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STATUE OF LORD CHATHAM

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A SHORT
HISTORY OF ENGLAND
AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

BY
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WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

In this volume an attempt has been made to trace the growth of the English nation from its faint and unpromising beginnings in the early middle ages to the opening years of the twentieth century. During this period the little kingdom of the West Saxons has developed into an empire, the most extensive and the most diverse in all history. A subject of such dimensions may be viewed from many different angles; in this case the writer has tried to discuss it from the view point of his American readers. Certain important periods of English history are in a very real sense our own history: the beginnings of the American Republic were also the beginnings of the British Empire; and our country is still a part of the great empire of English culture. That the United States has inherited much of its constitutional system from Great Britain is a fact that needs no emphasis; but even greater is our English inheritance in the fields of literature, religion, ideals, and general culture.

In the building of American civilization we have drawn materials from nearly all the cultivated peoples of the world; but the greatest single element in our culture is still the English. With the English language we have inherited the treasures of English thought. The non-conformist churches, for example, had their origin in the storm and stress of the Puritan Revolution, but in no other country have they taken root and developed strength as in the United States. It is therefore believed that a study of English history from a view point that is not too narrowly British cannot fail to give a deeper insight into the development of American life and thought and civilization. At the same time an effort has been made to give prominence to those facts of English history that lie at the root of our own social and political development. Throughout the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth centuries, the larger movements in the British Isles were also felt in the colonies and frequently gave a definite turn to the course of American history.

A narrative that takes into account the expansion of England into Greater Britain necessarily carries the author far afield. To compress the story into a small manual like the present means that the topics to be discussed must be carefully chosen and a mass of interesting and even important materials must be excluded. The type of text-book that attempts to tell the story of national development with a fulness of detail is the despair of the teacher of history: the facts come in such throngs that very few of them are able to make any lasting impression. The author has striven to avoid this by including such facts only as have seriously affected the course of English history or have definitely contributed to the building of the British Empire. It is, of course, true that the demands of the narrative have frequently interfered with the consistent application of this rule, but in the main it has been followed.

The value of the study of history in its general and elementary phases probably is to be found, not so much in the acquisition of a wide knowledge of facts as in the insight acquired into the larger events and movements. It is indeed true, that such insight must grow out of the mastery of certain important data, which must consequently be clearly and accurately stated. Too often, however, the permanent result is apparently lost sight of in the effort to give a satisfactory narrative. In this work, matter that has illustrative value only has generally been omitted, that the space thus saved may be used for a fuller discussion of the more important topics. It is believed, however, that, if some use is made of the materials referred to in the footnotes or in the lists of references at the close of the various chapters, the teacher will find an abundance of illustrative data. It is also hoped that the use of these references will assist the teacher to get away from a certain type of recitation which is satisfied with a mere recital of the facts mentioned in the text-book.

In the preparation of this volume the author has received assistance from many sources. Dean Charles H. Haskins of

Harvard University, the editor of this series, has followed the work through all its various stages and has contributed much in the way of criticisms, suggestions, and corrections. Prof. E. B. Greene of the University of Illinois has read most of the chapters that deal with the more modern part of English history, and Prof. Frederick Duncalf of the University of Texas has rendered a similar service for the earlier chapters. Dr. A. C. Cole of the University of Illinois has read the proof sheets of the entire work. My wife, Lillian May Larson, has assisted in a great variety of ways since the work was begun. Mr. W. H. Dudley of the University of Wisconsin has contributed a number of photographs, the work of his own camera. To all these persons the author wishes to confess his indebtedness and express his thanks.

L. M. L.

University of Illinois,
June, 1915.

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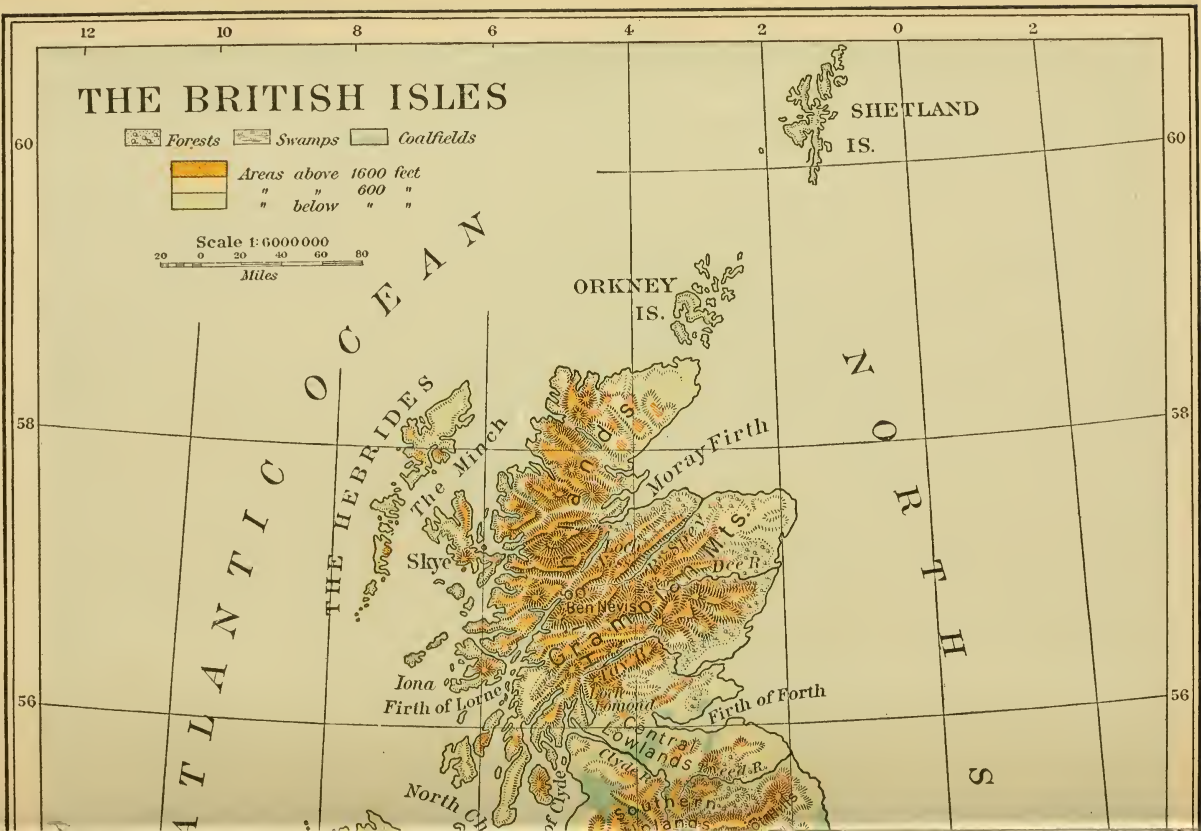
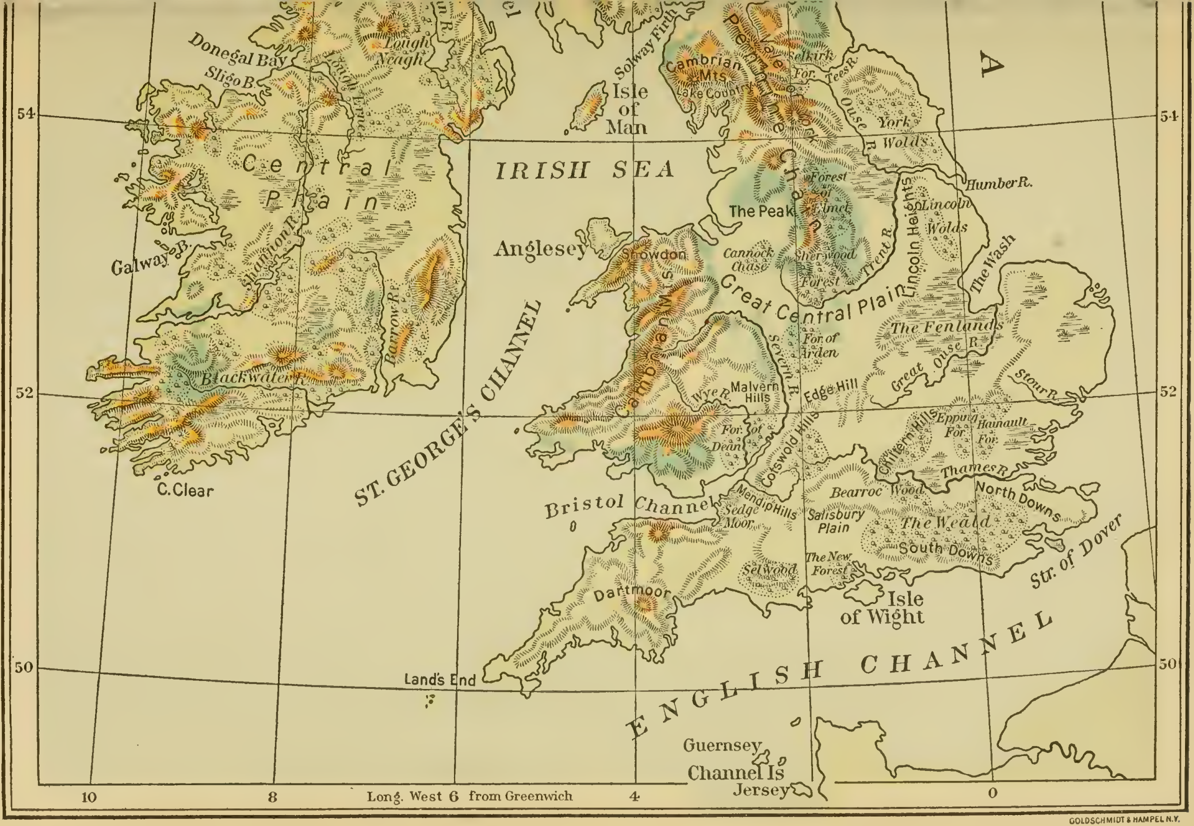


THE BRITISH ISLES

Forests
Swamps
Coalfields
Areas above 1600 feet
" " 600 "
" below " "
Scale 1:6000000
20 0 20 40 60 80
Miles
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
2
60
58
56
SHETLAND IS.
ORKNEY IS.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORTH S
THE HEBRIDES
The Minch
Skye
Iona
Firth of Lorne
North Ch
Moray Firth
Highlands
Spey R.
Grampian Mts.
Dee R.
Ben Nevis
Tay R.
Loch Lomond
Firth of Forth
Central Lowlands
Clyde R.
Tweed R.
of Clyde
Southern Uplands


A
Donegal Bay
Sligo B.
Lough Neagh
Lough Erne
Central Plain
Shannon R.
Galway B.
Barrow R.
Blackwater R.
C. Clear
Solway Firth
Isle of Man
IRISH SEA
Anglesey
Snowdon
ST. GEORGE'S CHANNEL
Cambrian Mts.
Lake Country
Selkirk For.
Vale of York
Pennine Chain
Tees R.
Ouse R.
York Wolds
Humber R.
Forest of Lime
The Peak
Cannock Chase
Sherwood Forest
Trent R.
Lincoln Heights
Lincoln Wolds
The Wash
Great Central Plain
The Fenlands
Great Ouse R.
For. of Arden
Severn R.
Malvern Hills
Wye R.
Edge Hill
Stour R.
For. of Dean
Cotswold Hills
Chiltern Hills
Epping For.
Hainault For.
Thames R.
Bristol Channel
Mendip Hills
Sedge Moor
Salisbury Plain
Bearroc Wood
North Downs
The Weald
South Downs
Str. of Dover
Selwood
The New Forest
Dartmoor
Isle of Wight
Land's End
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Guernsey
Channel Is.
Jersey
54
52
50
10
8
Long. West 6 from Greenwich
4
0

GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

A SHORT HISTORY OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLAND

1. The British Isles. Just off the northwestern coast of Europe lies the British archipelago, the most important single group of islands in the world. But though the British Isles count perhaps more than one thousand separate islands, only two of these are of any considerable size: Great Britain and Ireland dominate the entire group. The smaller islands, many of which are mere inhabited rocks, are grouped about these two with the greater number lying in a broken, irregular line along the western coast of the larger island of Great Britain. Some of these form minor groups, such as the Scilly, the Hebrides, and the Orkney Islands. At the same time, several of the more important ones, like the Isle of Wight, Man, and Anglesea, lie detached and alone, though not far from the larger islands. It seems that nature has intended this archipelago to be a political as well as a geographical unit; and the history of England is in a large measure the story of how the unification of the British Isles has been achieved. English history, therefore, concerns itself finally with the whole of Britain; still, its chief field is the southern kingdom on the island of Great Britain.

Great Britain and Ireland.

The lesser islands.

2. The Island of Great Britain.[1] This island is a large, irregular body of land, nearly six hundred miles in length from north to south. It is widest at the south (the distance from the Forelands of Kent to Land's End in Cornwall is more than three hundred miles) and gradually grows narrower as it extends northward, until in the region

Extent of Great Britain.

---

[1] Cheyney, No. 6.

between the Forth and the Clyde it becomes almost an isthmus with a distance across of less than forty miles. North of this narrow neck are the rough Highlands of Scotland; to the south are the Lowlands, which are virtually an extension of the English plain. The backbone of the island is formed by a low but rough range of highland some twenty miles across, the Pennine range, which runs southward from the Scottish Highlands into the center of England where it terminates in the Peak near Derby. A more or less broken range of hills continues the watershed southward and southwestward, until it terminates in the highlands of the Cornish peninsula. The Pennine range is important, not only as a crest which gives direction to some of the larger streams, but also as a barrier which served in earlier times to check the spread of settlement and the progress of invasion. In the many wars between England and Scotland this central hill country determined the routes taken by the invading armies; these will always be found to run near the eastern or the western coast.

The Pennine range.

3. The Rivers of Great Britain. As the distance from the watershed to either shore is not great, the island has no rivers of great length; but streams are plentiful and this fact secures the drainage that is necessary to successful grazing and agriculture. Many of these short streams, especially those of northern England, run a swift course; this means water power with its great possibilities in an age of manufacturing by machinery. Most of the rivers of Great Britain discharge their waters through wide channels: the Thames, the Humber, the Severn, and the Clyde furnish the most striking examples of this type of river mouth. There is, consequently, no lack of deep and spacious harbors or other natural facilities for trade and shipping. Near these river mouths have grown up such important commercial towns as Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Glasgow, and the mighty city of London. In the earlier ages, however, the streams of Great Britain had but slight commercial value: in

The larger streams.

Commercial centers.

those days their chief importance was as highways leading into the interior.

4. The Natural Resources of England. Deep below the beds of the northern rivers lie other sources of wealth and power in the form of vast mineral deposits, particularly coal and iron. The natural resources of this region have made the borders of the Pennine range one of the greatest industrial centers of the earth. Lancashire and the western part of Yorkshire, which for centuries were only sparsely populated, now count their inhabitants by the million. This, however, is a comparatively recent development, less than two centuries old. It was, indeed, the mineral wealth of the island that attracted the merchants of the Mediterranean lands more than two thousand years ago; but it was the tin of Cornwall and Devon,[1] not the coal and iron of Wales and northern England.

Coal and iron.

Tin.

Before the vast growth in manufacturing in the eighteenth century, England was chiefly an agricultural country. The population was massed on the great plain of the south and southeast, where soil and climate combine to produce luxuriant growth of grass and grain. Occasional ranges of low hills cut this plain; but these, though unsuited to cultivation, have been found to furnish excellent pasturage for sheep.[2] The South Downs, a range of hills that runs for more than one hundred miles parallel to the Channel in Sussex and Hampshire, have given their name to a breed of sheep that is still famous. Another splendid breed was developed on the Cotswold Hills near the Bristol Channel. For several centuries the wool of England formed its most important article of export. The great cloth manufacturing industries of present day England have developed from this early trade in wool; for the time came when it was found more profitable to sell the fleece in the form of woven cloth.

Agriculture.

The trade in wool.

5. The Stone Age: Early Commerce.[3] Commercial intercourse between England and the Continent seems to have existed in some form at a very early period, long before the Phœnicians learned of the Cornish tin mines. The earliest inhabitants of whom traces have been found on the island were in that stage of civilization that we call the Stone Age: they were Stone Workers, so called because they made their tools and weapons chiefly of stone, though wood and bone were also largely used. In the later period of the Stone Age the New Stone Workers developed considerable skill in grinding the rough flint on a granite slab with a little moist gravel thrown on the granite surface to make the grinding easier. It was a slow process, but six or eight hours of grinding every day for a week would produce a fairly good ax of the desired form and finish.

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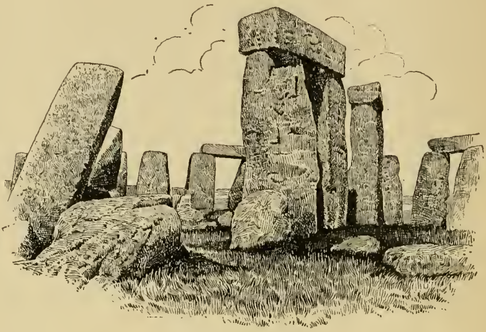
[1] Cheyney, No. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 5.

[3] Kipling, *The River's Tale.*

Flint implements.



STONEHENGE

A prehistoric ruin on Salisbury plain, probably of Celtic origin and devoted to the worship of the sun; its greatest height is about twenty-two feet. From a photograph by W. H. Dudley.

As good flint did not exist everywhere in Europe, it seems possible that there was a somewhat brisk trade in this commodity, at least in the later Stone Age. It is also likely that something like a flint industry may have been developed where the materials were plentiful, as for instance in Denmark. Some of these manufactured flint implements may have found their way to Britain. But the British Stone Men also had a native source of supply in the southeastern part of the island, which was doubtless distributed by commercial methods to the other parts of Britain.

The trade in flint.

6. The Bronze Age: the Celts. The Stone Men were succeeded in the island by the Bronze Workers, a race that learned the art of making implements from a composition of copper and tin. There seem to have been several migrations of bronze-using people from the Continent to Britain. The race that the European travelers encountered on the British Isles at the dawn of British history, more than two thousand years ago, were called Celts;[1] they had by that time learned to work in iron, but it is likely that the Celtic tribes that first came to Britain were still in the bronze age. The Highlanders of Scotland, the Irish, and the inhabitants of Wales and Cornwall are chiefly of Celtic blood, the descendants of these prehistoric workers in bronze and iron. The Celts who occupied the southern and larger part of Great Britain were known as Brythons, hence the terms Briton and Britain.

The use of bronze.

The Celts.

7. The Phœnicians and Greeks in Britain. It was the commercial possibilities of Great Britain that first attracted the attention of the Mediterranean merchants to this northern country. The bronze-smiths needed the tin that the streams of Cornwall laid bare; and Phœnician traders from Spain and Carthage appear to have sought this commodity in Britain at a very early date. Toward the close of the fourth century B.C., they seem to have found competitors in the Greeks from the Hellenic city of Massilia (Marseilles) in southern Gaul. In the days of Alexander the Great the merchants of that city sent an expedition to the "Pretanic Isles" headed by a Greek scientist, Pytheas by name. It is likely that the visit of Pytheas did much to stimulate the overland trade between the Channel and the Mediterranean by way of the great valleys of the Seine and the Rhone. On his return Pytheas wrote an elaborate report of his journey, parts of which have come down to us and serve as the earliest literary source for the history of Britain.

Phœnician traders in Britain.

Pytheas. Ca. 300 B.C.

8. The Romans in Britain: Julius Cæsar. In the days of this Greek explorer, Carthage was the greatest power in the western Mediterranean, Rome being still confined to central

---

[1] Cheyney, Nos. 11, 13; Gardiner, 9–10.

Italy. The three centuries that followed were notable for the swift and wonderful expansion of Roman power, a movement that culminated in the extraordinary career of Julius Cæsar. While engaged in conquering Gaul, Cæsar had come to realize the need of an expedition across the Channel to punish the Britons, who seem to have brought military assistance to their Celtic friends in northern Gaul. Cæsar made two such expeditions and apparently accomplished his purpose.[1] These were mere incidents to his Gallic wars; but they have their importance, as the great general's account of the island inspired the Romans with an abiding interest in these distant lands, which finally led to annexation and conquest.

The expeditions of Julius Cæsar. 55 and 54 B.C.

The revolutionary movements in Italy that accompanied the change from republic to empire and the cautious policies of the first emperors, whose desires were to strengthen rather than to extend the frontiers, prevented further expansion of Roman territory, and for nearly a century the British tribes were allowed to retain their independence. But in 43 A.D., an invasion was begun for the purpose of subduing the island. Northward and westward the Roman eagles were carried, northward to the Humber and westward to the sacred isle of Mona (Anglesea). The conquest covered a period of nearly forty years and was carried to practical completion by the Roman general Agricola, the father-in-law of the historian Tacitus. Agricola carried the frontier to the edge of the Highlands; but Rome soon withdrew from these northern territories and drew the frontier along a line connecting Solway Firth with the river Tyne.

The Roman conquest. 43 A.D.

Agricola.

9. Roman Civilization in Britain. To make it easier to hold the country the Romans built a network of roads, four principal highways running northward and many shorter transverse lines. At the intersections camps were located and important cities grew up, inhabited largely by Roman merchants and discharged soldiers. Half

Roman roads.

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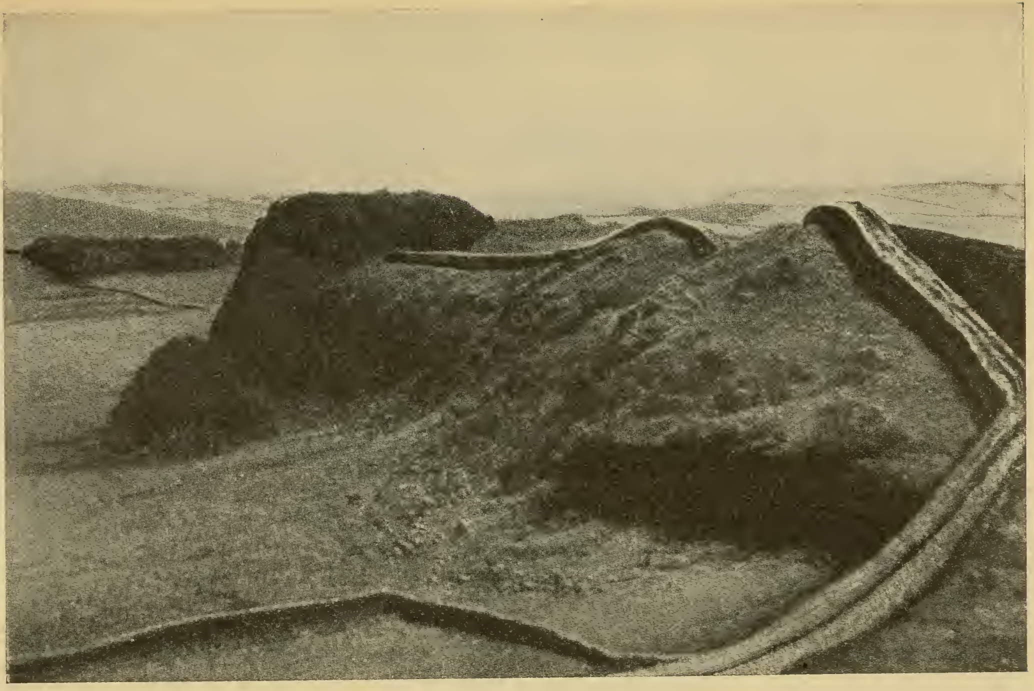
[1] Cheyney, No. 7; Gardiner, 11–12.



HADRIAN'S WALL

Looking east from near Housestrads. From a photograph.

a century after Agricola's time, the Emperor Hadrian built, between the Solway and the Tyne, a strong wall, fragments of which can still be seen after the passage of eighteen centuries. The south side of the wall was lined with Roman camps and guarded by a force of about 10,000 men gathered from every quarter of the Roman world.

Hadrian's wall.

The Romans also did much to improve the civilization and to utilize the resources of the island. Mines of tin, lead, and iron were opened and worked. Splendid houses were built of which an occasional ruin is still to be seen.[1] Cities were founded; trade was developed; and agriculture was improved. In time the Christian religion came to the island along with numerous forms of pagan faith. The native Celt no doubt came to some extent under the spell of Roman civilization; but Britain never became thoroughly Romanized, except in the neighborhood of the Roman towns; in the more remote rural districts the rude British habits of life seem to have persisted.

Progress in civilization.

10. Withdrawal of the Roman Legions. For more than three centuries the larger part of Great Britain was under the domination of the Cæsars. But about the year 400 the western part of the Roman Empire was rapidly crumbling. Among the military chiefs who were striving to get some advantage from the confusion by seizing and holding some fragment or province was one Constantine, a British soldier who enjoyed the imperial title and honors for about four years. Not satisfied to rule Britain alone, he collected what forces he could and crossed over to Gaul (407). The soldiers never returned and the Britons were left to their own devices. Civilization soon began to decay and Celtic barbarians reconquered much that had been lost. Christianity, however, did not die out, but seems to have won a firmer footing after the Roman government had disappeared.

Constantine crosses over to Gaul. 407.

