715.

Parliament began by attacking the Tory leaders, Bolingbroke, Oxford and Ormond, for their conduct at the time of the peace of Utrecht. Bolingbroke and Ormond fled to the continent, where the former entered into the service of the Pretender. Oxford, who remained, was impeached and committed to the Tower,

Tory leaders attacked.

where he was kept in confinement for two years.

The 'Fifteen.'

In the latter part of 1715 a Jacobite rebellion broke out in the highlands and south of Scotland and in the north of England. Had the insurgents been supported by a foreign army it is possible that the enterprise might have succeeded, and had Louis XIV lived, it is likely that such an army would have been forthcoming; but Louis died the same year, and the Jacobites were left to themselves. The rising proved a thorough failure. The Earl of Mar, who led the rebels in the highlands, came south and fought a battle at Sheriffmuir. The battle itself was indecisive, but all the after-advantages lay with the royalists. Mar's highlanders dispersed and he was obliged to retire. At the very end of the year the Pretender himself landed in Scotland; but he could do no good, and in a few weeks departed again. The lowland and English Jacobites fared even worse. Joining their forces they marched south and occupied Preston. But the leaders were utterly incompetent; they were surrounded and forced to yield. Two Peers and a comparatively small number of Commoners were tried and executed for being concerned in this rebellion, but on the whole the Whigs were merciful.

The Septennial Act, 1716.

Although the rebellion had been crushed so easily Jacobite feeling was known to be strong in the country, and it was judged inadvisable to risk another general election before the House of Hanover had become more firmly established. Accordingly a bill was introduced in Parliament and passed, which extended the duration of Parliament from three to seven years. This act, known as the Septennial Act, is still in force.

In 1716-17 the Whig party split into two divisions. George I was anxious to secure the active help of England in defence of some territories recently added to Hanover. Some of the ministers, including Sir Robert Walpole, were unwilling to do anything of the sort, and the king thereupon dispensed with their services. The Earl of Stanhope became chief minister.

The Whig
'Schism,'
1716-17.

In foreign matters the Whigs during this reign were happily able to pursue a policy of peace without abandoning their former principles. European relations had undergone a complete change; Louis XIV was dead, and his great-grandson and successor, Louis XV, was a weakly child whom nobody expected to live. France was governed by a regent, the Duke of Orleans. If Louis XV died the true heir by birth was Philip V of Spain. Philip, however, had renounced his claim to the French throne on accepting that of Spain. If Philip held by this the heir to the crown of France was Orleans himself. But it was very doubtful whether Philip, in spite of his renunciation, would not, if opportunity offered, claim the succession. Thus Orleans in his own interests was led to seek friendly relations with England and to uphold the Hanoverian succession. At the same time the wife and the prime minister of Philip were threatening the peace of Europe. The wife, Elizabeth Farnese, a very ambitious woman, was anxious to secure a slice out of the Austrian dominions as an 'appanage' for her son Don Carlos. Meanwhile the minister, Cardinal Alberoni, was hatching schemes intended to make the Spanish monarchy once more the mightiest power in Europe. The king of Sweden, Charles XII,

Foreign
affairs.

England and
France.

Schemes of
Elizabeth
Farnese and
Cardinal
Alberoni.

was to invade England in the interest of the Pretender, and other violent things were to be done.

The Triple
and Quadruple
Alliances,
1717-18.

Against these projects there was concluded, first a *Triple Alliance* (1717) between England, France and Holland; then a *Quadruple Alliance* (1718) between the same powers and the Emperor. These alliances averted the danger. A Spanish fleet seized Sardinia, but when in 1718 another fleet made an attempt on Sicily, it was defeated by an English fleet under Admiral Byng off Cape Passaro. Charles XII was killed while besieging a Norwegian town before he could do anything for the Pretender, and an attempt made on Scotland by the Spaniards themselves in 1719 proved a failure. Philip was forced to dismiss his troublesome minister Alberoni, and was afterwards induced to give up his claims to Sicily and Sardinia. In the end Elizabeth Farnese succeeded in getting some territories in Italy for Don Carlos. The alliance with France was continued even after the death of the regent in 1723, as the French minister, Cardinal Fleury, was much in favour of peace.

The South
Sea Com-
pany.

Before this a great financial catastrophe in England had overthrown the Stanhope Ministry and brought Walpole back to power. In 1711 a Company had been formed to trade in the South Sea. The peace which followed gave England certain rights of trading with the Spanish colonies in those quarters. People thought that immense sums of money were to be made by the South Sea trade, and shares in the Company were eagerly bought up. Government meanwhile, wishing to lessen the National Debt, which had increased very greatly during the late war, made an arrangement

with the Directors of the South Sea Company, by which persons receiving annuities from Government were to be enabled to receive shares in the Company instead. This transaction made people more eager than ever to purchase shares, and by 1720 shares of which the original value was £100 had gone up to £1,000. At the same time a number of other companies were formed, some for sensible purposes, others promoted by mere swindlers, for objects of the most ridiculous character, such as extracting silver from lead, and 'importing jack-asses from Spain.' A regular fury for speculation prevailed amongst all classes of the people. Very shortly many of these lesser 'bubbles' burst, and a panic set in consequence. South Sea shares ran down rapidly, and a great many people were ruined. Walpole, who had opposed the South Sea scheme from the beginning, was restored to power, and the ministers who had been concerned in the South Sea affair were dismissed (1721). He succeeded in extricating the company from its difficulties at comparatively little loss to the State, and in mitigating injuries sustained by individuals. Stanhope himself died in 1722.

Bursting of
the bubble,
1720.

Downfall of
the Stanhope
ministry.

Sir Robert Walpole, the first minister to whom the title of *Prime Minister* can properly be applied, continued in power for twenty-one years. He was a very able finance minister and a most skilful Parliamentary leader. His policy was to keep England out of foreign wars, and to maintain quiet at home. *Quieta non movere*, 'let well alone,' was a favourite maxim with him. He was determined to awaken no angry controversies in the country, and he never clung to any measure, no matter how just

Walpole's ad-
ministration.
1721—42.

'Quieta non
movere.'

or desirable he thought it, if he saw that it would provoke violent opposition from any quarter. Thus though he believed that the laws against the Dissenters were unjust and harmful, he opposed every attempt to repeal them, simply because he remembered the excitement about Sacheverell and dreaded the clamours of the Tory squires and the clergy. Again in 1723 a patent was granted to a Birmingham ironmaster called Wood to coin a quantity of copper money for Ireland. The Irish for some reason raised a great uproar about this, and Walpole withdrew the patent. Once more, in the next reign (1733) Walpole himself introduced a measure (the Excise Bill) which was to effect some changes of a beneficial nature in the matter of taxation. A violent and ignorant outcry arose, and Walpole, though advised by his colleagues to persevere, withdrew the bill. Walpole's undoubted love of power was probably not the only cause of his yielding so readily to popular opinions and prejudices. He feared that any great agitation might endanger, not only his own administration, but the Whig party generally, and even the Hanoverian succession itself. Thus Walpole's long term of office is barren of great achievement. Its merits are purely negative. If he made no good laws, he is not responsible for any bad ones. The power that Walpole exercised over Parliament was in a very great degree maintained by corruption and money paid down. There was much bribery before Walpole's time and there was much bribery after him, but Walpole has acquired the reputation of making corruption a system, and being generally a passed master in the art. He is said to have lowered the tone of public

Wood's pence,
1723.

Corruption
under Wal-
pole.

morality. This is probably an exaggeration, but he certainly did nothing to raise it.

The chief legislation of this reign may be briefly summarised. None of it falls within Walpole's Premiership. In 1718 the Occasional Conformity Act, and another law called the *Schism Act* which bore very heavily on Dissenters, were repealed. Next year a statute was passed which enabled the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland. This continued in force till 1782. About the same time an attempt was made to limit the power of the crown in the matter of the creation of Peers. The real object was to maintain the Whig ascendancy in the House of Lords, and to prevent any repetition of Harley's device of 1711. Walpole opposed this vigorously and with success. It was indeed a very mischievous measure. Not only would it have given the House of Peers undue power, but it would greatly have lessened the usefulness of the English aristocracy, by rendering it a smaller and more exclusive body.

In 1727 George I went over to Germany, and died in his carriage on the way to Hanover.

Legislation.

Repeal of the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts, 1718.
Act to enable the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland, 1719.
The Peerage Bill, 1719.

Death of George I.

CHAP. IV. GEORGE II.

Walpole continues to be minister—Holingbroke and the 'Patriots'—Walpole's Excise scheme—Frederick Prince of Wales leads the Patriots—William Pitt and the 'Boys'—An Anglo-Spanish War imminent—Jenkins' Ear—The importance of the War of Jenkins' Ear—The Family Compact—Portobello; Anson's Exploits—Carthagena—Fall of Walpole—Causes of the War of Austrian Succession—The Pragmatic Sanction—Silesian Wars of Frederick the Great—Ambitious schemes of France—England's part in the War; Dettingen; Fontenoy—Capture of

Cape Breton—The 'Forty-five'—Prestonpans—The retreat from Derby—Culloden—Reduction of the Highlands—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—Ministry of the Pelhams—Carteret dismissed—William Pitt Paymaster of the Forces—Ministry of Newcastle—Pitt dismissed—The French in America—The Seven Years' War—Case of Admiral Byng—Fall of the Newcastle Ministry—Devonshire Prime Minister—Dismissal of Pitt—The Ministry of Pitt and Newcastle—The Convention of Klosterseven—Minden—Conquest of Canada—Naval victories—English victories in India—Death of George II.

Walpole's continues to be minister and is supported by the Queen.

George II, the new king, had been on very bad terms with his father, and for this reason regarded his father's minister with dislike. He dismissed Walpole and appointed as his successor Sir Spencer Compton, a man without talent or experience. But Compton was obliged to apply to Walpole for assistance, and George very soon saw the necessity of recalling him. Walpole had also secured the friendship of the queen, Caroline of Anspach, a very remarkable woman, who possessed over her husband a very great influence. From this time forth the king faithfully supported his minister, and when circumstances drove Walpole from office, he was sincerely grieved to part from him.

Bolingbroke and the

The first years of the reign of George II are comparatively uneventful. Walpole maintained quiet at home and kept the country out of foreign wars. He had indeed many enemies in Parliament and out of it, who violently denounced the predominance of the minister and the corrupt means by which he maintained it. The Jacobites and Tories were of course consistent opponents, and these were joined by a

section of discontented Whigs who called themselves 'Patriots.' Bolingbroke also came back to England. He had long since quarrelled with the Pretender, and had succeeded in obtaining the reversal of the attainder passed against him in 1715. His brilliant talents made him the centre of the opposition. He was indeed still excluded from Parliament, but he found other means of making himself obnoxious to the Prime Minister. In particular his pen was at the disposal of Walpole's enemies, and in conjunction with Pulteney, one of the discontented Whigs, he started a weekly paper called *The Craftsman*, for the express purpose of attacking the minister.

Patriots.

Walpole's position, however, was not much shaken. In 1733, indeed, a violent outcry was raised when he brought forward the measure, already spoken of, to improve the taxation. But the Excise Bill was withdrawn and the storm subsided. Walpole also managed to lower the land tax, and thus to some extent conciliated the country gentlemen on whom this tax pressed most heavily.

Walpole's
Excise
Scheme, 1733.

In the Parliament which met in 1734 Walpole still had a large majority, and Bolingbroke withdrew to France in disgust. Some time after this a violent quarrel took place between King George and his eldest son, Frederick Prince of Wales. Frederick now became the leader of the opposition;— a very worthless leader. His mother declared him to be 'the greatest liar, and the greatest beast living,' and 'prayed heartily he were dead.' The Patriots, also, although they pretended to be much shocked at the corrupt practices of Walpole, were scarcely sincere in the high principles they professed, and Walpole was probably right when on

Frederick
Prince of
Wales leads
the Patriots,
1737.

one occasion he observed of a group of Patriots that 'every one of them had his price,' meaning that if he wished he could buy all of them over to his side. Later, however, the Patriots were strengthened by a party of young men whom Walpole contemptuously called the 'Boys.' Some of these 'Boys' were sincerely indignant with the low tone of public morality which was then common, and ardently desired to awaken a loftier spirit of patriotism. Far the greatest of their number was William Pitt. Pitt's grandfather had once been Governor of Madras. He himself was a younger son, without money and without influence. But he was possessed of the most splendid natural gifts; supreme in oratory and other things higher than that. He was a Patriot in the truest sense, and his moral character was pure and lofty.

William Pitt
and the
'Boys.'

For a while Walpole could afford to despise the Patriots and laugh at the Boys, but soon events occurred which compelled him to abandon his peace policy, and finally drove him from office.

An Anglo-Spanish War
imminent.

War was indeed inevitable sooner or later. By the Peace of Utrecht the rights to be enjoyed by Englishmen of trading with the South American Colonies were strictly limited. These limitations, unreasonable in themselves, were felt to be intolerable, and were consistently avoided, the more easily so because the Spanish colonists themselves, though not the Spanish Government, reaped advantages from English trade. Smuggling too was far from uncommon, and the Spaniards claimed the right of searching English ships for contraband articles. They also complained that the recently-founded English colony of Georgia encroached on the old Spanish settlement

of Florida. The English, on the other hand, protested against the right of search and declared that various cruelties had been inflicted on English sailors by the Spanish coast-guards. A certain Captain Jenkins came forward with a story of how the Spaniards had boarded his ship, hanged him to the yard-arm, slashed off his ear and bade him carry it back to the King of England. The truth of this story has been doubted, but it made a deep impression in England. There was a loud outcry for war, and Walpole, unwilling to lose power, agreed to begin a war of which he thoroughly disapproved. War was declared against Spain in 1739.

Jenkins' Ear.

The war of Jenkins' ear, as it was called, was from a legal point of view quite unjustifiable. There was no doubt that the English traders had gone beyond the conditions of the Peace of Utrecht; there was no doubt that the right of search was secured to the Spaniards by treaty. But these treaties were regarded as intolerable, since they checked the natural expansion of English commerce in the West. The real question at issue in this and subsequent wars was, which European power should have predominant influence beyond the Atlantic. It was to settle the same question that men had fought in the times of Elizabeth and of Cromwell.

The War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739.

Its importance.

Moreover France had abandoned the peaceful policy of Cardinal Fleury and was already contemplating vast schemes for extending her influence. As early as 1733 a secret arrangement known as the *Family Compact* had been agreed to by France and Spain, one of the objects of which was to crush the commerce and naval power of England. This compact was known to Walpole and may have

The Family Compact.

further influenced him in his desire to keep out of a war with Spain, since he knew that England would soon find herself engaged in fighting France as well.

Portobello, 1739; Anson's exploits, 1740—44; Carthagena, 1741.

The war with Spain was not very glorious. Portobello indeed was captured, but an attempt to take Carthagena ended in disastrous and even disgraceful failure. The honour of England was largely redeemed by the exploits of admiral Anson, who sailed round the world and captured a large quantity of Spanish treasure. For the failure of the attempt on Carthagena Walpole was blamed, and when a new Parliament met in 1741 he found that he had no longer a majority. In 1742 he resigned his offices, accepted a Peerage, and soon retired from public life altogether. His nominal successor was Sir Spencer Compton, now Lord Wilmington, but the real head of the ministry was Lord Carteret, a man of many brilliant gifts who had a wide knowledge of continental politics.

Fall of Walpole, 1742.

Causes of the War of Austrian Succession.

Meantime in 1740 a great war, into which England was ere long drawn, broke out on the continent. The Emperor Charles VI—he who had once been a claimant for the Spanish throne—having had no son, wished to secure his daughter Maria Theresa's succession to all the Austrian dominions, and the Imperial crown for her husband Francis of Lorraine. The latter could only be settled by an election after Charles's death, but the former, he thought, might be assured by getting the chief powers to guarantee a certain document called the *Pragmatic Sanction*. Most of the powers agreed, including England, France, Spain and Prussia. Charles died in 1740, and then almost all the powers, with the exception of England, on one pretext or another broke their

The Pragmatic Sanction.

word. The Elector Charles of Bavaria, who had never agreed to the Pragmatic Sanction, demanded the Austrian dominions, and soon after put himself forward as a candidate for the imperial dignity. The latter, owing to the intrigues of France, he succeeded in getting, though it did him little good; the Austrian dominions he never got. Frederick II of Prussia, afterwards known as Frederick the Great, declared that his father had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction only on certain conditions, which conditions Austria had not fulfilled. At the same time he took the opportunity of seizing Silesia, an Austrian territory which Frederick said belonged of right to Prussia. He was ready, he said, to support Austria if only Maria Theresa would allow him to retain Silesia. This Maria Theresa firmly and proudly refused to do, and Frederick had to fight three wars before Silesia was finally secured.

Silesian Wars of Frederick the Great, 1740-63.

And now France stepped in in support of the claims of Bavaria. France had really nothing to do with these German quarrels, but she was bent on humbling Austria, and had also a great scheme to weaken all the German states and thereby increase her own influence. England also had no direct interest in this war, but George had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, and he felt bound to support it. Also, although England was not interested, the Electorate of Hanover was, and England was accordingly drawn into the war. From the first England supported Austria with donations of money, but in 1743 English troops were sent over to Germany. A battle was fought at Dettingen. In this battle the English thoroughly defeated the French; George himself fought and showed conspicuous

Ambitious schemes of France.

England's part in the War; Dettingen, 1743.

courage, but other result there was none, save that the chances of peace were further removed as Maria Theresa was encouraged to refuse the demands of Prussia. Frederick had no love for France and would willingly have changed sides had Austria only confirmed him in the possession of Silesia. In 1745 the English fought another battle at Fontenoy in the Netherlands. This time the French, under the able general Marshal Saxe, were successful.

Fontenoy,
1745.

It was only in the west that England, properly speaking, had any interest in the war, and in the west, after the disaster at Carthage, the war was left to be waged informally by privateers. However in 1745 the English colonists themselves wrested the island of Cape Breton, at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, from the French.

Capture of
Cape Breton,
1745.

The "Forty-
five."

Walpole had foretold that if England engaged in war another Jacobite rising would be the inevitable result. Walpole's fears proved to be well founded. In 1744 the French made preparations to send a strong force under Marshal Saxe to help Charles Edward, called the young Pretender, and son of James Edward, to recover the English throne for his father. Happily for England the design was frustrated by a storm and the French withdrew from the enterprise. Marshal Saxe, as we have seen, was employed in the Netherlands during the campaign of 1745.

Charles Edward, however, resolved to try what he could do without foreign help. In 1745 he landed with only seven adherents on the west coast of Scotland. Some of the highland clans joined him, and he marched on Perth. Thence, evading Sir John Cope, the commander of the royal forces, he made

his way to Edinburgh. Edinburgh was captured and at Prestonpans, not far from the Scottish capital, the highlanders utterly routed Cope's forces. After Prestonpans the clans marched southwards. Carlisle was reached and taken. Preston and Manchester were entered and the Jacobite army got as far south as Derby. But very few English Jacobites joined the Prince's standard. In many ways English feeling seemed entirely indifferent. Prince Charles, hopeful of success, was for pressing on to London; his chief officers were unanimous for retreat. Very reluctantly the young Prince was compelled to consent. Whether, had the plans of Charles Edward prevailed, the Stuarts would have recovered, or would have been able to maintain the English throne, is an idle question. Certain it is that by retreating the only possible chance was cast away. On the march northwards the Highlanders gained more than one success, but in 1746 the Duke of Cumberland, second son of the king, who had fought bravely at Fontenoy, was sent north to put down the rebellion. Cumberland utterly defeated the young Pretender at Culloden near Inverness. Prince Charles, after many adventures, chiefly memorable for the noble fidelity displayed by the highlanders whom no reward could induce to betray him, escaped to France. After the peace which closed the European war, the Stuarts were sent out of France. James Edward, the elder Pretender, lived till 1766, Prince Charles till 1788, whilst his younger brother Henry, afterwards a Cardinal in the Roman Church, did not die till 1807. But the Stuart cause received its death-blow on Culloden Moor.

Prestonpans, 1745.

The retreat from Derby, 1745.

Culloden, 1746.

. In trampling out the last embers of rebellion

Reduction of
the High-
lands.

Cumberland showed the most frightful severity, and gained for himself an unenviable fame. After this measures were devised by Parliament for breaking up the clan system and altogether breaking the jurisdiction formerly exercised by the chiefs. After the 'Fifteen' a useful step had been taken towards the pacification of the highlands by the construction of excellent roads. Twelve years after the 'Forty-five,' Pitt, who was then chief minister, utilised the fighting qualities of the clansmen by forming them into highland regiments. The experiment proved eminently successful. There are now no braver soldiers in the British army than the Scotch highlanders, and there is no part of Her Majesty's dominions more loyal and peaceable than the northern shires of Scotland.

Peace of Aix-
la-Chapelle,
1748.

In 1748 the European war was concluded by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The general principle of the peace was the restoration of all conquests. England got little or nothing in return for all the money she spent and all the blood she had shed in a cause only half her own. No attempt was made to settle the all-important question of South American trade and the right of search. Cape Breton was given back to the French. On the other hand Madras, taken by the French in 1746, was restored. France, whose ambitious dreams were so largely responsible for all the misery wrought by the war, lost nothing, but the long struggle had greatly exhausted her, and her position as a naval power was much weakened. Austria had successfully resisted the attempt made to crush her down into impotence, but was obliged to submit to the cession of some of her territories, notably of Silesia, which was retained by Prussia.

Prussia was indeed the only substantial gainer by the peace, and the genius of Frederick the Great had exalted her to the position of a first-rate European power (1748). The Elector of Bavaria, who had secured the Imperial dignity at the beginning of the war, had died in 1745, and Maria Theresa had succeeded in obtaining the election of her husband as Emperor under the title of Francis I.

Prussia the only gainer.