The century that followed the withdrawal of the legions from Britain saw great changes everywhere in Europe. The fifth century was the age of the migrations when Germans from the north and Huns from the east broke the frontier along the Rhine and the Danube and seized parts of the Roman Empire. During this period the Romanized Britons were also sorely afflicted by invading enemies, — Picts from the Highlands, Scots from Ireland, and Teutonic tribes from the Continent.

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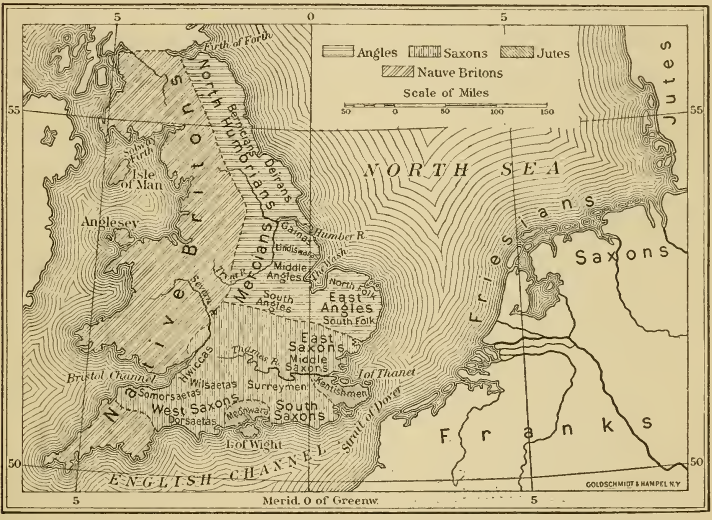
[1] Cheyney, No. 24.

The Germanic migrations.


Angles
Saxons
Jutes
Native Britons
Scale of Miles
50 0 50 100 150
Firth of Forth
North Humbrians
Bernicians
Deirans
Britons
Solway Firth
Isle of Man
Anglesey
Gainas
Lindiswaras
Humber R.
Wash
Middle Angles
Mercians
Trent R.
North Folk
East Angles
South Folk
South Angles
Severn R.
Hwiccas
East Saxons
Middle Saxons
Thames R.
I. of Thanet
Kentishmen
Strait of Dover
Bristol Channel
Somorsaetas
Wilsaetas
Surreymen
West Saxons
Meonwaras
South Saxons
Dorsaetas
I. of Wight
ENGLISH CHANNEL
NORTH SEA
Jutes
Frisians
Saxons
Franks
55
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5
0
Merid. 0 of Greenw.
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

The English Settlements in Great Britain about 600

11. The Anglo-Saxon Invasion. These Continental tribes were the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes, who lived in northern Germany along the Weser and the lower Elbe and in the Jutish peninsula. They were all apparently addicted to piracy: the Romans had felt the attacks of the Saxons on the British shores for several generations; and so bothersome had they become that a special officer, the Count of the Saxon Shore, had been given charge of the coast defenses from the Wash to Beachy Head. Now that this official and his forces were gone, the piratical Saxons doubtless came in greater

Angles and Saxons.

numbers. About 450 there was great commotion in the German lands: Attila was on the march toward Gaul with a vast army, — according to tradition he had half a million men. His defeat came at Châlons the following year (451). It seems probable that Attila's movements were the cause of the removal of the Angles and Saxons to Britain, whose lands they had long known and whose shores were open to attack. The traditional date of the migration is 449 and seems to be approximately correct.

Attila.

449?

Following the ancient route along the German and Dutch coast to the Strait of Dover, the invaders first came to Kent, the home of a Celtic tribe in southeastern England. Thence they would sail north past the mouth of the Thames or westward along the shore of the Channel. Islands lying close to the shore, such as Thanet and Wight, were evidently first seized and used as places of refuge and bases for further operations. Rivers formed the highways into the country. Apparently there was no organized movement or united action, each invading chief proceeding on his own responsibility and initiative; but a Jutish leader by the name of Hengist, who probably founded the new kingdom of Kent, was regarded, it seems, as the most influential among the leaders.[1]

Invasion of the Jutes, the Angles and the Saxons.

Hengist.

12. The Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms. The Anglo-Saxon invasion continued with interruptions for more than a century. The nature of the attacks favored the creation of a number of little kingdoms that lined the eastern and southern coasts from the Firth of Forth to Southampton Water and beyond. The interior limits of these kingdoms might be a range of hills, like the Pennine range in the north, which for a time proved a barrier to the expansion of Northumbria; a strip of broad swamp land, like the Fens that run southward from the Wash, which divided East Anglia from Mercia; broad, pathless oak forests like the Weald, a long strip of woodland between the Downs, which served to isolate the little kingdom of Sussex;

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 26–27; Kendall, No. 3.

or sometimes a wide river mouth like that of the Thames or of the Humber. Of the kingdoms formed in the interior, only one, Mercia, is of any great importance: this was formed by Anglian tribes that moved up the valley of the Trent and took possession of the Midlands. The Britons gradually retired to the regions beyond the watershed, where they, too, organized petty kingdoms. In the sixth century perhaps as many as twenty little monarchies existed on the island south of the Highlands, of which about a dozen were Anglo-Saxon. In time the number was reduced by conquest and absorption, until in the eighth century four kingdoms controlled the territories of the Angles and Saxons: Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. Cut off from central England by the broad Fenlands, East Anglia had only small opportunities to expand and never played a great part in English history; but the other three kingdoms rose to successive leadership in order from north to south: first Northumbria, then Mercia, and finally Wessex.

The four leading kingdoms.

13. Anglo-Saxon Society in the Heathen Age. The coming of the Germans completely transformed the civilization of the greater part of the island. The institutions and the mode of life among the Anglo-Saxons were essentially Germanic,[1] though the invaders doubtless appropriated much of the Celtic civilization that they found in their new lands. The old Roman cities were left deserted and permitted to fall into ruins, as the conquerors were accustomed to rural life and settled in small villages where they carried on agriculture and stock farming on a basis of common ownership. In these villages each individual family of freemen seems to have had exclusive control and possession of the family homestead, the house and a parcel of ground about it, as well as of the live stock and other personal property that the household would need; but the plowland, the meadow, the woods, and the pasture lands were apparently owned by the community as a whole and distributed among the farmers

Village life.

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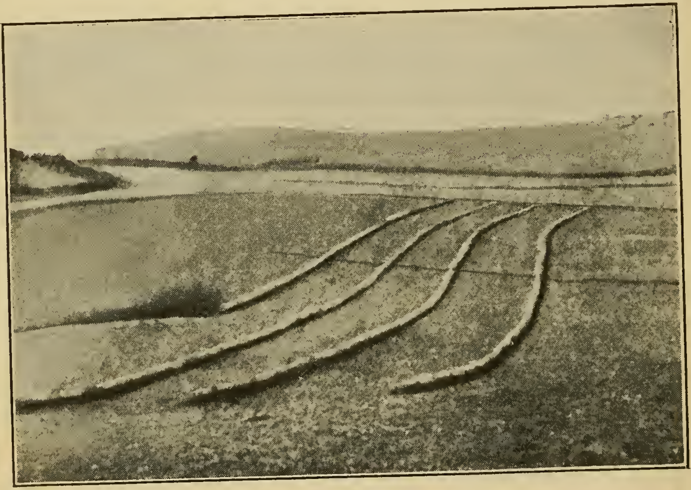
[1] Cheyney, No. 28; Kendall, No. 2; Tuell and Hatch, No. 1.

so that each had his own ground to work. The plowland was divided up into strips, usually an acre in area, of which each family might have one hundred and twenty. These with certain undivided rights in the village forest and grass land formed the normal holding or farm of a household. Ordinarily the acre-strips given to each farmer were scattered about in various parts of the fields; this may have been done to prevent any one from seizing the more desirable land, but it also made tilling the soil more difficult and cumbersome.

The strip system.



ROOD STRIPS AND BALKS, BYGRAVE, HERTFORDSHIRE

The balks are the raised ridges separating the "Acre" strips.

The agriculture that was practiced in the Old English village was not of a high order. The tools were primitive and clumsy; the plow was of such rude construction that a team of at least four oxen was necessary to draw it. As there was no market for a surplus, the farmers made no attempt to produce more than could be consumed in the village. To maintain the fertility of the soil, one-third of the plowland was allowed to lie fallow each year. In addition to raising the

Agriculture.

common varieties of grain, the Old English farmer kept cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry. Butter and cheese were made, and beer was brewed from various grains, especially barley, which seems to have been a leading crop. Sweetened with honey the beer became mead, which was much used on festive occasions.

14. Political Institutions.[1] In general the society in these villages was of a democratic type: farmer and freeman were synonymous terms. There was, however, also a class of slaves and bondmen, many of whom may have been of Celtic blood, as well as an important aristocratic class with certain recognized rights of leadership. At the head of each state was a king, whose chief business was to lead in warfare and to perform certain important rites at the great sacrificial festivals. He could also proclaim laws and revise the old "customs" of his people; but as an administrator he had very little authority. To assist him in what little government there was, he had a council of the chief nobles, a body that after several transformations developed into the English house of lords.

15. Heathen Culture and Religion. The Anglo-Saxon aristocracy served a useful and highly important purpose as the patrons of heathen culture. When the king or the chief called together his followers after a foray, or on some other joyous occasion, to feast with him in his rude wooden hall, the tale of the poet and the chant of the singer were regarded as indispensable features of the entertainment. Stories were told of superhuman valor and heroism, sagas that had come into England with the migration from Germany, some of which had a nucleus of historic fact.[2] This was the beginning of English literature, which has had an almost continuous existence and growth for fifteen centuries. Of these early poems only a few have survived, as the heathen Englishman knew no written characters but the runes, a series of letters formed of straight lines and of little service except for brief inscriptions on wood or stone.

The poets.

The runes.

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[1] Gardiner, 29–33.

[2] Cheyney, No. 29.

Sun worship.

The gods.

Festivals.

In religion the Anglo-Saxons were heathen and worshiped the old Teutonic gods, particularly Woden, the god of wisdom and warfare. Originally the Germanic peoples worshiped the bright sky and more especially the shining sun. In time various phases of this heathen worship came to be looked upon as having separate existence and the number of deities increased. Three of these attained a general preëminence. The fire of the sun was again seen in the flash of the lightning and the result was the worship of Thunor (Thor), the god of strength. In the fury of the tempest that accompanies the thunder-clap, the Teutons recognized another god, Woden, whose power was also manifest in the fury of the battle rush. It is likely that the Anglo-Saxons also worshiped the god Frey, the sun as the giver of life and growth to the fields and the forests. The names of these three divinities appear in Thursday, Wednesday, and Friday; Tuesday and perhaps Saturday are also named in honor of the old gods. The gods were given peculiar honor on certain great festive occasions in which the entire population joined, when bloody and repulsive rites were performed and human sacrifices probably offered. Among the Teutonic peoples three such great festivals were commonly celebrated: the first late in autumn to secure the return of the receding sun; the second early in January in joyful recognition of the lengthening days; and the third at the opening of spring when sacrifices were offered in honor of the god that gave life and growth and vegetation. It is likely that the Angles and Saxons had corresponding festivals.

St. Patrick in Ireland.

16. British Christianity. In the western part of the island among the Britons, the Christian religion had retained its vigor. One of these Welsh Christians, Saint Patrick, a contemporary of the heathen Hengist, whose home seems to have been somewhere in the Severn valley, even took up missionary work in Ireland and gave new vigor to the feeble Irish church. A century later a new mission field was opened on the western coast of modern Scotland. Saint

Columba, a Celt from northern Ireland and an exile from his native land, repaired to an Irish settlement in modern Argyle, and there, on the little island of Iona, founded a celebrated monastery which became the center of an active missionary movement that extended even to the Continent. But for a century and a half after the coming of the Anglo-Saxons we know of no effort on the part of the dispossessed Britons to convert their Anglo-Saxon enemies.

St. Columba; Iona.

17. Roman Christianity: the Mission of St. Augustine. In the days of Saint Columba, however, a man of unusual tact and abilities ascended the papal throne, and the Roman church began to prepare for further conquest. Pope Gregory the Great had long been interested in the Anglo-Saxon tribes, and in 596 sent a missionary force of forty monks under the leadership of Saint Augustine to win the people for Christianity.[1] The following year, Saint Augustine and his party arrived in Kent and were cordially received by King Ethelbert, who was not wholly ignorant of the Christian faith, as his queen, Bertha, was a Frankish princess, who worshiped Christ according to Catholic standards. This was the year of Saint Columba's death in Iona (597).

Gregory the Great.

Mission of St. Augustine. 597.

At Canterbury, which was the royal residence, Saint Augustine founded a monastery which became the ecclesiastical center of all England and has remained the capital of the Anglican church to this day. An effort was made not only to christianize the English, but also to bring the British church under the control of Canterbury, but in this Saint Augustine failed. A conference was held with the Welsh bishops at "Augustine's Oak," somewhere near the Bristol Channel; but to no purpose: the Welshmen refused to modify their rites and practices and found submission to the bishop of Kent too odious to be seriously considered.

Canterbury.

18. The Celtic Missionaries. A generation after their arrival in Canterbury, the Roman missionaries succeeded in converting Edwin, king of the Northumbrians and the mightiest ruler on the island.[1] The north country, however, soon relapsed into heathendom and the honor of converting the Angles beyond the Humber belongs to Celtic missionaries from Iona. By the middle of the seventh century it had become a matter of doubt whether Christianity of the Celtic or of the Roman type was to dominate in the British Isles. The situation disturbed the king of Northumbria, and in 664 he summoned a council at Whitby to debate the merits of the two churches.[2]

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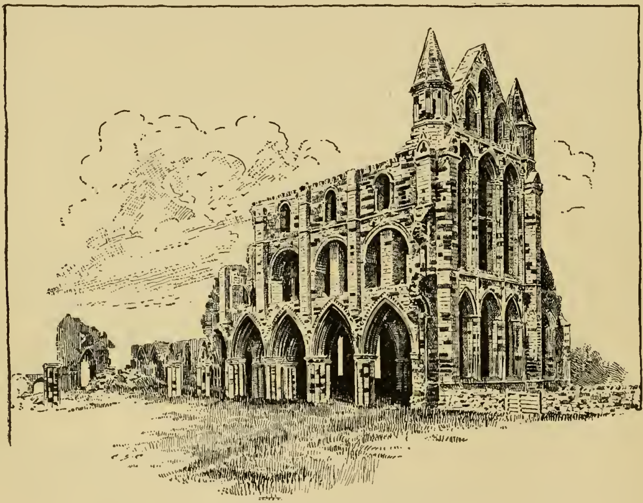
[1] Cheyney, Nos. 31–32; Innes, I, 1–4; Robinson, No. 18.

Council of Whitby. 664.



Ruins of Whitby Abbey

Peculiar characteristics of the Celtic church.

During two centuries of independence and isolation, the Celtic church had developed certain peculiarities that were of practical importance. The Britons were inclined to regard Saint John as superior to Saint Peter; but this belief could not be tolerated by the Catholics of Rome, as it struck at the foundations of papal authority, which rested on the belief that Saint Peter had once been bishop of Rome. The churches also celebrated Easter at different times: this was important, as it was almost necessary that the Lenten season should begin for all at the same time; otherwise one faction might be celebrating the joys of Easter, while the other was deep in the sorrows of Passion Week. The Celts, as a half nomadic people, emphasized the monastery as a center of religious worship, while the Roman church was organized on a parish basis, each village or group of neighboring villages having its own church and priest. The king finally decided in favor of the Roman system.

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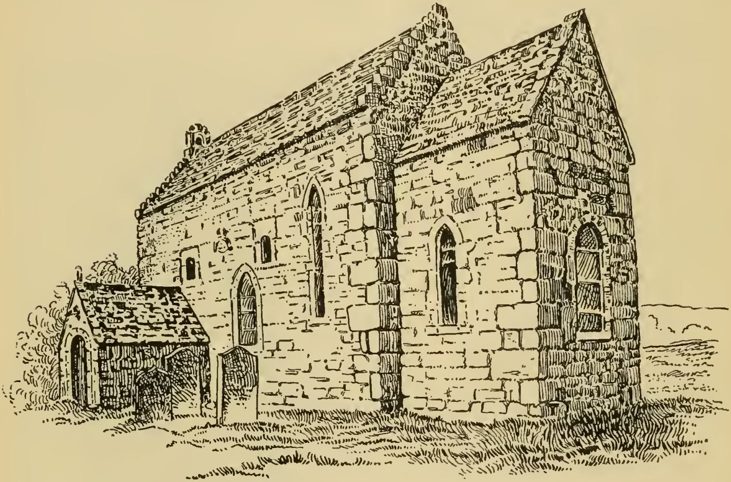
[1] Cheyney, No. 33; Innes, I, 5–7; Kendall, No. 4; Robinson, No. 19.

[2] Gardiner, 49–50.

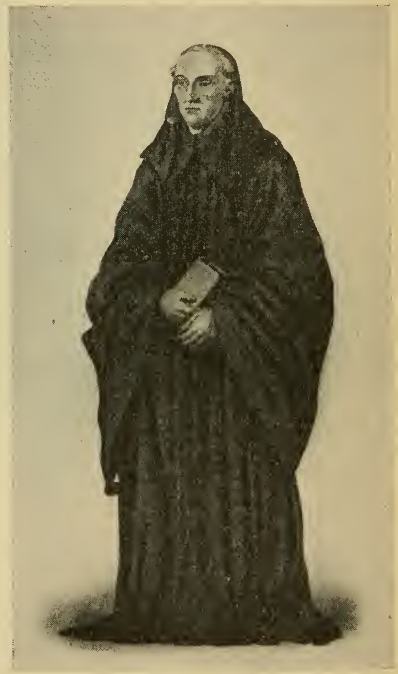


The Church at Escomb, Durham
This church is one of the oldest in England; it was built about 700.

19. Theodore of Tarsus: Organization of the Church. The organization of the church among the Anglo-Saxons was chiefly the work of a Greek monk, Theodore of Tarsus, who came to England as archbishop of Canterbury five years after the council of Whitby. Up to this time the work had remained in the missionary stage with a missionary bishop directing the work in each kingdom. But some of the kingdoms, like Northumbria and Mercia, were clearly too extensive for a single bishop; there was danger, too, that under separate heads the churches in these kingdoms might become independent of Canterbury. Archbishop Theodore therefore broke up these large dioceses into smaller ones, and definitely established the supremacy of Canterbury over all the other dioceses. The parish system, too, was put on a more definite footing: priests were provided and the parish boundaries more clearly drawn. Churches were built and monasteries founded. A hundred years after the arrival of Saint Augustine the new faith was firmly rooted in English soil.

The new dioceses.

The parish system.



Benedictine Monk
From Dugdale's Monasticon.

20. The Old English Monasteries. An important institution within the Catholic church was the monastery, a community of monks or nuns who wished to withdraw from the attractions of a sinful world and devote their lives to the pursuit of holiness. Every monastic community was an organized brotherhood governed by a chief called an abbot, and lived according to a set of regulations known as the Benedictine Rule which were drawn up by Benedict of Nursia, an Italian abbot who flourished in the first half of the sixth century. No monk or nun could marry or possess any property except the merest necessities, and all were

Organization of monasteries.

pledged to absolute obedience to the abbot or abbess: these were the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. Their lives were to be spent in prayer, worship, and labor. The externals of a monastery were a group of buildings usually built around a court; in these the monks lived, worked, and stored the produce of the monastic lands. The monastic life appealed strongly to these new English Christians and soon a number of these institutions were founded. So impressed were the kings and other men of wealth and power with the practical value of the monasteries to society, that they made large donations, chiefly of land, for the support of the monks. For while the individual monk was pledged to poverty, the monastic brotherhood might enjoy unlimited wealth.

Monastic wealth.

In the advancement of the new civilization that came with Christianity, the monks had a large and important part. They copied books and thus preserved what the times possessed of knowledge and classical literature. These books were frequently illuminated, that is, provided with drawings and colored pictures, some of which show rare skill, though, on the whole, the pictorial art of the middle ages was of an inferior type. At a time when inns were few and public hospitals unknown, the monastery proved a great blessing to the traveler, the unfortunate, and the one who was stricken with illness; for the monks practiced a generous hospitality, and what knowledge the world had of nursing and medicine they usually possessed. On their large estates they built new and improved buildings patterned after those that they saw in their journeys in southern Europe; these were often of stone and were sometimes even provided with glass. They also brought home and introduced new ideas of agriculture, which soon became common property among the tenants who farmed the monastic lands. Frequently the monks went into regions that were waste and uncultivated and built their monasteries there, and in this way they added to the cultivated and civilized area of the country. But all these worldly activities inevitably

Culture of the monasteries.

Contributions to material civilization.

led to a lowering of ascetic ideals; after two or three generations of monastic development, bitter complaints of corruption in these institutions began to arise; of this there is evidence in the writings of Bede, who was himself a monk.

The arrival of so many men from the southlands, missionaries, prelates, and abbots, the introduction of a stately church ceremonial based on a new system of religious thought, and the building of churches, cathedrals, and monasteries gave a remarkable impetus to Old English culture, especially to poetic literature. Schools were established in the cathedrals and monasteries where Latin was taught and the Classics were read and thus a large fund of new ideas became current among the educated classes. The chief scene of literary activity was no longer the princely hall but the quiet cloister. The transition, however, was not violent. The great poem *Beowulf*, a production of more than three thousand lines, a heathen story of valor and warfare with additions that are clearly Christian, belongs to the first half of the seventh century, the period of missionary activities among the Anglo-Saxons. In this poem we have an excellent picture of a heathen civilization that was about to expire.

The new literary impulse. Beowulf.

21. The Beginnings of Christian Literature. In the second half of the same century, a few years after the coming of Theodore of Tarsus, there appeared in England the first native Christian poet, one Cadmon, an aged Northumbrian convert who was in the service of the monastic community at Whitby.[1] In the poems ascribed to Cadmon there is much that is of heathen origin: the form is the same, and alliterative rhyme is used, as in the earlier non-Christian productions; the old poetic materials are also employed, especially the figures of speech that reflect the warlike activities and the festive joys of the race. In a large measure the fund of ideas and the views of life belong to heathen times; but the themes are Biblical, the stories of Genesis and Exodus,

The Cadmonic poems.

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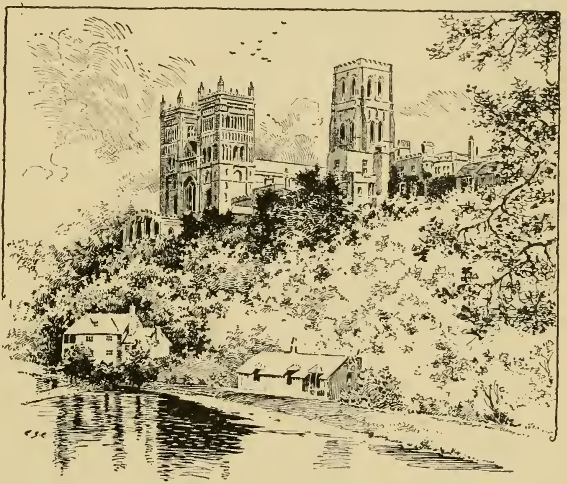
[1] Cheyney, No. 35.

for example, and the religious thought is Christian of the medieval type.

The Venerable Bede.

The greatest of all the Old English writers was the Venerable Bede, a gentle, pious, and humble monk, who lived in the Northumbrian monastery of Jarrow. Bede was born in the days of Theodore and Cadmon. As an infant he was given into the keeping of the monks; consequently his literary education began at an early age. The Northumbrian boy, who was only one generation removed from heathendom, grew up to be the most perfect Latinist of his age and the greatest scholar of his century. Bede wrote Latin prose for the most part, but he did not neglect his native tongue; his last work was a translation into Old English of the Gospel of Saint John, a work that he completed on his deathbed. His chief work is the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, a record of events in England from the time of the conquest and especially of the progress of conversion to the Christian faith.



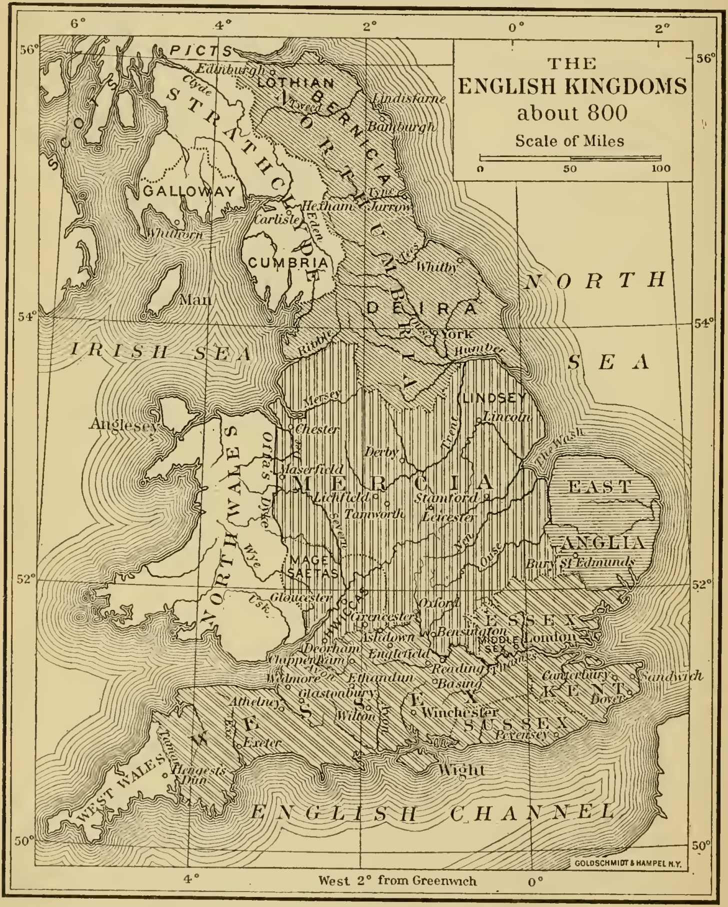
Durham Cathedral
Burial place of Bede.