Since the fall of Walpole there had been several changes in the English Government. Wilmington died in 1743, and Henry Pelham, the brother of the Duke of Newcastle, became Prime Minister. The Pelham administration was in no way remarkable, and its conduct of foreign affairs was far from glorious or successful. Carteret, the one man of genius in the Cabinet, and the only minister who really understood continental politics, was dismissed from office on the urgent entreaties of his colleagues. If the latter had only supported Carteret, it is possible that the war would have been brought to a close as early as 1744.

Ministry of the Pelhams, 1743.

Carteret dismissed, 1744.

Pitt, meanwhile, was coming more and more to the front, and the ministers were anxious to secure his services. George II, on the other hand, cordially disliked him, for Pitt had eloquently declaimed against the way in which the interests of England were being subordinated to those of Hanover, and had spoken of Hanover in very contemptuous terms;—‘a despicable German Electorate,’ he once called it. In 1746 Pelham prevailed on the king to allow Pitt to hold the inferior office of Paymaster of the Forces. This post did not carry with it a place in the Cabinet. It had hitherto been chiefly valued on account of the great profits accruing from

William Pitt, Paymaster of the Forces, 1746.

it. These profits former Paymasters had been in the habit of appropriating to themselves. This was done openly and in that lax age was regarded as quite a legitimate proceeding. To Pitt, however, the practice seemed dishonest, and he would have nothing to do with the profits.

Ministry of
Newcastle,
1754.

In 1754 Pelham died and Newcastle became Prime Minister. Newcastle was an utterly incompetent man. He was ambitious of power, chiefly because he took a childish delight in distributing patronage. Policy in any true sense he had none. Such a man Pitt could not but despise, and despising him, could not very well act under him. In 1755 he quarrelled with Newcastle about the subsidies which the government was paying to Hanover, and was dismissed from his post.

Pitt dismissed,
1755.

And now another great war broke out both in America and on the continent of Europe, and England found herself again involved in a struggle with France. The French were making a bid for North America. They had two colonies there, one, Canada, at the mouth of St. Lawrence, the other, Louisiana, at the mouth of the Mississippi. The English on the other hand had no less than thirteen colonies in North America, and the English colonists had long been cultivating the land and opening out the resources of the country. The French, however, constructed some scattered forts to the westward of the English colonies, and gave out that the vast territory stretching beyond them belonged to France. The colonists naturally objected to these outrageous claims. In 1754 the French and English came to blows about this question, and in 1756 open war was declared.

The French
in America,
1754-56.

The same year Prussia was also driven to take up

arms—this time in absolute self-defence. Maria Theresa had never forgiven Frederick and had never reconciled herself to the loss of Silesia. Frederick, through his agents, discovered that a secret treaty had been agreed to by Austria, France and Russia. These powers were to unite to crush him and to divide up the Prussian territories. Frederick resolved to strike the first blow, and invaded Saxony. He did so because he knew that in Dresden he would discover the documents revealing the existence of the secret agreement against him, which would amply justify the step he took in again entering upon war. He also had good reason to suspect hostilities on the part of Saxony itself. Then began the great *Seven Years' War*, of which the Anglo-French struggle in America formed a part. The relations of the European powers thus underwent a complete change. England found that Austria, unmindful of her great sacrifices in the last war, would give no help against the French. On the other hand Austria made a close league with France. England found an ally in her former enemy, Frederick of Prussia. Throughout the war the two powers supported each other, and the English, fighting the French in America, helped to save Prussia, whilst the armies of Frederick, fighting in Germany, helped to decide the American question in England's favour. Moreover as England and Prussia were both Protestant powers, whilst France and Austria were Catholic, the war assumed somewhat of a religious character—more apparent, however, than real.

The Seven
Years' War,
1756—63.
Austria,
Russia and
France *versus*—
Prussia and
England.

Happily for Frederick and for England circumstances brought back the great Pitt to power. In 1756 the French captured Minorca, which England

Case of Ad-
miral Byng,
1756.

had won in the war of Spanish succession. Admiral Byng (son of the Byng who had defeated the Spaniards at Cape Passaro in 1718), failed to relieve it. This aroused a storm of popular indignation. People loudly demanded that Byng should be brought to punishment, and Newcastle was only too glad that the storm, which might otherwise fall on his own head, should spend all its fury on Byng. "Oh yes!" he stammered out to a deputation which waited on him with a petition against Byng—"Oh yes, he shall be tried immediately! he shall be hanged immediately!" Poor Byng, whose only crime was an error of judgment, was actually tried by court martial and sentenced to be shot. His judges recommended him for mercy, and Pitt too interceded with the king on his behalf, but George would not listen. Byng met his fate with great fortitude. George thought that if Byng were spared discipline would suffer. He was executed, as a great witty Frenchman said, 'to encourage the others.'

Fall of the
Newcastle
Ministry,
1756: Devon-
shire Prime
Minister.

Before Byng's trial had taken place, Newcastle found it impossible to carry on the government. He resigned at the end of 1756, and the Duke of Devonshire came into power as nominal, with Pitt as virtual Prime Minister. This ministry lasted only four months. The king could not yet reconcile himself to Pitt. 'I do not look upon myself as king,' he said, alluding to Pitt and another minister, 'while I am in the hands of these scoundrels.' Pitt was dismissed. His dismissal awoke in the country an outburst of enthusiasm for the 'Great Commoner,' as he was afterwards called. Newcastle then tried to form a ministry without Pitt, but found it

Dismissal of
Pitt, 1757.

impossible. George at last consented to take Pitt back and Pitt consented to serve with Newcastle. For the rest of the reign Pitt was virtual king of England, and he covered himself and his country with glory. Newcastle's great influence in the Commons was useful to him. He had no opposition to fear in Parliament, and George, finding that Pitt was really worth trusting, trusted him accordingly. The war was vigorously pressed on, and the condition of the army and navy very greatly improved. Really able men were now appointed to fill the most responsible places, instead of the incompetent persons whom family influence had hitherto promoted to lead English soldiers and seamen, too often, to defeat. More than this, Pitt possessed the invaluable gift of being able to inspire others with a portion of his own fiery patriotism. 'No one,' it was said, 'ever entered his closet who did not feel himself, if possible, braver at his return than when he went in.'

The Ministry
of Pitt and
Newcastle,
1767—80.

The first year of Pitt's administration, however, was not successful, but for this Pitt was not responsible. The Duke of Cumberland, who, before Pitt's return to power, had been sent abroad to command the forces of England and Hanover, signally failed. Being defeated by the French he concluded at Klosterseven, a 'convention' highly unfavourable to the allies. This affair disgraced Cumberland, but as a 'convention' is not held to be binding unless ratified, the ministers repudiated it. Pitt arranged to pay a large annual subsidy to the king of Prussia, and proposed that the English and Hanoverian forces abroad should be put under the command of a skilful and experienced Prussian General, Ferdinand of Brunswick. This offer Frederick accepted with

The Conven-
tion of Klos-
terseven,
1757.

great thankfulness. Indeed, the steady support rendered by Pitt while he continued in power was of immeasurable value to Frederick, for, though in the course of this terrible war he won several glorious victories, he likewise experienced some crushing defeats, and was throughout fighting for bare existence against tremendous odds (1758).

Minden, 1759. In 1759 Klosterseven was avenged. Ferdinand of Brunswick utterly defeated the French at Minden.

Conquest of Canada, 1759. The same year General Wolfe, a young officer whose sterling qualities had been noticed and rewarded by Pitt, surprised Quebec in the most masterly and daring fashion. Wolfe fell fighting, but his victory was decisive. The conquest of Canada was insured, and the great question as to whether French or English influence should predominate in North

Naval victories, 1759. America was partly settled. In Europe two English naval victories, at Lagos Bay in Portugal; and in Quiberon Bay in Brittany, ruined a French scheme for the invasion of England. In this latter instance Sir Edward Hawke pursued a French fleet which had taken shelter in Quiberon Bay and, in the most brilliant manner, destroyed it. It was during this period that the great events took place which

English victories in India, 1751-60. resulted in the downfall of the French power in India and laid the foundations of the British Indian Empire. In 1751 Arcot was captured and defended by Clive; in 1752 Trichinopoly surrendered; in 1757 Clive won the battle of Plassey, and in 1760 Eyre Coote defeated the French at Wandewash.

Death of George II, 1760. In the midst of these glorious achievements George II died (October 1760) and the reign of Pitt came to an end.

PART IX.—THE NEW TORYISM.

CHAP. I. GEORGE III, (I) EARLY YEARS OF THE REIGN.

Character and aims of George III—The 'King's Friends'—The Earl of Bute—The Family Compact again—Resignation of Pitt—War with Spain—Resignation of Newcastle—The Peace of Paris—General results of the Seven Years' War—Resignation of Bute; Grenville Prime Minister—Wilkes and No. 45—General Warrants—Wilkes expelled from Parliament and outlawed—Conduct of the Government denounced by Pitt—The American Stamp Act—Opposition in America—Grenville dismissed; Ministry of Rockingham—The Stamp Act repealed—Pitt's views on the Stamp Act—Edmund Burke—Resignation of Rockingham—Pitt becomes Earl of Chatham—The Chatham—Grafton ministry—Illness of Chatham—Further taxation of America—Wilkes and the Middlesex elections—Return of Chatham—Fall of the Grafton ministry; Lord North—Subsequent history of Wilkes—Reporting of Parliamentary debates—Wilkes allowed to take his seat—His final victories.

George II was succeeded by his grandson George III, his eldest son, Frederick Prince of Wales having died in 1751. The young king was twenty-two years old. Generous, affable and dignified, simple in his habits and pure in his private life, there was much in him to make him loved by the English people. He was moreover born and bred in the country, and was without the German leanings of his grandfather and great-grandfather. As he told

Character and aims of George III.

Parliament in his first speech, he 'gloried in the name of Briton.' In his favour the old Tory doctrine of the sacredness of the kingly office began to revive, and George himself was a thorough Tory in his determination to make the personal will of the monarch a real factor in the government of the country. He was bent on breaking up the old party system by which the king's will had been subordinated to that of a group of ministers bound together largely by family connections. He was resolved to have ministers of his own choosing who would be ready to carry out the king's policy. This might have been all very well had George III been a man of genius capable of guiding and ruling a great country. But the king's natural understanding was not strong, and he had been badly educated. He was singularly obstinate, and singularly unable to appreciate true merit in others. Moreover the time had passed when it was possible for a king to pursue any line of policy of which Parliament disapproved. George recognised this, and so ere long he set to work to make a Parliamentary party for himself, by the only possible method—bribery. The 'king's friends,' as they came to be called, were pledged to vote as the king himself desired and the ministers soon found that it was impossible for them to carry on the government unless they were prepared to yield their own judgment to that of the king. Thus it was that for the first ten years of George's reign—of which this chapter will treat—one ministry succeeded another in rapid succession, and all were failures. After that George got a ministry of his own way of thinking which lasted for twelve years, with results more disastrous still.

The 'King's
Friends.'

One of the king's first acts was to make the Earl of Bute Secretary of State. Bute was a personal favourite of George's, but was without experience and without ability. Before long Pitt was compelled to resign (1761). He had discovered that the *Family Compact* between France and Spain had been renewed, and that Spain was pledged to take part in the war against England. Pitt believed that it was necessary to attack Spain at once, but George was averse to this, and the other ministers declined to go along with Pitt. He therefore laid down his office. Circumstances soon showed that Pitt was right. The ministers were obliged to declare war against Spain in 1762. The results were brilliantly successful. In the west Martinique was taken from France, and Havanna from Spain, and in the east Manilla, the capital of the Philippines, fell into English hands. For these victories all the glory fell to Pitt, as it was known that he had designed and prepared the expeditions.

The Earl of Bute.

The Family Compact again.

Resignation of Pitt, 1761.

War with Spain, 1762.

The ministers, however, were bent on making peace. In 1762 they deserted Prussia, refusing to pay the annual subsidy any longer. This resolution led to the resignation of Newcastle. Indeed he had already found that his opinion was never consulted. Bute had the king's ear, and Bute did everything. Bute now became Prime Minister.

Resignation of Newcastle, 1762.

In 1763 peace was concluded at Paris between England, France and Spain. Previously those English peers who disapproved had been deprived of their offices, even of offices, such as the Lord Lieutenancies of Counties, which had usually been held without respect to party considerations. Even humble officials who were Whigs or who owed their posts

The Peace of Paris, 1763.

to Whig patronage were deprived of their livelihood, while in the Commons a party in favour of peace was secured by the most corrupt means.

Under such circumstances, in spite of the earnest denunciations of Pitt, a peace was agreed to which resembled the Treaty of Utrecht in so far as the gains secured to England were far from being proportionate to the sacrifices made and the victories won. The conquests of 1762; Havana, Martinique and Manilla were restored without an equivalent. Still the gain of England was very great. In America she got Canada and all the lands which lay east of the Mississippi, including Spanish Florida. Some islands in the West Indies were also ceded, and in Europe the island of Minorca. Pondicherry, in India, was returned to the French.

General
results of the
Seven Years'
War.

In the same year Prussia made peace on favourable terms with her enemies. Thus ended the Seven Years' War, of which the general results were as follows: Prussia, with her claims to Silesia made good, continued a first-rate European power. The predominance of England was established in America and in India. For these results two men above all others were responsible, Frederick the Great and William Pitt. A third may perhaps be added, Robert Clive.

Resignation
of Bute;
Grenville
Prime Minister,
1763.

Bute had carried the peace through, but he found himself quite unable to continue longer in office. He was indeed generally hated, partly because he was a favourite, and partly on the very unreasonable ground that he was a Scotchman. His successor was George Grenville, a brother-in-law of Pitt, but at that time on bad terms with him. The king endeavoured to strengthen the ministry by

obtaining Pitt's support. But Pitt refused to serve. Afterwards the Duke of Bedford was induced to join the ministry. Bedford was the head of one of the great Whig parties. A second followed Grenville himself, and a third, once the party of Newcastle, had now as its leader, the Marquis of Rockingham. Pitt stood aloof in proud independence.

The Grenville administration is chiefly memorable for two things. First, it began an ignominious struggle with a clever demagogue called John Wilkes. This struggle lasted a number of years, and in the course of it several constitutional principles of importance were established. Otherwise it was discreditable to most concerned in it. The second achievement of Grenville was to impose a tax on the American colonies, a measure which awoke a violent spirit of resentment, which in the end led to the separation of thirteen colonies from England, and to the foundation of a new English nation on the other side of the Atlantic.

John Wilkes, a member of Parliament, was the editor of a paper called the *North Briton*. In the forty-fifth number of this paper he attacked in violent terms the 'King's Speech' which had been delivered at the close of the Parliament of 1763. Now the King's Speech is generally regarded as the production, not of the king personally, but of his ministers. But George III, consistently enough, resented this idea, and insisted that 'No. 45' was a libel on himself. The ministry therefore ordered Wilkes and a number of other persons to be arrested by a general warrant, that is, a warrant in which the names of the persons to be arrested are not specified, and which therefore gives the officers of

The two achievements of the Grenville Ministry.

Wilkes and No. 45, 1763.

General Warrants.

the law the right to arrest any one they choose to suspect. Wilkes called the document 'a ridiculous warrant against the whole English nation,' and Chief Justice Pratt, who had previously released Wilkes on the ground of the privilege he enjoyed as a member of Parliament, ruled general warrants to be illegal.

Wilkes expelled from Parliament and outlawed, 1764.

The House of Commons, however, once so jealous of its privileges, took up the quarrel against Wilkes. They declared that Privilege of Parliament did not cover a libel, and they voted No. 45 a scandalous and seditious libel. In the House of Lords an indecent poem called the *Essay on Woman* was produced, of which Wilkes had privately printed a few copies. Meantime Wilkes withdrew to France and in his absence was expelled from Parliament and, being summoned to appear before the Court of King's Bench for having reprinted No. 45 and published the *Essay on Woman*, he was on his non-appearance declared an outlaw. The real reason for his failing to appear was that he had been forced into a duel by one of the 'king's friends' and seriously wounded. Thus King, Ministers and Parliament seemed united to ruin and destroy a single individual whose name otherwise would very probably have been almost unknown to history. Such proceedings only served to exalt the demagogue to the undeserved position of a hero and martyr in the cause of liberty. Everyone knew that but for *No. 45*, the *Essay on Woman* would never have been heard of, and the action of the Government seemed all the more contemptible from the fact that the person who brought the *Essay* before the House of Lords was Lord Sandwich, a man whose dissolute

life was well known, and who had even been one of Wilkes's most intimate companions. Pitt had far too much self-respect to identify himself in any way with Wilkes, but, while denouncing the character of the man, he strongly condemned the course which Government and Parliament had taken against him.

Conduct of the Government denounced by Pitt.

The second blunder of the Grenville ministry had consequences very far-reaching, but in England, at first, attracted but little notice. In 1765 an act was passed to raise a revenue from the American Colonies from stamps which were to be fixed to legal documents. Hitherto Parliament had been in the habit of imposing custom duties which were in fact paid by the colonists, but they had been acquiesced in on the ground that the purpose was to regulate commerce, not to raise revenue. This was in reality a distinction without a difference, but the Americans made the difference and loudly declared that the Stamp Act was unjust, in so far as it had been imposed on them by a Parliament in which they were not represented. The plea, though urged with great vehemence, was anything but a sound one. In England itself there were large classes of tax-payers without any representation in Parliament. Moreover the late war had been waged very largely in defence of the colonists themselves, and the great expenses incurred by the war had been defrayed by the English tax-payer. The Americans had paid nothing. It seemed only fair to ask them to contribute something towards their own defence. However the Stamp Act met with violent opposition in America, and it was found impossible to enforce it.

Grenville and the Stamp Act, 1765.

Opposition in America.

Before the news reached England Grenville had

Grenville dismissed;
Ministry of
Rockingham,
1765.

The Stamp
Act repealed.
The Declara-
tory Act,
1766.

Pitt's views
on the Stamp
Act.

Edmund
Burke.

been dismissed by the king, who, for reasons chiefly personal, had taken a strong dislike to him. As Pitt still refused to return to office George was obliged to fall back—very reluctantly—on the Rockingham Whigs. But the Rockingham ministry was very weak, partly because the king lent it no hearty support, and partly because Rockingham would not secure a strong party for himself in the House of Commons by means of bribery. Rockingham only remained in office for a year, but during the year something was effected. The House of Commons by a resolution condemned all general warrants as illegal, and the Stamp Act was repealed. However another act was passed, the *Declaratory Act*, insisting on the abstract principle that the British Parliament has the right to tax the colonies and make laws for them. Pitt warmly supported the repeal of the Stamp Act, and backed up the American contention that taxation without representation is incompatible with liberty. In the Commons the Rockingham ministry had the support of another great orator and man of genius. This was Edmund Burke, an Irishman, who was Rockingham's Private Secretary. Burke was not only a great speaker, as a political thinker he was far superior to any man of his times. On the American question he took up a position which was undoubtedly the right one. He would hear nothing of abstract principles; he knew that the doctrine of 'No representation, no taxation' was an impossible one; he knew too that, whatever the sovereign rights of the British Parliament might be, it had become highly inconvenient at the moment to assert them as against the Americans. He insisted on the great historical truth

that circumstances alter cases, and he held that it was unwise to irritate and alienate the great English colonies simply to enforce an abstract claim and to raise a comparatively trifling sum of money.

The repeal of the Stamp Act for the time produced a better feeling in America, and not much notice was taken of the Declaratory Act.

In 1766 Rockingham, finding himself too weak to carry on the government, resigned, and Pitt was at last prevailed upon to form a ministry. The Duke of Grafton, however, was nominal Prime Minister, and Pitt lost a good deal of his popularity by withdrawing from the Commons. He accepted a peerage, the Earldom of Chatham. He was no longer 'the great Commouer.' Chatham was as much opposed as the king himself to the close party system, and the ministry he formed was of a very mixed nature. Had he been able to direct affairs himself all might have been well, but before the year ended he was prostrated with sickness and forced to retire from public life. In his absence the ministry, which drew its chief strength from the magic of his name, proceeded to measures of which Chatham would never have approved and which he afterwards denounced.

In 1767 Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, passed an act imposing on the colonies certain small duties on imported articles of merchandise, including tea. This at once led to an outburst of indignation in America. Riots were common, and the American juries refused to convict the rioters. Townshend died the same year and his place was taken by Lord North. From this time the king himself was the real head of the Government.

Next year the struggle between the Government

Resignation
of Rocking-
ham.

Pitt becomes
Earl of
Chatham.
The Cha-
tham-Grafton
Ministry,
1766.
Illness of
Chatham.

Further taxa-
tion of
America,
1767.

Wilkes and
the Middle-
sex Elections,
1768-69.

and John Wilkes was renewed. Wilkes had managed to get the sentence of outlawry reversed, and in 1768 was elected member of Middlesex with great enthusiasm. He was, however, sent to prison for twenty-two months for his former libels, and the House of Commons expelled him from his seat. A new election was held and Wilkes was again returned. The Commons once more declared the election void and resolved that Wilkes was incapable of sitting. After this Wilkes was twice re-elected; the first time the Commons again declared the election void, and the second time they declared that a candidate of their own, Colonel Luttrell, was duly elected, though Wilkes had got nearly four times as many votes. These things produced great popular disturbances and riots, and once more, statesmen who had small liking for Wilkes, and none for mob-rioting, inveighed against the proceedings of the Commons. They maintained that, though the Commons might expel one of their own number, only an Act of Parliament could incapacitate an English subject from being elected, and that by declaring a person elected who had certainly not been chosen by the electors they had taken away from constituencies the right to choose their own representatives. Chatham, who on his recovery had laid down his office, returned to his place in the House of Lords in 1770, and denounced the conduct of the ministry with regard both to America and the Middlesex elections. The Lord Chancellor Camden (formerly Chief Justice Pratt) declared himself of Chatham's opinion, and was shortly after dismissed. Chatham's return was indeed the signal for the downfall of the Grafton ministry. Grafton resigned, and Lord North became

Return of
Chatham,
1770.

Fall of the
Grafton
Ministry;

Prime Minister. North was the king's own choice, and he and his colleagues were pledged to carry on the king's policy. The reign of the Whigs had now come to an end (1770).

Lord North.

Wilkes was kept out of Parliament for five years, but in the meanwhile he was largely instrumental in winning a victory of great significance. A practice had gradually grown up, in defiance of the wishes of Parliament, of publishing parliamentary debates in newspapers. In 1771 the Commons tried to put a stop to this by proceeding against the printers concerned. Wilkes was then a London Alderman, and he and the Lord Mayor determined to protect the printers. The struggle resolved itself into a battle between the authority of the House of Commons and that of the City Magistrates. In the end the Commons gave way and the newspaper reporters have since become, though informally, a recognised institution in both Houses. The result has been to make individual members of Parliament far less independent of their constituents than they had hitherto been. How far the change is for the better is very doubtful.

Subsequent history of Wilkes.

Reporting of Debates, 1771.

Wilkes himself was re-elected for Middlesex in 1778 and permitted to take his seat, and in 1783 he gained his last victory by getting all resolutions that had been passed against him expunged from the Commons' Journal. As a politician he never made any name for himself, but he succeeded in living down his evil reputation as demagogue and libertine. He who had been the cause of so many riots distinguished himself as a queller of rioters during the Gordon riots of 1780, and long before his death in 1799 he had reconciled himself to all

Wilkes allowed to take his seat, 1778.

His final victories.

his former enemies, and even counted amongst his friends Dr. Samuel Johnson, the staunchest of Tories, and the most upright of eighteenth century moralists.

CHAP. II. GEORGE III. (2) THE WAR OF
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.

The Duty on Tea—Violence in America—The Boston Port Act—Congress at Philadelphia; First Stage in the Struggle for Independence—Engagements at Lexington and Bunker's Hill—George Washington Commander-in-Chief; Second Stage of the Struggle—The Declaration of Independence; Third Stage in the Struggle—Brandywine and Saratoga—The French and American alliance; Fourth Stage in the Struggle—The death of Chatham—The American War becomes an European War—Victory off Cape St. Vincent—Surrender at Yorktown—Resignation of North—The Second Rockingham Ministry—Economic Reform—Irish Legislative Independence—The Shelburne Ministry—The Peace of Versailles—Measure for Catholic Relief and the Gordon Riots.

The Duty on
Tea, 1770.

Lord North agreed with the king in insisting on the right of Parliament to tax America. To assert this right, while the other import duties imposed by Townshend were removed in 1770, the duty on tea was retained. Discontent still prevailed in America, and the discontent was kept alive by a determined body of agitators, who consistently represented the actions of England in the worst light. During a riot at Boston the English soldiers fired upon the mob in self-defence and three persons were killed. The dead rioters received a public funeral, and the hatred of the Americans for Eng-

The 'Boston
Massacre,'
1770.

land was manifested by the name by which this slight affair came to be known. It was called the Boston Massacre. Two years afterwards a royal schooner engaged in putting down smuggling was boarded, seized and burned at Rhode Island. All attempts to discover and bring to justice the perpetrators of this crime proved fruitless.

Destruction
of a Royal
schooner,
1772.

In 1773 Lord North entered into an agreement with the East India Company to enable them to dispose of a large quantity of tea by selling it at cheap rates in America and elsewhere. The colonists would have profited by this as, instead of paying the former high duty really paid by the American consumer though levied in England, they had only to pay the small duty raised in America.¹ But the agitators interpreted this as a bribe to induce the colonists to admit the claims of Parliament by purchasing an article on which a parliamentary duty was raised in America; and so when the ships, containing the tea, arrived in Boston harbour, they were boarded by a number of rioters disguised as Indians, and the tea-chests were thrown into the sea. For answer to this lawless act of defiance, Parliament removed the customs and trade of Boston to Salem, and abolished the popular constitution of Massachusetts, the colony of which Boston is the capital. Henceforth the council of the colony was to be chosen by the crown, and the Judges and Magistrates nominated by the Governor (1774).

The Tea ships
of Boston,
1773.

The Boston
Port Act,
1774.

¹ Previously the colonists had to get their tea from England, and in England a high duty was placed on it. Now the East India Company was permitted to ship the tea straight to America, but a small duty was levied on the tea on arrival.

The Congress of Philadelphia; First Stage in the Struggle for Independence, 1744.

These measures only added fuel to the fire. A Congress of representatives from all the States except Georgia—which joined the common cause later on—met at Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania. This Congress declared that the British Parliament had no right to raise any sort of tax in America. As yet, however, no wish was expressed to separate from England, but the meeting of the Congress may be said to mark *the first stage in the struggle for independence.*

Public opinion in England.

In England Chatham, Burke and the Whigs warned the ministers against the fatal course they were pursuing and urged them to conciliate the colonists before it was too late. It was useless. The king was obstinate, and he was supported, not only by the majority in Parliament, but by the majority of the people, for the violent language and actions of the Americans were naturally enough resented in the mother country. The truth is that the difficulty of forcing the Americans to submission was under-estimated. It was thought that the separate colonies would not act together, and that the Americans were divided amongst themselves. This view was partly right. There was in America a large party of 'loyalists' who were unwilling to proceed to extremities against England, but the other party was stronger and more determined. Moreover the ministers did not properly foresee the difficulties involved in conquering the colonies, difficulties which arose rather from the geographical conditions of the country than from the fighting qualities and resolute heroism of the colonists themselves.

Meanwhile the Americans began to prepare for

forcible resistance. Armed bodies called 'minutemen' (ready to rise at a minute's notice) were collected and officers appointed. The first blood was shed at a chance engagement at Lexington, about ten miles from Concord in Massachusetts. Then the New England colonies rose, and, in order to open communications with Canada, seized the forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. A little after occurred the famous battle misnamed Bunker's Hill. Bunker's Hill and Breed's Hill are two eminences which command Boston. The English troops endeavouring to get possession of the former found it occupied by the colonists and were only able to dislodge them after being twice repulsed. These engagements were not important in themselves but they served to raise the spirit and confidence of the Americans and to make conciliation more difficult (1775).

Bunker's
Hill.

After Lexington a second general Congress met at Philadelphia and appointed George Washington Commander-in-Chief. Washington was an experienced and able soldier and a man of great perseverance and nobility of character. To his heroism the ultimate success of the Americans was mainly due. The appointment of Washington was equivalent to an open declaration of war and was the *Second Stage in the Struggle*. Nevertheless Congress made a last attempt at conciliation and a petition known as the 'Olive Branch Petition' was sent to England. The demands of the Congress were very moderate, but the Petition was not received, since Parliament would not recognise the Philadelphia Congress as a constitutional assembly, and as the Petitioners did not acknowledge the abstract right

George Wash-
ington ;
Second Stage
in the Strug-
gle.

The Olive
Branch Peti-
tion.

Failure of the
invasion of
Canada, 1775.
English
driven out of
Boston, 1776.

Foreign
troops em-
ployed by
England.

Third Stage
in the strug-
gle; Declara-
tion of Inde-
pendence,
1776.

of Parliament to tax the colonies. And so war was continued. An invasion of Canada in 1775 and an attempt to take Quebec failed, but in 1776 the Americans succeeded in driving the English out of Boston. Both sides were in great difficulties. Washington had hard work to find provisions and ammunition and to establish proper discipline amongst his troops. The deeds of the colonists were by no means in proportion to their words, and many times Washington was driven almost to despair. The English generals, on the other hand, were without particular ability, and the English army was not what it had been during the great administration of Pitt. England had to bring over troops from Hanover and to bargain for soldiers with German princes.

This employment of foreigners against kinsfolk roused bitter indignation in America and in no small degree led to the *Third Stage in the Struggle*, the *Declaration of Independence* of July 4th, 1776. This important document, after laying down that all men are by nature born free and equal, and other baseless and visionary propositions, proceeded to enumerate, with much exaggeration and even falsehood, all the oppressive acts of England, and ended by declaring the United Colonies free and independent, owing no allegiance to the British Crown and having no political connection with Great Britain.*

* The United Colonies were 1, 2, 3, 4, *The New England Colonies*, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, founded 1620—1633; 5, Virginia, the oldest colony, founded 1606; 6, Maryland, 1632; 7, 8, North and South Carolina, 9, Georgia, 1732 (the last founded colony); 10; 11, New York and New Jersey; 12, 13, Pennsylvania and Delaware, 1682.

It remained for the United Colonies to make good their independence, and at first it seemed very unlikely that they would be able to do so. Washington being driven out of New York and New Jersey, the Congress removed from Philadelphia to Baltimore, and the situation seemed hopeless. New Jersey, however, was recovered by a bold stroke in the beginning of 1777.

American failures in New York and New Jersey, 1776.

For sometime the Americans had been negotiating with the French. France was by no means sorry to see the British Empire breaking up and longed to destroy the maritime and commercial greatness of England: Accordingly she secretly sent help to the Americans, and many French officers came over to fight as volunteers on behalf of the colonists. At first this made no difference. Washington was defeated at the river Brandywine and Philadelphia was taken. But the same year the Americans gained their first great success. General Burgoyne, coming south from Canada to meet another British force coming from New York, was surrounded and forced to surrender at Saratoga (1777).

French volunteers.

Brandywine and Saratoga, 1777.

The French after this victory openly recognised the independence of the United States and made a treaty with them. This may be regarded as the *Fourth*, and, as it proved, decisive, *Stage in the Struggle*. In England all parties now called for Chatham to return to power and save the Empire, and North himself was anxious to resign in his favour. But George III hated the great minister and refused at all costs to receive him. Indeed, it was too late, for Chatham had only a little while to live. He had all along opposed the use of force against the colonists and advised the recall of the troops. But the French

The French and American alliance; Fourth Stage in the Struggle, 1778.

alliance made a difference. He was ready to grant all the American demands except independence, and he would never submit to the dismemberment of the Empire at the bidding of his old enemy France. Some of the Rockingham Whigs thought otherwise, and in April 1778 a motion was brought before the House of Lords in favour of American Independence. Chatham, who had been suffering greatly, was carried down to the House, and opposed the motion in a speech in which, though his voice was at times almost inaudible, and his memory now and then seemed to fail him, there were not absent flashes of the old fire. The Duke of Richmond answered him, and Chatham again rose to reply; but the effort was too great. He sank back speechless and was borne from the House. A month after this great man died (May 11, 1788).

The death of
Chatham,
1778.

England in-
volved in
war with
France,
Spain and
Holland,
1778-80.

Philadelphia
abandoned,
1778.

And now England was involved unaided in a war not only with America, but with France as well. In 1779 Spain also was induced to declare war on England, and in 1780, as the Dutch resisted the English claim to search their ships on the high seas and confiscate enemies' goods, Holland also was added to the number of England's foes. Without the French alliance, prolonged resistance in America would have been impossible, for Washington was in a bad way; but the alliance itself without other cause induced the English to abandon Philadelphia, and soon after a French fleet appeared off the American coast. France, since the Seven Years' War, had given up her old policy of extending her influence on the continent of Europe, and had confined her energies to the creation of a great fleet. The wisdom of this was now seen. In 1778 an indeci-

sive action between an English and a French fleet took place off Ushant. Next year a French Squadron captured some English possessions on the west coast of Africa, and a combined French and Spanish fleet entered the channel which the English did not even dare to meet. The same year Gibraltar was besieged.

The French in the channel; Gibraltar besieged, 1779.

In America during the year 1779-80 the English arms prevailed in the southern states, but a plot to betray the forts round the Hudson to the English commander was discovered and failed.

1779-80.

In other parts of the world England, though she stood alone, gained some successes. Admiral Rodney defeated a Spanish Fleet off Cape St. Vincent and for a time relieved Gibraltar. After that he sailed to the West Indies where he took the island of St. Eustatius (1780).

Victory of Cape St. Vincent, 1780.

But in 1782 an event occurred which practically ended the war in America. Lord Cornwallis had won a useless victory at Guildford in North Carolina, but after that was obliged to withdraw to Virginia where he took up his position at Yorktown, a village on the coast which he had fortified. The position would have been a strong one had the English commanded the sea; but the sea was held by a French fleet. Cornwallis was blockaded from the land side by an American army, and from the sea side by a French fleet. He was forced to surrender. Nor was this all. In the Mediterranean the Spaniards recovered Minorca, while in the West Indies the French captured a number of islands. The North administration had lost eight islands and thirteen colonies. Lord North's majority in the House of Commons was rapidly diminishing. He resigned, and the

Surrender at Yorktown, and end of the American war, 1782..

Resignation of North, 1782.

king, much against his will, sent for Rockingham (1782).

The second Rockingham ministry, 1782.

The second Rockingham administration was as weak as the first had been, partly because the king disliked the Rockingham Whigs, and partly because the ministry was itself divided, one section, including the very remarkable politician Charles James Fox, following Rockingham, while another section followed Lord Shelburne. Nevertheless during its short life the Rockingham ministry passed several measures of importance. Negotiations for peace were pushed on. A Bill was passed abolishing a number of useless offices and pensions. As the gift of these posts without work, but with salary attached, had been the chief means for securing the votes of King's Friends, a blow was struck at Parliamentary corruption, while no less than £72,000 a year was saved for really public purposes. A similar measure for 'economical reform' had been proposed by Burke the previous year but had failed. Another act of the same year by repealing an act of 1719 (see page 339) and modifying Poyning's Law (see page 157) established the legislative independence of the Irish Parliament, which continued independent till 1800. It must be remembered, however, that the majority of the Irish people, the Catholics, were not represented in this Parliament.

Economical Reform.

Irish legislative Independence, 1782.

The Ministry of Shelburne: Resignation of Fox: William Pitt, the younger, enters the ministry, 1782.

Before the end of 1782 Rockingham died, and Shelburne became Prime Minister. Fox, who had quarrelled with Shelburne on a question relating to the peace negotiations, immediately resigned, and some other ministers followed his example. William Pitt, second son of Chatham, a young man of twenty-two, entered the ministry as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

England now formally acknowledged the independence of the United States, and in 1783 peace was concluded at Versailles between England, France, Spain, Holland and the United States. Happily for England, since the surrender at Yorktown Rodney had gained a great naval victory over the French in the West Indies, and the garrison of Gibraltar had nobly resisted a furious attack on the part of French and Spaniards and had been finally relieved. Owing to these successes the conditions of the peace were not so unfavourable as they might have been. Spain, indeed, got Minorca and Florida; but the French were obliged to restore all their conquests in the West Indies except one island. Still the English loss was very great. The thirteen colonies were gone, and the English race was divided. The loss is all the more to be regretted as it might have been avoided had George III been less obstinate, and had he only not conceived a petty jealousy and dislike for England's greatest statesman.

A measure which helped forward the cause of religious toleration remains to be mentioned. Catholicism had long since ceased to be a political danger in England. Consequently all sensible persons received with satisfaction a law passed in 1778 relieving Catholics from some of the severe penalties (seldom indeed enforced, but still in the Statute-book) attached to the exercise of their religion. Nevertheless there was still much ignorant bigotry in the country. A Protestant Association was formed under the Presidentship of Lord George Gordon, a foolish, vain and mischievous man, to obtain a repeal of the wise and humane measure for Catholic relief. Lord George in June 1780 got together a mob, said

The Peace of
Versailles,
1783.

Measure for
Catholic
relief, 1778.

The Gordon
riots, 1780.

to be about 50,000 strong, which assembled before the Houses of Parliament whilst he presented a monster petition against Catholic relief. The mob afterwards took to rioting, and for six days London was given up to all sorts of lawlessness. Houses were burned, property destroyed, and the great jail of Newgate was burst open and the criminals let loose. The riot was at last suppressed by the soldiery.

CHAP. III. GEORGE III. (3) WILLIAM PITT.

The Coalition Ministry—Fox's India Bill—The Coalition dismissed—Ministry of William Pitt the Younger—Pitt's position and character—The French Commercial Treaty—The National Debt—Pitt's India Act—Parliamentary Reform—The trial of Warren Hastings—The Regency Question.

The Coalition
Ministry,
1783.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Peace of Versailles a coalition was formed against Shelburne by Fox and North, statesmen who had hitherto been declared enemies. As their united parties far outnumbered that which supported Shelburne, the minister was obliged to resign. The king hated the Coalition, but he could not help entrusting them with power. Before very long George III was able to get rid of the ministers he so much disliked. Burke, who was a member of the new Government, had recently been studying Indian questions and had become convinced that the system by which British India was then administered was a radically bad one, fruitful in terrible abuses. He held that a trading company ought not to be a governing body at the same time, since it is the business of traders to consult their own interests, while it is the

duty of Governors to see to the interests of the governed. A bill was therefore drawn up and introduced by Fox to transfer the authority of the Company to a committee appointed by the ministers. This Bill, as it seemed to give excessive powers and patronage to Fox and his friends, and as it was also said to violate the charter granted to the Company, met with much opposition. However, the Coalition party was strong enough to carry it through the Commons, but the king, unconstitutionally, it has been argued, sent a private message to the Peers telling them that he should consider all who voted for the bill his enemies. The bill was rejected and the Coalition ministry soon afterwards dismissed (1783).

Fox's India
Bill, 1783.

The Coalition
dismissed.

George, having no other statesman on whom he could rely, now made William Pitt Prime Minister. Pitt was only twenty-five years of age, and in the House of Commons was confronted by a very large opposition led by the ablest debaters of the time. The news of his appointment was greeted with derisive laughter, and no one thought he would be able to retain his position for a month. Nevertheless, with extraordinary courage, perseverance and tact, he for some months fought a battle almost single-handed and came off victorious in the end. Save for an interval of three years Pitt continued Prime Minister of England till his death in 1806. Fox thought that with the help of his majority he would be able to drive Pitt from power and was therefore anxious that Parliament should not be dissolved. He endeavoured by Parliamentary votes to prevent Pitt trying the issue of a general election. On this point Pitt preserved a prudent silence, and

Ministry of
William Pitt
the younger.

bravely held to his post, though vote after vote condemning the Government and recommending its dismissal was passed. At last it began to be clear that Pitt would win in the end. The hostile majority gradually diminished, and the last vote of censure was carried by a majority of one only. Then the king dissolved Parliament, and after the election Pitt found himself supported by a triumphant majority (May 1784).

Pitt's position and character.

Pitt's position was indeed a rather curious one. In one sense he was a people's minister as his great father had been; in another he was a king's minister. But, unlike North, it was not necessary for him to surrender his own judgment to that of George III, for he was strong enough to be quite independent of the support of 'King's Friends,' and to be able to dispense with the corrupt practices by which their support had been purchased. The younger Pitt was indeed a man of very extraordinary abilities. In spite of his years he showed nothing of the inexperience, the diffidence, or the undue confidence of youth. He had not his father's fiery genius or lofty eloquence. He was not specially fitted to be a great war minister as Chatham had been; he was emphatically a peace minister; but he was a most able debater and Parliamentary leader. He excelled as a finance minister and was well fitted to carry out useful though moderate measures of reform. Some reforms he actually accomplished, others he deliberately abandoned, considering them—and no doubt rightly—unadvisable, owing to the altered conditions brought about by the French Revolution.

In 1784 Pitt effected some useful reforms in the

matter of taxation which had the excellent result of very largely putting a stop to smuggling. Two years after he concluded a commercial treaty with France on the principle of Free Trade. This whilst it lasted was beneficial to both countries, though it was opposed to the prevalent political and economical doctrines of the time (1786). A similar measure in favour of Ireland failed on account of the jealousy of the English commercial classes.

The French commercial treaty, 1786.

In 1786 Pitt introduced a scheme, much praised at the time, for gradually paying off the National Debt. This scheme was based on a fallacy which was afterwards fully exposed, and during Pitt's administration the National Debt, so far from being diminished, was enormously increased owing to the great war in which England was soon involved.

The national debt.

In 1784 Indian affairs were regulated by an Act which established a system of what is called dual control; that is to say, the administration of the British possessions in India was shared by the Crown and the Company. This system remained in force till 1858.

Pitt's India Act, 1784.

During the time of the Coalition administration Pitt had unsuccessfully moved a resolution in favour of Parliamentary Reform. Fox had supported him, but North had opposed. For sometime past many statesmen, including Chatham, had been of opinion that some change ought to be made in the constituencies which returned members to Parliament. The 'rotten' or nomination borough, they thought, ought to be abolished, and in their place, the counties and the larger towns should be better represented. In 1785 Pitt brought in a bill of this kind. As he thought it impossible to pass the measure otherwise,

Parliamentary Reform.

he proposed to purchase the rotten boroughs from the persons who exercised the right of nominating members of Parliament. Fox and his friends opposed this on the ground that the privilege of returning members to Parliament is not a property but a trust. North and the Tories opposed reform altogether. The bill was accordingly rejected, and Pitt never appeared as a Parliamentary reformer again. Attempts were indeed made to amend the electorate, but after the outbreak of the French Revolution, violent and extravagant notions became prevalent amongst certain sections of the people, and any change in the constitution seemed dangerous.

**Trial of
Warren
Hastings,
1788-89.**

A year before the outbreak of the French Revolution the great trial of Warren Hastings for misgovernment in India began. It is now generally admitted that Hastings during his Governor-Generalship (1774-1785) rendered very great services, not only to the growing British Empire in India, but to India itself. Nevertheless his position had been a very difficult one, and he had been driven into some acts very hard to justify. The fault lay rather with the mischievous system which then existed than with Hastings himself, but Burke and Fox regarded Hastings as the prime cause and mover of all the abuses that had occurred and of many that had never occurred at all. They determined to impeach him and Pitt was induced to agree. The trial dragged on till 1792 when Hastings was acquitted.