735.

Bede's Ecclesiastical History.

Alcuin.

There were other writers and intellectual leaders that flourished in Northumbria during the eighth century, the most famous after Bede being the learned Alcuin whose work was done on the Continent in connection with the palace school of Charlemagne. Alcuin was also a Northumbrian and was trained by one of Bede's pupils. In his day he was the foremost teacher in Christendom. The series closes


THE
ENGLISH KINGDOMS
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PICTS
SCOTS
Edinburgh
LOTHIAN
Clyde
STRATHCLYDE
Tweed
BERNICIA
NORTHUMBRIA
Lindisfarne
Bamburgh
GALLOWAY
Whithorn
Tyne
Hexham
Jarrow
Carlisle
Eden
CUMBRIA
Tees
Whitby
Man
DEIRA
York
Ouse
Humber
Ribble
IRISH SEA
NORTH SEA
LINDSEY
Lincoln
Mersey
Anglesey
Chester
Trent
Derby
The Wash
NORTH WALES
Offa's Dyke
Maserfield
MERCIA
Lichfield
Tamworth
Stamford
Leicester
Severn
EAST ANGLIA
Wye
MAGESAETAS
Nen
Ouse
Bury St Edmunds
Gloucester
Usk
Cirencester
Oxford
ESSEX
Ashdown
Bensington
MIDDLESEX
London
Deorham
Englefield
Thames
Chippenham
Wedmore
Reading
Basing
Canterbury
Sandwich
KENT
Dover
Athelney
Ethandun
Glastonbury
WESSEX
Wilton
Avon
Winchester
SUSSEX
Pevensey
Exe
Exeter
Tamar
Hengests Dun
WEST WALES
Wight
ENGLISH CHANNEL
West 2° from Greenwich
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

with Cynewulf, a poet whose themes, like those of Cadmonic times, were chiefly Biblical, though Cynewulf also made use of Christian legends. Cynewulf was the first English poet who affixed his signature to his writings; for this purpose he made use of the runic characters that spelled his name and distributed these among his verses. With his poems the glory of Northumbrian culture came to a close. After the death of Bede (735) it had begun to decline; and with the coming of the Norse vikings sixty years later, intellectual activities in northern England almost ceased.

Cynewulf.

22. Summary. The year 800 closes an epoch in Old English history. For more than three centuries the Angles and Saxons had occupied British soil. During the sixth century the prominent facts are conquest, colonization, gradual westward expansion, the formation of villages, and the building of states. In the seventh century the heathen worship disappeared, and an important province was added to the Roman church at a time when the Mohammedan advance was rooting out the Christian faith east and south of the Mediterranean. This century also saw the beginnings of Christian culture with its chief center in Northumbria, which was the leading English kingdom of the age. This culture found its highest development in the following century in the prose of Bede and the poems of Cynewulf. On the whole, however, the eighth century was a period of decline in the northern kingdom. Political leadership was lost early in the century and Mercia took the place of Northumbria as the kingdom of promise.

The dominant figure of the age was the mighty King Offa, the friend of Charlemagne,[1] who ruled Mercia for nearly forty years (757–796). In his early days East Anglia was made a Mercian dependency and the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were forced into a state of vassalage. In his days, too, a definite boundary was drawn between the Mercians and the Welsh, and an earthwork constructed to mark this boundary, which was called Offa's Dyke. But

Offa.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 37; Kendall, No. 5.

Mercian leadership perished with the great king. A new dynasty was rising in southern England and the hopes of the Anglo-Saxons came to be centered about the kingdom of Wessex, with whose leadership the history of the English kingdom begins.

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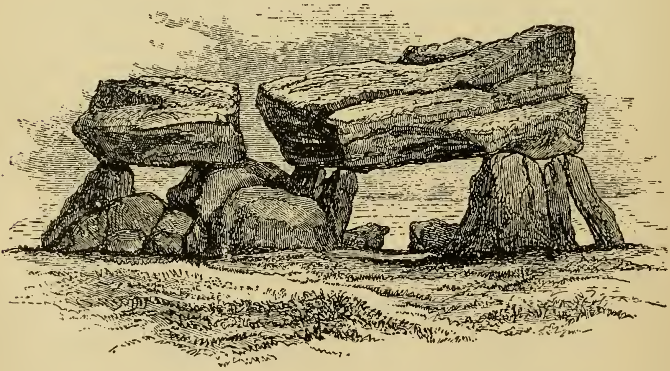

CHAPTER II

THE OLD ENGLISH MONARCHY

23. The Northmen in Britain. In the ninth century the tide of immigration once more began to flow toward the British Isles. This time the invaders were Northmen, or Danes, as the English preferred to call them, though all the Scandinavian tribes evidently joined in the attack. The viking movement may be regarded as a belated wave of the Germanic migrations. The purpose was the same: the acquisition of new homes in a more favored clime.

Scandinavian settlements.

Due east of the Shetland and the Orkney Islands lies the southern part of Norway, and from this region the westward movement seems to have begun. The islands mentioned and northern Scotland were the territories first occupied; thence the stream of settlement flowed on to the Hebrides, down the west coast of Scotland, and across to eastern Ireland and the Isle of Man. Later, Norwegian settlers appeared north of the Humber and Danes in the East Anglian kingdom. It will thus be seen that parts of both the eastern and the western shores of the island were being visited and seized.

Civilization of the Northmen.

Like the Anglo-Saxons the Scandinavian invaders were of Teutonic blood and spoke a Germanic dialect with enough points of resemblance to the Old English to make it possible for the two peoples to learn each other's language without great effort. In religion the Northmen were still heathen, worshiping the old gods that the English had renounced two hundred years earlier.[1] In civilization they occupied a lower stage than the English, though in some respects they were their intellectual equals. In shipbuilding, for instance, they soon came to lead Europe, and for several centuries the Norse vikings ruled the European seas. Piracy was common among them, but loot and pillage were not the chief objects of their visits to Britain: it was land-hunger and economic pressure that led the Northmen to emigrate, though love of adventure and the prospect of sharing in plundered wealth doubtless also proved strong incentives.

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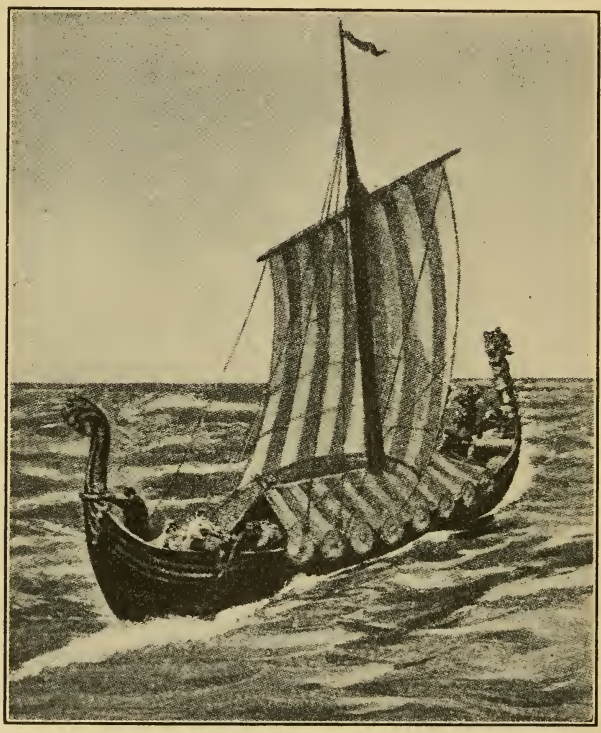
[1] Review sec. 15.



VIKING SHIP

Model of a ship found in 1880 in a burial-mound at Gokstad, Norway, where it had been buried nearly one thousand years before.

24. The Vikings as Conquerors. The earliest recorded visit of the vikings to any of the English kingdoms for the

The attack on England. 793.

sake of plunder was in 793, when they pillaged the Northumbrian monastery at Lindisfarne. That was toward the close of Offa's reign as king of Mercia and overlord of the English, and while Cynewulf may still have been writing in some Anglian cloister. From that date for a hundred years, English history is an almost unbroken account of warfare with the Scandinavian invaders. It was the custom of the vikings to land and seize the horses in the regions visited, and thus mounted they rode everywhere at will. Some of the English kings made vigorous efforts to defend their lands, but too often they strove in vain. Egbert, the king of Wessex, kept the invaders at bay for a time; but after his death (839) the Angles and Saxons were again hard pressed.

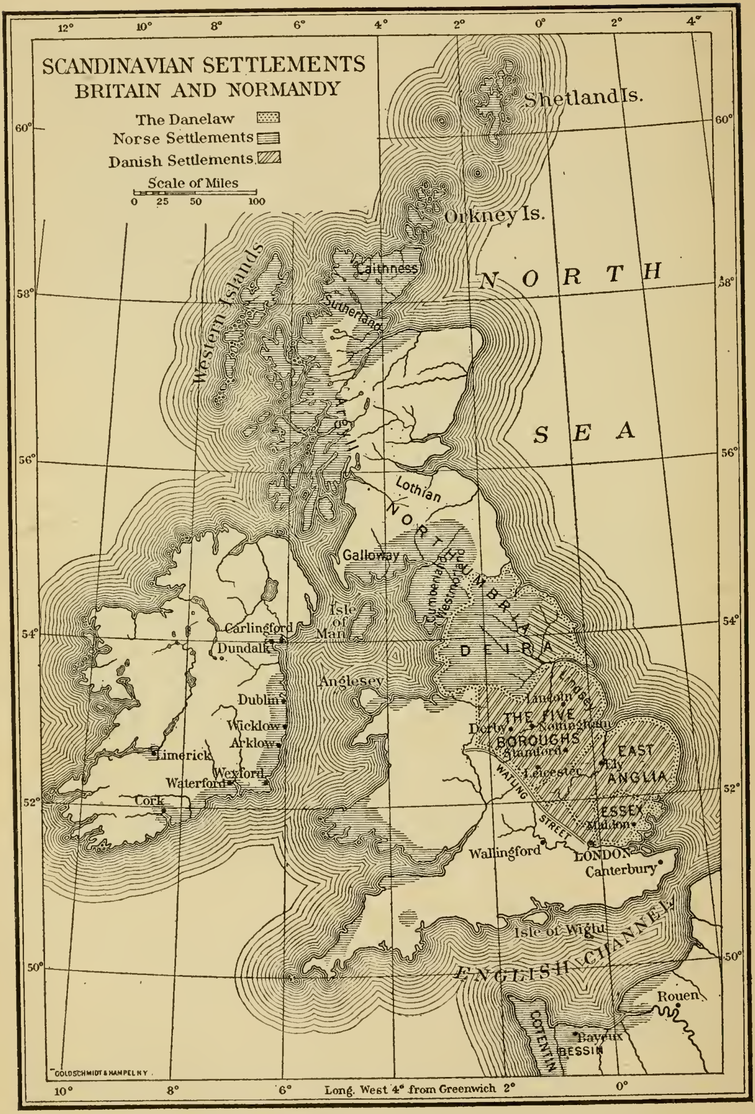
Conquest of Northumbria.

Mercia and East Anglia.

In 866 the vikings in England found new leaders in the sons of Ragnar Lodbrok, whom a Northumbrian king is said to have seized and thrown into a den of serpents some years before. The fierce brothers wintered with their host in East Anglia. The following year the Danes swept northward across the Humber and crushed Northumbria. They next turned south again into middle England. West Saxons from the south hastened to the aid of the Mercian king, but to no purpose: the men of Mercia submitted, and six years later the Mercian kingdom ceased to exist. Next the Danes stormed into East Anglia where the glorious Edmund was king. He was seized and suffered martyrdom; soon he was adored as one of the most powerful saints of the English church; but his kingdom passed to the Danes. In 870, after five years of hostile operations, the northern pirates found themselves in control of all the region from the river Thames northward almost as far as the Firth of Forth. Wessex was now the only surviving Anglo-Saxon state in Britain.

Egbert king of Wessex. 802.

25. The Viking Attack on Wessex: Alfred the Great. In those days the throne of Wessex belonged to the family of Egbert, a prince who represented a younger line of the ancient dynasty and became king in 802.


SCANDINAVIAN SETTLEMENTS
BRITAIN AND NORMANDY
The Danelaw
Norse Settlements
Danish Settlements
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 100
12° 10° 8° 6° 4° 2° 0° 2° 4°
60° 58° 56° 54° 52° 50°
Shetland Is.
Orkney Is.
NORTH SEA
Caithness
Sutherland
Western Islands
Argyll
Lothian
NORTHUMBRIA
Galloway
Cumberland
Westmorland
DEIRA
Isle of Man
Carlingford
Dundalk
Dublin
Wicklow
Arklow
Limerick
Wexford
Waterford
Cork
Anglesey
Lindsey
Lincoln
THE FIVE BOROUGHS
Derby
Nottingham
Stamford
Leicester
EAST ANGLIA
Ely
ESSEX
Maldon
WATLING STREET
Wallingford
LONDON
Canterbury
Isle of Wight
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Rouen
Bayeux
BESSIN
COTENTIN
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.
10° 8° 6° Long. West 4° from Greenwich 2° 0°

While still a youth he had been driven from the land by his reigning kinsman, and a part of his exile was spent at the court of Charlemagne, where he learned the Frankish methods of government and developed ambitions to rule conquered lands. Egbert proved a ruler of unusual abilities; but none of his immediate successors showed any marked talents either as rulers or leaders in warfare. During the decade 860–870, when the Anglian kingdoms were yielding to the onslaught of the Danish hordes, three of Egbert's grandsons ruled successively in Wessex. Their reigns were brief and unimportant save for continued and unsuccessful wars against the vikings.

After they had seized East Anglia and had slain King Edmund, the Danes moved their forces across the Thames and carried the war into the neighborhood of Winchester, the very heart of the West Saxon kingdom. In the early months of 871, a series of battles was fought, the Danes being usually victorious. In the midst of these disasters, Alfred, commonly known as the Great,[1] a fourth grandson of King Egbert, ascended the tottering throne. Alfred was a young man, perhaps not more than twenty-three years old; but the events of the previous reign had given him much experience in the field as well as in the council chamber, and he proved equal to the task.

Alfred becomes king. 871.

For several years the young prince had been the real force in the Saxon host; as king he continued the war,[2] but, seeing the futility of keeping up an unequal struggle, he made peace as soon as opportunity appeared. However, after four years of quiet, the enemy reappeared in Wessex and fought with such success that for a time Alfred was almost a fugitive in his own kingdom. But in 878 the yeomanry from the counties of Somerset, Hants, and Wilts gathered about him and the enemy was overcome. Guthrum, the leader of the defeated Danes, agreed to accept the Christian faith and withdrew to his own kingdom in East Anglia. The

Treaty of Chippenham.

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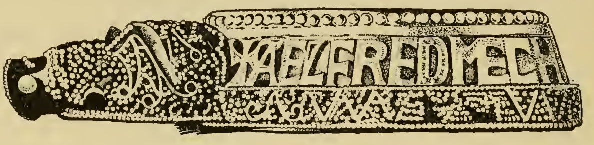
[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 6; Bates and Coman, 18–19 (Wordsworth, *Alfred*).

[2] Innes, I, 16–21.

treaty was made at Chippenham and the two kings apparently divided southern England between them with the Thames as the chief boundary.

26. Alfred as Statesman and Reformer.[1] Alfred's first care after peace had been secured was to provide for the defense of the country. Cities were fortified, the militia was organized, and a navy was built.[2] The art of shipbuilding the king learned from his Danish enemies; but Alfred is said to have made notable improvements on the plans of the Norse builders: he built ships that were swifter, steadier, and higher. Alfred also made a thorough study of the ancient laws of his kingdom, and after careful sifting he reënacted those that he approved, though he made certain important modifications especially in the direction of greater mercy and lighter penalties for minor offenses.[3] The administration of justice was also reformed: the local officials were instructed to deal out equal justice to all without fear or favor.

An English navy built.



THE ALFRED JEWEL

A jewel of gold found near Athelney in 1693. The inscription reads: *Aelfred mec heht gewyrcan*, i.e. Alfred had me made.

Alfred as law-giver.

27. Alfred's Work for English Literature.[4] The great king's work of improvement was not limited to administration and defense. It was he who gave the first impulse to the revival of learning in England toward the close of the ninth century. The need was great; barbarism was conquering the land; for nearly a century English intellect had produced almost nothing of lasting importance;

Low state of English culture.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 40.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 65.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 47; Innes, I, 29–32; Kendall, No. 6.

[4] Cheyney, pp. 67–68; Gardiner, 61.

Anglo-Saxon scholarship seemed to have barely survived in Mercia, but Wessex was utterly illiterate. The king himself was not able to read before he was twelve years old; but he seems to have developed an early interest in learning,[1] and he continued a student till the end of his days. Learned men were called to his court, from Mercia, from Wales, and from over the sea. A school was opened at the royal court, and in a sense the king himself became a teacher; for Alfred lived for a great ideal: that all young Englishmen should learn to read their mother tongue.

A palace school.

But reading requires books; and it was Alfred's great interest in education that gave rise to English prose. In his reign there appeared several notable translations of what at that time was considered the most useful among the Latin writings. The work was done at court, under royal supervision perhaps, though it is doubtful whether the king himself took a very active part as a translator. Among the books chosen were Bede's *Ecclesiastical History;* Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, which was intended to help the ignorant priests; Orosius' *History*, which detailed calamities as great as those that England had lately endured; and Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, which was also suited to a sorrowful age. In addition Alfred encouraged the writing of current history; as a result some of the leading monasteries undertook to compile the annals of Britain and the great *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* came into being.

Old English prose: translations.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

28. The Expansion of Wessex. Alfred died in 900. He was not a genius either as a statesman, a general, or a writer; he was simply a wide-awake, practical Englishman with great administrative abilities and a marvelous capacity for work. Still, his achievements are greater than those of any other English king: English prose literature and the English nation both look back to him. In his long reign of nearly thirty years the English state saw

Achievements of Alfred the Great.

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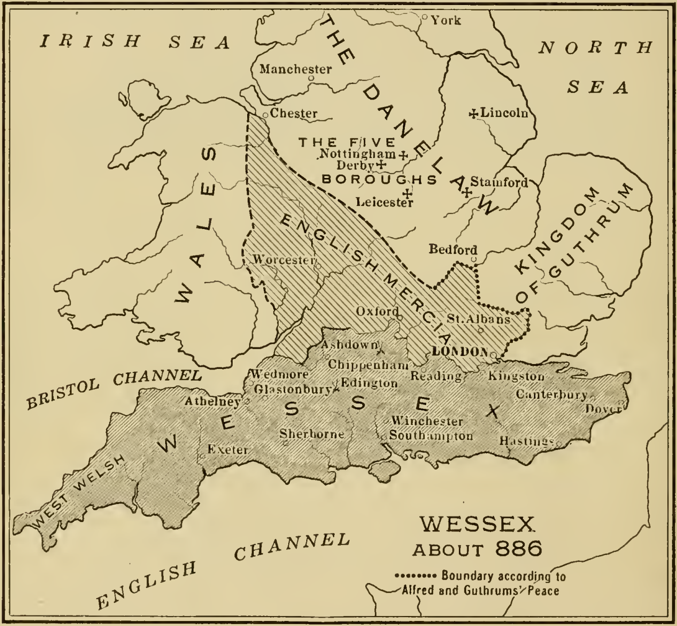
[1] Innes, I, 8–9.

its beginning, and Alfred the Great may be said to have been the first king of England.

Expansion of Wessex.

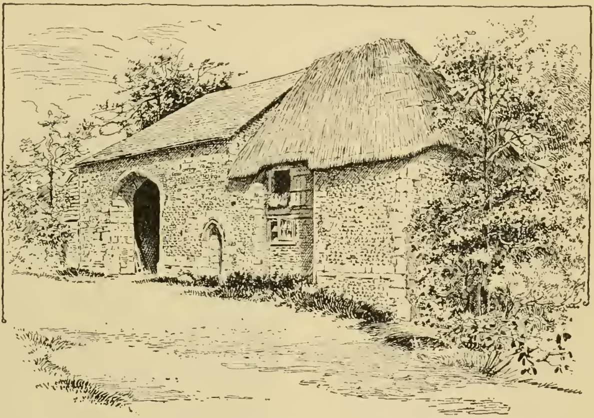
The making of England was the expansion of Wessex. There was no union of the Old English kingdoms, for Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumbria were never revived: nor was Alfred or any of his immediate successors chosen king by all the English nation. What happened was that the king of Wessex, the dynasty of Alfred, gradually conquered the lands north of the Thames from the Danes and Norwegians who held it. Mile by mile the frontier was pushed northward, until the authority of the kings at Winchester extended as far as the Firth of Forth. Naturally the name Wessex was soon dropped for the more inclusive term England.


IRISH SEA
NORTH SEA
York
Manchester
Chester
THE DANELAW
Lincoln
THE FIVE BOROUGHS
Nottingham
Derby
Leicester
Stamford
Bedford
KINGDOM OF GUTHRUM
WALES
ENGLISH MERCIA
Worcester
Oxford
St. Albans
LONDON
Ashdown
Chippenham
Wedmore
Glastonbury
Edington
Reading
Kingston
Canterbury
Dover
Athelney
WESSEX
Winchester
Southampton
Sherborne
Exeter
Hastings
WEST WELSH
BRISTOL CHANNEL
ENGLISH CHANNEL
WESSEX ABOUT 886
•••••••• Boundary according to Alfred and Guthrums Peace

The first real advance came fifteen years after Alfred's elevation to the kingship. About 886 a new agreement was drawn

Advance into western Mercia.

up between Alfred and his Danish neighbor in East Anglia, according to which the Thames and the Ouse as far west as Watling Street were made the boundary between the kingdoms. By this treaty Wessex came into possession of a small area of south Mercian territory to the northwest of London. Watling Street was an old Roman road that ran northwestward from London to Chester. As to Mercia west of this road, the treaty is silent, perhaps because neither king had a claim to this region: it was never an integral part of Wessex and was not occupied by the Danes. But the English people of this section, wedged in, as they were, between the Danes and the Welsh, naturally turned to Alfred, whom all Englishmen were now disposed to accept as king. The chief ruler or ealdorman became Alfred's subject and married his daughter, the spirited Ethelfled, known in history as "the lady of the Mercians." In this way a large triangular area extending north to Chester was added to Alfred's dominions.



Ruins of Hyde Abbey, Winchester
Alfred is supposed to be buried here.

"The Lady of the Mercians."

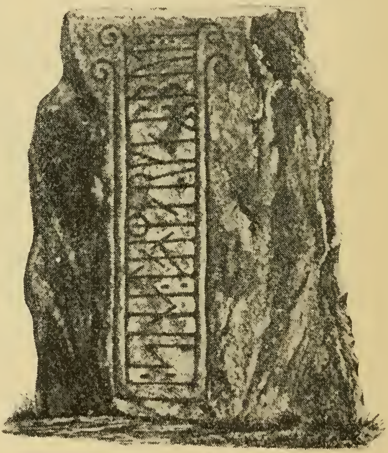
The work of expansion was successfully carried on by Alfred's successors, several of whom were strong, capable men, until, after two generations of continuous advance, every Danish state on English soil had been forced into subjection.[1] The result was due in large measure to the aggressive valor of the Saxons, but still more to disunion among the Danish colonists and to the fact that reinforcements came no longer from the Scandinavian lands. For throughout almost the entire tenth century there was a lull in the activities of the vikings, and the Scandinavians in England were thrown on their own inadequate resources.

29. The Danelaw. The Danelaw, as the Anglo-Danish settlements were called, was not a political unit. There was a

The divisions of the Danelaw.

king in East Anglia; another in the ancient city of York; earls with more or less authority ruled over various sections or groups of settlements; in the Midlands the English were held in subjection by the garrisons of the "Five Boroughs," five Danish strongholds that formed some kind of a city league. Of this division of strength the English made good use. It is also true that the invaders were gradually losing their alien character and were becoming English in language and sympathies. Resistance, nevertheless, continued for half a century after Alfred's death. Not till the accession of Edgar the Peaceful as king of all England (959) did the Danish chiefs seem to have become reconciled to Saxon rule.

Edgar the Peaceful. 959.



Danish Runic Monument

The monument was raised at Jelling in Jutland by King Gorm, the great-grandfather of Cnut the Great, in honor of Thyra his queen. The part of the inscription visible reads: sina: Tanmarkar bot, i.e. — his (wife), Denmark's defense.

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[1] Gardiner, 62–64.