**The Regency
question,
1788-89.**

George III in 1785 became temporarily insane and it became necessary to appoint a Regent. The Prince of Wales, a man of very bad character who had openly quarrelled with his father, was closely

allied with Fox. It was known that if the Prince was permitted to take on himself the full royal powers, he would at once dismiss Pitt and call Fox to office, and it was feared that he would, by creating Peers and otherwise bestowing patronage permanently weaken Pitt's party, even if the king recovered. Fox, abandoning the old Whig principles, maintained that the Prince as heir to the crown actually possessed, without any Parliamentary sanction, all the powers during his father's incapacity which he would undoubtedly succeed to in the event of his father's death. Pitt held that the Prince had no more power than any other subject unless Parliament gave it him, and was only willing for the Prince to be appointed Regent if his authority was strictly limited. Happily King George recovered. The Whigs were disappointed in their hopes, and Pitt's place in the affections of the king and the large majority of the nation became firmer than ever.

**PART X. ENGLAND AND THE FRENCH
REVOLUTION.**

CHAP. I. GEORGE III. (4) THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

Character and some causes of the French Revolution—The Estates General and the National Convention—Revolutionary Doctrines—The Revolution at first welcomed in England—Hopes of Pitt—Views of Burke and of Fox—Break-up of the Old Whig party—The French Republic and the execution of Louis XVI—Repressive Measures in England against sedition—Tom Paine's 'Rights of Man'—Successes and aggressions of the French Republic—France declares war on England—The First European Coalition against France—The Reign of Terror—Progress of the war—Victory in the Channel—Holland made dependent on France—The Directory—Fruitless negotiations—The invasion of Ireland—Another invasion projected—Victory off Cape St. Vincent—Mutiny of the Fleet—Battle of Camperdown—Oriental schemes of Bonaparte, &c.—Bonaparte in Egypt: Battle of the Nile—The Siege of Acre—Second European Coalition against France—Bonaparte First Consul—His offers of peace—Break-up of the second Coalition—The Northern League—Distress in England—Battle of Copenhagen: Break-up of the Northern League—Peace of Amiens.

**Character of
the French
Revolution.**

In the year 1789 the great French Revolution began, and in a few years, at the cost of much violence and cruelty, the monarchy, nobility and church of France were destroyed and a democratic

Republic, soon to pass into a military despotism, was set up. The French Revolution was rendered possible by the existence of conditions from which England was happily free. The power of the crown had become practically absolute, while the benefits which sometimes flow from absolute monarchy, where the monarch is an enlightened and intelligent man, were not possible in France owing to the privileges long enjoyed by the nobility and the clergy. In England the greatest burdens of taxation rightly fell on those best fitted to bear them; but in France the rich and the noble were exempted from taxation, while the poor were forced to pay. The reigning king, Louis XVI, was an amiable and well-meaning man, anxious to bring about reforms, but the higher classes were opposed, and the financial policy of the ministers of the crown had plunged the country into bankruptcy. To add to these unfavourable conditions, there was a severe famine in France in 1788.

Some of the causes of it.

To meet the difficulties of the Government the king determined to summon once more the old representative assembly of France, called the Estates General, which had not met since 1614. When the estates assembled a dispute arose between the two higher orders, or estates, and the third estate, the Commons. This ended in the third estate claiming and seizing all power to themselves, and voting themselves a *National Assembly*. France was rapidly hurled into anarchy.

The Estates General and the National Assembly, 1789.

There were other very important circumstances which lent to the French Revolution its peculiar character, and made it very soon a serious danger to Europe. During the eighteenth century new

Revolutionary doctrines.

The 'Rights of Man.'

doctrines, hostile to existing institutions, political, social and religious, had found a ready acceptance in France. Very powerful writers attacked the Christian religion, and more especially the Catholic priesthood. Other writers, no less powerful, advocated the supposed 'Rights of Man,' declaring that sovereign power belongs to the people, and that all men are by nature born free and equal. The leaders of the national assembly were greatly influenced by such ideas, and hoped that by sweeping away old institutions and reconstructing society on abstract principles, such as Burke hated, a new era of happiness and liberty would dawn for France, and ultimately for the whole human race. Unfortunately in France conditions favoured the spread of such doctrines. The old institutions were undoubtedly bad and rotten. France had deliberately rejected all reform, whether religious or secular. Protestantism had been crushed out, and Feudalism, whilst rendered helpless to resist the tyranny of the crown, still retained its power to oppress the poorer classes. Thus a sense of wrong and real injustice led men to believe that all human evils are caused by faulty institutions, and to hope that universal prosperity would arise from violent and sudden change.

The French Revolution at first welcomed in England.

In England the French Revolution was at first regarded with favour as few men understood its real import. It was thought that the French would simply reform glaring abuses, and would establish a limited monarchy with a constitution similar to that of England. Pitt and the ministers also had their own reasons for welcoming the Revolution. They thought that France would be fully occupied with her own affairs for some time and that this would

conduce to European peace. England in the meanwhile, they hoped, would be able to go on peacefully progressing, paying off her national debt and instituting moderate reforms in various directions.

Hopes of Pitt.

To Burke it seemed otherwise. His greater political wisdom divined from the first whither the French Revolutionists with their abstract principles were hurrying. He knew that the end would be anarchy in France and in all other countries which embraced the French doctrines. He knew, too, that these revolutionary ideas, if not resisted, would spread, and that they could not spread without extreme danger to the very existence of society. So Burke denounced the French Revolution and all its works. He spoke against it repeatedly in Parliament, and he wrote, amongst other things, a great pamphlet called *Reflections on the French Revolution*. Fox, on the other hand, approved of the French doings, and this difference in opinion resulted in a break between the two eminent Whig statesmen, and indeed in a break-up of the Whig party. The moderate Whigs followed Burke and went over to the side of the Tory ministry. The rest supported Fox. Thus the Whig party became much weaker, while at the same time it became more advanced in opinion. The new Whigs insisted more strongly on reform, and clubs and societies were founded in England to spread doctrines such as were being advocated in France.

Views of Burke.

and of Fox.

Break-up of the old Whig party.

Meantime events on the continent proved that Burke was right. In France one violent change succeeded another. The nobles were driven out of the country; in 1792 France was declared a Republic, and in 1793 Louis XVI was beheaded.

The French Republic and the execution of Louis XVI, 1792-93.

Austria and Prussia having threatened to interfere on behalf of the king, the Revolutionists retaliated by declaring war against these countries and in inviting all peoples to rise against their governments as the French had done. Then a great war was begun, waged, not for disputed territories or trading privileges, but for abstract ideas which had come to be held as a sort of religion. These things alarmed most Englishmen and all chance of peaceful reform was indefinitely thrown back.

A War of Ideas.

Repressive measures in England against sedition.

As long as possible Pitt endeavoured to keep England out of the war and to maintain neutrality. This policy proved impossible. The execution of Louis XVI and the wholesale massacre of aristocrats in Paris, which had taken place a few weeks before it, roused a feeling of bitter indignation in England. Moreover the *National Convention*, now the ruling body in France, on more than one occasion openly received deputations from discontented and seditious Englishmen, and language exhorting the English people to rise against the Government was freely used. Against sedition the Government, with the support of the great majority of politicians, both Whig and Tory, in 1793 passed some stringent measures, and several persons were brought to trial and punished for seditious writing. One of these seditious writers was the notorious Tom Paine, a demagogue, who, at the time of the American war, had written a book called *Common Sense* which had had a considerable influence. He now, in answer to Burke's *Reflections*, published a work called *The Rights of Man* in which he attacked all monarchical and aristocratic institutions. Paine fled to France where he was made a citizen of the Republic and a member of the National Convention.

Tom Paine's 'Rights of Man.'

Pitt might have ignored the support given by the Republic to seditious Englishmen as these formed only a very small and contemptible minority of the people. But the French, having, altogether unexpectedly, defeated the Austrians and Prussians in 1792, adopted an outrageously aggressive policy. They annexed Savoy. They took possession of the Austrian Netherlands, and, regardless of the wishes of the people, insisted on overthrowing the old constitution and on setting up a democracy. They then threatened Holland. England was bound by treaty to protect Holland, and especially to secure for the Dutch the river Scheldt. France herself had guaranteed the Scheldt to Holland, but the French now declared that the original treaty was contrary to the 'law of nations,' and, in the beginning of 1793, declared war on England.

Successes and aggressions of the French Republic, 1792-93.

France declares War against England, 1793.

England and Holland now joined Austria and Prussia in the First European Coalition against the French Republic. This combined attack of foreign powers on France aroused against it the most enthusiastic spirit of patriotism amongst the French, and at the same time brought to power the most violent and uncompromising section of the Revolutionists, the Jacobins. A horrible reign of terror set in, during which the Queen, Marie Antoinette, and a number of others, many of them entirely innocent of designs against the Republic, were brought to the scaffold. The 'Committee of Public Safety,' which was responsible for these atrocities, did better work in carrying on the war. During the first three years the allies made little or no way. An English force under the Duke of York joined the Austrians on the eastern frontier of France, but did little good

The First European coalition against France, 1793.

The 'Reign of Terror.'

Progress of the War, 1793-95.

English victory in the Channel, 1794.

Holland made dependent on France, 1795.

The Directory.

Fruitless negotiations, 1795-96.

The invasion of Ireland, 1796.

there, time being merely wasted in useless sieges. An expedition to Toulon also failed. In 1794, indeed, Lord Howe won a naval victory in the channel, but on the continent the French drove the allies out of the Austrian Netherlands in 1795, and in 1796 entered Holland, and there set up a democratic republic on the model of the French Republic, and dependent on it.

Meantime in France the terror had come to an end, and a new constitution called the Directory had been established. Prussia now made peace with France, and Pitt himself thought that the more settled character of the new French constitution afforded a favourable opportunity for a peace between England and the Republic. But negotiations, twice attempted, twice broke down. England demanded that France should restore the Netherlands to Austria, but France, just raised to a pitch of glory by the victories of the great general, Napoleon Bonaparte, in Italy, refused, although England offered to surrender in exchange the Cape of Good Hope, recently taken from the Dutch, and some islands in the West Indies, captured from the French (1796.)

And now the Directory determined to attack England which was practically left without allies. An invasion of Ireland was planned under Hoche, one of the ablest of the Republican generals. The Revolutionists had indeed various friends in Ireland of whom we shall have to speak hereafter, and it was hoped that a French invasion would be followed by a general rising of the Irish. The expedition, directed to Bantry Bay, however failed owing to a storm, and the native Irish, so far, showed no desire to rise on behalf of the French (1796.)

The Directory, however, still adhered to the scheme of an invasion of England. France was now in alliance with Spain and Holland. It was resolved that the French and Spanish fleets should sweep the English channel, whilst the Dutch fleet should convey another French army into Ireland. Happily this scheme was wrecked by a victory over the Spanish fleet won in 1797 by Admiral Sir John Jervis and Commodore Nelson off Cape St. Vincent (south-east corner of Portugal).

Another invasion projected.

Victory off Cape St. Vincent, 1797.

This year two mutinies in the English fleet occurred, which might have proved disastrous for England; one at Spithead, the other at the Nore. The grievances of which the mutineers at Spithead complained were undoubtedly just grievances, and when Lord Howe, a favourite with the sailors, promised in the name of the Government that right should be done, he was able to persuade the sailors to return to their duty. The demands of the seamen at the Nore were of a more insolent character, and such as it was impossible for the Government to fall in with. Fortunately the mutineers did not hold out, and with the hanging of a few ringleaders the whole mutiny was crushed (1797).

Mutiny of the fleet at Spithead and the Nore, 1797.

But the English sailors, though determined to assert their own rights, had no thought of real disloyalty. A few weeks after the suppression of the mutiny the English fleet, under Admiral Duncan, defeated the Dutch at Camperdown, nine miles off the coast of Holland. This put an end to the dreaded Irish invasion.

Battle of Camperdown, 1797.

Bonaparte, whose influence was rapidly rising in the Republic, now persuaded the Directory to abandon the idea of an invasion of England and to turn

Oriental schemes of Bonaparte.

its attention elsewhere. Egypt was to be conquered and a French empire founded in the East. Thence France was to give assistance to Tippoo of Mysore and other Indian chiefs who were struggling against British rule, and India was to be wrested from the English. The Directory sanctioned these magnificent schemes, and in 1798 Bonaparte carried a French army from Toulon under an escort of thirty war-ships, and landed at Alexandria. His operations in Egypt were eminently successful, but Admiral Nelson followed up the French fleet and utterly defeated it at the *Battle of the Nile* (August 1798). This victory really ruined Bonaparte's oriental designs; but he still persevered. He determined on the conquest of Syria. Again he was at first successful, but again he was baffled, owing to the energy of Sir Sidney Smith who, by rendering assistance to the Turkish Garrison of Acre, forced Bonaparte to raise the siege and to withdraw to Egypt and ultimately to France where his presence was urgently required. Sir Sidney Smith had forwarded to Bonaparte a file of newspapers from which he learnt that a new Coalition had been formed against France by England, Austria and Russia, and that the French had been defeated both in Germany and Italy (1799).

On his return to France Bonaparte overthrew the Directory, and a new constitution was established in which Bonaparte himself exercised supreme authority under the title of First Consul. One of his first measures was to offer peace to England. The offer was probably insincere, Bonaparte's only object being to gain time. England, however, refused and the war was resumed. In Italy and Germany

Bonaparte in Egypt; Battle of the Nile, 1798.

The Siege of Acre, 1799.

Second European Coalition against France, 1799.

Bonaparte First Consul, 1799.

Bonaparte's offer of peace, 1800.

Break-up of the Second

the French were completely victorious. Austria was compelled to make peace. Russia also withdrew from the Coalition, and England stood alone.

Coalition,
1800.

Not only this, but a league called the *Northern League*, hostile to England, had been formed between Russia, Sweden and Denmark, to resist the English claim to search neutral vessels for contraband of war, and property of the enemy. In England itself there was great distress. The war had necessitated very heavy taxation, and two years of scarcity had terribly raised the price of corn. Still England held her own. The French army left by Bonaparte in Egypt was defeated and forced to capitulate by General Moore,* in March 1801, and a few days afterwards Nelson won a great victory over the Danes at *Copenhagen*. This victory, and the death of the half-mad Emperor Paul of Russia, broke up the Northern League, and inclined the French to accede to peace. Peace was concluded at Amiens in 1802. By this peace England gave up all her conquests, except Ceylon, taken from the Dutch in 1796, and Trinidad captured from Spain in 1797. The peace was not very honourable, and it proved to be no more than a truce, but it was hailed in England with great joy. Before the peace of Amiens Pitt had resigned, for reasons to be noticed in the next chapter, and a new ministry had been formed under Mr. Addington, a politician of no particular ability, but a personal favourite with the king.

The Northern
League.

Distress in
England.

Battle of
Copenhagen,
1801: Break-
up of the
Northern
League.

Peace of
Amiens,
1802.

* The expedition was under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, but Abercromby was killed before the capitulation.

CHAP. II. GEORGE III. (5) THE IRISH REBELLION AND THE ACT OF UNION.

The independent Irish Parliament—Irish political parties—The Regency question—Misgovernment in Ireland—Divisions in Ireland: Defenders and Orangemen—Wolfe Tone and the United Irishmen—Concessions to Catholics—Lieutenancy of Lord Fitzwilliam—Fitzwilliam recalled—Views of the King on the Catholic claims—A rebellion in preparation—Hoche's expedition—Disarming of Ulster—Secession of Grattan and the Whigs—The Rebellion of 1798: Lord Edward Fitzgerald—Kildare and Wexford—Father Murphy—Vinegar Hill—The French at Kilala Bay—Capture and Suicide of Wolfe Tone—The Act of Union.

The independent Irish Parliament, 1782.

Irish Political parties.

In 1782 the Irish Parliament had become completely independent, but this independent Parliament was far from representing the Irish people. The majority of Irishmen were Catholics, and Catholics could neither vote for members of Parliament nor be members themselves. The Irish Parliament merely represented the Protestant aristocracy. This aristocracy was divided into two parties, the Tories, who supported the Government and wished to maintain the English ascendancy in Ireland, and the Whigs, the most celebrated of whom was the famous orator, Henry Grattan, who wished to make the Irish Government, in fact as well as in name, independent of the English, and who wished to get the control of government into their own hands. The Whigs, as was to be expected, were more in favour of political changes than their opponents. This independent Parliament did not work well. The inconvenience—to use no stronger term—of the system was clearly

shown in 1787, when, during the temporary insanity of George III, the Irish Parliament, following Grattan, appointed the Prince of Wales Regent with full power as enjoyed by an actual king, whilst the English Parliament carefully limited his authority. The Irish Parliament contained many brilliant orators, but their eloquence led to little useful legislation. Glaring abuses were left unremedied, and nothing was done to heal the real wounds which Ireland suffered. There was, indeed, no sound government at all; murders and outrages were common, and the Government only maintained a precarious ascendancy by direct and indirect bribery of members of Parliament.

The Regency Question, 1789.

Misgovernment in Ireland.

The country itself was split up into various sections with independent and conflicting interests. There was the old native Irish interest, the Celtic population who had been deprived of their lands and shut out from all political, and much social, influence. There was the Catholic interest as opposed to the Protestant, while the Protestants again were divided between the Presbyterians of the North and those who belonged to the dominant Anglican Church. Lawless organisations were frequent. For instance there were the Catholic 'Defenders' who armed themselves against the Protestant 'Peep o' day boys,' who afterwards formed themselves into 'lodges' of 'Orangemen,' the name being taken from the Irish Protestant hero, William III of Orange. Between Defenders and Orangemen a sort of irregular civil war raged for some time.

Divisions in Ireland: Defenders and Orangemen.

After the French Revolution, and owing very largely to that great event, another organisation, the most dangerous of all, was formed. This was

Wolfe Tone and the

United
Irishmen.

the 'Society of United Irishmen.' Its founder was a very clever but entirely reckless young Dublin Barrister called Wolfe Tone. Tone was nominally a Protestant, but in reality he had no religious belief. A thorough-going Republican, his real object was to separate Ireland completely from England, and in order to do so, he hit upon the idea of uniting the Presbyterians of the North with the native Catholics, ostensibly for the purpose of doing away with all religious inequalities, and of obtaining parliamentary reform.

Real union in
Ireland
impossible.

Tone could for the moment unite the most violent and discontented sections of the Irish population, and kindle a terrible rebellion, but to effect any real union between classes of men whose interests and beliefs were so widely apart, was beyond his power or that of any man. The Republican ideas of the French Revolution could not mix with Irish Catholicism.

Concessions
to the Catho-
lics, 1794.

Pitt and the Irish Government hoped to separate the Catholics from the United Irishmen. Accordingly measures in favour of the Catholics were introduced and forced through a reluctant Parliament. In 1793 the Catholics were admitted to the franchise, and other measures of relief were passed. These, however, did no good. The best of the Catholics, the Catholic gentry, were not conciliated, and the gift of the franchise was purely delusive when the Catholic voters could return none but Protestants to Parliament. Moreover the Catholics thought that the Government had only yielded out of fear, and, urged on by the United Irishmen, they demanded further concessions.

In 1795 a blunder on the part of Pitt raised the hopes of the Catholics and the United Irishmen, and had very disastrous results. A body of old Whigs, under the Duke of Portland, had joined Pitt's ministry in 1794. One of these, Lord Fitzwilliam, was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. Fitzwilliam began by dismissing some of the chief Tory members of Government and putting Whigs in their places. Then, with the assistance of Grattan, a bill was introduced to admit Catholics to Parliament. This was not what Pitt had intended at all. Himself not hostile to the Catholic claims, he believed that further concessions were impossible so long as the Irish Parliament remained independent. Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled. The bill was rejected. It was known that George III would never consent to it, as he had been taught to believe that to sanction the admission of Catholics to Parliament would be to break the oath he had taken at his coronation to uphold the Protestant faith. The Catholics and United Irishmen lost all hopes of ever gaining their ends by constitutional means.

The effect of all these things was to throw Ireland into rebellion. The United Irishmen and the extreme Catholics joined. The peasants were secretly armed; oaths were administered and attempts were made to disaffect the soldiery and the militia. Now, too, Tone and some of his friends began to intrigue with France, and on their suggestion the French invasion, under General Hoche, was planned and attempted (see page 388). As we have seen, the scheme failed, partly owing to a storm, partly owing to the fact that the Irish of the South had received no orders from the secret committee of

Fitzwilliam
Lord Lieutenant,
1795.

Fitzwilliam
recalled.

Views of the
king on the
Catholic
claims.

A rebellion
prepared.

Hoche's ex-
pedition, 1796.

United Irishmen who were organising the rebellion. The Government had received information from informers and the whole secret committee had been arrested at a stroke.

Informers are always plentiful in Ireland, and the Government was perfectly aware of the contemplated rebellion and of the names of the guilty persons. But, as the informers dared not give evidence in public, it was impossible to proceed against the leaders by the ordinary course of law.

Disarming of
Ulster, 1796.

It was, however, possible to disarm the people, and this was done in Ulster by General Lake with great completeness, but also often with great, though necessary, severity. In the face of such extreme danger neither mercy nor strict legality was possible, but the parliamentary opposition under Grattan, instead of assisting the Government to crush a common enemy, only hampered it, by thundering against the unconstitutional manner in which the disarming was carried out, and when they found their words wasted, seceded from Parliament in a body.

Secession of
Grattan and
the Whigs,
1797.

The Rebellion
of 1798: Lord
Edward
Fitzgerald.