30. Old English Cities and Towns. By the time of Edgar there had grown up a number of cities on English soil, in the south as well as in the Danelaw. None of these can have been large, but they were more than mere villages: they had their own governments; they were often surrounded by a wall; they were usually the center of a considerable trade. The settlement of the Danes stimulated the growth of these "boroughs," for the Danes were traders as well as pirates, and brought a great variety of products to England, especially from the Baltic shores. Among these cities London was the most important: it was of ancient origin, possibly dating from Celtic times; it had an excellent location not far from the mouth of the Thames, where the banks were high and the river was easily crossed both by ford and bridge. But there were other cities that almost ranked with London. Winchester was the capital; York was the center of the eastern trade; Sandwich was the most important seaport.

Old English boroughs.

London.

The great mass of the population, however, still lived in villages[1] and followed rural pursuits. The village with the land belonging to it made up the Old English town or township, which was the smallest unit of social and political life. Not all the villagers were farmers: the priest, the miller, and the smith formed a separate class slightly above the ordinary farmer. Many of the villages were under the domination of some influential noble who sometimes lived in a more pretentious home called a hall a little distance from the village. In such cases the lord exercised some control over the villagers,[2] but he was also held responsible for them to the higher authorities.

The town.

31. Local Government.[3] The towns were grouped into larger areas called hundreds. Every month the chief men of the towns (sent, perhaps, as representatives) came together near some large rock or under a spreading oak and held the

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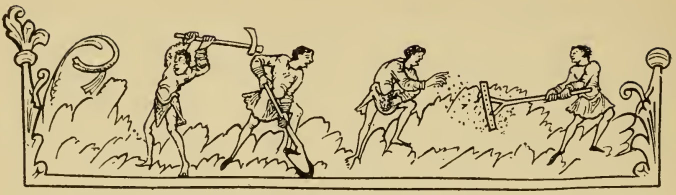
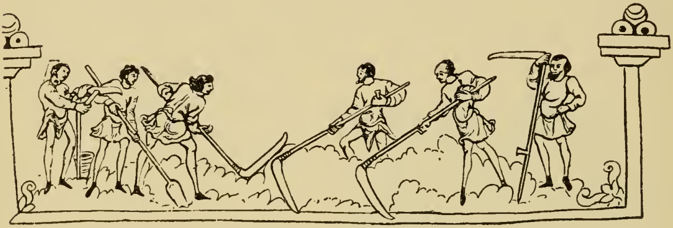
[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 24–26.

[2] Cheyney, No. 42.

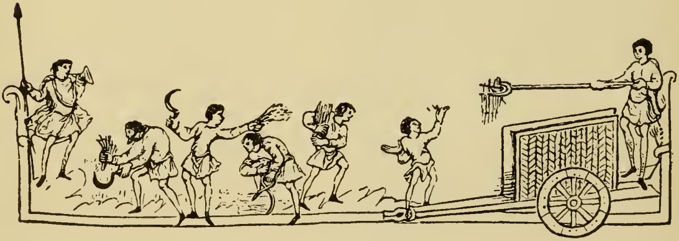
[3] Gardiner, 72–73; Masterman, 14–16.



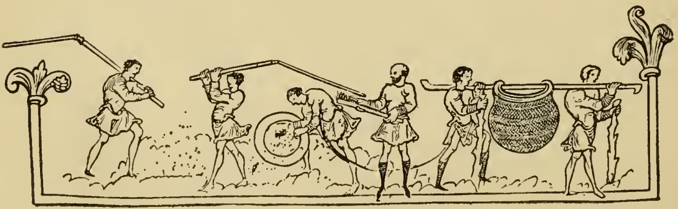
(*a*) March. — Preparing the soil



(*b*) July. — Making hay



(*c*) August. — Harvesting grain



(*d*) December. — Threshing grain

Agriculture in Old English Times

From an Anglo-Saxon Calendar, ca. 1050

hundred court. In this court the disputes between the quarrelsome villagers were taken up and settled. The hundred court was especially busied with trying crimes of theft, usually cattle stealing, which was a common crime in those days.

The hundred.

If for any reason a villager failed to get his suit taken up in the hundred court, he could carry his quarrel to the court of the shire. The division of the kingdom into shires was of early origin and may have resulted from the consolidation of the petty kingdoms: a few of the shires such as Sussex, Kent, Surrey, and Essex, are clearly the old kingdoms of the same name; many of the western and northwestern shires are evidently of artificial origin; they were created when Alfred and his successors were adding Mercian territory to their kingdom. The system had reached its completion by Edgar's time, and has been changed but slightly since: the English shires have kept their old names and in general their old areas. After the Norman conquest they also took on the title of county, which was later brought to America.

The shire.

The shire was governed by a chief called an ealdorman, who might or might not have more than one shire. Another important official was the shire reeve, whom we now call the sheriff. The court of the shire, like that of the hundred, was made up of the chief men from the villages. It met twice a year, chiefly for judicial purposes. It may be believed that, in ordinary cases, disputes were settled on the testimony of those who had actual knowledge of the facts; but where evidence was wanting and suspicion strong, the court resorted to the ordeal.

The ealdorman and the sheriff.

Like the other Germanic tribes, the Angles and Saxons had in such cases permitted the use of compurgation: the accused would swear to his own innocence, and if a certain number of "oath helpers" would swear that they believed his oath to be "clean," he was acquitted of the charge. In an age when the belief that God would bring swift punishment upon every perjurer was still

Court procedure: compurgation and ordeal.

strong, this method might be quite effective in cases where the accused was actually guilty. But it was soon superseded by the ordeal, which was a solemn appeal to God to declare the guilt or the innocence of the alleged criminal.[1] The ordeal was carried out by the priests and was accompanied by elaborate religious ceremonies. Various tests were employed, but that of the hot iron is typical: after the preliminaries had been completed, the accused would be given a red-hot iron to carry a short distance. That his hand would be burned was expected; but if the wound seemed fresh after three days, it was a sure indication of innocence. The ordeal, too, might be effective, as a man with a guilty conscience would be unlikely to submit to a fiery test.

32. Development of the Monarchy: Central Government.[2] In theory the Old English kingdom was an absolute monarchy; in practice the royal power was not widely felt, as the king lacked the necessary machinery for effective government. Usually he took no steps of importance without consulting the great officials of the land, the bishops, the ealdormen, and a few others, who formed the "meeting of the wise," or the *witenagemot*. This body had a variety of vague powers, but only when a weak king was on the throne did it ever display much strength as a governing body.

The Witenagemot.

From the treaty of Chippenham, to the accession of Ethelred II, the Ill-counseled, was almost exactly a century. This was the great age of the Old English monarchy. Successful conquest gave the English a sense of strength and security. The literary impulse that Alfred gave to Saxon intellect continued and the tenth century saw the production of several spirited martial poems of great merit inspired by the struggle with the Danes.[3] The Anglo-Saxon kings entered into closer relations with the rulers of the Continent: several of Alfred's granddaughters found royal husbands across the

England in the tenth century.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 46.

[2] Masterman, 16–19; Tuell and Hatch, No. 4.

[3] Cheyney, No. 43; Innes, I, 33–35; Kendall, No. 8 (Battle of Brunanburh); see Gardiner, 63.

sea. The church, however, did not share in the new vigor; especially were the monastic institutions in a bad way. This gave occasion for a thorough reform of the English church which was planned and carried out by the strenuous Dunstan, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 960 while the mighty Edgar was king.

Decline of the monasteries.

33. St. Dunstan: Monastic Reform. The medieval Englishman looked with favor on the monastic life, though he did not enjoy its severities. It will be recalled that even as early as the time of Bede, when the English monasteries were scarcely more than half a century old, a loud complaint was raised against the corruption that had crept into the Northumbrian foundations.[1] The viking invasions were very destructive to the discipline as well as to the prosperity of these houses; and the settlement of large colonies of heathen among the discouraged Christians of the Danelaw cannot have failed to spread indifference and corruption in the church. But the English situation was by no means unique: the same paralyzing influence was felt in varying degree throughout all western Europe.

The Cluniac movement. 910.

In 910 a reform movement of vast consequences began in eastern France by the founding at Cluny of a great monastery where the Benedictine Rule was to be observed in all its strictness. Similar institutions were soon founded elsewhere, and these, unlike the older monasteries, were not independent, but were organized into a great federation of monasteries, the Congregation of Cluny, of which the abbot of the parent monastery was the chief. As each monastery was supervised and supported by the Congregation, it was easier to combat corrupting influences in these newer houses than under the older system of independent monasteries. A generation later the Cluniac ideals of reform and centralization had struck root in England, where their chief promoter was a learned monk from the Severn valley, the virile, but imperious and tactless, Dunstan.[2]

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[1] Review sec. 20.

[2] Tuell and Hatch, No. 5.

About 950 Dunstan, as abbot of Glastonbury, completely reorganized this monastery according to Cluniac models. For the next thirty years there was an active interest in the revival of decayed or ruined monasteries after the stricter Benedictine type. Soon the movement extended to the Danelaw, and the monastic houses of the Fenlands rose once more. But Dunstan and his followers were not content with rebuilding monasteries and reviving discipline: their purpose was to make the reformed monks the controlling force in the English church. To this end they proceeded to reorganize the cathedrals and other important churches where the services were being performed by secular priests.

Dunstan and his reform work.

The dispossession of these priests, whose places were taken by monks, and the arrogant behavior of the monastic party called forth strong opposition, and the reign of Edgar the Peaceful soon became a period of violent strife. It is significant that the trouble was limited to the southern Danelaw, where the partisans of the monks and the faction of the priests took up arms and brought the region to the verge of civil war. Such was the situation when Edgar died (975).

Civil war in the Danelaw.

34. The Viking Invasions Renewed. A few years later the Scandinavian pirates renewed their attacks on the English shores. The counties of the southwest were the first to suffer, as the raids apparently originated in the Norse colonies about the Irish Sea. But soon the entire coast from the mouth of the Thames to Bristol Channel was made to feel the fury of the vikings. It was not long before the raiders began plundering farther inland and even wintered on the island. The region that suffered most was the old kingdom of Wessex, which for more than thirty years knew only brief intervals of peace.[1] Of the country north of the Thames, only the East Anglian regions were troubled to any great extent: the vikings usually spared the settlements of their countrymen.

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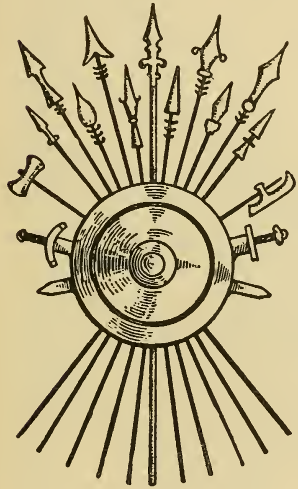
[1] Cheyney, No. 48; Innes, I, 36–39; Kendall, No. 11.

Ethelred the Ill-counseled.

The king of England during this mournful period was Ethelred the Ill-counseled, a younger son of the mighty Edgar, who came to the throne as a mere boy. As he developed into manhood it was discovered that he was grossly incompetent; but this defect was common to the English leaders of the age. With discontent and disloyalty north of the Thames and the vikings spreading desolation in the south, the king and the "wise men" soon found themselves in desperate straits. Finally the English chiefs hit upon the expedient of buying off the enemy. Silver to the sum of more than one hundred thousand pounds was collected and paid from time to time in the form of Danegeld (Dane-money). After each payment the enemy departed; but soon the same bands, and others, too, that had been attracted by the news of British wealth, were once more in the land. So frequently was the Danegeld levied that it soon came to be looked upon as a permanent land tax, which might be collected even in times of peace. Finally the English adopted the even more doubtful expedient of hiring several thousands of these vikings to defend the land against their piratical brethren.

Danegeld.


Anglo-Saxon Weapons

35. Sweyn Forkbeard and Cnut the Great.[1] Among the Scandinavian chiefs who were interested in the English venture was Sweyn Forkbeard, the king of Denmark. Sweyn was a king of the olden type, an able warrior and a cunning diplomat, who seems to have regarded himself in the light of a war chief rather than of a national ruler. Several times this warlike king led a host into England. When

Sweyn Forkbeard.

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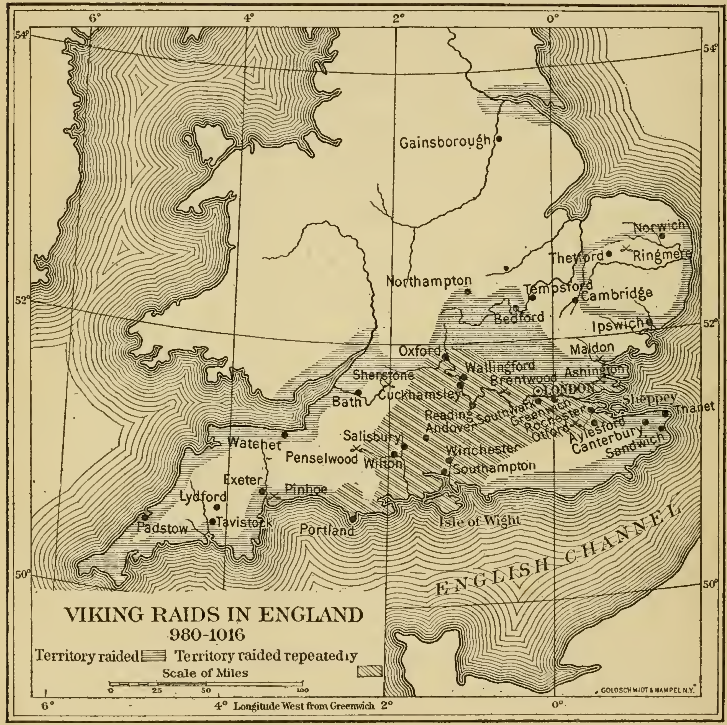
[1] Cheyney, No. 50.

he came for the last time (in 1013), it was with the avowed purpose of seizing Ethelred's kingdom. He sailed his fleet into the Humber and up the Trent to Gainsborough, where he built his camp. Soon his army was in swift march southward into Wessex. A brief campaign gave him control of the entire kingdom. Ethelred fled to Normandy.



VIKING RAIDS IN ENGLAND
980-1016

Territory raided ▤ Territory raided repeatedly ▨

6°
4°
2°
0°
54°
52°
50°
Gainsborough
Norwich
Thetford
Ringmere
Northampton
Tempsford
Cambridge
Bedford
Ipswich
Oxford
Maldon
Wallingford
Ashingdon
Sherstone
Brentwood
LONDON
Bath
Cuckhamsley
Sheppey
Thanet
Reading
Southwark
Greenwich
Andover
Rochester
Otford
Aylesford
Canterbury
Sandwich
Salisbury
Watchet
Penselwood
Wilton
Winchester
Southampton
Exeter
Pinhoe
Lydford
Tavistock
Padstow
Portland
Isle of Wight
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Scale of Miles
0
25
50
100
Longitude West from Greenwich
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

After a few months, Sweyn Forkbeard suddenly died, and the English rose in revolt. Ethelred returned, and with the aid of the viking mercenaries who had remained loyal to their agreement he drove the Danes, who were now led by Sweyn's younger son Cnut, out of the land. Cnut returned to Denmark, where his older brother was king,

1014.

and collected a new force of adventurers with which he invaded England in 1015. In this force were Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes; Ethelred's mercenaries now deserted and joined their countrymen. A hard-fought campaign followed, during which King Ethelred died. His son Edmund Ironside kept up the resistance with wonderful energy and for a time the war promised to be a drawn battle; but in the autumn of 1016 the English suffered a crushing defeat at Ashington in East Anglia, and Cnut was master of the land. He divided the kingdom with Edmund, taking for himself most of the country north of the Thames. When Edmund died a few weeks later, the young conqueror came into possession of the entire kingdom.

Cnut the Great.

The battle of Ashington. 1016.

36. The Danish Rule in England. The Danish king governed England for nearly twenty years. It was galling to the Saxons to have to submit to an upstart pirate, who had neither crown nor lands elsewhere, and during the first few years of his reign there was much plotting; but Cnut was able to defeat the conspirators on every occasion. He divided the Danelaw into a number of earldoms over which he placed the captains of his viking army. The West Saxon part of his kingdom he reserved for his own immediate rule.

37. The Anglo-Scandinavian Empire. The native English gradually became reconciled to alien rule, for Cnut gave the country a long period of peace and good government such as England had not known so long as men could remember. He also strengthened his rule by making a strong alliance with the English church. Added luster came to his kingship when Cnut succeeded his brother as king of Denmark two or three years after he had mounted the English throne. About ten years later (1028) he added Norway to his dominions. The Danish kings had an ancient claim to the southern shores of Norway, but none to the kingdom as a whole. But King Olaf of Norway had made many enemies in his kingdom by his stern missionary methods and his ruthless persecution of the heathen worshipers.

Cnut becomes king of Denmark and Norway.

Cnut seized the opportunity to press his claim, and Norway was conquered without a battle.

Other dominions of Cnut.

The old city of Winchester was thus the capital of a mighty empire of three kingdoms and several vassal states: for Cnut had possessions on the south shores of the Baltic Sea; he held the islands to the north and west of Scotland with parts of the Scotch mainland; the east coast of Ireland may also have belonged to his empire. In this Anglo-Scandinavian empire the Danish rather than the English influence was dominant. What hopes Cnut may have had that the empire would remain a permanent creation were not realized: his sons did not possess their father's abilities, and seven years after Cnut's death, his kingdoms all had separate kings.

1042.

38. The Reign of Edward the Confessor.[1] A new alien influence, the Norman-French, almost immediately succeeded that of the Danes. Ethelred the Ill-counseled had married Emma, a Norman princess, and their son Edward, known as the Confessor, who had spent thirty years in exile among his Norman kinsmen, became king of England after the death of Cnut's second son. With the new ruler, who was Norman in sympathies, came many of his friends and relatives, to whom he gave high offices in England. Especially did Edward favor the foreigners in filling the great offices of the church: the archbishopric of Canterbury, the highest dignity in the English church, was given to a Norman abbot.

Norman influence in England.

On the secular side, however, the chief offices remained largely in the hands of the English. In the south the ruling influence was that of Godwin, King Edward's father-in-law, one of Cnut's chief administrators, who had risen from comparative obscurity to become Earl of Wessex and husband of a Danish princess. In the Midlands a Mercian chief, Leofric, was the ranking earl. The history of the Confessor's reign centers largely about the

Rivalry of the families of Godwin and Leofric.

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[1] Gardiner, 86–91.

rivalry that existed between these two families. This reached a crisis ten years after Edward's accession, and resulted in civil war: Godwin and his many fierce sons were sent into temporary exile.

39. Duke William of Normandy. The duchy of Normandy[1] had been founded in the early part of the tenth century, a dozen years after the death of Alfred. In 911 a considerable force of Scandinavian pirates had taken possession of the lower Seine valley, and were permitted by the helpless French king to occupy and hold the land on condition that their chief should do homage to him and protect the Channel shore from the depredations of other vikings. The Northmen settled down in their new homes, intermarried with the conquered population, and accepted the faith of their neighbors and subjects. After a few generations the Normans had become French in language and civilization, though they continued to keep in close touch with their kinsmen in Scandinavia.

Normandy. 911.

In the days of Edward the Confessor, William, a young prince of great strength of character and purpose, ruled in Normandy. He was Edward's cousin, and in 1051, while the Norman influence was at its height at the English court, he visited his English kinsman. It is said that Edward on that occasion promised to make William his successor to the English throne. It seems that William had an ambition to repeat the great exploit of Cnut; and while no promise on the Confessor's part with respect to the succession could have any legal force, it might prove useful when the time came to raise forces for an invading expedition.

Duke William of Normandy.

Soon after this visit a reaction set in against Norman domination. Earl Godwin was permitted to return from exile and was restored to all his rights. After his death his oldest son Harold succeeded to his dignities, and during the closing years of Edward's reign, he was the virtual ruler of the kingdom.

Earl Harold of Wessex.

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[1] Gardiner, 80–81.

40. The Death of Edward and the Election of Harold II. Edward the Confessor was a man of good purposes and intentions, but he was weak and unkingly. At one time he seems to have looked forward to a monastic career, and he never lost his admiration for the monastic life and habits. He believed in peace and frugal administration, and did not find it necessary to levy burdensome taxes. Among his people he enjoyed a reputation for saintliness; this together with the fact that he discontinued levying the Danegeld seems to have formed the basis for his great popularity. The last public act of his life was to assist at the dedication of Westminster Abbey, a church that was founded through his liberality and in which he showed a deep interest. He died early in January, 1066.

Character and rule of Edward.

Westminster Abbey.

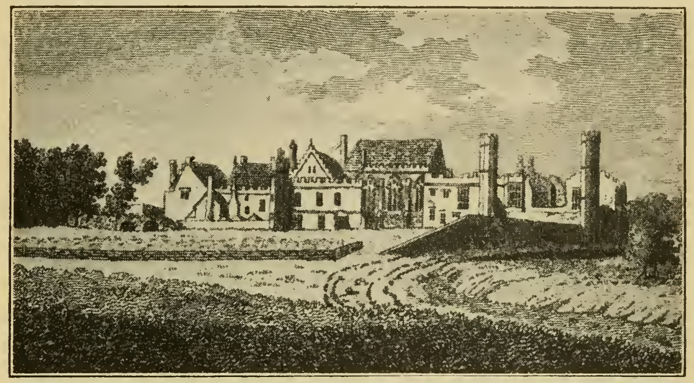
Immediately four candidates appeared as claimants to the English throne: Harold, the earl of Wessex; William, the duke of Normandy; Edgar, a grandson of Edmund Ironside; and Harold, the king of Norway. Of these Edgar had the best right as representative of Alfred's dynasty; but he was insignificant and incompetent and was never seriously considered. William of Normandy also claimed to represent the Saxon line as Edward's cousin and chosen heir; Harold of Norway made a weak pretense at having inherited the rights of Cnut, though the reigning king of Denmark, who was Cnut's nephew, had a better right, but was not an active candidate. Harold of Wessex had no constitutional rights to the throne, but he was the ablest and mightiest lord in England and the late king's brother-in-law; he had long planned to secure the throne after Edward's death. A meeting of the lords was hurriedly called, and Harold was chosen king. It is likely that this election was somewhat irregular, as the entire kingdom may not have been represented in this assembly. At any rate, the earls of Mercia and Northumbria, two brothers of the rival family of Leofric, did not accept the new king with any degree of loyalty. This was the weakness of Harold's

Four candidates for the English throne.

Election of Harold.

position: the English aristocracy did not give him its undivided support.

41. The Battles of Stamford Bridge and Hastings.[1] Harold ruled England for less than a year and spent nearly all the time in vain efforts to bolster up his tottering throne. Till early summer he was safe, as no hostile force would venture to cross the sea in winter; but trouble was in prospect, as both Harold of Norway and William of Normandy were preparing for an invasion. The English king collected a strong force on the Channel shore in expectation of a Norman landing. William, however, was delayed by unfavorable winds and the Norwegian host had landed in Yorkshire before the Normans were able to embark. King Harold hurried northward and crushed the Norwegians in the battle of Stamford Bridge.[2] Nevertheless, the Norse invasion was fatal to Anglo-Saxon freedom and nationality. While Harold was in Yorkshire, William was able to land his sea-



Battle Abbey

The Abbey of St. Martin of the Place of Battle was founded by William the Conqueror soon after the battle of Hastings; it was located on the battlefield.

Battle of Stamford Bridge.

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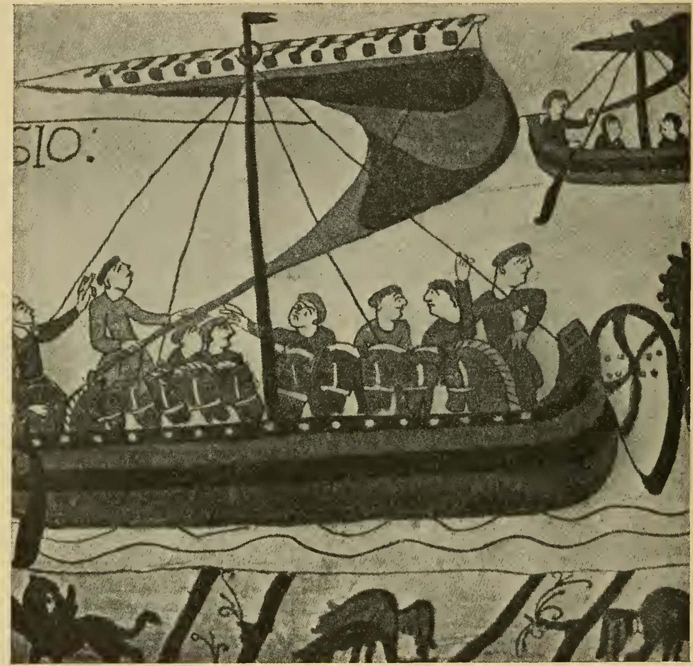
[1] Cheyney, Nos. 52, 54; Innes, I, 39–44; Robinson, No. 45; these accounts are from four different sources.

[2] Gardiner, 93–96.

wearied Normans without opposition, and Harold now had to meet the new enemy with a weakened force.



William Sailing to England

From the Bayeux Tapestry.

The Bayeux Tapestry is a strip of linen cloth 231 feet long and 20 inches wide, on which is embroidered a series of pictures, seventy-two in all, illustrating the various stages of the Norman invasion of England. It seems likely that the tapestry was prepared on the order of Bishop Odo, William I's half brother, for his cathedral at Bayeux. It is preserved in the public library of Bayeux.

Battle of Hastings. 1066.

On October 19, 1066, the Norman and Saxon hosts met on the field of Hastings[1] and fought a battle with the most far-reaching results. The nucleus of the Norman army was a splendid body of knights, heavily armed warriors mounted on powerful horses, whose favorite weapon was the sword. On the Saxon side the forces were grouped about the housecarles, a force made up chiefly of Scandinavian warriors that was organized by Cnut soon after his accession in England. The housecarles used the battle-ax as their principal weapon and fought on foot. The knight overcame the housecarle. When the fight was ended William had won a complete victory. The English had lost not only their army but their king: Harold and his brothers and the flower of the English host lay dead on the battlefield.

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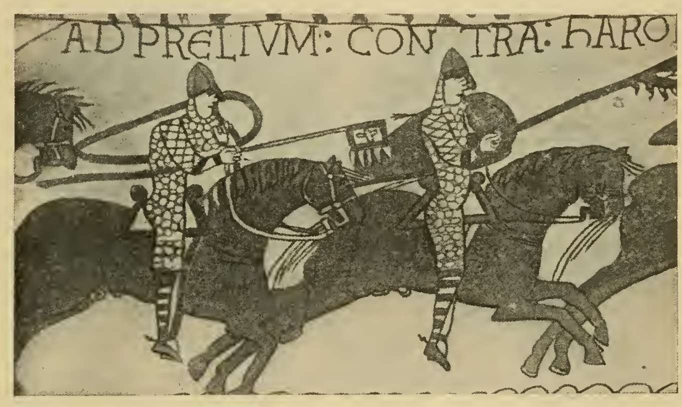
[1] Gardiner, 96–98.


AD PRELIVM: CON TRA: HARO

Norman Warriors Riding to Battle

From the Bayeux Tapestry.

42. The Norman Conquest of England. Two months later William was chosen king by the English lords and was crowned on Christmas day in the new church of Westminster. But actual control of England he did not have for some years. One revolt appeared after the other, especially in the old Danish settlements; but they were local and sporadic. So long as the English did not unite in their resistance, William found it comparatively easy to put down these rebellions. The conquest was carried forward in ruthless fashion: when the men of Yorkshire refused to submit, William marched his army into the beautiful vale of York and

Devastation of the Vale of York. 1069.

Hereward.

transformed it into a desert.[1] For a distance of more than fifty miles between York and Durham, not a single village was spared. The last important revolt was that of Hereward, a Mercian of noble ancestry who led an uprising in the Fenlands, and whose exploits became a favorite theme in the ballad literature of medieval times. It was not until the surrender of Hereward in 1071 that William could look upon the work of conquest as completed.

Seal of William the Conqueror

43. Summary. The history of the Old English kingdom covers exactly two centuries: it begins with the accession of Alfred to the throne of Wessex in 871 and closes with the completion of the Norman conquest in 1071. Of these two centuries, the first was a period of greatness and growth in almost every field of English life; the second was an age of disaster and decline. During the tenth century the English kings pushed their boundaries to the limits of Wales and Scotland and formed the whole into a single kingdom. The period was also one of notable achievements in literature, in education, and in church reform. But the new structure had a fatal weakness: it was based too largely on conquest. The Danelaw[2] was the larger part of the kingdom; and it was inhabited by Angles who had no strong sense of loyalty to the kings of

[1] Cheyney, No. 55.

[2] Review sec. 29.

Wessex and by Danes who had resisted them to the utmost. Had the dynasty of Alfred been permitted to remain in peace on the new English throne for another century, it is likely that Saxons, Angles, and Danes would have been welded into a single nationality; but the viking invasions prevented this.

After southern England had been pillaged by the vikings for thirty years, the strength of Wessex was gone, and Sweyn Forkbeard found conquest a comparatively easy task. When the English people submitted to Cnut in 1016, they gave up their right to govern England; for Cnut placed foreigners in many of the higher offices, and after the Danes were gone, the Normans came in with Edward the Confessor. Cnut built up an empire, but he added nothing to the territories of England, and he lost Lothian to the Scots.[1] Edward did nothing to consolidate his kingdom and the two great sections continued to drift apart. The campaign against William of Normandy should have called out all the forces of the kingdom, but the lords of the Danelaw sulked and failed to appear at Hastings; and the enemy conquered.

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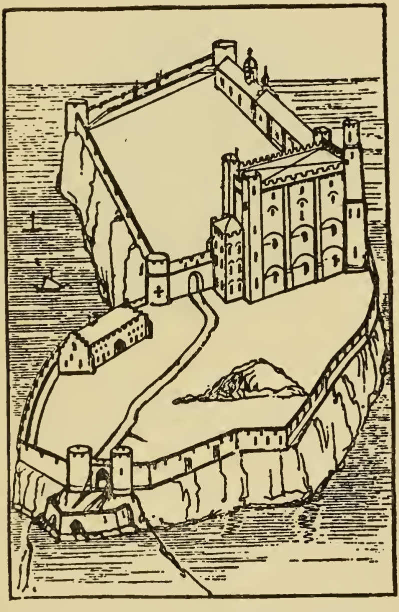
[1] Gardiner, 84.

CHAPTER III

ENGLAND UNDER NORMAN RULE

44. Policy of William. William of Normandy apparently did not regard himself as a conqueror: he professed to believe in his rights to the English crown as Edward's heir. It was, therefore, his avowed purpose to govern England as an English king; to enforce English laws; and to maintain English institutions. The results of the conquest, however, do not show any clear traces of this policy: the coming of William and his Norman barons initiated certain marked changes in English government and society, some of which came to be permanent features of the English constitution and of English life.[1]



IDEAL OF PLAN A TWELFTH CENTURY CASTLE

45. The Norman Aristocracy. Perhaps the most important of the earlier results was the destruction of the native Anglo-Saxon aristocracy. The English nobles fell in great numbers on the field of Hastings where Earl Godwin's family perished, in the uprisings led by the family of Leofric two years later, and in various later revolts. During William's reign the

Destruction of the English aristocracy.

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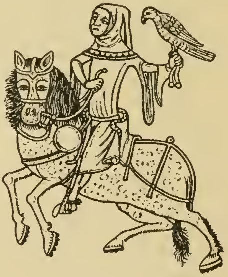
[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 8 (Freeman); Gardiner, 104–106.

Danes made two expeditions to the English shores,[1] the chief results of which were the ruin of several important native chiefs who had joined the Scandinavians in the hope of dislodging William. As a rule, the Conqueror was generous to his English opponents if they were of noble blood; usually he spared their lives, though in such cases he managed to render them harmless by transporting them to Normandy. Those whom he permitted to remain in England were deprived of their lands and wealth, and consequently lost all their power and influence. In these various ways the native Englishmen lost their natural leaders and organized opposition was made impossible.

The Norman castles.

The places of authority and power that had formerly been held by the English nobility King William gave to his Norman followers and barons. These aliens were often permitted to live in castles, which in theory belonged to the king but were held by the barons on his behalf. A castle was a combination of home, fortress, and camp. At first it was merely a fortified enclosure or a single square building called a keep, built with massive walls and several stories high; but in time a more elaborate form of castle-building arose. The later castle was an enclosure surrounded by a deep moat and a strong wall provided with towers at regular intervals to facilitate defense. Along the wall on the inside were placed the necessary buildings: the lord's hall, the chapel, the kitchen, the barns, the stables, the barracks for the retainers, and various other buildings. In this little fortress the lord kept a number of warriors, often mercenaries and in the Norman period usually foreigners, a force that served as a garrison and an army of occupation for the neighborhood. With the country dotted



HAWKING

A favorite form of amusement of the Norman nobility including the ladies. The hawks were trained to assist in certain forms of hunting. From the Luttrell Psalter, ca. 1340.

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[1] Innes, I, 45–48.

with such fortresses, a native uprising had only the slightest chance to succeed.

46. Dispossession of the English. The experience of earlier kings had been that a vassal so well provided with military strength might become a dangerous subject; but the circumstances of the conquest forestalled such results in England. It was with difficulty that William had persuaded his barons to join in the invasion; he finally had to enter into a series of separate agreements with them, according to which they were all to be rewarded with English lands and honors, each in proportion to the assistance rendered. By dispossessing the Anglo-Saxon nobility much land was secured for distribution; but the Conqueror went farther and confiscated the lands of almost every Englishman who had joined in resisting the Normans. The distribution of land began in southern England soon after the battle of Hastings. After each subsequent rebellion more land was confiscated, until finally the great mass of the native population was deprived of all rights to the earth.

Confiscation of land.

Distribution of land to Normans.

These successive confiscations also had the result that the possessions of the Norman lords came to be, not large compact areas as on the Continent, but a number of estates usually called "manors" sometimes widely scattered and in counties far apart. In this way the noble was unable to mass his strength, and the danger from rebellion on the part of the barons was materially reduced. Nine years after the battle of Hastings, two of these Norman magnates, the earls of Hereford and Norfolk, planned a revolt; but William was able to defeat the conspiracy with little difficulty, and he inflicted severe punishment on the followers of the two rebels. From that time on, the restless Normans held their peace until after the Conqueror's death; but no sooner had William II succeeded to the throne than he had to face revolts in several parts of his kingdom. On this occasion the Norman king called on the English militia in the counties near London to assist in fighting the rebellious

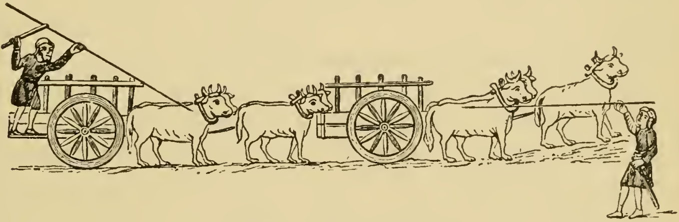
Revolt of 1075.

Revolt of the barons. 1088.

nobles; the English came in force, and the conspiracy was unsuccessful.

47. The Manorial System: Villeinage.[1] This dispossession of the English was the second great change that came with the conquest. It is not to be supposed that the natives were driven away from the land; the Normans needed them to till the soil and permitted them to remain in possession of their farms so long as they rendered the services and paid the dues that the new system demanded. Practically the entire rural population was in this way forced into villeinage. A serf, or villein, was an unfree farmer who tilled a farm that was assigned to him on condition that he should render certain payments in the form of products, labor, and sometimes money. So long as these conditions were promptly met the villein could not be deprived of his land; nor could he surrender the farm, for a villein was regarded as belonging to the soil like a house or a tree. His duty was to till faithfully, and this duty was inherited by his children. For a long time there was practically no refuge for a dispossessed serf, no place where he might go and find a welcome; consequently, he found it expedient to labor at his farm in quiet obedience.

The English become villeins.



Carts and Ox teams
Eleventh Century.

It is easy, however, to overestimate the servile condition of the villein; his rights very soon came to be clearly defined, and it is not likely that the villagers suffered much from arbitrary treatment on the part of the lord. Life on the manor was regulated by time-honored customs; and these the villeins would not permit the lord to set aside. It is also clear that, if the landlord subjected his villeins to very much ill treatment, his income from the land was likely to shrink. There is probably more discontent, degradation, poverty, and actual suffering in large sections of the modern industrial city than in the medieval village, where the population was rooted to the soil.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 46–56.

Treatment of the villeins.

48. Norman Feudalism in England.[1] Upon this basis of villeinage the Normans built an aristocratic system, a form of what on the Continent was called feudalism. The feudal system (if we can use the term system for an arrangement so confused and unsystematic) originated and developed in the Frankish Empire during the troublous times of the eighth and ninth centuries. It was at once a government and a social system. In theory the king owned all the land, which he distributed among his chief lords, who would in turn give parts of their share to men of lesser rank. All who in this way had land that had been given by a king or a lord owed certain services to this overlord which they must render, or all their rights to the land would be forfeited.[2] In this respect the lord resembled the serf; but the lord had privileges that the villein did not possess: the dues that he owed were honorable, while those paid by the villein were servile; the lord's profession was warfare and government, and his sons might also look forward to honorable careers as important officials in the church. The serf, on the other hand, was practically bound to manual labor; if the lord permitted, his son might enter the service of the church; but ordinarily a villein could have no hopes beyond the limits of the manor.

Origin and nature of feudalism.

Dues, services, and privileges of vassals.

It is important to remember that King William did not give out all the confiscated lands. Like the other lords he had estates all over England which were managed by stewards who were responsible to the king as landlord. On these estates the farmers rendered service and paid rent directly to the king. This group of manors was known as the king's demesne and was far larger than the possessions of any other landlord in the kingdom.

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[1] Masterman, 22–24.

[2] Cheyney, No. 81.

The king as a landlord; the royal demesne.

49. **Justice and Police in Norman Times.** The introduction of feudalism and villeinage brought about certain profound changes in the constitution of the kingdom. The Norman lord was at the same time a warrior, a landlord, and a local ruler. He was given his land that he might be able to equip himself with horses, weapons, armor, and other necessities of warfare, and to bring other armed men with him. But he not only drew revenue from the land, he also governed the people upon the land, at least to a very large extent. Government in those days meant chiefly furnishing police protection, settling disputes and quarrels, and punishing criminals. As there was no regular system of police officials, William decreed that all the men of the villages who had reached the age of twelve years should be grouped as nearly as might be into groups of ten, each group to be responsible for its own members to the extent of securing the arrest of any one who should offend against the law. This institution was called the frankpledge and was under the supervision of the sheriff.

Local government under feudalism.

The frankpledge.

Ordinarily the lord was allowed to have his own law-court on his estates, where the villeins met under the presidency of the lord's steward, or other representative, to settle the disputes of the community. It was presumed that the Old English law would be applied in these courts; but the Normans had little knowledge of what was law in England, so there was introduced a great deal of Norman custom which was accepted as binding. Local customs, too, grew up and these also received the force of law.

The private (manorial) courts.

The establishment of these private manorial courts meant the practical extinction of one of the old judicial institutions:[1]

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[1] Review sec. 31.

Decline of the Old English courts.

the hundred court, which in Saxon times had heard a vast number of petty disputes and complaints, had now almost no business to transact, and gradually withered away. The county court also suffered somewhat in prestige; but it did not wholly disappear, as there was much litigation that the manorial courts could not be expected to take up and settle. The survival of the shire court and the sheriff's office was of prime importance. A century after the conquest the kings became anxious to reduce the power and authority of the feudal lords, and in the struggle that followed they found the old shire government exceedingly useful.

50. The Great Council: the Curia Regis. The changes in the central government are chiefly concerned with two institutions, the exchequer and the council of the barons. According to feudal practice, the council of the barons[1] should be made up of all who had received land directly from the king, that is, of the tenants-in-chief. As there were hundreds of such tenants and many of them had received only small grants from the king, it is likely that only the more important actually attended these meetings. King William spent much of his time in Normandy; but when he was in England he entertained his chief men at three great church festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. These occasions were not wholly social: important political matters were brought up and discussed, though it is not likely that the king was expected to follow the advice of the barons unless he felt disposed to do so.

The Great Council of the barons.

The king also kept a small group of counselors and officials continuously at court to assist him in the management of his affairs as king and landlord. This body was commonly called the *curia regis*[2] or "king's court," a vague term that was also at times used for the great council. The membership was largely composed of lawyers and churchmen, the latter being chosen for their knowledge of Latin and

The Curia Regis.

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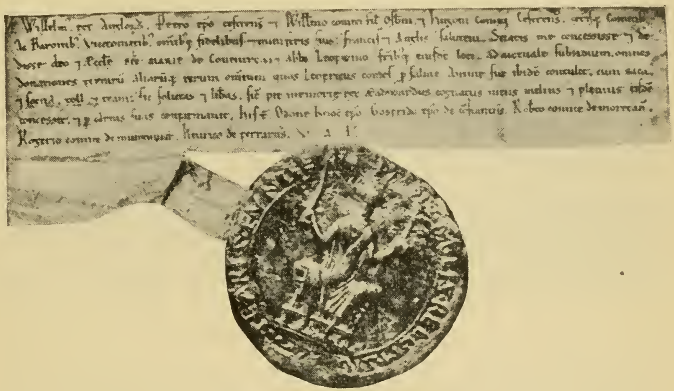
[1] Masterman, 25–26.

[2] Gardiner, 127; Masterman, 26–27, 33–34.

for their ability to draw up documents. In its earlier days the *curia regis* transacted a great variety of business; but when some particular phase of the government grew to great importance it would be assigned to some part of the membership and this group would in time develop into a separate body. Out of this *curia regis* nearly all the central administration of the kingdom has developed: the central law courts, the privy council, and the cabinet.



William the Conqueror's Writ and Seal

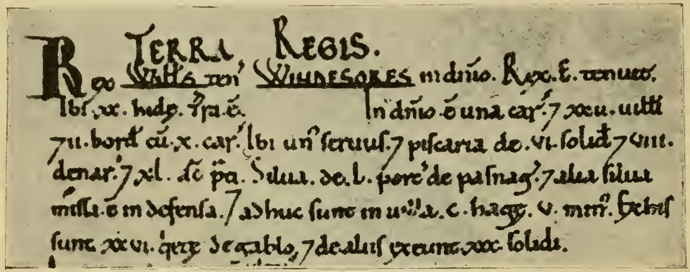
Translation of William I's Grant to Coventry

William, king of the English, sends greetings to Peter, bishop of Chester, and Earl William Fitzosbern and Hugh, earl of Chester, and to his other earls, barons, and sheriffs, and to all his faithful liegemen, both French and English. You shall know that I have granted and confirmed to God and the church of St. Mary at Coventry and to Abbot Leofwine and the brethren of that place, for their support and sustenance, all the gifts of land and of all other things which Earl Leofric gave to them for the health of his soul, to to be held with sac and soc, toll and team, as fully and freely as King Edward of pious memory, my kinsman, gave the same to them even more fully and freely and confirmed the gift with his charters. These are the witnesses: Odo, bishop of Bayeux; Gosfrid, bishop of Coutances; Robert, count of Mortain; Roger, earl of Montgomery; Henry of Ferrers.

("Sac and soc" is a technical term for the right to try criminal offences and to collect the fines imposed on conviction; "toll" means the right to collect, or to be excused from paying, tolls; "team" probably meant the right to summon to a private court men who ordinarily would not be under the jurisdiction of that court.)

51. Financial Administration: the Exchequer. The Norman kings were thrifty administrators and sought to enlarge the royal revenues as much as possible. It was for this purpose that William the Conqueror shortly before his death had the great assessment made that is recorded in Domesday Book.[1] Commissioners were sent into all the hundreds of the kingdom, and by the aid of the landlords and the villeins all the land in the kingdom was valued and appraised, each manor by itself. It was possible to determine by this assessment what the economic situation was in all parts of the kingdom, how much land tax each village was in the habit of paying, and how much might be expected in future levies.

Domesday Book.



TERRA REGIS.
Rex Wills ten' Windesores in dnio. Rex. E. tenuit.
Ibi .xx. hidę. Tra. ē. In dnio. ē una car. 7 xxii. uitti
7 ii. bord cu .x. car. Ibi un seruus. 7 piscaria de .vi. solid. 7 viii.
denar. 7 xl. ac pti. Silua. de. l. porc de pasnag. 7 alia silua
missa ē in defensa. 7 adhuc sunt in uilla .c. hagę. v. min. Ex his
sunt xxvi. qete de gablo, 7 de aliis exeunt .xxx. solidi.

PART OF A PAGE FROM DOMESDAY BOOK

TRANSLATION

The king's land. King William holds Windsor in demesne. King Edward held it. There are twenty hides. There is land [ ]. There is one plow on the demesne; and there are twenty-two villeins and two bordars [cotters] with ten plows. There is one serf, and there is a fishery worth six shillings and eight pence; and there are forty acres of meadow. The woodland yields pannage * for fifty swine, and other woodland is enclosed [in the king's forest]. In addition there are in the vill one hundred less five haws [enclosed homesteads?]. Of these twenty-six are exempt from dues; the rest yield thirty shillings.

* By "pannage" is meant dues from the pasturing of swine.

The Exchequer.

Under Henry I, the third Norman king, there first appears a department of finance, the exchequer, which still exists as a very important part of the English government. Most of the revenue due the king from each county was collected by the sheriff of the county. Twice a year, at Easter and at Michaelmas (September 29), the sheriff had to appear at Westminster to render accounts for what was due the king and to settle with the treasurer. The settlement was made in the exchequer chamber, where the chief members of the *curia regis* and their clerks were gathered about a large table covered with a striped cloth. Tokens were used instead of actual coins; and as the whole transaction suggested a game of chess, the table came to be known as the exchequer table and the chamber as the exchequer. At the present time the chancellor of the exchequer is one of the chiefs in the cabinet, being second only to the prime minister. His duty is to watch over the expenditures of the government, to estimate the funds needed for the coming year, and to suggest ways and means of procuring them.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 67, 68; Gardiner, 111–112; Kendall, p. 44.

The king's revenues.

52. The Boroughs.[1] The chief sources of the Norman king's income were the revenues from his estates, the services rendered by his feudal tenants, and the ancient dues from the counties; but it was not long before new sources were discovered in the cities. The cities, or boroughs, as they were called, had suffered much during the turbulent years that followed 1066; many of them were entirely destroyed. But the need for commercial centers and regular market places soon caused these to be rebuilt, and other new ones were founded. The Norman invasion which was at first disastrous to the cities soon led to their growth and prosperity. The Normans were excellent builders and the new boroughs were a great improvement over the old. The contact with Normandy led to an increase of trade; and gradually close and enduring business connections were formed with the commercial centers on the Continent, especially with Flanders and the Hanse-towns in northern Germany.

The boroughs of Norman times.

The character of the population of these boroughs also changed, for into these refounded cities came two new elements, the Norman trader and the Jew. Consequently, the boroughs lost their English character to a large extent. Cities could not very well be governed under feudal law, as this presupposed rural occupations. It therefore became customary to give these boroughs charters of self government. This privilege was a very desirable one, and usually had to be paid for, the price going to the royal treasury. Ordinarily the right to govern the city was placed in the hands of organized groups of merchants and tradesmen called gilds.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 43–45.

Norman and Jewish traders.

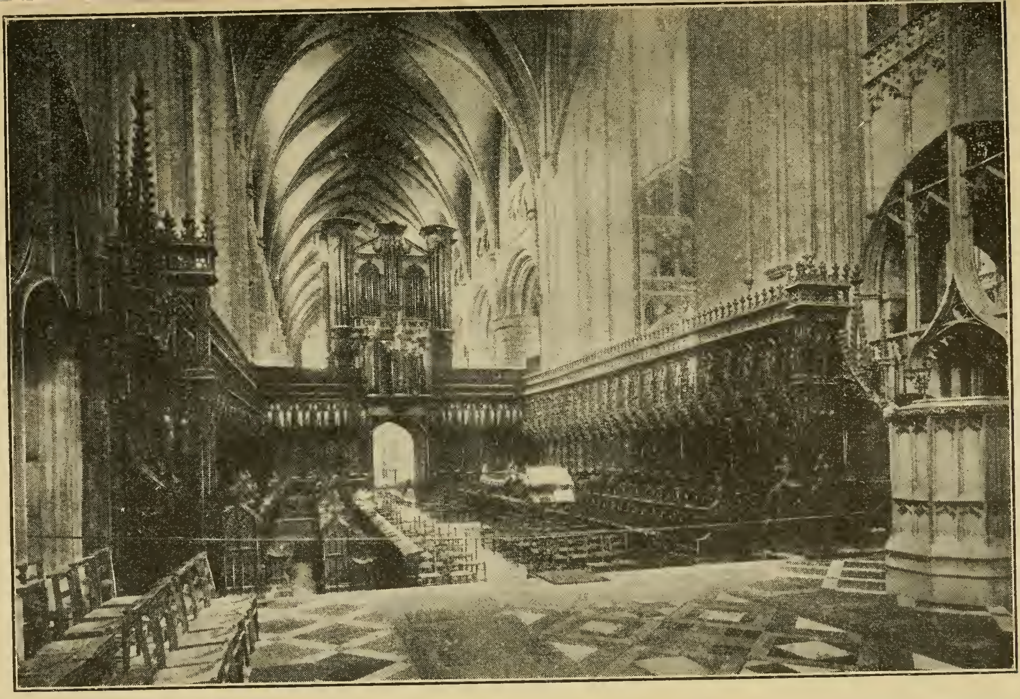
53. The Normans and the Church. Nowhere were the changes felt more profoundly than in the English church. As William found it advisable to establish a new aristocracy, he found it fully as important to replace the English hierarchy with Norman prelates. It was not long before the bishops, the abbots, and many of the lower church officials were men from the Continent. Thus the authority and influence of alien leadership radiated not only from castles and manorial courts, but also from cathedrals, churches, and monasteries. In control of the church as archbishop of Canterbury, William placed an Italian monk, the learned Lanfranc, who had earlier served as abbot of the important Norman monastery of Bec. Lanfranc was a man after the king's own heart, a lawyer and a statesman rather than an ecclesiastic, a churchman whose legal training had inclined him to place emphasis on the secular rather than on the ecclesiastical side of government.

The Norman officials in the church.

Lanfranc.