This only encouraged those who were preparing for rebellion. A general insurrection of which the leader was to be Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a weak enthusiast, was determined on, and the day was fixed for May 23rd, 1798. Dublin was to be captured first. But again traitors supplied the Government with information. Lord Edward and some other leading conspirators were arrested. Lord Edward himself resisted desperately and died two days after from the effects of wounds he had received. So far as Dublin was concerned danger was averted, but on the day fixed the rebellion broke

Kildare and
Wexford.

out in Kildare and Wexford, and most horrible atrocities were committed. At once it was seen what an Irish rebellion meant. It was no rising for political liberty, no war for revolutionary ideas such as Tone and the United Irishmen believed in. The United Irishmen had devised the rebellion and found the weapons, but the rebellion once started assumed at once the old Irish character of Catholic fanaticism and hatred of England. The real leader in Wexford where the rebellion lasted longest, and was most desperate, was a priest called Father Murphy, and the ignorant peasantry who followed him were inspired by but two wishes, to destroy the Protestants, and to recover the land for the native Irish. After it had overrun the whole of county Wexford, after the town of Wexford had been mastered, and ghastly massacres of Protestants there and elsewhere had been committed, the rebellion was at last crushed by General Lake at Vinegar Hill. Before it was completely over, a small French force landed at Kilala Bay in Mayo, but, though joined by a number of native rebels, they were soon overpowered by superior numbers and forced to surrender. Some ships bringing them reinforcements were captured; on board one of them was Wolfe Tone. Tone was tried and sentenced to death, but before the sentence could be carried out he committed suicide.

Father
Murphy.

Vinegar Hill.

The French
at Kilala
Bay, 1798.

Capture and
Suicide of
Wolfe Tone.

The rebellion and all that had preceded it proved clearly that the Government of Ireland by an independent Parliament was an impossibility, and that an union with Great Britain was absolutely necessary. Pitt determined to carry it through, and the Lord Lieutenant, now Lord Cornwallis, the

The Act of
Union, 1800.

Secretary, Lord Castlereagh, and the Chancellor, Lord Clare, by far the ablest of Irish statesmen, were all strongly in favour of it. With the English Parliament Pitt had no difficulty, but the scheme met with great opposition in Ireland. The Catholics, indeed, were led to acquiesce by the hope held out to them that they would obtain those measures of concession from an United Parliament which they could never look for from an Irish Parliament, but the majority of the Protestant Parliament followed Grattan in vehemently resisting the union. However Government adopted the usual, and only possible, method. They bribed, or purchased freely; and, in spite of a great speech by Grattan, the union was carried by the Irish Parliament in February 1800. The Act took effect from January 1st, 1801. The Irish Parliament was abolished; four Irish spiritual peers, chosen by rotation, and twenty-eight temporal peers, elected for life by the whole body of Irish peers, were to sit in the British House of Lords, whilst the people of Ireland were to be represented in the House of Commons by a hundred members. Freedom of trade between the two countries was also, amongst other things, provided for.

CHAP III. GEORGE III. (6) THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.

Resignation of Pitt—The French war renewed—Pitt recalled—Bonaparte becomes Emperor—Pitt's designs—Coalition against Napoleon—Changed character of the Struggle—Battle of Trafalgar—Death of Nelson—Battle of Austerlitz—Death of Pitt—Minis-

try of All the Talents—Death of Fox—The Berlin Decree and the Orders in Council—Portland Prime Minister—Abolition of the Slave Trade—Bombardment of Copenhagen and Capture of the Danish Fleet—Overthrow of the Mahrattas—Occupation of Cape Colony—Conquests in the West—The Peninsular War: Napoleon makes his brother King of Spain—Battle of Vimeira and Convention of Cintra—Napoleon in Spain—Battle of Corunna and death of Sir John Moore—War between France and Austria—Disastrous expedition to the Scheldt—Ministry of Percival—Battle of Talavera—The Lines of Torres Vedras—The Regency—Battles of Fuentes d'Onoro and Albuera—Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz—Napoleon's Expedition to Russia—Battle of Salamanca—Napoleon driven out of Germany—Battle of Vittoria—Abdication of Napoleon—Restoration of the Bourbons—The War with America—Return of Napoleon—Battle of Waterloo—End of Napoleon—Distress amongst the poorer classes—Destruction of Machinery—Demand for Democratic reforms—Repressive measures: The Six Acts—Death of George III.

It had been plainly understood by the Catholics that, after the union, Pitt would introduce a measure for Catholic relief. Pitt was prepared to fulfil his promise, but George III was stubbornly opposed. He declared that he should consider any man his enemy who contemplated such a thing. Pitt felt himself obliged to resign. His place was taken, as we have seen, by Addington, during whose administration the peace of Amiens was concluded.

But very soon after the peace it became evident that the war would have to be renewed. Bonaparte

Resignation
of Pitt, 1801.

The French
war renewed,
1803.

continued his aggressions. He annexed Piedmont and occupied Switzerland. It was suspected, not without cause, that he was contemplating the reconquest of Egypt, and he irritated the English people by demanding that England should cease to shelter French refugees, and that the Government should punish, without trial, journalists who had written things against Bonaparte in their papers. The English Government declined to fall in with these demands, and at the same time refused to evacuate Malta, which, by the peace of Amiens, was to be handed over to the knights of St. John on certain conditions. These conditions England maintained had not been fulfilled. Accordingly Bonaparte declared war against England, and, as a first step, seized Hanover. He then began to make great preparations at Boulogne for an invasion of England.

In England great public spirit showed itself. Volunteers, to the number of 300,000, began to be drilled through the whole country. But it was felt that a stronger chief minister than Addington was required, and the country called loudly for Pitt. Addington in 1804, much against his will, was forced to resign, and Pitt, promising the king not to bring up the Catholic question again, was called to power. He had hoped to form a ministry on a broad basis so as to include his old opponent Fox. But again the king's obstinacy stood in the way. George refused to receive Fox, and Pitt was obliged to take up the conduct of affairs with but a weak following.

Pitt recalled,
1804.

Bonaparte
becomes

Meantime the French constitution had undergone another change. France had become an hereditary

empire with Napoleon Bonaparte as first Emperor. His authority, however, was not greater than it had been as First Consul.

Emperor,
1804.

Pitt's object was two-fold ; first to ward off the danger of invasion by strengthening the navy ; secondly to resist Napoleon's schemes on the continent by another European Coalition. His first object proved successful ; the second failed. A coalition was indeed formed in 1805 between England, Russia and Austria, but, as we shall see, it soon came to a disastrous end.

Pitt's object.

Coalition
against Napo-
leon, 1805.

How little Napoleon cared for the coalition he showed by annexing Genoa and declaring himself King of Italy. The whole character of the struggle had changed. It was no longer a war for and against revolutionary ideas, but the resistance of the independent states of Europe to the ambitious designs of a single man.

Changed
character of
the struggle.

Napoleon's scheme for the invasion of England was as follows. He had three fleets at his disposal ; the Spanish fleet at Cadiz, and two French fleets, one at Brest and the other at Toulon. The Toulon and Cadiz fleets were to draw away the English Mediterranean fleet under Nelson to the West Indies, then to return, join the Brest fleet and keep the Channel clear, while the army of invasion was carried over from Boulogne. The first part of the plan was carried out successfully. Admiral Villeneuve with the two fleets sailed away to the West Indies with Nelson following, and was back again in the Bay of Biscay before the English fleet. There, however, the French and Spanish fleets were attacked by Sir Robert Calder with fifteen ships, and the Spanish fleet, after losing two vessels, took

Battle of
Trafalgar,
1805.

refuge in Cadiz. Consequently the whole scheme came to nothing. Next year Villaneuve was ordered to put out to sea against Nelson. The combined Spanish and French fleets met the English off Cape Trafalgar. Nelson gave the famous signal, 'England expects every man to do his duty.' The French were utterly defeated, but Nelson himself fell mortally wounded. Although this great victory established England's supremacy on the sea for the rest of the war, the news was received in England with mingled feelings, joy for the victory being dashed by the sense of the great loss the country had sustained in the death of its greatest naval hero.

Death of Nelson.

Battle of Austerlitz, 1805.

On the continent things went very differently. As soon as Napoleon found the invasion of England impracticable, he at once changed his plans, and marched to attack the united armies of Austria and Russia. He compelled an Austrian force at Ulm to capitulate, he entered Vienna, and he signally defeated the united Austrians and Russians at Austerlitz. The Russians retired to their own country, and Austria made peace at Pressburg, abandoning Venetia to Napoleon's new kingdom of Italy. The coalition had failed (1805).

Death of Pitt, January, 1806.

Pitt did not long survive the failure of his hope. Austerlitz was fought on December 2nd, 1805; on January 23rd, 1806, the great minister died.

Ministry of "All the Talents," 1806.

On Pitt's death the necessity for a strong administration compelled the king to admit Fox. The new ministry was a mixed one, and was known in consequence as the ministry of 'All the Talents,' Lord Grenville was Prime Minister and the cabinet included Addington, now Lord Sidmouth, and Fox.

Death of

Fox, however, died the same year. He had never

been long enough in office to show whether he really possessed great administrative abilities. Fox, 1806.

Meantime on the continent Napoleon continued to win victories and divide up countries. Wishing to crush the commerce of England, he issued what was known as the Berlin Decree, shutting all European ports under his control against English trade. England retaliated with the 'Orders in Council,' placing all the ports of France and of her allies in 'a state of blockade.' The Berlin Decree proved a failure as England commanded the sea, and it raised against Napoleon the indignation of the continental peoples as the Decree raised the price of all imported goods. The Berlin Decree and the Orders in Council, 1806-7.

As the ministry of All the Talents would not promise never to introduce any measure in favour of the Catholics, the king dismissed it, and summoned the Duke of Portland. The ablest members of his cabinet were Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, formerly supporters of Pitt. Just before the downfall of Grenville's Government an Act was passed which put an end to the Slave Trade. This was the result of an agitation begun in 1788 by Thomas Clarkson, a Cambridge scholar, and advocated in Parliament by the philanthropist William Wilberforce. Both Pitt and Fox strongly approved of the movement. Portland Prime Minister, 1807.

In 1807, Russia, having made peace with Napoleon, and a new Baltic league against British trade being in process of formation, secret intelligence of Napoleon's designs led Canning to demand that the Danish fleet should be given up for the use of England. Denmark naturally refused this high-handed request, and Copenhagen was bombarded and the fleet seized (1807). Bombardment of Copenhagen and capture of the Danish fleet, 1807.

Overthrow of
the Mahratta,
1802—6.

In other parts of the world England had been successful. In India, under the rule of Lord Wellesley, and by the victories of his brother, Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the great Duke of Wellington, and of General Lake, the Mahrattas were reduced to submission, and British authority made predominant over the whole country (1802—5). In 1805 Cape Colony was finally taken from the Dutch, and the sea-route to India thereby secured, while in the west the country now known as British Guiana was taken from the Dutch, and various islands in the West Indies from the Dutch and French (1804—6).

Occupation of
Cape Colony,
1805.

Conquests in
the West,
1804—6.

The Penin-
sular War,
1805—14.

Between the years 1808 and 1814 the struggle between Napoleon and England was mainly fought out in the Spanish Peninsula, and is hence known as the Peninsular War. Portugal, an old ally of England, was the only continental country which had refused to observe the Berlin Decree. Napoleon made a treaty with Spain for a joint attack on Portugal and a subsequent partition of the country. After this by various artifices he induced the Spanish King, Charles IV, to abdicate, and made his own brother Joseph Bonaparte, hitherto King of Naples, King of Spain. The Spanish people rose against the French, and for a while Joseph was obliged to fly from Madrid, and the French army retreated to north of the river Ebro (1808).

Napoleon
makes his
brother King
of Spain,
1808.

Battle of
Vimiera, and
the Conven-
tion of Cintra,
1808.

In the previous year a French army had entered Portugal, and the whole Portuguese royal family had fled to Brazil. The English Government now sent an army under Sir Arthur Wellesley to resist the French. Wellesley defeats them at Vimiera, but as he was immediately superseded in his command he was unable to follow up his victory. A

convention signed at Cintra permitted the whole French army to return to France. The convention was much criticised in England.

At the end of 1808 Napoleon himself entered Spain. The Spanish soldiers were ill-disciplined and badly commanded; consequently Napoleon had no difficulty in reinstating his brother on the Spanish throne. Sir John Moore (see page 391), who now commanded the British troops in Portugal, was ordered to proceed to the assistance of the Spaniards. He did so, but, learning that Napoleon was coming up against him with an immense force, he was obliged to retreat. He brought his army safely to Corunna, but, before the troops were able to embark, he was obliged to fight a battle at Corunna with Soult, one of Napoleon's generals. In this battle the English were completely victorious, but Sir John Moore was himself killed (1809).

Napoleon in Spain, 1808.

Battle of Corunna and death of Sir John Moore, 1809.

In 1809 Austria again took up arms against Napoleon. The French Emperor accordingly left Spain and, after two battles, forced Austria to conclude a treaty by which she surrendered further territories to France and her allies, and recognised the Bonapartist kingdom of Spain.

War between France and Austria, 1809.

While this war was going on, the English Government, in order to divert a part of the French army from the Danube, sent an expedition to the north of the Scheldt, under the command of the Earl of Chatham, eldest son of the great Chatham. This ended in disastrous failure. Flushing indeed was taken, but nothing more was done, and thousands of English troops perished of fever on the isle of Walcheren. In consequence of the mismanagement of the Walcheren affair the Portland ministry

Disastrous expedition to the Scheldt, 1809.

Ministry of
Perceval,
1809-12.

resigned and Mr. Spencer Perceval, a man of moderate abilities, was made Prime Minister. Three years afterwards Perceval was shot by a madman and Lord Liverpool became Prime Minister.

Battle of
Talavera,
1809.

In May 1809 Wellesley again took the command of the British forces in the Peninsula. He drove Soult out of Portugal, and advancing up the Tagus defeated King Joseph and a French General, Victor, at Talavera, but as the French were very powerful in Spain, Wellesley was obliged to retreat again into Portugal. For this victory he was created Viscount Wellington.

The 'Lines of
Torres
Vedras,' 1810.

In 1810 Massena, the ablest of Napoleon's Generals, made an attempt to drive the English out of Portugal. As his forces were greatly outnumbered by the French, Wellington was unable to fight a pitched battle; but he remained safely behind the Lines of Torres Vedras, earthworks which he had constructed across the small peninsula which lies between the Tagus and the sea and on which Lisbon is situated. Massena could do nothing, and as Wellington had given orders that the crops should be destroyed and the cattle driven off, Massena's army was reduced by disease and starvation. At the beginning of 1810, the French had been all driven out of Portugal.

The Regency,
1810-20.

At the end of 1810 George III became permanently insane, and, though he continued to reign nominally for another ten years, the royal duties were discharged by the Prince of Wales, the Regent.

Battles of
Fuentes
d'Onoro, and
Albuera, 1811.

After the French had left Portugal Wellington, having received reinforcements, advanced into Spain. In May 1811 he defeated Massena at Fuentes d'Onoro, and took Almeida. The same year Beresford, an Irishman who commanded the Portuguese, defeated

Soult at Albuera. Next year (1812) Wellington captured the important fortresses of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo, and thus secured Portugal from invasion, and at the same time rendered his own advance into Spain easier.

Capture of Ciudad, Rodrigo and Badajoz, 1812.

But Napoleon was now obliged to withdraw a part of his forces from Spain. He had again quarrelled with the Emperor of Russia and had determined on an invasion of Russia. This expedition ended in tragic disaster. Napoleon entered Russia with 450,000 men; he took Moscow but found it deserted. Having no supplies he was obliged to retreat during the winter, and thousands of his men perished from cold and starvation. Out of the 450,000 only 20,000 returned (1812).

Napoleon's expedition to Russia, 1812.

Meantime Wellington had won another great victory at Salamanca, and had entered Madrid. After this he pushed north on Burgos. But on the French armies coming up from the south of Spain, he was obliged to retreat again to Portugal. However the move had set free the south of Spain for the Spaniards.

Battle of Salamanca, 1812.

In 1813 Prussia took up arms against France in alliance with Russia, and Austria afterwards joined. Nevertheless Napoleon collected a new army and defeated the allies in three battles, but was himself at last utterly defeated at Leipzig and driven out of Germany. Wellington in Spain had won a great victory over King Joseph at Vittoria and had driven the French beyond the Pyrenees.

Napoleon driven out of Germany, 1813.

Battle of Vittoria, 1813.

In the beginning of 1814 the allies advanced into France. In spite of the most brilliant achievements on the part of Napoleon, Paris was entered and Napoleon abdicated and was sent to the Isle of Elba.

Abdication of Napoleon, 1814.

Wellington, now a Duke, had been meantime operating against Soult in the south of France. Not knowing of Napoleon's abdication he won, with great loss on both sides, a useless victory at Toulouse in April. The Bourbon line was now restored, Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI, becoming King of France. A Congress at Vienna was to readjust the boundaries of the European States.

Restoration of
the Bourbons.

The war with
America, 1812-
14.

The same year an unhappy war which had broken out in 1812 between England and America came to an end. The cause of the war was the 'Orders in Council' which prohibited American ships from trading with continental ports unless they had previously put in at a British port. In this war a number of naval engagements took place; the Americans made an attempt to conquer Canada but failed; the English, advancing from Canada, took Washington and destroyed the public buildings, but after that the Americans were able to drive them out of the United States.

Return of
Napoleon,
March 1815.

The restoration of the Bourbons was not popular in France. After eleven months Napoleon escaped from Elba and appeared in the south of France (March 1815). His old generals and soldiers flocked to him; Louis XVIII fled from Paris, and Napoleon was once more Emperor. He offered the allies peace, but the allies refused, and Napoleon crossed the frontier of Belgium where, under Wellington, the armies of the allies, chiefly English and Prussians, were assembling. The French Emperor was able to defeat the Prussians at Ligny. On 18th June he attacked the English at Waterloo. The English obstinately held their position for the whole day against the assaults of the French, until the Prus-

Battle of
Waterloo,
June 1815.

sians, coming up under Blucher, enabled the allied forces to assume the aggressive. The French army was scattered and Napoleon fled. On the 21st he once more abdicated, and shortly afterwards he gave himself up to the captain of an English man-of-war, the *Bellerophon*. It was ultimately decided that he should be sent to the island of St. Helena, where he lived till his death in 1821. The allies entered Paris on 17th July and Louis XVIII was again restored.

End of Napoleon.

The last years of the reign of George III were years of peace but not of rejoicing. Owing to bad harvests there was great distress amongst the poorer classes in 1816, and economical causes led to much misery amongst the artisans in 1816, 1817 and 1819. Very many persons were thrown out of work. Many of the ignorant people thought that their distress was due to the introduction of machinery in manufacture, and consequently riots broke out in various places and much machinery was destroyed. Others thought that the constitution was at fault and believed that all would be well if 'radical' measures of reform were adopted and power transferred from the higher classes to the masses of the people. An agitation therefore began to be formed with a view to obtaining a change of a democratic nature in the constitution. Secret committees were instituted, public meetings were held and violent pamphlets written. The Government and Parliament, still dreading the spread of 'Jacobin' ideas, took alarm. Severe measures were passed against seditious meetings; for a time the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; and in 1819, a number of measures, known as the Six Acts, were passed, the severest

Distress among the poorer classes.

Destruction of Machinery.

Demand for Democratic Reform.

Repressive measures; The Six Acts, 1819.

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and most questionable provisions of which were those which practically suspended the right of public meeting and seriously limited the privileges of the free press.

Death of
George III,
1820.

On January 29th, 1820, George III died.

PART XI. PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

CHAP. I. GEORGE IV.

Accession of George IV—The Cato Street Conspiracy—The Queen's Trial—Death of the Queen—Foreign policy of the Government—The 'Holy Alliance'—Insurrections in Spain and Italy—Independence of the Spanish Colonies in America—The rising in Greece—Treaty of London—Ministry and death of Canning—Battle of Navarino—England upholds the Portuguese Constitution—Internal reforms: Peel reforms the Penal Code—The Combination Laws—Economic legislation—Lord John Russell and Parliamentary Reform—Grampound disfranchised—Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts—Catholic Emancipation—Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association—The Catholic Relief Bill—Death of George IV.

The death of George III brought no change of ministers and no change of policy. The repressive measures passed against the Radicals in 1819 created great discontent amongst those who were anxious for reform, and there were not wanting some who were ready to proceed to very desperate extremes against the ministers. About a month after the reign had begun an atrocious plot, of which the ringleader was a certain Thistlewood, was discovered to murder all the ministers when assembled at a 'cabinet dinner.' This conspiracy was known as the Cato Street Plot, owing to the circumstance that the plotters met in the garret of a house

Accession of
George IV,
1820.

The Cato
Street con-
spiracy, 1820.

in that street. The miscreants were fortunately captured; Thistlewood and four others were hanged, and five were transported for life. The Cato Street conspiracy turned public opinion against the Radicals, although, as a body, they were in no wise responsible for this wild and wicked design.

The Queen's
Trial, 1820.

Very shortly afterwards the thoughts of the public were turned away from the sense of their own grievances by a wave of sympathetic excitement aroused by the wrongs of the Queen. George had married in 1795 Caroline of Brunswick. The marriage had been an unhappy one, nor could it well have been otherwise, for the character of George was thoroughly bad. Since 1814 the pair had been separated and Caroline had lived abroad. She was a very imprudent woman, and her behaviour gave rise to suspicions which were, perhaps, well founded. When her husband ascended the throne George refused to allow her the title of Queen and her name was omitted from the public prayers which are always offered up for the royal family. In the middle of 1820 Caroline, who was a very brave woman, came to England to claim her rights. She received a most enthusiastic reception, for the people, whether they believed her to be innocent or not, admired her courage and pitied her misfortunes. The ministers, however, failing to bring about any compromise, introduced a bill into Parliament for the dissolution of the king's marriage. This bill met with so much opposition, that, to the great joy of the people, it had to be abandoned. The Queen died, however, in 1821. She had one daughter, Charlotte, who, after having been married to Prince Leopold of Saxe Coburg, had died in 1817.

Death of the
Queen, 1821.