Though Lanfranc believed in the king's authority over the church, the result of the new régime was to reduce this authority and to bring the English church into closer dependence upon Rome. This was in part due to a promise made to the Papacy in 1066, when William was asking the papal blessing on his proposed expedition against a Christian king; but in greater part it was the outcome of a great reforming movement that was sweeping across Europe in the eleventh century.

54. The Reform Movement of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries. During the Saxon period the English church,



GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL

Interior view. This cathedral was originally an abbey church; its foundations were laid by Norman builders toward the close of the eleventh century.

though it loyally recognized the headship of the Roman see, enjoyed large freedom in its internal government. Three reasons may be assigned for this: England was far distant from the capital of Christendom; in the tenth and eleventh centuries the papacy was far too busy with its interests in Italy to give much attention to the distant churches; and until the middle of the eleventh century no efficient machinery had been devised for the supervision of churches beyond the Alps. But in the days of William I a system of papal envoys called legates was being developed, and a larger conception of the term Catholic came to hold sway at Rome, largely through the activities of William's mighty contemporary, the Tuscan monk Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII.

The freedom of the Anglo-Saxon church.

The legatine system.

Gregory VII.

Serious minded men had long been grieved to see the worldliness and corruption that seemed to permeate the church and believed that the cause of the evil lay in a too close dependence of the church on the state. The Cluniac movement[1] of the tenth century looked toward a correction of these evils: its aim was to free the church from worldliness by pledging the clergy to a celibate life and by securing freedom for the church to put its own chief officials into office without any assistance or interference from the secular government.

55. William I and Gregory VII. Conditions in the English church under Edward the Confessor had not been ideal: furthermore, the archbishop Stigand had been disloyal in recognizing an anti-pope. Hildebrand, who was the greatest single force at the Roman court, saw in William's ambitions an opportunity to gain a powerful ally, and induced the reluctant pope to bless a venture that looked very much like piracy. In return for this recognition William agreed to the Roman demand for a celibate clergy so far as to forbid future marriages of churchmen; but marriages already existing he refused to disturb. He also permitted the church to establish its

Changes and reforms in the English church: celibacy; church courts.

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[1] Review sec. 33.

own separate courts where questions that concerned the officials and the property of the church were to be tried and decided according to church law and by ecclesiastical judges. In William's own day this was scarcely a serious matter; but in the following century the rise and growth of the universities brought great accessions to the clerical ranks, for all graduates were classed as churchmen. This was also the age of the Crusades and the religious fervor that accompanied these movements led to a notable increase in the amount of church property. At the same time there was rapid growth of law and judicial machinery within the church. Because of these developments William's concession of separate church courts came to be of the first importance.

Election and investiture.

On a third point, however, the demand that the church should be allowed to select and invest its own officials, the Conqueror refused to yield: as the rulers of the church also assisted in the government of the state, he could not afford to part with the power of appointment, and the pope did not insist. It is likely that the conflict just then raging between Gregory VII and the emperor, Henry IV, which culminated in the famous meeting at Canossa, had much to do with the consideration that Gregory showed to William. A demand on the part of the pope that the new English king should do homage for his kingdom met with a respectful but firm refusal;[1] and on this point, too, the pope thought it wiser not to insist.

The refusal of homage.

56. William I as King. William the Conqueror governed England for twenty years, a period of great sorrow to the English, and, still, a period that was not without notable benefits to the land. The merits of William's rule lay in his striving after efficient government and in the even-handed justice that he dealt out to all his subjects. In his day the life and property of loyal Englishmen were as safe as the crude police machinery of the age could make them. The *Chronicle* tells us that he "was a very wise

Character of William I.

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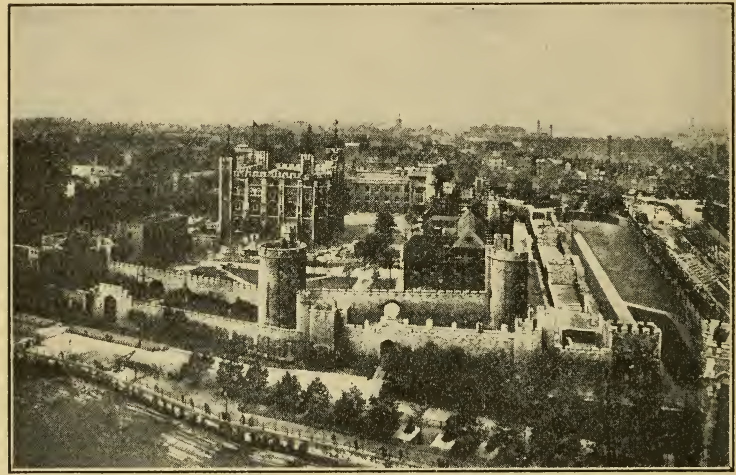
[1] Cheyney, No. 65.

man and very powerful; more dignified and strong than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men who loved God; and over all measure severe to the men who gainsaid his will. . . . So also was he a very stark and cruel man, so that no one durst do anything against his will." His great passion was the chase: "As greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father." He also loved wealth and is accused of driving hard bargains.[1] But in his way William the Conqueror did much to consolidate the English nationality: he crushed out all provincial aspirations after self-rule. This was a benefit to the English race, but it was a benefit that was dearly bought.



THE TOWER OF LONDON

The tall rectangular building within the enclosing walls is the White Tower, which was built by the Normans in 1078.

When William died (1087), his Continental dominions, Normandy and Maine, which were held as a fief from the French king passed according to feudal law to his first-born, the weak and undutiful Robert, who had at one time even been guilty of stirring up rebellion against his father. England was in theory an elective monarchy; and the great council of bishops, abbots, and barons had a right to choose any one of the king's three sons; but the lords followed the leadership of Lanfranc and accepted the Conqueror's choice, his second son, William Rufus.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 63; Innes, I, 51–54; Kendall, No. 16.

Accession of William II. 1087.

57. The Tyranny of William Rufus.[1] The "Red King," like his father, was a man of ability and resolute strength;[2] but he was lacking in the Norman sense of order and in respect for the church. According to feudal custom, when a lord died his lands were inherited by his oldest son or by his nearest male heir; but the heir did not come into possession before he had paid the overlord a sum of money that was known as relief. The amount of this payment was fixed by custom, but William Rufus disregarded all law and collected exorbitant reliefs. He also contrived to keep important church offices vacant so as to be able to collect the revenues from the lands attached to these. In this way he provoked much hostility among the higher classes in the kingdom.

Character of William Rufus.

The problem of feudal relief.

58. Cumberland, Wales, and Normandy. But William II also carried out several measures of permanent importance. In the northwest, Cumberland was still foreign territory in the hands of the Scottish king. In 1092 William seized this region and added it to England. He also made considerable progress toward the conquest of Wales. William the Conqueror had established several important lordships on the Welsh border and had allowed these border barons, or Welsh marchers, as they were called, to extend their power and their lands into Wales as far and as fast as they were able. A considerable strip of Eastern Wales was conquered through the efforts of these lords of the Marches; but this territory was held without

Cumberland.

The Welsh Marches.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 70; Innes, I, 59–64, 69–70; three separate accounts.

[2] Cheyney, No. 71.

much regard for the rights of either Welsh princes or English kings. Finally William Rufus took a hand in the conquest, but his success was chiefly in establishing English control over the regions already seized, and in bringing the Welsh border under the authority of the English king.

William becomes ruler of Normandy.

With his brother Robert of Normandy King William was not long at peace, as each coveted the other's dominions. Since many lords held lands on both sides of the Channel, the Norman-English nobility felt that the duchy and the kingdom ought to be under the same ruler, preferably under Duke Robert, who was thought to be more easy-going than King William and less strenuous in asserting his rights. Toward the close of the eleventh century a powerful wave of religious enthusiasm swept over western Europe and culminated in the First Crusade. Duke Robert was seized with the fervor, and in order to secure funds sufficient for suitable equipment, he mortgaged his duchy to William II of England, who for the remaining four years of his life governed both England and Normandy.

The First Crusade.

59. Henry I: the Acquisition of Normandy. While William Rufus was hunting in the New Forest one summer day in 1100, he was shot, perhaps accidentally, by a member of the hunting party and mortally wounded.[1] When his brother Henry who was present learned that the king had fallen, he dashed away to the neighboring city of Winchester and seized the royal treasury which was kept there, summoned a few of the English lords, and had himself elected king of England. Henry was the Conqueror's third son. He was a carefully educated and capable man, avaricious like his brother William, but more self-controlled and possessed of greater insight as a statesman.[2]

Accession of Henry I.

Character of Henry I.

Henry's accession was anything but regular; and when a few weeks later his brother Robert returned from the Holy Land with much prestige as a valorous crusader, he laid claim to the kingdom and found some support among the nobles in England. He was unable to make his claim good, however, but strained relations continued between the brothers and resulted in open warfare five years later. Henry was victorious and seized the Norman duchy, which remained a French fief in possession of the English king for almost exactly a century longer. Duke Robert spent most of the remaining years of his life as his brother's prisoner in Cardiff castle in South Wales.

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[1] Innes, I, 64–68; Bates and Coman, 45–48 (Kingsley, *The Red King*).

[2] Innes, I, 70–71.

The claims of Robert.

60. Henry I and the Church: Anselm. The Norman difficulty was settled in 1106. The same year King Henry solved another problem that he had inherited from his predecessor: the question of investiture had become a serious difficulty. After the death of Lanfranc, William Rufus had kept the see of Canterbury vacant for several years, to the great injury of the national church, inasmuch as no new bishop could be consecrated in the province of Canterbury while this vacancy continued. When a successor was finally selected, the choice fell upon another Italian, the monk Anselm, a man of learning and saintly character, whose soul was on fire with enthusiasm for the church, and in whose eyes the needs and claims of the king and his government counted for very little. Ancient custom demanded that the king should be present at the installation of a bishop, and that he should hand him the symbols of the episcopal office, the staff and the ring. Anselm refused to let William Rufus participate in the investiture of the newly elected prelates, and the investiture strife was on in England.[1] As the king was unyielding, Anselm left the country and spent several years in voluntary exile.

The investiture strife.

Anselm.

61. The Investiture Strife: the Compromise of 1106. Henry I recalled him; but the king and the archbishop differed as before. The church had recently developed a new organ for the election of bishops, the cathedral chapter, which was composed of the priests, or canons as they were called, who carried on the church services in the various cathedrals. Of these canons there might be only half a dozen, or there might be as many as two score; the number would depend on the size, needs, and wealth of the cathedral. They were organized into a corporation called the chapter, headed by a dean. When the cathedral was located in a monastery, as was the case at Canterbury, the monks composed the chapter and claimed the right to choose the archbishop, who was at the same time their abbot.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 76.

The cathedral chapters.

The earlier custom had been for the king to designate the new bishop and, after the choice had been confirmed at Rome, to invest the candidate with the staff and the ring, and to hand over to him the "temporalities" of the see. By the temporalities was meant the property, chiefly in land, from the revenues of which the bishops derived their financial support. It was now the desire of the church to emphasize further the spiritual character of the church offices by denying to the king any share whatever in the investiture ceremonies.

The "temporalities."

When Anselm returned, King Henry called upon him to do homage for the Canterbury lands, to pay the customary dues to the king, and to pledge the services that his predecessors had pledged; but the archbishop refused. For several years the dispute continued, until it was ended by the compromise of 1106.[1] Of the three questions in dispute, homage, investiture, and election, the king and the church each surrendered one: the king gave up the right to invest, while the church agreed to pay the customary homage. On the far more important subject of election it was agreed that the cathedral chapter should elect the bishop and the monks of the monastery should choose the abbot; but that the king might be present at the election either in person or by a representative. On the whole the compromise was a victory for

The compromise of 1106.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 77.

the king: his nominees were from this time on usually accepted and formally elected by the proper authorities; and his feudal superiority over the monastic and cathedral lands was conceded.

Charter of Henry I.

62. Henry I as a Ruler. The reign of Henry I was, on the whole, quiet and uneventful. Like his brother he was eager to amass wealth; but he had more discretion and foresight. He understood that greater revenues could be extracted by legal and customary means from a contented and prosperous people than by violent measures from a nation in distress. A few days after his accession he issued a charter in which he promised the barons that the illegal practices of his brother William Rufus should be discontinued. Henry also promised to give up various other evil practices, but as usual the performance was not equal to the promise.

Revival of Old English law.

The English king had an ancient right to certain fines that were levied in the local courts, and Henry I found it expedient to watch these closely. Henry was a king who loved order and justice for their own sakes as well as for the revenues that came in the form of fines and forfeitures. In his day a great interest appeared in Old English law. Lawyers began the study of Anglo-Saxon legislation, and summaries and translations were made of the old laws, especially of the laws of Cnut, which were the most recent as well as the most complete.

63. The Problem of the Succession;[1] the Anarchy of Stephen's Reign. Henry I also endeared himself to the English people by marrying Edith, a Scotch princess of the house of Alfred, the niece of Edgar the Etheling, who had been his father's competitor for the English throne in 1066. But the king found himself growing old without a male heir to succeed him.[1] His daughter Matilda, who had married as her second husband Geoffrey Plantagenet, the duke of Anjou, and his sister's son, Stephen of Blois, were his nearest living relatives. The king finally succeeded in getting reluctant oaths from the English barons that they would elect Matilda as queen after his own death. But oaths were frail things even in such a religious age as the twelfth century.

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[1] The Norman line of kings, 1066–1154.

William I, 1066–1087.

Robert, duke of Normandy, died 1135
William II, 1087–1100
Henry I, 1100–1135
Adela
Stephen 1135–1154

Matilda

Accession of Stephen of Blois.

When it was noised about that Henry was no more, Stephen hastened to England, and the barons were easily convinced that, since they had in a way been forced to swear allegiance to Matilda, their oaths were not binding (1135).

Stephen ascended the throne and remained nominal king for nearly twenty years. As a ruler he had the best of intentions, but was utterly wanting in ability to carry them out. His reign was an age of unrelieved misery.[2] The constant warfare that the persistent Matilda kept up against the usurper gave the nobles an opportunity to ignore and nullify all authority but their own. Each baron thus became a local tyrant and the sufferings of the native villeins were keen and continuous. The reign of Stephen illustrates the evils of feudalism when unchecked by higher authorities in the state. The barons also did their best to keep the civil strife aflame by aiding now the one, now the other of the two claimants. After Matilda's death her young son Henry took up the fight. Stephen's spirit was now broken. His only son and heir was dead and he gladly came to terms with his virile opponent. By the treaty of Wallingford it was agreed that Stephen should retain the crown till his death, but that Henry of Anjou should succeed him. A year later the young duke ascended the throne as Henry II (1154).

The anarchy of Stephen's reign.

Henry Plantagenet.

During this period of misery there was one institution that gained steadily in strength and influence: the church suffered

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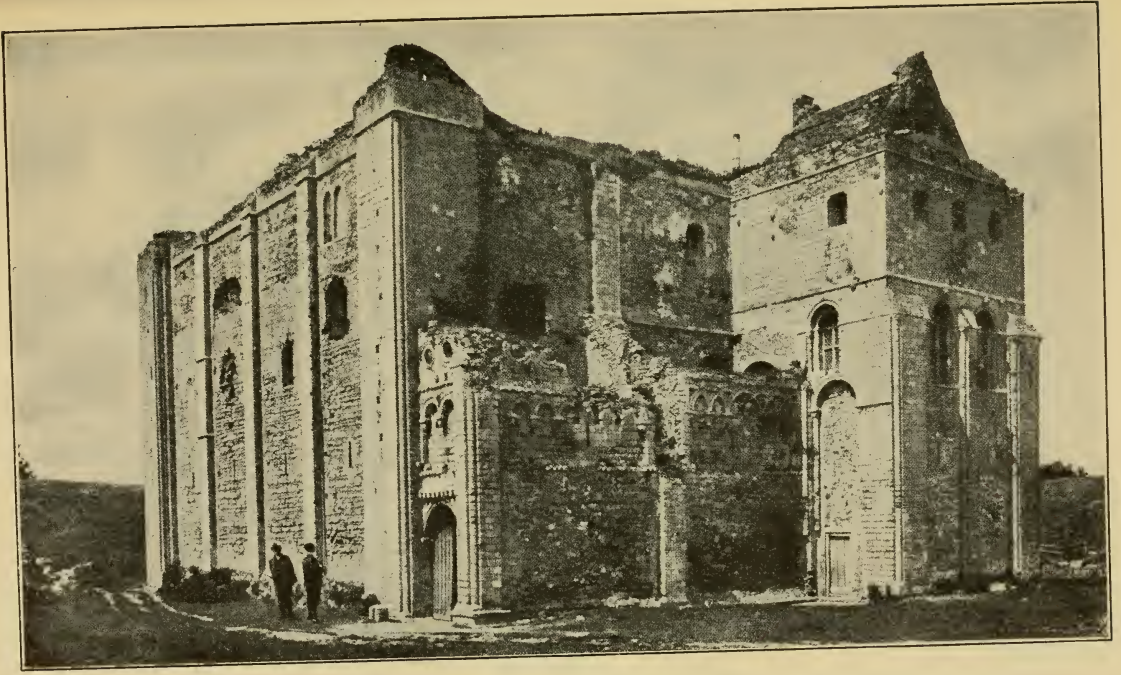
[1] Innes, I, 72–76; Bates and Coman, 48–60 (Rossetti, *The White Ship*).

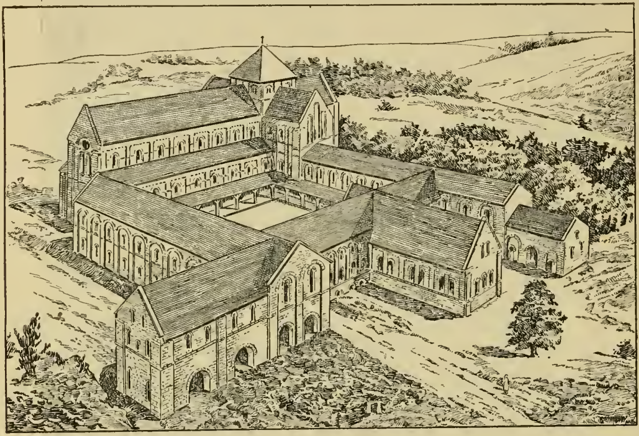
[2] Cheyney, No. 78; Innes, 79–83; Kendall, No. 18.



KEEP OF CASTLE RISING
A Norman castle built between 1140 and 1150.

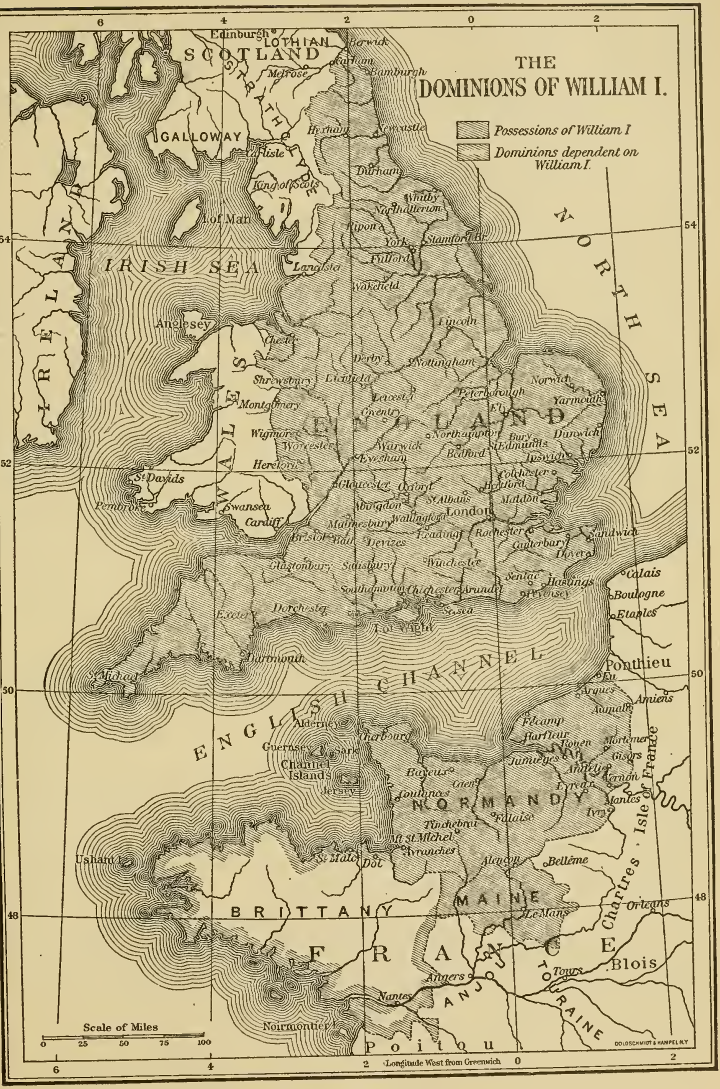
The growing strength of the church. St. Bernard.

little from the anarchy. The wave of emotion that called forth the crusades continued to swell with irresistible force, though its military phase was no longer prominent. In the days of Stephen there had risen a marvelous man to intellectual leadership in the church, Saint Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaux, a French monk of unexampled piety, whose intellectual vision embraced the entire church. Under his inspiration the reform work went on throughout all Europe. Even the anarchy of Stephen's reign helped to strengthen the English church by drawing the people closer to its protecting sanctuaries. From Stephen Henry II inherited two exasperating problems: how to deal with a stubborn and arrogant group of barons and, what was still more difficult, how to deal with a church that was growing in consciousness of its power and was determined to obtain authority as well as independence.



Kirkstall Abbey
(Conjectural restoration.)

64. Summary: the Norman Period. For nearly ninety years the dynasty of William the Conqueror ruled in England. During this period the English people had almost nothing to


THE DOMINIONS OF WILLIAM I.
Possessions of William I
Dominions dependent on William I.
SCOTLAND
LOTHIAN
Edinburgh
Berwick
Melrose
Carham
Bamburgh
STRATHCLYDE
GALLOWAY
Hexham
Newcastle
Carlisle
King of Scots
Durham
Whitby
Northallerton
I. of Man
Ripon
York
Stamford Br.
Fulford
IRISH SEA
Lancaster
Wakefield
IRELAND
NORTH SEA
Lincoln
Anglesey
Chester
Derby
Nottingham
WALES
Shrewsbury
Lichfield
Norwich
Yarmouth
Peterborough
Leicester
Coventry
Ely
Montgomery
ENGLAND
Wigmore
Worcester
Warwick
Northampton
Bury St Edmunds
Dunwich
Ipswich
Evesham
Bedford
Hereford
St Davids
Gloucester
Oxford
Colchester
Hertford
Pembroke
Swansea
Cardiff
Abingdon
St Albans
Maldon
London
Malmesbury
Wallingford
Bristol
Bath
Devizes
Reading
Rochester
Sandwich
Canterbury
Dover
Glastonbury
Salisbury
Winchester
Senlac
Hastings
Calais
Southampton
Chichester
Arundel
Pevensey
Boulogne
Exeter
Dorchester
Selsea
Etaples
I. of Wight
Dartmouth
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Ponthieu
St Michael
Eu
Arques
Amiens
Aumale
Alderney
Fécamp
Harfleur
Mortemer
Rouen
Guernsey
Sark
Cherbourg
Jumièges
Gisors
Channel Islands
Bayeux
Caen
Andelie
Vernon
Jersey
Evreux
Coutances
NORMANDY
Mantes
Ivry
Isle of France
Tinchebrai
Falaise
Mt St Michel
Avranches
Ushant I.
St Malo
Dol
Alençon
Bellême
Chartres
MAINE
BRITTANY
Orleans
Le Mans
FRANCE
Angers
Tours
Blois
TOURAINE
ANJOU
Nantes
Noirmontier
Poitou
Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75 100
6 4 2 0 2
54 52 50 48
Longitude West from Greenwich
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

say in the matter of their own government: Norman kings and barons were in absolute control. In most respects the Normans gave efficient government both in state and church; but it was alien and sometimes unbearably harsh. The invaders reshaped English society by completing the process of feudalism, traces of which can be found in Anglo-Saxon times. As a necessary condition in a feudal state came serfdom, in this case under foreign landlords. The conquest also gave the country new leaders whose descendants in time would regard themselves as Englishmen; it unified the people by crushing out provincial ambitions; it hastened the introduction of the higher civilization of the Continent. But it also created conditions and problems for later kings to wrestle with, which rendered social and constitutional progress exceedingly difficult. The rulers of England, however, soon took up the fight against these new forces and feudalism disappeared from English soil long before it began to decay on the Continent.

The benefits of Norman rule.

The evils of Norman rule.

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CHAPTER IV

THE CONFLICT WITH THE CHURCH AND THE BARONAGE

65. Henry II: Character and Personality. 1154–1189. With the accession of Henry Plantagenet, a new type of king came to the throne of England. Henry II was primarily an administrator like his grandfather Henry I, but he was far more energetic than his learned predecessor. He was neither a legislator like Alfred nor a conqueror like Cnut or William; still, in a sense he was both, for he added large areas to his dominions, and though he made no formal laws, he issued a number of important instructions, called assizes, to his judges and other officials which had the force of law and were of far-reaching consequence.[1]

Henry II as king.

But King Henry's chief business, as he understood it, was to govern, and he put all his restless energies into the task. The social side of kingship, the festivities, the gorgeous robes, the stiff ceremonial of the palace, the artificial dignity of monarchy, possessed little interest for him. He was plain in person and manners, undignified in action and appearance, and is described as a short, rather stout man "of ruddy complexion, with a long round head, piercing blue-gray eyes, fierce and glowing red in anger, with a fiery face and a harsh voice."[2] But what impressed his contemporaries more than anything else was his restless activity and unusual capacity for work.

Personality of Henry II.

66. The Angevin Empire. The inheritance that came to the young prince was large enough to tax the energies of an even more strenuous monarch than Henry Plantagenet.

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[1] Masterman, 35–37.

[2] Cheyney, No. 88 (Giraldus); Kendall, No. 19; Tuell and Hatch, No. 10; these two are from Peter of Blois.

Through his mother he inherited the duchy of Normandy.

Henry's inheritance.

At the death of his father he became count of Anjou and Maine. As a young man of nineteen he married Eleanor, the divorced wife of the French king, who possessed in her own right the extensive duchy of Aquitaine. The western half of France was thus gathered up in the hands of the young duke. For all these lands he did homage to the king of France as overlord; but the treaty of Wallingford gave promise of a kingdom over which Henry would have full, independent, sovereign rights. Eighteen years after his accession in England he extended his authority to Ireland, though for a long time the rights of the English crown on that island were scarcely more than nominal. Over Wales and Scotland he claimed the rights of overlordship. Though he did not exercise the same degree of authority in all his dominions, the sum of his powers was extraordinary for the time. In western Europe he had only one rival, the emperor. Frederick Barbarossa, who wore the imperial crown in Henry's day, was a ruler of dignity and ability; but Henry of England controlled the resources of his dominions far more completely than the emperor ever could.

Eleanor and Aquitaine.

Henry II's position in Britain.

His position in Europe.

67. The English Policy of Henry II.[1] In statesmanship Henry Plantagenet was an opportunist. His plans did not look far forward; they concerned the problems that lay nearest. His methods, though often violent and unlovely, were usually effective. It may be that he had no conscious aims and policies during the earlier years of his reign; but circumstances very soon forced upon him a course of action that brought him into conflict with the two most powerful social forces of the time, the church and the baronage. In neither conflict was he wholly successful: in his fight with the church he failed to gain all his ends; but he began a struggle that lasted through centuries. The important fact is that in his reign monarchy took the offensive.

Methods and plans.

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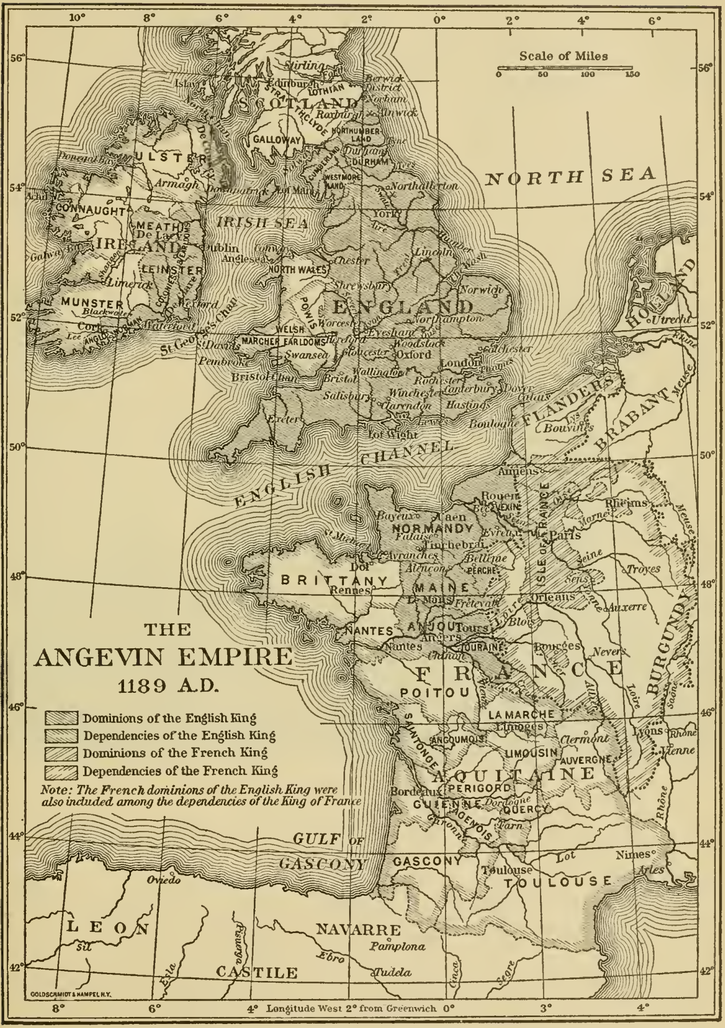
[1] Cheyney, No. 89.



THE
ANGEVIN EMPIRE
1189 A.D.

- ▨ Dominions of the English King
- ▨ Dependencies of the English King
- ▨ Dominions of the French King
- ▨ Dependencies of the French King

Note: The French dominions of the English King were also included among the dependencies of the King of France

Scale of Miles
0 50 100 150
NORTH SEA
IRISH SEA
ENGLISH CHANNEL
St. George's Chan.
Bristol Chan.
GULF OF GASCONY
SCOTLAND
Stirling
Edinburgh
LOTHIAN
STRATHCLYDE
GALLOWAY
Berwick District
Norham
Roxburgh
Alnwick
NORTHUMBERLAND
Durham
DURHAM
CUMBERLAND
WESTMORELAND
Northallerton
Isle of Man
Islay
North Chan.
ULSTER
Armagh
Donegal Bay
Achil
CONNAUGHT
MEATH
De Lacy
IRELAND
Galway Bay
Dublin
LEINSTER
Limerick
MUNSTER
Blackwater
Cork
Lee
Waterford
Wexford
ANGLO-NORMAN
Anglesea
Conway
NORTH WALES
Chester
Shrewsbury
POWIS
WELSH MARCHER EARLDOMS
St. Davids
Pembroke
Swansea
ENGLAND
York
Lincoln
Humber
The Wash
Norwich
Northampton
Worcester
Evesham
Hereford
Gloucester
Woodstock
Oxford
Colchester
London
Thames
Bristol
Wallingford
Rochester
Canterbury
Dover
Salisbury
Winchester
Clarendon
Hastings
Lewes
Exeter
I. of Wight
Calais
Boulogne
FLANDERS
Bouvines
BRABANT
HOLLAND
Utrecht
Rhine
Meuse
Amiens
Rouen
VEXIN
ISLE OF FRANCE
Rheims
Marne
Paris
Seine
Troyes
Sens
Bayeux
Caen
NORMANDY
Falaise
Tinchebrai
Evreux
St. Michel
Avranches
Bellême
Alençon
PERCHE
Dol
BRITTANY
Rennes
MAINE
Le Mans
Fréteval
Orleans
Auxerre
Blois
ANJOU
Tours
Angers
NANTES
Nantes
TOURAINE
Chinon
Bourges
Nevers
BURGUNDY
FRANCE
POITOU
Vienne
LA MARCHE
Limoges
SAINTONGE
ANGOUMOIS
Clermont
LIMOUSIN
AUVERGNE
Lyons
Rhône
Vienne
Saône
Loire
Allier
AQUITAINE
Bordeaux
PERIGORD
GUIENNE
Dordogne
QUERCY
AGENOIS
Garonne
Tarn
GASCONY
Toulouse
TOULOUSE
Lot
Nîmes
Arles
Oviedo
LEON
Sil
Esla
Pisuerga
CASTILE
NAVARRE
Pamplona
Ebro
Tudela
Cinca
Segre
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.
Longitude West 2° from Greenwich 0°
10° 8° 6° 4° 2° 0° 2° 4° 6°
56° 54° 52° 50° 48° 46° 44° 42°
8° 6° 4° 3° 4°

For some years Henry's energies were spent chiefly in restoring order and government in England. The unlicensed castles that the turbulent nobles had built during the anarchy of Stephen's reign (1118 is the number given) were dismantled. The barons were forced to desist from tyranny and were reduced to obedience. In this work of organizing and repairing, the king was ably assisted by Thomas Becket, a young Norman of a tradesman's family, whom he had made his chancellor.[1]

Restoration of order.

Canterbury Cathedral

The building was begun by the Normans toward the close of the eleventh century; changes and additions were made from time to time for several hundred years.

68. Thomas Becket: Chancellor and Archbishop. The chancellor's office was the highest in the land on the secular side; next to the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor was the most prominent subject in the realm. Originally the king's private secretary and chief of the secretarial bureau where all the state documents were

Becket as chancellor.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 92; Kendall, No. 20.

prepared and preserved, he had risen to the position of chief adviser and minister to the king. The office has continued to our own day, and the Lord High Chancellor is still a prominent member of the English government, though his most important duties have passed to other officials.

Becket appointed archbishop.

After Becket had served the king faithfully and efficiently for seven years, the primacy of the English church became vacant, and the chancellor was promoted to this high office. It was a most unusual appointment, as Becket was only nominally a churchman; he had, indeed, been ordained a deacon in the church, but he was not famous for piety or religious interests. It is said that he accepted the appointment with great reluctance, as he knew that his new office would make a complete change in his mode of life and in his relations with the king. Henry had hoped for an archbishop of the Lanfranc type, one who would govern the church in the interests of monarchy. But Becket chose to pattern his life after that of Saint Anselm, though he failed to imitate his virtues of long-suffering and patience; for Thomas Becket was a militant as well as a devoted servant and ruler of the church.

Holy orders.

69. The Problem of Criminous Clerks. A few months after his consecration, the new archbishop clashed seriously with the king on the subject of court jurisdictions. It will be remembered that William the Conqueror a hundred years before had permitted the church to have its own courts in which every matter that concerned churchmen or church property had to be tried.[1] The term "clerk," or churchman, had by this time come to have a wide significance. In the medieval church there were seven classes or orders of men who were set apart with elaborate ceremonies for the labors and service of the sanctuaries. These were in two groups, major and minor orders: the major orders comprised bishops, priests, and deacons, all of whom were competent to carry out the ordinary church services; those in minor orders included such as were set apart for certain services about the church or during the church service, such as lighting the candles, reading portions of the service, and the like; they could assist at the holy services, but could not perform them. There were also a number of men who were set apart for service in the church, but had not been assigned to any particular "order" or class of duties. These had merely taken the tonsure, which was the initial act in ordination. While the tonsure did not admit the candidate to any one of the seven "holy orders," it made him a churchman and conferred on him the privilege of "benefit of clergy," which was the technical term for the right to trial in the courts of the church.

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[1] Review sec. 55.

Benefit of clergy.

In the middle ages the church had a complete monopoly of education: practically all the schools of the earlier centuries were connected with monasteries or important churches. During the age of the earlier Angevins, new institutions called universities were being organized. Like the earlier schools, the universities were regarded as ecclesiastical foundations; their teachers and graduates were churchmen and the students were also classed with the clergy. As all clerks could read, it came to be held that all who could read must be clerks and therefore entitled to benefit of clergy.

The church and education.

70. The Constitutions of Clarendon.[1] There were two reasons why the activities of the church courts were distasteful to Henry II: for one thing they deprived the crown of considerable revenue in the form of fines, and, what was worse, these courts were not efficient in dealing with crimes. For the king discovered that not all who belonged to the tonsured host were of a saintly character. He learned that clerks had been accused of vulgar and serious crimes, even of murder. This did not surprise the king: what scandalized him was the inadequate punishment that was meted out to such offenders in the church courts. The church was not permitted to deprive any one of life or

Henry II and the church courts.

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[1] Gardiner, 143–145.

limb, nor did it care to spend its money in building prisons: various forms of penance, a pilgrimage to some distant shrine, or enforced residence in some monastery might serve as a penalty. The kingly spirit of Henry II, which was by instinct orderly, revolted against such a system.

Constitutions of Clarendon.

In 1164 the king called his magnates together at Clarendon,[1] a royal hunting park in Wiltshire, and proposed a plan for the reform of judicial procedure in such cases. A document known as the Constitutions of Clarendon was drawn up, which was said to contain the old established customs that should be followed in cases of accused clerks. These constitutions, however, were not all ancient. It was the king's plan to have all who were charged with crimes brought into the secular courts. If the accused could prove that he was a clerk, he should then be sent to the church authorities for trial. If convicted in the church court, he was to be degraded from his church office and sent back to the secular court to receive his sentence.

Becket's opposition to the "constitutions."

71. The Quarrel with Thomas Becket. Becket fought violently against the adoption of the constitutions, but he finally accepted them, with the intention, as he said, of atoning for the sin later on.[2] Not long afterwards he fled the kingdom for France, where he sought out another exile, the pope himself, who had been driven from his see by the emperor. It was embarrassing for the pope to be on hostile terms with the two chief rulers of Christian Europe; but he regarded Becket's cause the cause of the larger church, and so far as he was able, he supported the fugitive archbishop.

His flight to France.

His return and martyrdom.

The quarrel that began in this way continued for six years.[3] In the end an agreement was reached, and Becket returned to spend the last few weeks of his life at his cathedral. Now he discovered that his office had suffered another insult: in his absence Henry had had his eldest son and heir crowned king by the archbishop of York. In his anger Becket began to excommunicate his enemies without much discrimination. Even the bishops who had assisted at the hapless coronation were placed under the curse; and the state of the English church was worse than ever. When the king, who was in France at the time, heard of the archbishop's behavior at Canterbury, he was furious. Four of his knights who believed that Henry had expressed a desire for Becket's death crossed the Channel and slew the stout-hearted bishop in his own cathedral.[1] Henry was appalled at the deed,[2] but the murderers were apparently never punished.

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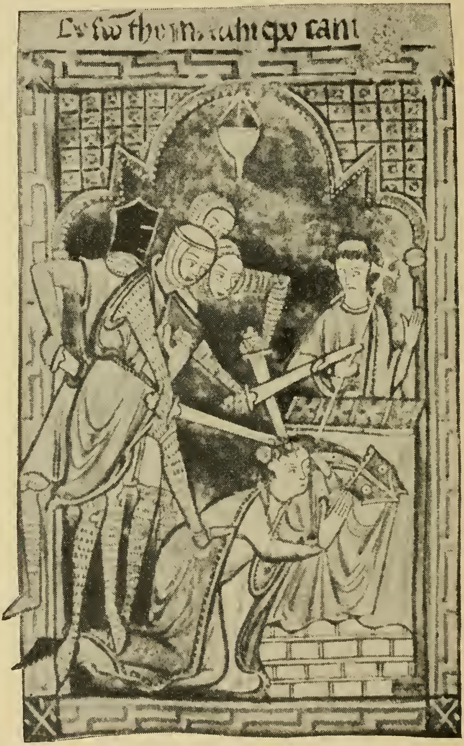
[1] Masterman, 38.

[2] Cheyney, pp. 147–148.

[3] Gardiner, 145–146, 149–151.



The Murder of Becket

From a manuscript of the thirteenth century.

Failure of Henry's anti-clerical plans.

The result of Becket's murder was that Henry was halted in his efforts to extend his judicial system to the clerical orders. Though the "Constitutions" were never formally withdrawn, no attempt was made to enforce those that dealt with the subject of accused clerks. The king did succeed, however, in limiting the power of the church courts to try civil cases; most of the cases involving property rights were kept in the secular courts. But for more than three centuries longer, the educated classes continued to enjoy benefit of clergy. In time, however, as the knowledge of letters came to be a more common accomplishment, the abuse of this privilege became intolerable and was limited by a parliamentary act. At the same time, the churchmen felt that Becket had taken an extreme position, and later archbishops followed a more moderate course. But the martyred archbishop was immediately rewarded with a place in the calendar of saints; the shrine of Saint Thomas at Canterbury became one of the most important in the kingdom.

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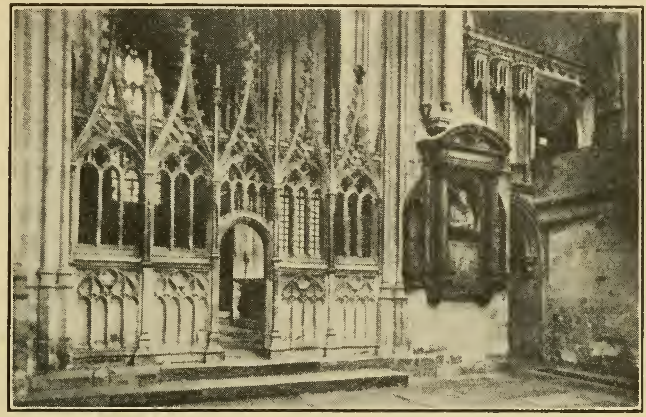
[1] Innes, I, 89–94; Cheyney, No. 96; separate accounts.

[2] Cheyney, No. 97.



The Martyr's Corner, Canterbury Cathedral

In this part of the church Becket was slain. From a photograph by W. H. Dudley.

72. The Annexation of Ireland. Becket was stricken down in December, 1170, just before the close of the year. Some months later Henry was preparing an expedition for the conquest of Ireland. In the twelfth century the English people had very little accurate knowledge

Ireland.

of Irish conditions; the Green Isle was widely famous, however, for its mild and pleasant climate and its fertile soil. A historian of the period informs us that Ireland lacked only one thing to make it the most attractive country in the world: there were no grapes on the island.[1] Among the more cultivated Englishmen Ireland was known for its many saints, for its beautiful books, and for the untamed freedom of its people. Many strange tales were current of marvels that were believed to exist in distant parts of the island.[2] Henry II had conceived a plan for the annexation of this desirable country soon after his accession; and the reigning pope, Hadrian IV, who was an Englishman, was induced, as ruler of all the islands of the sea, to add the Emerald Isle to the domain of Henry II. At the time, however, the king was too busy with other matters to undertake the project; but ten years later (1166) an opportunity was offered that Henry did not entirely permit to pass. An Irish chief from the Dublin country had been sent into well-deserved exile by the high-king of Ireland and came to seek aid at Henry's court. This was at the time of the Becket controversy and the king felt that it would be unwise to leave his French possessions just then, as his old enemy and overlord, who was Becket's host, was eagerly awaiting an opportunity to relieve his vassal of his lands in France.

Ireland granted to Henry II by the Pope.

Henry, however, permitted the Irish exile to enlist support among the Norman-English barons, and several of these crossed over from Pembroke in Wales to southeastern Ireland and seized considerable territories along the eastern coast. The chief of these was Richard of Clare, earl of Pembroke, commonly known as Strongbow. Richard Strongbow was preparing to join the earlier adventurers during the same month that saw the reconciliation of the king and the archbishop. At first he had some success, but soon troubles thickened around him, and he was compelled to return to England to seek assistance from King Henry.

Strongbow in Ireland.

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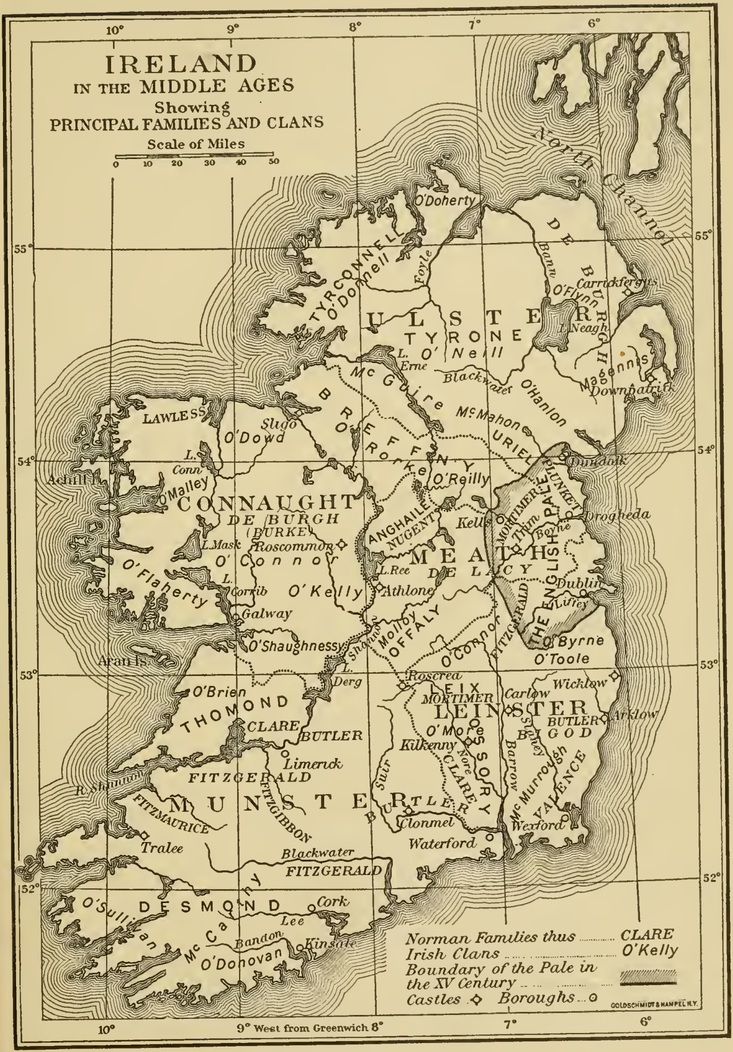
[1] Innes, I, 99–101.

[2] Cheyney, No. 101.


IRELAND
IN THE MIDDLE AGES
Showing
PRINCIPAL FAMILIES AND CLANS
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50
10°
9°
8°
7°
6°
55°
54°
53°
52°
North Channel
O'Doherty
TYRCONNELL
O'Donnell
Foyle
DE BURGH
Bann
Carrickfergus
O'Flynn
ULSTER
TYRONE
O'Neill
L. Neagh
L. Erne
Magennis
Downpatrick
Mc Guire
Blackwater
O'Hanlon
Mc Mahon
URIEL
BREFFNY
O'Rorke
O'Reilly
LAWLESS
Sligo
O'Dowd
L. Conn
Achill I.
O'Malley
CONNAUGHT
DE BURGH
(BURKE)
L. Mask
Roscommon
O'Connor
L. Corrib
O'Kelly
O'Flaherty
Galway
ANGHAILE
NUGENT
Kells
MORTIMER
Trim
PLUNKET
Dundalk
Drogheda
Boyne
THE ENGLISH PALE
MEATH
DE LACY
L. Ree
Athlone
Dublin
Liffey
FITZGERALD
Molloy
OFFALY
O'Connor
Shannon
O'Shaughnessy
Aran Is.
L. Derg
O'Byrne
O'Toole
Roscrea
LEIX
MORTIMER
Carlow
Wicklow
O'Brien
THOMOND
CLARE
BUTLER
LEINSTER
BUTLER
Arklow
BIGOD
O'More
OSSORY
Kilkenny
Nore
CLARE
Barrow
Slaney
Mc Murrough
VALENCE
Limerick
FITZGERALD
R. Shannon
FITZMAURICE
FITZGIBBON
MUNSTER
Suir
BUTLER
Clonmel
Wexford
Waterford
Tralee
Blackwater
FITZGERALD
DESMOND
Cork
Lee
O'Sullivan
Mc Carthy
Bandon
Kinsale
O'Donovan
Norman Families thus .... CLARE
Irish Clans .... O'Kelly
Boundary of the Pale in the XV Century ....
Castles ◇ Boroughs ... ○
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.
10°
9° West from Greenwich 8°
7°
6°

Henry II's expedition to Ireland. 1171–1172.

The king had already planned an expedition to Ireland. Two motives were apparent: first, the fear that Strongbow and his wild Norman associates might win a kingdom for themselves in Ireland; second, the hope that by forcing the Irish church into more complete submission to the Roman see he might win the pope's gratitude and succeed in securing more favorable terms when the time should come for a formal reconciliation with the head of Christendom. Henry II was in Ireland during the autumn and winter of 1171 and 1172. He did not attempt a complete conquest; the native high-king remained in his strongholds in the southwest and did not come in to make submission. But a large part of the eastern shore-land was actually secured.[1] A colony was founded in Dublin, and garrisons were placed in that city and in Wexford and Waterford. A justiciar was appointed to represent the king in his absence; the office still exists, though it has long been known by the later title of lord lieutenant.

Church council at Cashel.

Henry II also convened the bishops of the Irish church into a great council at famed Cashel, where the authority of the English king was formally recognized. In return for this recognition, Henry II helped the prelates to reform the Irish church and secure the obedience of the lower clergy. Three years later a treaty was made with the high king, according to which he acknowledged the suzerainty of Henry II and was in turn recognized by the English king as ruler of all Ireland except such parts of the eastern coast as were in the hands of the Norman-Welsh adventurers. Immediately after his return from Ireland (May, 1172), Henry had a conference with the papal legates in the Norman city of Avranches, and made peace with Holy Church.

Conference of Avranches. 1172.

73. The Judicial System of Henry's Reign. The fear of France, the Irish problem, and the quarrel with the church did not consume all the energies of the strenuous monarch.

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[1] Innes, I, 101–102.