The foreign policy of the Government, conducted at first by Castlereagh, and after his suicide in a moment of madness in 1822 by Canning, followed on the whole the traditional English principle of supporting the rights of independent states as against interference from without, whether that interference was on behalf of popular liberties, as at the time of the French Revolution, or, as after the downfall of Napoleon, on behalf of kings against the aspirations of their subjects. The great powers on the continent, however, were actuated by different principles. They formed amongst themselves what was popularly called the Holy Alliance, the true object of which, veiled in high-sounding religious language, was simply to crush by force the struggles of European peoples for liberty and constitutional Government. To such projects no English Government, however Tory, could ever be a party, and Lord Liverpool's ministry was no exception, though Canning was more outspoken in the language he used to the Holy Alliance than Castlereagh had been. There were, between 1820 and 1826, insurrections against the absolute power claimed by kings both in Spain and Italy, while in the east of Europe the Greeks rose in arms against the oppression of the Turks, and across the Atlantic the Spanish colonies in America demanded independence. The rising in Italy was put down by the Austrians, that in Spain by the French, but in America the Spanish colonies successfully secured their independence, which was openly acknowledged by Canning.

Although the English Government could give no help to the Greeks, the sympathies of the English people were entirely with them. The celebrated

Foreign
policy of the
Government.
Suicide of
Castlereagh.

The 'Holy
Alliance.'

Insurrections
in Spain and
Italy.

Independence
of the
Spanish
colonies in
America.

The rising in
Greece; Lor
Byron.

poet Lord Byron fought and died as a volunteer in their cause (1824). But in 1826 Canning made an arrangement with the Emperor Nicholas of Russia by which the independence of Greece was to be secured, although the Greeks were to pay tribute to the Sultan. This arrangement formed the basis of an alliance between England, France and Russia, and of a treaty signed at London in 1827. The Greeks and Turks were to be compelled to accept the mediation of these powers. This was Canning's last public act. Three months before, on the resignation of Lord Liverpool, he had become Prime Minister; six months after he died (August 1827).

The Sultan refused to obey the dictation of the allies, and in October 1827 the fleets of England, France and Russia entered the harbour of Navarino in Morea, and in four hours completely destroyed the Turkish fleet. It was not, however, till after a war had taken place between Russia and Turkey that the independence of Greece was secured.

In Portugal constitutional Government had been established, but the constitution was threatened in 1826 by an absolutist party within, and by the armies of the Kings of France and Spain without. Portugal was an old and faithful ally of England, and the Portuguese besought the English Government to send troops to their assistance. Canning, enthusiastically supported by the Whig opposition, which hated the principles of the Holy Alliance, consented, and the danger was averted for the time.

During the reign of George IV there was a good deal done in the way of quiet and moderate reform in internal affairs. The criminal law stood in great need of modification. The punishment of death

Treaty of
London, 1827.

Ministry and
death of
Canning,
1827.

Battle of
Navarino,
1827.

England up-
holds the
Portuguese
constitution,
1826.

Internal
Reforms.

could legally be inflicted for about two hundred different offences, some of them of a very trivial nature. This often caused grave miscarriage of justice, not only when poor criminals were hanged for petty crimes, but when juries, fearing the infliction of a punishment altogether out of proportion to the offence, preferred to acquit persons whose guilt they never doubted. After the question of law reform had long been agitated in Parliament, it was taken up by the very able minister, Sir Robert Peel, who became Home Secretary in 1821. In 1823 he passed a measure by which the penalty of death was abolished in the case of nearly a hundred crimes. It was not, however, until well on in the present reign (1860) that capital punishment was done away with for all offences save two—murder and treason. Sir Robert Peel was the author of another reform which tended to the maintenance of order and the prevention of crimes. In 1829 he organised the present admirable Police force. The vulgar nicknames “Bobby” and “Peeler” by which policemen are known, still associate the Police with the name of the minister who founded it.

Peel reforms
the Penal
Code, 1823.

The Police
force, 1829.

In 1824-25 a measure was passed in favour of the working classes. The workers had been in the habit of combining together in Trade Unions for the purpose of compelling their employers to raise the rate of wages. The combinations were, however, illegal, but, in the years mentioned, laws were passed legalising all peaceful combinations, whether of masters or workers, to fix the rate of wages.

The Combination
Laws,
1824-25.

During this reign also various moderate economic measures, which had a beneficial effect on trade and the material prosperity of the people, were

Economic
legislation.

carried through. These facilitated the introduction of foreign goods to the country and diminished some of the duties on imported articles.

Lord John
Russell and
Parliamentary
Reform.

Such useful legislation, however, did not stir popular feeling so much as did two other reforms, both of which were agitated, and one carried, before the close of the reign. These were the questions of Parliamentary Reform and Catholic emancipation. Whilst George III lived any measure in favour of the Catholics had been out of the question, and after the outbreak of the French Revolution responsible statesmen had ceased to advocate any change in the composition of the House of Commons. Demagogues and Radicals had continued to call out for Parliamentary Reform, but there was not the slightest chance of Parliament accepting any measure of the kind until, in 1819, the question was taken up by Lord John Russell, a young nobleman belonging to the Whig party. Lord John at first endeavoured to induce Parliament to deprive small constituencies of their representatives and give them to populous towns hitherto unrepresented. He was so far successful that in 1821 the corrupt constituency of Grampond was disfranchised and the vacancies so caused filled up by additional representatives, not indeed of any great town, but of Yorkshire. Lord John Russell made various other attempts to secure Parliamentary Reform, but, so far as the reign of George IV is concerned, on the whole unsuccessfully. Canning, Peel and their followers were opposed to any change in the constituencies, as was also the Duke of Wellington, who became Prime Minister in 1823, while the Whigs who supported the measure were still in a minority

Grampond
disfranchised,
1821.

in the House of Commons and much more in the Upper House.

In 1828 Lord John Russell succeeded in effecting a reform of a different nature. He introduced a motion for the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts,* so far as these affected Protestant Dissenters. This motion was accepted and became law. It is true that for long Dissenters had been able to evade the statutes and held office and sat in Parliament in spite of them, for it had become the practice to pass annual 'acts of indemnity' pardoning those who had failed to observe the conditions laid down in the Acts. Nevertheless the mere existence of the Test and Corporation Acts was felt to be a grievance.

The repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 did not, however, throw Parliament open to Roman Catholics, as it was still incumbent on members before taking their seats to renounce the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation. The Whigs were, as before, in favour of Catholic Emancipation, as it was called, and Canning and his followers had also been favourable to the Catholic cause. Peel, Wellington and the king, however, were opposed on principle. The king's opposition indeed did not matter much. The noble conscientiousness of George III had been such that no minister would willingly have offended his prejudices, the less so as propositions so distasteful might have ended in driving the king into insanity. During the Regency it was not thought honourable to take advantage of the king's incapacity to push on measures of which he was known so intensely to disapprove. The base character of George IV was worthy of no such tender con-



Repeal of
Test and
Corporation A
1828.

Catholic
Emancipa-
tion.

* See pages 281, 288, 293.

Daniel O'Connell and the Catholic Association.

sideration. In spite of George, Wellington and Peel the Catholic cause was won in 1829. The measure was not granted freely. In Ireland a great agitation had been begun by the very able but unscrupulous demagogue, Daniel O'Connell. O'Connell formed a great organisation called the Catholic Association. Parliament passed an act dissolving the association, but it rapidly appeared again under a new form. Wellington saw that he must either grant the Catholic demands or risk a civil war. Of the two evils he thought the first the least objectionable. Peel became honestly convinced of the justice of emancipation. Peel's influence with the Commons and Wellington's with the Lords were sufficient to insure the acceptance of a measure in favour of Catholic emancipation. By the Catholic Relief Bill, Parliament and all offices, with one or two exceptions, were thrown open to Catholics.

The Catholic Relief Bill, 1829.

Death of George IV, 1830.

Next year (1830) George IV died and was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, now William IV.

CHAP. II. WILLIAM IV.

Unpopular foreign policy of Wellington—(1) Greek independence, (2) Portugal—The 'July' Revolution in France—Belgian independence—Agitation for Reform—Fall of the Wellington Administration—Earl Grey's Ministry—The First Reform Bill—Withdrawal of the Bill and dissolution of Parliament—The Second Reform Bill—Excitement in the country—The Third Reform Bill—The Bill passed—The first Reformed Parliament: Liberals and Conservatives—Abolition of Slavery—Legislation against Cruelty to Animals—The First Factory Act—The

Poor Law Amendment Act—Irish questions : O'Connell and 'Repeal'—Irish Tithes—The Coercion Act—The Irish Church Act—Break-up of Grey's Ministry—The First Ministry of Melbourne—The First Ministry of Sir Robert Peel—Resignation of Peel—Second Ministry of Melbourne—The Municipal Reform Act—Foreign Policy of Lord Palmerston—Death of William IV and Accession of Victoria—The Crown of Hanover—Industrial and other inventions—Canals, Steam, Roads, Railways and Steamships.

Events on the continent which took place shortly before the death of George IV largely contributed to render the Ministry of Wellington unpopular, to bring about its downfall, and to hasten Parliamentary Reform. The foreign policy of Canning, which had recommended itself to the free spirit of the nation and to the chiefs of the opposition, had not been very vigorously followed up after his death. Canning had on the whole supported peoples against the absolutist claims of kings; Wellington, it was felt, inclined the other way. Canning had upheld Greek independence against the Turks; Wellington appeared to wish to limit that independence in favour of the Turks. Canning had saved the Portuguese Constitution against a reaction in favour of despotism. After Canning's death the supporters of despotism in Portugal got the upper hand again, and it was believed that the foreign policy of Wellington's Government had materially assisted them in so doing. In France Charles X had recently gagged the Press and defied the French popular assembly. In other words he had set up a despotism. It was believed that he

Unpopular foreign policy of Wellington as regards

(1) Greek independence ; .

(2) Portugal.

The 'July'
Revolution
in France,
1830.

had only been able to do so by the passive support lent him by Wellington's Government. But on July 30th, 1830, a revolution called the 'July' or 'Three Days' revolution, occurred in Paris. Charles X was forced to abdicate, and his cousin Louis Philippe, was raised to the crown under the title of King of the French, a name which was supposed to savour less of absolutism than King of France. In the same year the people of Belgium followed the example of the French. The Congress of Vienna, which had attempted to settle the affairs of Europe after the downfall of Napoleon, had united Belgium to Holland, though the Belgians differed from the Dutch in race, religion and language. The Belgians now rose and successfully made good their claim to independence.

Belgian
independ-
ence, 1830.

Agitation for
Reform, 1830.

These things exercised a deep influence on English feeling, while at the same time distress amongst the working classes helped on the agitation for Parliamentary Reform, which many sanguine people regarded as a remedy for all sorts of evils. A 'Political Union' was founded at Birmingham, somewhat on the lines of O'Connell's Catholic Association, to press forward the cause of Reform. But Wellington was obdurate. He declared in the House of Lords that the constitution was so perfect that he could not imagine any measure which could conceivably better it. Yet Wellington and Peel could not rely even on the steadfast support of the Tories. The most thorough-going Tories had been violent opponents of Catholic emancipation and could not forgive their leaders for yielding on that question. Wellington tried to strengthen his ministry by inviting some of the leading Whigs and

Fall of the
Wellington

'Canningites' to enter it. These, however, refused, and the Government, being defeated in Parliament on a revenue question, resigned in November 1830.

administra-
tion, Nov.
1830.

A new ministry was now formed of Whigs and Canningites under Earl Grey, an old supporter of Parliamentary Reform. It included Lord Brougham, Lord Althorp, the Whig leader in the Lower House, Viscount Melbourne and Lord John Russell. In March 1831 Lord John Russell brought in his Reform Bill. It was based on the principles he had previously advocated. The small boroughs (called 'rotten boroughs'), some of which in process of time had become absolutely uninhabited, were to be swept away to the number of 60, which 60 returned no less than 119 members. Most of the seats set free were to be distributed amongst the great unrepresented towns and the counties, some additional seats being reserved for Ireland and Scotland. The franchise in the counties was to be given not only to those who previously held it, the possessors of freehold* worth 40s. a year, but to persons holding land of the value of £10 a year copyhold, and £50 a year by lease. By this arrangement not only would seats be more fairly distributed according to population, but about half a million Englishmen hitherto without a vote would be enfranchised. The changes proposed to be effected by the Bill were very far from being of a very democratic character. Roughly speaking, the persons

Earl Grey's
Ministry,
1830.

The First
Reform Bill
1831.
Its general
character.

* 'Freehold' is in English land law the tenure which approaches most nearly to absolute property in land. 'Copyhold' is an inferior form of tenure which traces its origin to the servile tenure of villanage; leasehold is a tenure for a term of years by lease.

enfranchised in the counties would belong to the same class as the majority of those who had been electors before the Bill. In the towns the new voters would belong mainly to the middle classes. The 'people,' that is to say the masses, were still to be kept without political influence. Nevertheless the Tories regarded the Bill as highly revolutionary and dangerous, and the Tories had sufficient weight in the House of Commons to secure the defeat of the measure. The ministers withdrew the Bill and Parliament was dissolved.

Withdrawal of the Bill and dissolution of Parliament, 1831.

The Second Reform Bill passed by the Commons but rejected by the Lords, 1831.

Excitement in the country.

In the country there was great enthusiasm for the Bill, and the general election resulted in the return of an overwhelming Whig majority. The Reform Bill, slightly altered, was again brought in by Lord John Russell and was passed. It was, however, rejected by the Lords (December 8th, 1831.)

The rejection of the Bill roused a storm of indignation in the country, and England was not far off a violent revolution. The popular mind was excited, and the popular mind is apt to exaggerate the importance of some things, while it quite overlooks the importance of others. Sir Robert Peel's policemen were probably far more beneficial to England than any measure of Parliamentary Reform could have been, and yet the Police measure was at first actually unpopular, whereas the Birmingham Political union was ready to refuse to pay all taxes in case of the Bill being again rejected, and in Bristol, Derby, Nottingham, and indeed all over the land, the people burst into the wildest rioting.

The Third Reform Bill, 1832.

The ministers determined to persevere. In March 1832 the Bill was introduced in the Commons for the third time and passed. But the Lords, though

not absolutely rejecting it, refused to accept the measure in its entirety. Thereupon Lord Grey, remembering the precedent of 1711 (see page 328), requested the king to create a sufficient number of peers to outnumber the opposition in the House of Lords. William IV had at first been a warm supporter of the Bill, but the violent agitation in the country had somewhat alienated his sympathies and he refused. Lord Grey then resigned. The king called upon Wellington to form a Ministry, and Wellington, although Peel refused to join him, consented, but he found the task impossible, and William was obliged to re-summon Lord Grey, and to consent, if necessary, to create the requisite number of peers. This step was fortunately unnecessary, for Wellington, seeing that further opposition was useless, and in obedience to instructions he had received from the king, withdrew from the house when the Bill came up, and was followed by a number of other peers. The Reform Bill in consequence passed without difficulty and became law on June 7th, 1832, amidst sufficient rejoicings.

The Reform
Bill passed,
1832.

The Reform Act of 1832, as we have seen, was not in itself a very revolutionary piece of legislation, but it was the 'thin end of the wedge,' the first of a series of measures which have transformed the English Constitution from a monarchy limited by aristocratic institutions and by laws which in no small degree recognised the just rights of all classes of subjects, to a democracy inefficiently checked by monarchical and aristocratic institutions, but still influenced by historic traditions.

'The thin end
of the wedge.'

The first Parliament of which the House of Commons was elected by the new constituencies met

The first Re-
formed Par-

liament, 1833-34.
Liberals
and Conserv-
atives.

at the beginning of 1833. The Whigs, or, as they now began to call themselves, the Liberals, had a large majority; the Tories, or Conservatives, mustering only 172 to 486 Liberals.

The years which followed the First Reform Act were marked by a number of useful reforms. This was owing rather to changes in public opinion generally, than to the altered character of the House of Commons, although undoubtedly it was easier to carry measures of a reform through a Parliament in which the majority had accepted the principle that many reforms were necessary and possible, than it had been when the majority, trembling before the phantom of revolution, had clung to every institution, whether good or bad, merely because it was old.

Abolition of
slavery, 1833.

The most striking of these reforms so passed was the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions in 1833. By this measure the work of William Wilberforce, now carried on by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and Zachary Macaulay, father of the eminent historian, was finally completed. As compensation to the slave-owners, to many of whom for their brutal cruelty a very different kind of compensation might very justly have been given, Parliament paid no less a sum than twenty million pounds.

Legislation
against
cruelty to
animals, 1833.

The legislation of 1833 was merciful, not only to man, but to dumb animals. In 1824 Mr. Richard Martin had founded a society in London for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Before that Martin had persuaded Parliament to pass a bill to prevent the cruel treatment of horses and cattle, but his endeavours to make such inhuman and degrading sports as bull-baiting and cock-fighting illegal had

only won for him ridicule and reproach. In 1833, however, his noble perseverance was rewarded and an act was passed abolishing these cruel sports in London. Two years afterwards the act was extended to the whole country.

The First *Factory Act* (1833), a measure introduced by the great philanthropist Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, constituted a very important step in legislation, not only because of the immediate good it effected, but because of the principle on which it was based and the subsequent measures for which it paved the way. It provided that the hours of labour for children under thirteen years of age should be limited to eight hours a day, and for children between thirteen and eighteen to twelve hours a day. Many Liberals regarded all such interference on the part of the state as pernicious. They thought that all questions affecting wages, hours of labour and similar matters, should be left to free competition, ignoring the fact that if competition is to be really free there must be some sort of equality between the competitors, which, where children are concerned, cannot be. Principles of humanity, however, have since led to the establishment of different economic theories, and since 1833 Parliament has interfered several times to regulate the hours of labour, and it is likely that there will be still further interference in the future.

Next year the condition of the labouring classes was materially affected by the *Poor Law Amendment Act*. Hitherto the Poor Laws had directly encouraged thriftlessness and improvidence, and had in fact thoroughly pauperised the labouring classes. The system then in force is known as the system of

The First
Factory
Act, 1833.

The Poor
Law Amend-
ment Act,
1834.

out-door relief. The wages of the poor were supplemented by doles of money paid out of the rates. The greater the poor man's family, the greater the amount of relief. This made it profitable for the poor man to marry even when he had no means of his own to support a wife and family. Again, as it paid employers of labour to hire labourers partly depending on out-door relief rather than independent workmen, the practical effect of the poor laws was to relieve employers of labour from paying a part of the wages of the employees and to throw the burden on the shoulders of the public. The New Poor Law put an end to this system. Out-door relief was very largely abandoned, work-houses were built, and relief was generally refused to those who would not consent to live in them.

The ministry of Grey which had carried these useful measures was in 1834 wrecked by Irish questions. Catholic emancipation had not made Ireland happier, more prosperous, or more peaceful. The great agitator O'Connell, now a member of Parliament, began, even before emancipation had been gained, to stir up, his countrymen in favour of 'Repeal,' that is to say, the abrogation of the Act of Union, or, as it is now called, 'Home Rule.' The Irish themselves felt the existence of the Protestant established church as a great grievance, and refused to pay the 'tithes' or taxes from which the income of the Protestant clergy was derived. The attempt to enforce the payment of tithes met with violent resistance, and the collectors of tithes and others were not seldom murdered. Mr. Stanley, Chief Secretary for Ireland, in order to restore order, brought in and passed a 'Coercion Bill' suspending

Irish questions : O'Connell and Repeal.

Irish Tithes.

The Coercion Act, 1833.

in such cases the ordinary legal procedure and substituting martial law. This measure was denounced by O'Connell, and many of the Liberals thought it unnecessary. On the other hand Lord Althorp, Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced and carried a measure intended—very fruitlessly—to conciliate the Irish. The numbers and salaries of the Irish clergy were reduced, but an attempt to 'appropriate' the surplus revenue of the church to public and secular purposes failed, as many of the supporters of the Government were strongly opposed to touching church property. This difference of opinion was the cause of the break-up of the ministry in 1834. Lord John Russell, one of the Cabinet, although his colleagues had abandoned the claim, took upon himself to declare that Parliament had a perfect right to appropriate the surplus revenue of the Irish church. 'Johnny,' in Stanley's words, 'had upset the coach.' Stanley and some other ministers resigned, and complications arising out of indiscreet negotiations between one of the remaining ministers and O'Connell, led to the resignation of Grey himself (1834.)

The Irish Church Act, 1833.

Break-up of Grey's ministry, 1834.

Grey's ministry was followed by that of Lord Melbourne, a moderate Liberal. It included several members of the previous Government. But the king was tired of the Reformers, and in a few months, without any real cause, dismissed Lord Melbourne and summoned the Duke of Wellington. This was the last occasion of the dismissal of a ministry at the mere will of the sovereign.

The First Ministry of Melbourne, 1834.

Wellington for a short time took the control of several offices into his own hands, but this was only until the return of Sir Robert Peel, who was absent

The First Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, 1834.

on the continent. Peel's abilities, prudence and moderation had been of late becoming more and more conspicuous, and Wellington recommended that he should be appointed Prime Minister. Peel, though a Conservative, was very far from being a bigoted Tory. He had accepted the principles of Parliamentary reform, and he had on more than one occasion lent his support to the Liberals in carrying out just reforms. On his return to England he issued, nominally to his constituents of Tamworth, but in reality to the nation, a manifesto, in which he announced that gradual and moderate reform was to be the aim of the new Conservative Government. He did not however venture to meet the existing Parliament. Parliament was dissolved, and the elections resulted in very considerably strengthening the Conservative party, although the Liberals still retained a majority.

Peel, as he had promised, introduced various useful measures, which ought to have commended themselves to Liberal principles; but the Liberals were indignant on account of the dismissal of Melbourne, and made a compact with O'Connell and his Irish followers to combine against the Government of Peel. After this arrangement Lord John Russell brought forward a motion in favour of the appropriation of the surplus revenues of the Irish Church, and, the Government being defeated, Peel resigned (April 1835).

Resignation
of Peel, 1835.

Second Minis-
try of Mel-
bourne,
1835-41.
The Muni-
cipal Reform
Act, 1835.

The king was now obliged to summon Lord Melbourne again, and Melbourne continued in office for over six years. The most important measure passed by the Government before the close of William's reign was the *Municipal Reform Act*. This law

extended to the Municipalities the principles of the Parliamentary Reform Act. It provided that the Municipalities should be elected by the rate-payers. Hitherto they had been in many cases self-chosen. Six years afterwards a somewhat similar measure was passed in favour of Ireland. Peel lent his support to the Government to secure the passing of the Municipal Reform Act, although his party in the Lords was anxious to introduce alterations in it.

The foreign policy of England during the reign of William IV was chiefly directed by Lord Palmerston, who was foreign minister in the Governments of Grey and Melbourne. Palmerston carried out the principles of Canning with even greater thoroughness. England threw in her lot with the constitutional countries of the west of Europe, particularly with France, now a constitutional monarchy under Louis Philippe, in opposition to the eastern European powers, Russia and Austria, which still maintained the principles of the Holy Alliance. France and England succeeded in securing the independence of Belgium, and the Belgium crown was offered to, and accepted by, Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, formerly husband of the English Princess Charlotte (1831). In Portugal Palmerston's policy secured the victory of Constitutional Government and the overthrow of the cruel tyrant Don Miguel. English volunteers fought on the side of the Constitution-
alists, and in 1834 a Quadruple Alliance between England, France, Spain and Portugal proved fatal to the absolutist party.

Foreign
policy of Lord
Palmerston.

Belgium.

Portugal.

In June 1837 William IV died, and was succeeded by her present Majesty Queen Victoria, then a girl of eighteen.

Death of
William IV
and accession
of Queen
Victoria.

The crown of
Hanover.

Since the accession of George I, the sovereigns of England had been kings of Hanover as well. On the death of William IV, as the crown of Hanover might be worn by males alone, the Duke of Cumberland, fourth son of George III, became king of Hanover, and the crowns of England and Hanover ceased to be united.

Industrial
and other
inventions.

During the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the nineteenth many changes, independent of political reform and Parliamentary legislation, but of vast importance, had been brought about in the life of the English people. The transport of goods, and with it the spread of commerce, and the cheapening of commodities, was greatly advanced by the genius of James Brindley, who in 1761 completed the great Bridgewater Canal which was carried through hills and over valleys by means of tunnels and aqueducts. Many canals of a similar character were rapidly made.

Brindley and
canals.

James Watt
and steam.

The inventions of Hargreaves, Arkwright, Cramp-ton and, above all, James Watt, revolutionised industry by substituting elaborate machinery, finally worked by steam-power, for the old processes. These inventions greatly changed the north of England. The north had formerly been the most backward and most sparsely populated part of England. But there was much coal in the north, and where coal was, there, after the application of steam to manufacture, great centres of industry and populous towns grew up.

MacAdam

Canals had done much for traffic. More was done in this direction at the beginning of the present century by the construction of good roads and iron bridges. The man whose name is best remembered.

in connection with the improvement in road-making and roads. is a Scotchman called MacAdam, who taught the best method of 'mettling' roads. Good roads made travelling easier and public coaches carrying mails and passengers were able to traverse the country at the unprecedented rate of ten miles an hour.

But such achievements were thrown entirely into the shade by the invention of steam-ships and locomotives. The first steam-boat was seen on the Clyde in 1812. The locomotive steam-engine was perfected by George Stephenson, the son of a collier in Northumberland. He was appointed engineer of the first English railway, the Liverpool and Manchester, which was opened in 1825.

Railways and
steam-ships.

George Stephenson.

PART XII. THE EARLY VICTORIAN PERIOD.

CHAP. I. VICTORIA. (I) MELBOURNE'S MINISTRY.

Queen Victoria—Canadian affairs—The Bedchamber Question—The Penny Post—Education—Condition of the Poorer Classes—Chartism—The Anti-Corn Law agitation—Palmerston's foreign policy—Downfall of the Melbourne administration—The Queen's marriage.

Queen Victoria.

Canadian
affairs,
1837—41.

Queen Victoria is the daughter of Edward Duke of Kent, third-son of George III. Of her character it is unnecessary to speak. The joy with which, throughout her vast empire, from all classes of her subjects, the completion of the sixtieth year of her reign—the longest reign in English history—was received, testifies to the love and admiration which she has inspired in the hearts of her people by her noble qualities both as woman and queen. During the first three years of the present reign Lord Melbourne's ministry had to face very serious difficulties in Canada. Canada was then divided into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada. In Lower Canada the majority of the inhabitants were French, differing from the British settlers in race, language, religion and national character. This circumstance, together with grievances which both colonies felt against the Home Government, resulted in a rebellion which broke out in 1837. The rebellion was put down without much difficulty, and on the advice of Lord Durham, who was sent as Commissioner to settle the affairs of Canada in 1838,

the two colonies were united in 1841, and the constitution changed in such a way as to give the Canadians themselves a greater control over the affairs of the colony.

In 1839 Lord Melbourne whose ministry was anything but strongly supported either in Parliament or in the country, felt himself obliged to resign. The Queen summoned Peel, and Peel would have at once come into power but for a somewhat curious circumstance. A change of ministry constitutionally involved a change in the Royal Household. The 'Ladies of the Bedchamber' since the Queen's accession had been the wives and sisters of the late ministers. Peel, fearing that the Ladies might influence the Queen against his policy, and believing that, unless they were dismissed, it would be thought that he had not the confidence of his sovereign, made their dismissal a condition of his accepting office. The Queen, however, was unwilling to part with her friends, and Melbourne was recalled. The Melbourne ministry did little or nothing in its new term of life to restore public confidence. Some useful reforms were indeed brought about, but these were rather the work of private members than of ministers. In 1839 what is called the 'Penny Post' was established. Hitherto correspondence through the post had been put almost altogether beyond the reach of the poorer classes, owing to the considerable expense it entailed. The introduction of cheap postage was fully justified by results. At first indeed there was a loss of revenue, but the immense increase in correspondence caused by the diminished charges soon set matters right again. The author of this useful reform was Mr. Rowland Hill, an officer in the Post Office.

The Bed-
chamber
question.

The Penny
Post, 1839.

Education,
1839.

In 1835 Parliament, for the first time, gave a small grant, £20,000 annually, to spread education. In 1839 this was increased by £10,000 and Government appointed a Committee to distribute the grant and to institute inspection in schools which received assistance. This was a very small beginning, but there were not wanting men at the time who opposed the grant. On the other hand, the great writer Carlyle in 1839 contended that it was the duty of Government to see that 'all human souls' in England were taught to read. Such ideals seemed impossible to public men of the time. They have been realised since.

Condition of
the poorer
classes.

Between 1837 and 1841 the condition of the working classes throughout the United Kingdom was such as to awake feelings of consternation in all thinking persons. Bad harvests had raised the price of food, while the bad housing and overcrowding of the poor, both in the great towns and in the rural districts, directly fostered disease and vice. The workers too had in many cases just grievances against their masters, who by various means deprived them of their full wages, whilst the hardships they had to endure in mines and factories were often almost too horrible to speak of. Commissions were appointed to look into these things, reports were drawn up, but Parliament did nothing,—perhaps could do nothing. The lower classes themselves believed that the best way to better their condition was to demand and obtain for themselves a share in the political influence which the middle classes had recently won. A 'People's Charter' consisting of six points was drawn up: (1) Annual Parliaments; (2) Manhood suffrage (*i.e.*, every adult

Chartism.

male to have a vote); (3) Vote by ballot (*i.e.*, secret voting); (4) Equal electoral districts; (5) Abolition of property qualification for entering Parliament; (6) Payment of members of the House of Commons. Through these 'points' the workers thought that the labouring classes would be properly represented in Parliament, by members chosen by themselves from their own class, and that legislation would speedily better their condition. A monster petition was presented to Parliament, but Parliament entirely refused so much as to consider it. Then the chartists took to rioting and violence, and the riots were forcibly suppressed and the ring-leaders punished. For some years the Chartist agitation ceased.

Another agitation had taken its place. Since 1815 the price of corn had been artificially kept up by duties on imported corn. This was no doubt in the interest of the land-owning classes who got higher rents in consequence, but it raised the price of bread and it injured trade. Thus the lower and middle classes were both interested in having the corn laws repealed. In 1838 an Anti-Corn Law League was started at Manchester. The leaders were Richard Cobden, John Bright, a great orator and afterwards a distinguished statesman, and Charles Villiers, who of late years enjoyed the distinction of being the oldest member of the House of Commons, and who only died in 1898. Parliament would not hear of the total repeal of the corn laws, but in 1841 the ministry introduced a measure diminishing the duties on corn. Peel, however, and the opposition questioned the competence of the present ministers to effect any valuable reform. The minis-

The Anti-Corn Law agitation.

Palmerston's
foreign policy.

ters had been defeated more than once in the House of Commons; their foreign policy alone, conducted by Lord Palmerston, had seemed to be successful. Palmerston had interfered in Spain where a civil war had taken place between the supporters of constitutionalism and those of autocracy, and the constitutionalists had been victorious. In the East he had, in spite of the opposition of France, forced his own policy upon the European powers. A war had broken out between the Pasha of Egypt and the Sultan. Palmerston determined to support the Sultan, whose armies had been defeated by the Egyptians, and with this object a quadruple alliance was concluded between England, Russia, Austria and Prussia, and the capture of Acre from the Egyptians by a British squadron forced the enemies of the Sultan to abandon Syria which they had occupied. France was obliged reluctantly to acquiesce.

Downfall of
the Melbourne
administra-
tion.

In other respects the Government of Melbourne had lost the confidence of Parliament, and when Peel proposed a vote of want of confidence in the Government, his proposal was carried. But Melbourne, unwilling to resign power though defeated in Parliament, still thought that his cause was not lost in the country. Parliament was dissolved, but the elections only resulted in the return of a strong Conservative majority. Melbourne resigned and Peel was called upon to form a Ministry. This time the Bedchamber question presented no difficulty. The Queen was no longer dependent upon the Ladies of the Bedchamber. In 1840 she had married Albert of Saxe-Coburg, a Prince whose admirable qualities rendered him the best of consorts to a constitutional Queen. On the advice of

The Queen's
marriage.

Prince Albert the Queen consented to the removal of the leading Whig ladies of the Royal Household.

CHAP. II. VICTORIA. (2) SECOND MINISTRY OF SIR ROBERT PEEL.

Peel's Second Ministry—Free Trade Measures of Peel—Factory and Mine legislation—Irish affairs: Young Ireland and Repeal—Trial of O'Connell—The Arms Act—The Devon Commission—The Maynooth Grant and the Queen's Colleges—Further measures of Free Trade—Disraeli's attack on Peel—The Irish Famine—Peel determines to repeal the Corn Laws—Peel resigns but Russell cannot form a ministry—Peel, again in power, carries the Corn Law Bill—Peel defeated on the Irish Coercion Bill—End of Peel's ministry—Death of Peel.

Peel's ministry was composed, not only of the chief Conservatives, but of a few Whigs such as Lord Stanley, who had left Lord Grey's ministry on the Irish Church question in 1831. The Duke of Wellington was a member of the Cabinet, but held no office. Amongst the foremost of Peel's supporters was Mr. Gladstone, afterwards Prime Minister. Mr. Gladstone was Vice-President of the Board of Trade, but had not as yet a place in the Cabinet.

The Melbourne ministry had mismanaged the national finances. The expenditure of the nation exceeded its revenue. Peel turned the deficit into a surplus by the imposition of an income-tax and, as a set-off to this surplus, and at the same time to promote trade and cheapen commodities, Peel reduced the duties on many imports which had been taxed with the intention of protecting home industries. The Corn Laws themselves were also modified.

Peel's Second
Ministry,
1842.

Free Trade
Measures of
Peel, 1842.

Thus Peel, the Conservative Premier, was gradually accepting the principles of Free Trade. The Anti-Corn Law party however was not satisfied as yet, and many of Peel's own followers who were violent Protectionists cordially disliked the measures of their chief.

Factory and
Mine legisla-
tion, 1843—47.

Meantime Lord Ashley was continuing his noble efforts for the amelioration of the wretched condition of the workers in mines and factories. Being asked where he was going to stop, he fearlessly replied, 'Nowhere, so long as a portion of this mighty evil remains to be removed.' Ashley was not able to effect all that he wished, but he succeeded in carrying very considerable measures of relief. In 1843 it was enacted that no woman, or child under ten, should be employed underground, and that no child between ten and thirteen should work underground for more than three days a week. Next year, Ashley having lost his seat owing to a declaration in favour of Free Trade, Graham, one of the ministers, passed an act against the employment of children under nine in cotton and silk mills; and in 1847 a bill was passed which made the employment of women and children in all factories for more than ten hours a day illegal.

Irish affairs:
Young Ire-
land and Re-
peal, 1843.

Peel, like his predecessors and successors, had difficulties of the gravest description to contend against in Ireland. The agitation for Repeal had languished for a while, but in 1843 a party of young enthusiasts took up the cry again, and O'Connell was induced to come forward once more to advocate the repeal of the Union. He summoned a great meeting at Clontarf, but the Government prohibited it, and O'Connell dared not openly defy

the order. Notwithstanding this Government determined to prosecute O'Connell for sedition, and he was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine. The sentence, however, was reversed on appeal to the House of Lords. After this the repeal movement again languished, and O'Connell himself soon after retired from public life. He died in 1847.

Trial of
O'Connell,
1844.

But the condition of Ireland was in no way bettered. There was constant war between landowners and their tenants, many of the former being absentees who handed over the management of their estates to middlemen. Evictions for failure to pay rent were common, as were also murders and other outrages. In the cause of order the Government, amid much opposition, passed an act in 1843 forbidding the possession of arms except under particular conditions. Next year, however, Peel instituted a Commission, of which the Earl of Devon was Chairman, to inquire into the grievances of the Irish peasantry. This Commission reported that the chief cause of agricultural distress in Ireland arose from the peculiar land laws which obtained in all parts of the country except the most prosperous—Ulster. These laws directly discouraged improvements on the land, since the tenant who made them was liable to be turned out of his land without any compensation for the improvements he had effected, or else his rent was raised by reason of the greater value which his own improvements had imparted to the land. On the recommendation of the Commission the Government drew up a bill securing to Irish tenants some compensation for improvements. The bill passed the Commons, but the Lords neglected the opportunity to grant a

The Arms
Act, 1843.

The Devon
Commission,
1844.

small but real measure of justice to Ireland. The bill was thrown out, and nothing was done to secure for the Irish occupier a real interest in his holding until Mr. Gladstone's Land Act in 1871.

The Maynooth
Grant and
the Queen's
Colleges,
1845.

But Peel carried through the Parliament two educational measures which were intended to conciliate Ireland. The first greatly increased the Government grant to the College of Maynooth, an institution for the education of Catholic priests; the second established three Queen's Colleges for unsectarian education. The first measure aroused a storm of indignation amongst the most bigoted of the Protestant Tories, whilst the second measure found favour neither with Roman Catholics nor with extreme Protestants. The Queen's Colleges were termed 'godless' Colleges.

Further
measures of
Free Trade,
1845.

In 1845, the financial policy of the Government having secured a large surplus, Peel took the opportunity of sweeping away or reducing a further number of import duties. The Protectionist party now found a vigorous champion in Mr. Disraeli, afterwards Earl of Beaconsfield and Conservative Prime Minister. Disraeli, unlike his great rival Mr. Gladstone, began public life as a sort of Radical, but there was a strong infusion of old Toryism in his Radicalism. He now accused Peel, the Conservative Premier, of treacherously using his influence to advance Liberal measures; 'Peel,' he said, 'had caught the Whigs bathing and walked away with their clothes,' and he roundly denounced the Conservative Government as an 'organised hypocrisy.'

Disraeli's
attack on
Peel.

Peel, however, could afford to neglect the denunciations of Disraeli and the opposition of some of his own party. The Anti-Corn law agitation of

The Irish

Cobden was rapidly converting the country to Free Trade, and Peel's own conversion was completed by a fearful famine in Ireland caused by a potato disease. Potatoes formed the sole food of the majority of the Irish population, and a failure of the potato crop resulted in the starvation of thousands. Cheap bread became more than ever a necessity. Lord John Russell, the leader of the Liberals, in 1845 declared his conviction that the Corn Laws should be altogether repealed, and Peel made up his mind to venture to do so. But some of his cabinet refused to follow him and Peel resigned, promising at the same time that he would lend his support to Lord John Russell, should a Liberal Government bring forward a measure to repeal the Corn Laws. However Russell failed to form a ministry as some of the leading Liberals objected to Lord Palmerston being again made Foreign minister, and as Palmerston would accept no other office. Peel therefore consented to return to power, although some of his former colleagues deserted him. In 1846 Peel introduced his measure for the Repeal of the Corn Laws and, with the support of the Liberals, the measure was passed by the Commons. The Duke of Wellington secured its success in the Upper House.

Sir Robert Peel, by sacrificing party considerations to the welfare of his country, and by preferring honest conviction to a reputation for consistency, had done the English people a most notable service. In return he was driven out of office. He had done what he could to mitigate the misery of the Irish peasantry; he had imported Indian corn into Ireland where it was sold very cheaply; he had established

Famine, 1845.

Peel determines to repeal the Corn Laws, 1845.

Peel resigns but Russell cannot form a ministry, 1845.

Peel, again in power, carries the Corn Law Bill, 1846.

Peel defeated on the Irish Coercion Bill, 1846.

End of Peel's
ministry.

public relief works; but these things were not enough. Violence and outrage still continued, and Peel was obliged to introduce another Coercion Act. The Liberals were always opposed to Coercion when resorted to by their political opponents, and the Protectionists, anxious to be revenged on Peel, joined them in resisting the Bill. The Government was defeated by a large majority and Peel resigned. Had Peel chosen to dissolve Parliament, it is possible that he would have secured a majority at the elections. Cobden, indeed, in a long private letter strongly urged him to do so. But Peel had no personal ambition and he was content henceforth to lend his support to a Government conducted by his political opponents, but pledged to further reforms in the direction of Free Trade. In 1850 an accident caused by a fall from his horse resulted in the death of the great minister, to whom England perhaps owes more than to any other statesman of this century.

Death of
Peel, 1850.

CHAP. III. VICTORIA. (3) THE MINISTRIES OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL AND OF LORD DERBY.

The Russell administration—The Irish Famine—Irish Emigration—The Year of Revolutions—Trial of Smith O'Brien—The Chartist Petition—Weakness of the Ministry—Palmerston forced to resign—Defeat and resignation of the Russell Ministry—The First Ministry of Lord Derby—Disraeli defeated on the Budget—Death of the Duke of Wellington—The Great Exhibition.

The Russell
administra-
tion, 1846.

On Peel's resignation Lord John Russell became Prime Minister and Palmerston returned to the Foreign office. Though the Liberals were in the minority, they had the support of the Peelites, as

the Conservative Free Traders were called. In Ireland the Potato crop had failed in 1846 more miserably than in the previous year, and the public relief works started by Peel had not been a success. An Irish Poor Law passed in 1838 had forbidden all out-door relief. It was now necessary to modify this as the work-houses were able to shelter only a small fraction of the destitute population (1847). Government also advanced a sum of ten millions to relieve the Irish. But in spite of these measures thousands of the poor people perished of starvation, and great numbers of the Irish emigrated from a country which could no longer support them. The population of Ireland rapidly fell from about eight to about five millions. Lord John Russell attempted to redress some of those grievances of the Irish peasantry which seemed to be at the bottom of Irish poverty and Irish agrarian crime. He was not, however, able to carry out one half of his designs, and the partial measures which became law rather aggravated than diminished discontent.

The Irish
famine, 1846.

Irish Emigra-
tion.

The year 1848 was a time of great restlessness in Ireland and England and of revolution on the continent. In France Louis Philippe was forced to abdicate and a Republic established, of which at the end of the year Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the great Napoleon, became President. In Italy an attack was made, led by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, upon the Austrian rule in Lombardy and Venice. There were revolutions in Prussia and Austria in favour of Constitutional Government. By the end of the year, however, a reaction had set in everywhere, and the European revolutions failed in all countries except France.

The year of
Revolutions,
1848.

Trial of
Smith
O'Brien, 1848.

In Ireland the 'Young Ireland' party under Smith O'Brien, a member of Parliament, attempted a rebellion but failed ignominiously. Smith O'Brien was arrested, tried for treason and sentenced to death. But the punishment was commuted. Smith O'Brien was transported to Norfolk Island, but received a free pardon in 1856. Before this the Liberal leaders, who, with the help of the Protectionists, had turned Peel out for proposing an Irish Coercion Bill, were forced to resort to a similar measure which, with Peel's assistance, became law.

The Chartist
Petition,
1848.

In England the Chartist movement came to light again. A great petition in favour of the 'six points' was prepared and said to have been signed by nearly six million people. A monster meeting was called on 10th April at Kenington Common from which the Chartists were to march with their petition to the House of Commons. The Duke of Wellington took precautions against a riot, and about 200,000 private individuals enrolled themselves as special constables. But after all the Chartist demonstration ended in a farce. The procession was easily stopped by the special constables, the petition was taken to Parliament in a cab and found to contain not six, but two, million signatures, many of which were obviously fictitious (1848).

Weakness of
the ministry.

The Russell Ministry had never been very strong; in fact, its existence almost depended on the forbearance of Peel. After the general election which was held in 1847 the state of parties was such that a combination of Peelites and Protectionists would have out-numbered the Liberals. The death of Peel in 1850 still further weakened the ministry, which was in the House of Commons exposed to the violent

attacks of Mr. Disraeli, now virtual leader of the opposition. Nor were the Liberals firmly united amongst themselves. In 1851 Russell resigned, but his opponent, Lord Stanley, being unable to form a ministry, he returned to power immediately. However, before the end of the year, Russell quarrelled with Palmerston and forced him to resign. The Prime Minister was annoyed with the Foreign Secretary because he had acted independently of, and contrary to, the wishes of his colleagues in some communication with France. Palmerston retaliated on his former chief at the beginning of 1852 by proposing and carrying an amendment to a Government measure for the organisation of the Militia. The defeated ministry then resigned and was succeeded by a Conservative Government under Stanley (now Earl of Derby) with Mr. Disraeli as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Palmerston forced to resign, 1851.

Defeat and resignation of the ministry, 1852.

The first Derby ministry did not last for a year. The General election which took place in 1852 showed clearly that the country was strongly in favour of Free Trade, and a vote of the House of Commons confirmed the decision of the country. When Mr. Disraeli, at the end of the year, introduced his budget, the speech he made was very brilliant, but the criticism of the opposition prevailed over the ingenuity of the minister and the Government was defeated and immediately resigned.

The First Ministry of Lord Derby, 1852.

Disraeli defeated on the Budget, 1852.

In 1852 the great Duke of Wellington died and was buried with great pomp in St. Paul's Cathedral. The year before his death he had appeared with the Queen and the Prince Consort at the opening of the Great Exhibition in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. The idea of this Great Exhibition of the arts

Death of the Duke of Wellington, 1852.
The Great Exhibition, 1851.

and products of all nations was taken up warmly by Prince Albert and proved a great success. It has been followed by many similar exhibitions in London and in continental capitals. Many sanguine people hoped that Free Trade and healthy commercial and industrial rivalry, such as the exhibition sought to advance, would lead to universal peace and the cessation of war. Such hopes were doomed to disappointment ere long.

CHAP. IV. VICTORIA. (4) CRIMEAN WAR. THE COLONIES.

The Aberdeen Ministry—The Eastern Question—Cause of the Crimean War—The Vienna note—War between Russia and Turkey—Desire in England for War with Russia—England and France make War on Russia—Battle of the Alma—Siege of Sebastopol—Balaclava—Inkerman—Aberdeen driven from power—Ministry of Palmerston—Fall of Sebastopol and end of the Crimean War—Indian affairs—The Sepoy Mutiny—The British Colonies: British North America, Australasia, South Africa.

The Aberdeen
ministry,
1852.

The 'Eastern
Question.'

On the fall of Lord Derby's Government a coalition ministry of Liberals and Peelites was formed under Lord Aberdeen. It included Lord John Russell, Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone, the last as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The chief event which occurred whilst this Ministry ruled the country was the deplorable Crimean War, which, in defence of the decaying empire of the Turks, was fought between Russia and the combined forces of France and England. This war cost vast sums of money and immense bloodshed, it entailed great

suffering and it called forth acts of great heroism, but it failed to restore life to Turkey, and it failed permanently to check the advance of Russia.

The real reason for England embarking on a war with Russia was the jealousy with which she regarded the desire of Russia to extend her dominions towards the south, but the dispute which raised the whole Eastern question was a petty quarrel between France and Russia about some holy places in Palestine which were claimed by the clergy of the respective churches of Russia and France, the Orthodox Greek Church and the Roman Catholic. In this matter England had really no interest. Russia, however, sympathised with the oppressed subjects of the Sultan who professed the Greek faith and she demanded that Russia should be acknowledged protector of the Greek Christians who were subjects of Turkey. This being refused, a Russian army entered the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and in answer to this a British fleet was ordered to the Dardanelles, and its further movement placed at the disposition of Sir Stratford Canning, the British ambassador at Constantinople, who was extremely hostile to Russia.

Causes of the Crimean War.

In order to prevent a war, the four powers of Austria, Prussia, France and Great Britain drew up a proposal, called the Vienna note, providing for the better treatment of the Greek Christian subjects of the Sultan. The Tsar Nicholas was satisfied with this, but the Sultan, acting on the advice of Sir Stratford Canning, refused the note unless it were considerably modified. On this the Tsar declared war against Turkey. The Turks crossed the Danube and won a victory over some Russian troops. There-

The Vienna note.

War breaks out between Russia and Turkey, 1853.

upon the Russian fleet put out from Sebastopol and destroyed the Turkish fleet at Sinope (November 1853).

Desire for war
in England.

The destruction of the Turkish fleet raised a great storm of indignation in England, though Russia was perfectly justified in what she had done. Parliament, people, and the public press called loudly for war. The Prime Minister, Lord Aberdeen, was personally anxious to maintain peace, and there were not wanting thinking men in England who believed that England had no interest in bolstering up the falling Turkish Empire, and who looked with disfavour on the close alliance which was now formed between England and the Emperor Napoleon III. Napoleon, who in 1852 had made himself Emperor, was not a creditable ally for any respectable power, and he was anxious for a great war in order to consolidate the imperial power which he had obtained in anything but an honourable manner.

England and
France make
War on
Russia, 1854.

The Ministry, however, were under the influence of Palmerston, who still thought that Russia ought to be resisted, and that the 'sick man,' as Turkey was called, might be restored to sound health. Austria and Prussia took no part in the war, though they made preparations to defend their own possessions from attack, but England and France sent armies to Varna in Bulgaria, and thence to the Crimea, with the determination of capturing Sebastopol. The English forces were commanded by Lord Raglan, who had fought under Wellington in the Peninsular War (1854).

Battle of the
Alma, Sept.
20, 1854.

The united armies, together with a body of Turkish soldiers, landed at Eupatoria. Six days afterwards they defeated the Russians at the river Alma.

After this the siege of Sebastopol was begun from the south side. An attempt of the Russians to cut off communications between the combined armies and the port of Balaclava resulted in the battle of Balaclava, in which the Russians were repulsed. This fight is rendered memorable by the useless, but heroic, charge of six hundred light cavalry into the centre of the Russian army. Only a third of the six hundred returned. On November 5th was fought the battle of Inkerman in which the Russians were again driven back.

Siege of Sebastopol.
Battle of Balaclava,
Oct. 25, 1854.

Inkerman,
Nov. 5, 1854.

During the winter of 1854-55 the French and British armies remained in the Crimea. Their sufferings were very severe, owing to the want of supplies and hospitals. Storms in the Black Sea were in part responsible for the loss of supplies, but the blunders of a Government that had no experience of a great war were also to blame. In England there was an outcry against the mismanagement of the Government, and Lord Aberdeen was forced to resign. Lord Palmerston now became Prime Minister.

Aberdeen driven from power :
Ministry of Palmerston,
1855.

Until September 1855 the English and French remained before Sebastopol; in that month it fell. The Tsar Nicholas had died in the spring and his death made the way to peace easier. Peace was concluded in March 1856. Russia agreed not to re-fortify Sebastopol and not to keep a fleet on the Black Sea.

Fall of Sebastopol, Sept. 1855 : end of the Crimean War, 1856.

It is not the purpose of this sketch of English history to deal with Indian affairs, as the readers for whom this book is intended study Indian history

Indian affairs, 1840—1856.

separately. It will be enough to mention some of the chief events connected with British India which took place during the earlier half of the nineteenth century. Before the Crimean war jealousy of Russia had led the Governor-General of India to interfere with Afghanistan. The result was the murder of Alexander Burnes and some British officers (1841), the murder of Sir William Macnaghten (1841), and the disastrous retreat from Cabul in 1842. The same year Sindh was annexed. The Sikh wars (1845—49) resulted in the annexation of the Punjab, and the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie (1848—56) was also marked by several other annexations. Scarcely had the Crimean War come to an end when England was startled and horrified by the news of the Sepoy Mutiny which had broken out at Meerut, Delhi, Lucknow and Cawnpore (1857). The Mutiny being suppressed, Palmerston's Government resolved to put an end to the authority of the East India Company. In 1858 a bill was passed which brought the Governor-General directly under the crown, and a British Secretary of State for India was appointed with an advising council composed of persons who had knowledge of Indian affairs.

The Sepoy
Mutiny, 1857.

End of the
East India
Company,
1858.

The British
colonies.

• The nineteenth century has been a period of great colonial expansion, as well as of the growth of the principle of self-government in the British colonies. Owing to the abolition of slavery and other causes, the importance of the West Indian colonies has decreased, but this has been more than counterbalanced by the extraordinary growth of the English colonies in North America, Australasia and South Africa.

In North America British possessions comprise at present the dominions of Canada and Newfoundland, that is to say, almost the whole of the American continent north of the United States. The arrangement of 1841 with regard to Canada was not found satisfactory and was altered by later legislation (1867). The population of Canada has increased very rapidly.

British North America.

The first colony in Australia was New South Wales. It was for some time merely a penal settlement. However the discovery that the colony was peculiarly adapted for the production of wool led to an increase in free emigration. In 1840 New South Wales ceased to be a penal settlement and in 1842 it received a settled constitution. In 1850 the colony of Victoria, rendered important by the discovery of gold, was separated from New South Wales, and received a constitution in 1854. Queensland became a separate colony in 1859. The other Australian colonies are South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania. New Zealand became a self-governing colony in 1852, and since 1876 has been governed by a single Parliament.

Australasia.

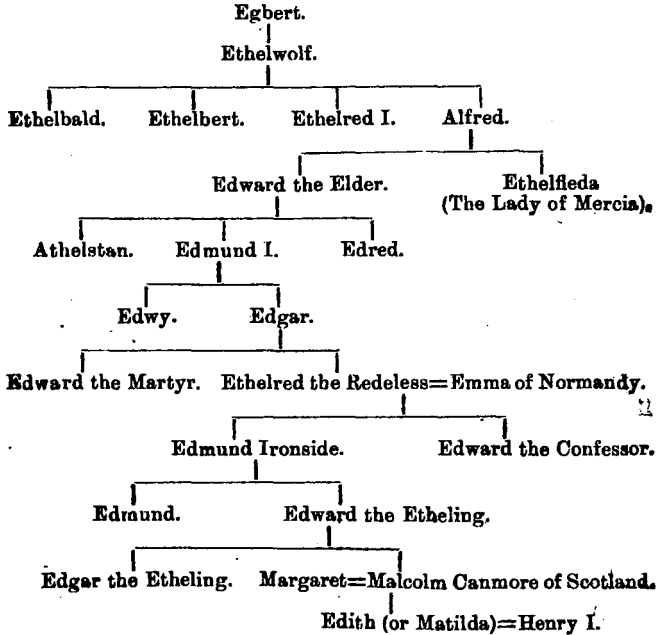
Cape Colony, as we have seen (page 404), came finally under British authority in 1806. It received a Parliamentary constitution in 1853. Natal became a British colony in 1843, but did not receive a regular Parliamentary constitution till 1893.

South Africa.

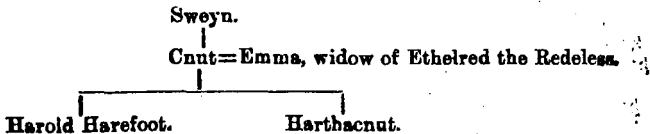
APPENDIX.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES,

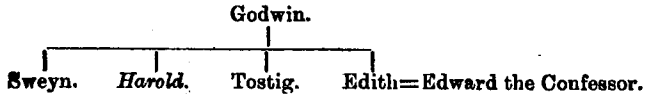
(1) Early English Kings.



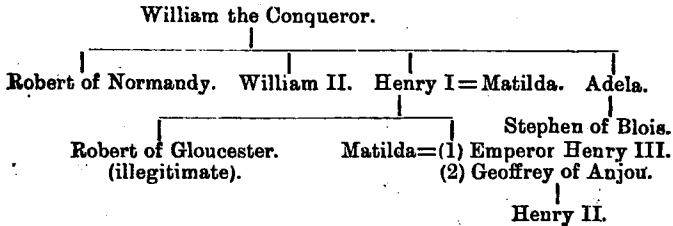
(2) Danish Kings of England.



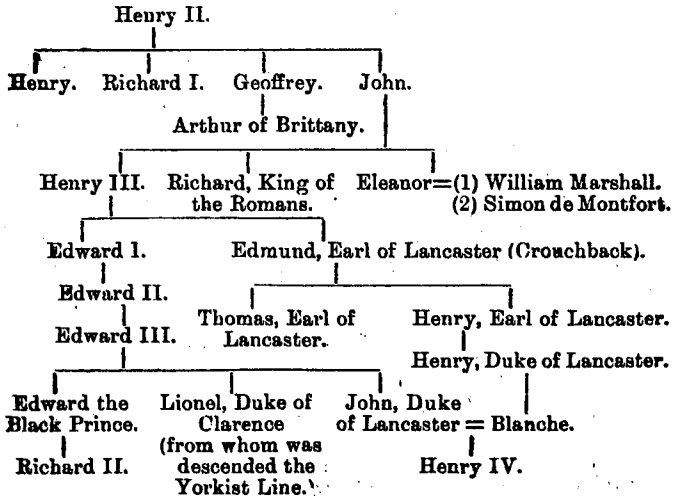
(3) Family of Godwin.



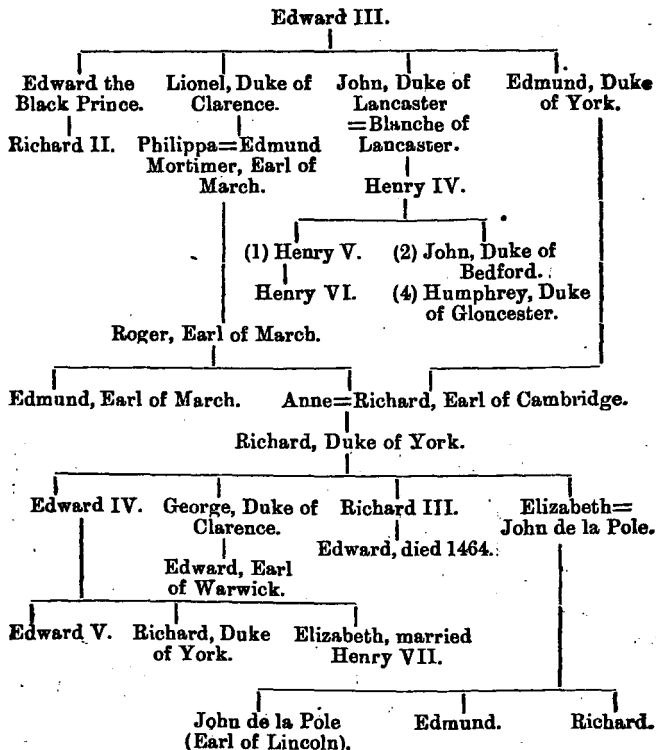
(4) Norman Kings.



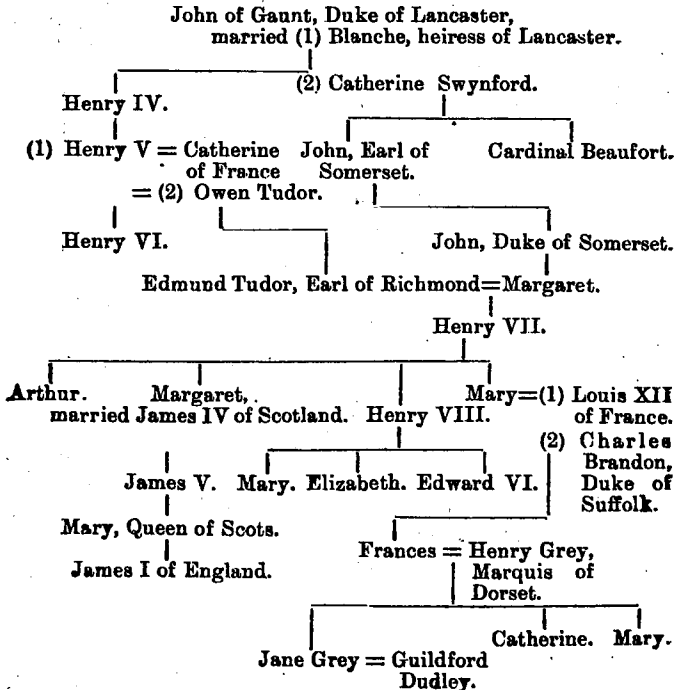
(5) English Kings from Henry II to Henry IV.



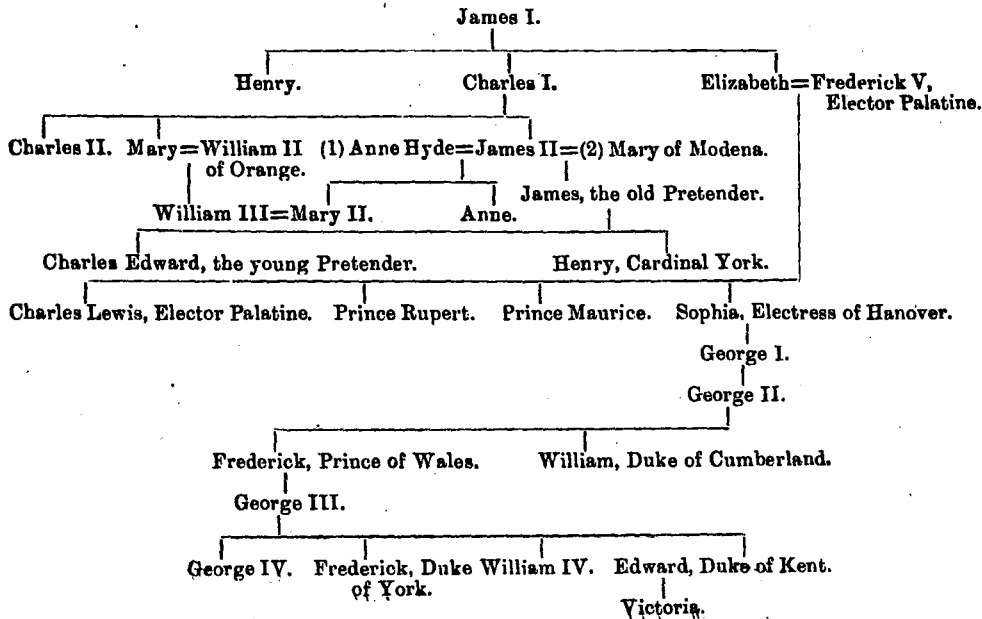
(6) Lancaster and York.



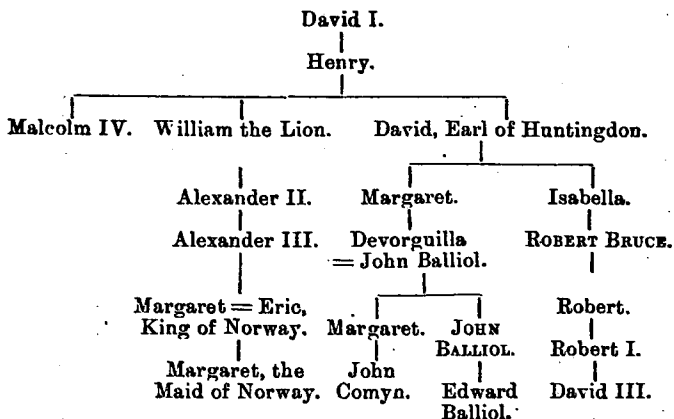
(7) The Houses of Beaufort and Tudor.



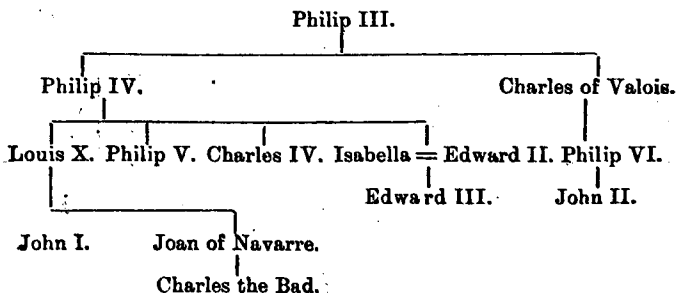
(8) Kings of England from James I to Victoria.



(9) Claimants to the Scottish throne.



(10) Claim of Edward III to the French throne.



(11) The Staffords.

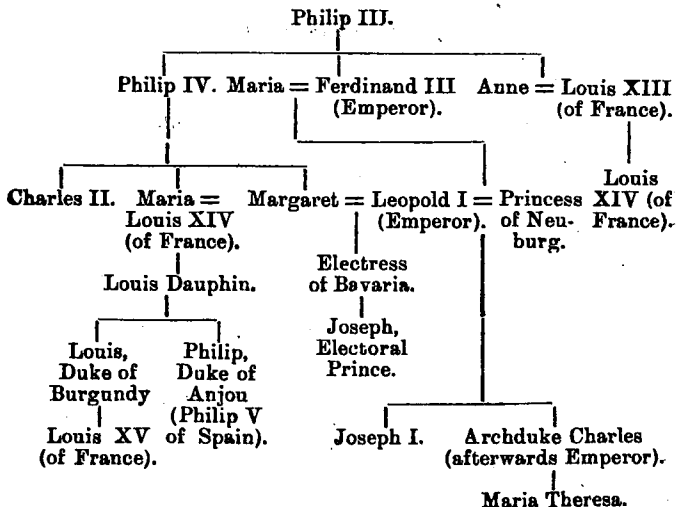
Edward III.
 |
 Thomas, Duke of Gloucester (youngest son).
 |
 Anne=Edmund, Earl of Stafford.
 |
 Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham.
 |
 Humphrey, Earl of Stafford.
 |
 Henry, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1483.
 |
 Edward, Duke of Buckingham, beheaded 1521.

(12) The Woodvilles.

Richard Woodville=Jacquetta of Laxembourg (widow of John,
 Duke of Bedford).
 |
 ┌───────────┴───────────┐
 Antony, Lord Rivers, John Elizabeth=(1) Sir John Grey.
 executed 1483. (executed 1469). (2) Edward IV.
 |
 ┌───────────┴───────────┐
 Edward V. Richard, Duke of York. Elizabeth=Henry VII.

(13) The Poles.

George, Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV.
 |
 ┌───────────┴───────────┐
 Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, beheaded 1541. = Sir Richard Pole. Edward, Earl of Warwick, beheaded 1499.
 |
 ┌───────────┴───────────┐
 Henry Pole, beheaded 1539. Sir Geoffrey Pole. Reginald Pole, Cardinal and Archbishop of Canterbury.

(14) Claimants to the Spanish Succession.

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