The same period, 1166–1172, saw certain important developments in the English government. When Henry came to England he found a half developed form of central administration centering about the *curia regis*.[1] This institution, it will be remembered, was created in the Norman period, but it found its greatest development under the new Angevin dynasty. As in the days of Henry I it did work chiefly of two sorts: sometimes it sat as a court of justice; sometimes as a committee to consider matters of finance, and when acting as such it was called the exchequer. In the counties there still existed the old shire courts, in which the chief men of the shire met under the presidency of the sheriff to try criminals and settle disputes. Between these two bodies, the ancient shire court and the newer *curia regis*, King Henry found no connecting link except the sheriff who twice a year came up to the exchequer to render account for the royal revenues due from his shire.

Local and central government.

74. The Itinerant Justices.[2] Henry II supplemented this system with a group of itinerant justices who went from the *curia regis* into the various counties and tried cases in which the king might be interested. It seems that such delegates had been sent out earlier, and that Henry consequently did not originate the system; but he improved and extended it and gave it a definite place in the government. In his days England was divided into districts or circuits with a definite number of judges for each. In this way the authority of the central administration was extended to all the sections of the kingdom.

New "circuit courts" and justices.

The business transacted at the county court by these itinerant justices was not extensive at first, but it soon increased in amount. Originally the judges were probably sent out to investigate matters that related to the royal revenue, but as they were men learned in the law, they were soon called upon to settle a great variety of disputes. However, to investigate and pass upon controversies that were purely local, these judges were scarcely competent for want of information. King Henry was a man with a practical turn of mind; and he instructed his judges to make inquiries among the chief men of the localities, and in this way get what information the community might possess. These and other instructions he embodied in a series of documents called "assizes,"[1] of which the more notable are the Assize of Clarendon and the Assize of Northampton, which deal with procedure and punishment in criminal trials.

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[1] Review sec. 50.

[2] Masterman, 39–40.

Henry's "assizes."

75. The Origin of the English Jury.[2] Out of this inquiry by the itinerant justices developed the English jury system, the origin of which may be regarded as the greatest achievement of Henry's reign. Neither the method nor the idea upon which it was based was original with Henry II; but it was he who first made extensive use of the method in the law courts and made the jury a necessary part of the judicial system. Two forms of the jury are used in the courts of the present day: the grand jury and the petit, or trial, jury. The grand jury investigates charges against accused or suspected persons to determine whether they shall be held for trial or not: it is this jury that indicts or accuses. The actual trial is held before a body of twelve men called the petit jury.

The jury system.

Henry II introduced the grand jury into criminal court procedure; but the petit jury for the trial of crimes was not fully developed until two or three generations later in the thirteenth century. In certain forms of civil cases, however, the king ordered that his judges should accept the award of a jury chosen from among the best men of the hundred, usually twelve in number. By what is known as the Grand Assize the king ordered that in the king's court all disputes concerning the title of land should be tried by a jury if the defendant so desired it, as the common method of determining ownership,

The Grand Assize: trial jury in certain civil cases.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 90.

[2] Masterman, 42–44; Gardiner, 146–148.

the duel, or wager of battle, seemed grossly unfair to the weaker side. But no less ridiculous was the ordeal,[1] which for some time continued to be employed to determine actual guilt or innocence in criminal trials. Henry was skeptical about the appeal to God, and ordained that notorious criminals should be banished from the realm even though they were cleared by the ordeal. When in the early part of the thirteenth century the church forbade the priests to participate in the ordeal, that form of trial became impossible and a new method was needed. The question of determining guilt came sometimes to be left to the grand jury of the hundred to which the case belonged; but more often representatives to the number of twelve were chosen from the various grand juries and the case submitted to this new body. Out of this body of twelve the modern petit jury was developed.

Trial jury in criminal cases.

76. Revival of the English Militia. Parallel to these judicial reforms went certain important financial improvements. After a hundred years of experience with feudalism the statesmen of England saw clearly that the barons could not be depended upon to supply the necessary forces for offensive warfare. It had already been a problem how long a vassal was obliged to serve in the host, though forty days appears to have been the rule, and also whether he could be forced to serve in warfare upon foreign soil. Henry had ambitions to extend his territories in southern France; but the English barons disliked to serve in such distant fields. The king therefore permitted them to pay money as a part of the services due; this was known as scutage or shield money. Although, in assessing this tax, the king had no intention to overthrow or even weaken the old system, the levy was important as marking the beginning of feudal decline; for with the money the king hired mercenary soldiers and the feudal knight gradually ceased to be a necessity in warfare.

Weakness of the feudal army.

Toward the close of his reign Henry went a step further:

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[1] Review sec. 31.

he issued the Assize of Arms,[1] which ordained that certain classes among the commoners were to provide themselves with the most necessary armor and weapons and be ready for military service. In a way this was a revival of the Anglo-Saxon militia. It was not an elaborate force that was thus provided, but the new militia might prove useful as an army of defense; and the act shows clearly the great king's distrust of the feudal levies as a reliable force in times of trouble.

The Assize of Arms.

77. Financial System of Henry II. In the central government the reign of Henry II saw no great innovations. The machinery of the exchequer was not materially changed, but its efficiency was highly improved. The royal officials watched carefully over every source of royal income and the amounts collected steadily increased. At the same time the revenues from the expansion of the king's judicial system were not increased so much as might be expected: in the case of serious crimes fines gave place to other and more severe penalties, while for less serious offenses the fines were reduced. Since the days of the Danegeld, the English people had become accustomed to occasional taxation on land; in the reign of Henry II a faint beginning was made with taxation on movables, or personal property, the proceeds from which were to be used to promote the crusading movements of the time, in which Henry strove to show a respectable interest.

New forms of taxation.

78. Henry II's Last Years and Death. The last few years of the great king's life were a period of much bitterness. Queen Eleanor had borne him several sons whom she had deliberately trained to oppose their father. The older two died before the king, but Richard and John remained to make trouble. The new king of France, the able and crafty Philip Augustus, also found it expedient for his many and devious purposes to stir up the ambitions of the two young princes who were anxiously waiting to come into their inheri-

The sons of Henry II.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 91.

tance. In 1188, King Philip and these two Angevin princes formed an alliance and made common war on the broken-down monarch. Henry felt that his day was past, and finally acceded to all the demands of his undutiful sons. He even promised to forgive all his enemies on condition that he was furnished with a complete list of the conspirators to whom he was expected to extend his clemency. The request was considered reasonable and the list was produced; but when Henry saw the name of his beloved son John among the rebels, his heart broke. Two days later he died [1] and his son Richard succeeded to all the Angevin dominions.[2]

Death of the king. 1189.

79. Richard I. Richard the Lion-heart was a unique figure, unlike any other English king before him. Least of all did he resemble his father, for in personal appearance Richard was impressive and kinglike. He is described as "lofty in stature, of a shapely build, with hair half-way between red and yellow. His limbs were straight and flexible, his arms somewhat long, and for this very reason better fitted than those of most folk to draw or wield the sword." [3] In an age that admired chivalry, a king of Richard's type was sure to win popularity; for the

Personality and character of Richard I.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 103.

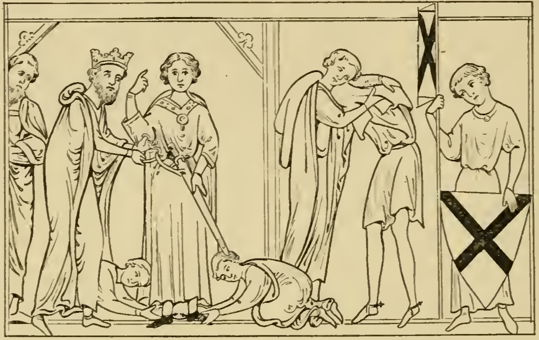
[2] The earlier Angevin (Plantagenet) kings, 1154–1399.

Henry II, 1154–1189

Henry, died 1183
Richard I 1189–1199
Geoffrey, died 1186
Arthur, died 1203
John 1199–1216
Henry III 1216–1272
Edward I 1272–1307
Edward II 1307–1327
Edward III 1327–1377
Edward the Black Prince, died 1376
Richard II 1377–1399

[3] Cheyney, No. 104.

king was a mighty warrior and an excellent knight. As a general he was not wholly successful, though he was skillful in siegecraft and had thoroughly mastered the art of fortification. King Richard was merely a royal adventurer whose joys were sought and found in battle and tournament; as a king he was expensive and of little worth. Only twice during the ten years of his reign did he appear in England, and then for a few weeks or months only. The importance of Richard's reign for English history lies chiefly in the fact that by his financial exactions and his neglect of the kingdom, he sowed widely the seeds of discontent and rebellion which brought forth a harvest of revenge in the reign of his successor John.



CEREMONY OF CONFERRING KNIGHTHOOD

From a medieval manuscript.

80. The Third Crusade.[1] For a king who wished to distinguish himself in personal warfare, a magnificent opportunity appeared at the very outset of the new reign. It was now almost a century since the great wave of religious emotion that culminated in the First Crusade had swept over the West. Now for the third time the sovereign of the church called all Christendom to arms, this time against the mighty Saladin, Mohammedan sultan of Egypt and Syria.

The Third Crusade.

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[1] Gardiner, 161–162

Among the princes who responded were Richard I and his former ally in sinful rebellion, Philip Augustus of France. Preparations were made on a vast scale, and in 1191 the allied monarchs joined the crusading host in the Holy Land.

Richard in the Orient.

During the two years that Richard spent in the Mediterranean lands, he maintained his high reputation as a knight;[1] but by his overbearing temper, his obstinate refusal to be guided by others, and his insistence on leadership, he did much to weaken the cause that he defended so brilliantly on the battlefield.[2] After a time the great crusading army was completely disrupted. Philip Augustus returned to France in disgust. Under the circumstances it was impossible to regain Jerusalem, and all that Richard secured was a truce and security for the pilgrims who might wish to visit the holy places.

Richard is imprisoned in Germany.

1193.

But far more important to the English people was a terrible humiliation that befell their king on his return from the Orient. Fearing that Philip Augustus might have set a trap for him, he did not return by the usual route, but sailed up the Adriatic Sea, from the head of which he planned a journey overland in disguise. But he was recognized and seized[3] while passing through Austria and was handed over by the duke of Austria to the emperor, who held him for the huge ransom of 100,000 marks, a sum equal to several million dollars in present day values. The nation had contributed heavily to the preparations for the expedition, and it was with difficulty that the ransom was raised. It took almost the entire revenue of the English government for two years to purchase the liberty of the reckless king.

81. Results of the Crusades. The results of the crusades were not according to expectations: in their chief purpose, the rescue of the Holy Land, they were failures in the end. There were, however, certain important results of the sort that come from travel rather than from fighting. With the rest of Europe, England came into contact with two forms of civilization with which the West had hitherto been almost wholly unacquainted: the Byzantine and the Saracen. With the Greek culture of the Byzantine Empire the crusaders came into contact at various points, notably at Constantinople, where they saw with amazement a spacious city with paved and lighted streets, splendid public buildings, and a marvelous series of walls. With Saracen civilization the crusaders became acquainted in the Orient and on the island of Sicily, which may be regarded as a Moorish outpost. It is doubtless true that the knowledge of Eastern ways and methods had been filtering into the West for many centuries past; but it seems clear that the crusades hastened the process of assimilation very materially.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 107.

[2] Innes, I, 103–105.

[3] Bates and Coman, 67–69 (Lament attributed to Richard).

Civilizing influence of the Crusades.

82. The Government of Hubert Walter. The five years that followed Richard's return from the Holy Land he spent across the Channel fighting Philip Augustus who was striving to reduce the Angevin possessions in France. Philip Augustus was a great statesman and a resourceful, though unscrupulous, ruler. His ambition was to reorganize France and to strengthen the royal power. To accomplish this it was clear that he had to reduce the power of his great vassals, especially the Angevins, who could bring against him not only French but English forces. Instead of having Richard as duke or count of Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, and the rest, Philip wished to get the Angevin counties and duchies for himself and to make himself the duke or the count.

Richard and Philip Augustus.

In England the government was carried on by Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, a statesman who had been trained in the *curia regis* of Henry II. Hubert Walter was not a great administrator, but he was faithful, he had the king's confidence, and he understood the workings and possibilities of the governmental machinery that Henry II had perfected. During the French war Richard

Hubert Walter.

turned aside to punish a humble viscount who had found a treasure and refused to surrender it to the king. In an attack on the viscount's castle he was wounded and died soon afterwards.[1]

Death of Richard I. 1199.

83. King John: the Loss of Normandy. His successor on the throne was his younger brother John, a prince of some ability, but sadly lacking on the moral side of his character. Of all the English kings, John was the meanest and the most thoroughly despised. But the very wickedness of John proved an advantage in the end: it created conditions that separated England from the Norman duchy and brought forth the solemn announcement of the Great Charter that the king is below the law.

King John.

The loss of Normandy came as a result, not of warfare but of a breach of feudal law. In the first year of his reign John put away his wife Isabella, the heiress of Gloucester, and the next year he married another Isabella, the daughter of a French count in the Loire country. The new queen was only twelve or at most thirteen years of age, but had already been betrothed to a neighboring nobleman, when temptation came to her in the form of the English crown. The disappointed bridegroom was Hugh of Lusignan, one of John's French vassals; in his anger Hugh appealed to King John's overlord, King Philip of France. The wily king gladly seized the opportunity to make trouble for his English vassal, and ordered John to appear before a feudal court to make answer to the charge of bad faith and dishonorable treatment of a vassal. The English king, knowing that he had violated the law as charged, failed to appear and lost his case by default. Philip Augustus decreed that John should forfeit his French possessions north of the Loire River, and prepared to carry out his decision. An army was sent into Normandy and after two years of warfare the duchy on the Channel with neighboring regions to the southward became the immediate possessions of the French

John's second marriage.

Loss of the Norman inheritance.

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[1] Gardiner, 165.

king: Philip Augustus succeeded John as lord of these territories.

Results of the separation of England from Normandy.

To the Angevin dynasty the loss of Normandy, Anjou, and Touraine was a grievous blow; for with these possessions went large annual revenues from ducal estates and feudal rights. To the English nation, however, the separation was a decided advantage. A century earlier it had been felt that England and Normandy should by all means continue under a common ruler, as many of the barons held lands on both sides of the Channel. But during the twelfth century the situation changed: many families divided their possessions, so that in John's day there were but few barons who held fiefs both in England and on the Continent. The possession of Normandy was of no advantage to England except to a slight extent commercially; it took too much of the king's time and of the energies of the nation. The French territories belonged to the English king but not to the kingdom; still, the English were continuously called upon to defend these foreign possessions of the dynasty. With fewer outlying territories the policies of the English king would necessarily become more national, more English.

84. The Death of Hubert Walter: the Canterbury Election. Normandy finally passed into Philip's hands in 1204. John, though he did little to thwart the plans of his rival, did not give up hopes of regaining all that he had lost. There still remained to the Angevin family the large duchy of Aquitaine, which had come to the dynasty with Queen Eleanor. The Gascons of southwestern France, who were enjoying a profitable wine trade with England, were loyal to John; and with Aquitaine as a base from which to operate, the English king planned to invade and reconquer the territories north of the Loire. He was planning to take an English army into France, when he became involved in a new quarrel which engaged his attention for the next eight years. In 1205 Hubert Walter, the statesman-bishop who ruled the see of Canterbury, died, and the primacy was vacant.

Death of Hubert Walter. 1205.

Hubert Walter had not been an aggressive prelate, but he was no blind tool; and the king had determined that the next archbishop should be a more pliant personality.

Influence of the king at elections in the church.

In the early days of the church, the bishop's office was filled by election in which the people and the clergy of the diocese took part. But whatever the theory of elections may have been, in practice the choice ultimately fell to the kings or princes most interested.[1] Even the development of cathedral chapters as electing bodies did not secure freedom from governmental interference, as by the compromise of 1106 the king was permitted to be present or to be represented at the elections. In the case of Canterbury, which was a monastic chapter, the right of the king to control the election was established by a long series of precedents.

Parties interested in the Canterbury election.

While the formal election was the function of the Canterbury monks, they could scarcely claim the right of absolute choice, as there were other clerical bodies that had a right to be consulted. The priests of the diocese of Canterbury were interested because the archbishop was their bishop; the bishops of the province, because he was their archbishop; the prelates of the entire kingdom, because he was the primate of the English church. The king's interest lay in the fact that the primate's office was second only to his own; and he naturally wished to control the choice.

The first Canterbury election.

The older monks realized the importance of these facts and wished to consult the various interests; but the younger brothers were full of the newer pretensions to clerical independence and proceeded to hold an election. Their choice was one Reginald, an official of the monastery, a man who was clearly unfit for the exalted office. But the archbishop elect was immediately dispatched to Rome to get the pallium, the symbol of his office which the pope alone could confer and without which he could not execute the functions of his office. When John learned of Reginald's journey, he was furious. His own candidate was John de Gray, the bishop of Norwich, one of the king's own creatures who was as thoroughly unsuited to the dignity as the insignificant Reginald. Pressure was brought to bear, and the older monks, obedient to the royal will, admitted the bishops to their conclave and elected John de Gray.

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[1] Review sec. 60.

The second Canterbury election.

85. The Election of Stephen Langton. There now appeared at Rome two candidates both bearing credentials from the chapter at Canterbury, and the papal authorities were naturally much perplexed. The imperious Innocent III was pope at the time; he had a strong, keen mind and soon realized that both elections were irregular and both candidates unfit: and after due deliberation he determined to reject both. Representatives of all the interests concerned were summoned to Rome to hold a new election. Firmly convinced that his candidate would be successful, John consented to this arrangement. But Innocent had other plans: Stephen Langton, an English cardinal who had been a student friend of the pope at the university of Paris, was chosen and promptly invested with the office.[1]

Election of Stephen Langton. 1206.

These proceedings were at best unusual, perhaps they were contrary to the canon law; but the times looked favorably on papal absolutism, and the monks accepted the decision. Moreover, the choice was no doubt the best that could have been made. Archbishop Langton was a native Englishman and a man of learning, ability, and strength of purpose. But never before in the history of the English church had the primacy been filled in the teeth of royal opposition.

Character of Langton.

86. The Quarrel with Innocent III. The wrath of King John was boundless. He refused to accept the new archbishop, forbade the bishops to obey him, and proceeded to punish the monks of Canterbury, whose stubborn behavior had precipi-

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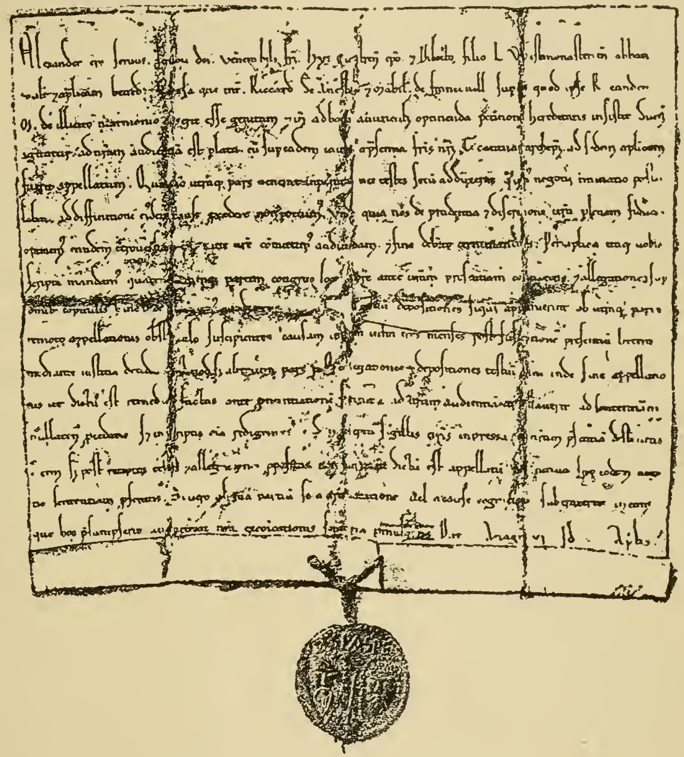
[1] Gardiner, 176–177.

The interdict. 1208–1213.

tated the conflict. Innocent in his turn laid an interdict on the English nation, an act that paralyzed the English church by forbidding all but the most necessary rites and services.[1] The church bells were silenced; the church holidays passed without celebration; the church buildings were closed; it seemed as if the nation had been handed over to the evil powers. In an age that invested the externals of worship and the sacramental acts with such great



Papal Bull of Alexander III

A "bull" derives its name from the leaden seal (bulla) that is appended to it.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 108; Innes, I, 106–109; two different accounts.

importance, the discontinuance of church services meant privation and sorrow and fear. King John met the interdict by seizing a large part of the ecclesiastical properties. After a year and a half of the interdict, the pope resorted to excommunication: King John was solemnly placed outside the pale of the church, and his subjects were forbidden to associate with him or to give him assistance in any way. For more than four years England was governed by a king who was under the ecclesiastical curse.

Excommunication of King John. 1209.

The papal sentence awakened all the terrible energies of the sluggish king. He crushed out opposition wherever it was evident and prevented serious defections by securing hostages from the principal baronial families. It seems that the king inspired greater terror than the papal decree. Many Englishmen also supported him from a feeling that the papal court had not acted with due regard for the honor of England. It appeared that the papal weapons were making but slight impression. As a final resort Innocent turned to Philip Augustus and sought to enlist his services in an effort to carry out a sentence of deposition with which he had threatened King John. The English king was preparing to meet any invader; but his suspicious soul distrusted every one, and he suddenly decided to humble himself and make peace with the church. In the presence of the papal legate he surrendered his kingdom to the church and received it back as a fief from the Holy See on condition that a yearly tribute of 1000 marks (700 for England and 300 for Ireland) should be paid into the papal treasury.[1] This tribute was a legal charge on England for a century and a half, and was paid during the greater part of that period. It was finally abolished by act of parliament in 1366.

King John's submission to the pope. 1213.

87. The Coalition against France. The English leaders appear to have offered no protest against this amazing bargain. In an age when almost every man of importance was somebody's vassal, arrangements of this sort did not outrage national feeling as they would to-day; and there were several instances in the pontificate of Innocent III of some such submission to the Roman see. Perhaps the English barons hoped that peace with the church would also mean peace with France; but if they did they were disappointed: both John and Philip were eager for war. An alliance was formed against the grasping French king by his equally avaricious neighbors, King John, the emperor, and the count of Flanders. John was to attack from his territories in the southwest; the emperor and the count from the Netherlands to the northeast of France. But Philip Augustus crushed the emperor's army in the battle of Bouvines (1214) and the alliance crumbled. This was a year after John's humiliating submission to the papacy: with his allies defeated he did not dare to pursue his plans, but returned to England thoroughly discredited and wholly unprepared to meet an uprising that partook of the nature of a national revolt.

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[1] Innes, I, 109–116.

Battle of Bouvines. 1214.

88. The Quarrel with the Barons. King John had now alienated both the two great orders in the kingdom, the clergy and the nobility, in part by his treatment of the church during the five sorrowful years of the interdict, and in part by his tyrannical actions in his efforts to raise funds for his unpopular and unsuccessful foreign wars. These years of trouble had also interfered with the profession of the merchant, especially with the foreign trade; and the cities had become disaffected with the rest of the nation. Thus all the three estates of the realm, the classes that possessed the power, the wealth, and the influence, were arrayed in opposition to the king.

Opposition of the three estates.

During the two years following the submission (1213–1214) there was much agitation among the magnates of England. Several meetings were held, the most important being under the guise of a pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Edmund in Norfolk just before Christmas, 1214. The barons had heard of the coronation charter of Henry I, in which the king had promised to deal justly

Pilgrimage of the barons to St. Edmund's.

with his barons and to exact only the legal and customary dues and revenues. To the lords who had suffered for nearly a generation from the exactions of Richard and John, this seemed a desirable document, and they were determined to have it confirmed.

The months between Christmas and Easter were spent in fruitless negotiations, in which Archbishop Langton took a leading part as mediator between the king and the barons. Neither side could take any effective action during the winter months; but soon after Lent the discontented barons gathered a large force of knights and foot soldiers and marched upon London. Deserted by all but a few powerless favorites, the king withdrew from the city, and London opened its gates to the rebels. A month later the Great Charter was signed and sealed at Runnymede, a meadow on the south bank of the Thames not far from Windsor.[1]

Revolt of the barons.

89. The Great Charter.[2] The Great Charter bears some resemblance to the earlier Charter of Henry I, but it is more extensive, more elaborate, and more explicit. It is a feudal document and is concerned almost exclusively with the nobility: almost every section deals with some grievance of the baronage. There are also a number of sections that are of interest to the church and the mercantile classes or have to do with the government of the kingdom. The provisions of the Charter may therefore be grouped under four heads.

A feudal document.

1. An effort is made to secure the rights, the privileges, and the property of the nobility. According to feudal custom, certain payments or services were due the king from his tenants or from their lands. These were stated in fairly specific terms and the king promised to exact only what he had a right to exact according to ancient custom.

Security for the nobility.

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[1] Cheyney, pp. 180–181; Tuell and Hatch, No. 14 (Norgate); Kipling, *Reeds of Runnymede.*

[2] Cheyney, No. 110; Robinson, No. 47; Tuell and Hatch, No. 15; Gardiner, 182–184; Masterman, 46–50. The first three give extracts from Magna Carta.

It thus became more difficult for the king to increase the burdens of the baronage as William Rufus had done or to reduce the rights of the nobility as Henry II had tried to do.

Security for the merchants.

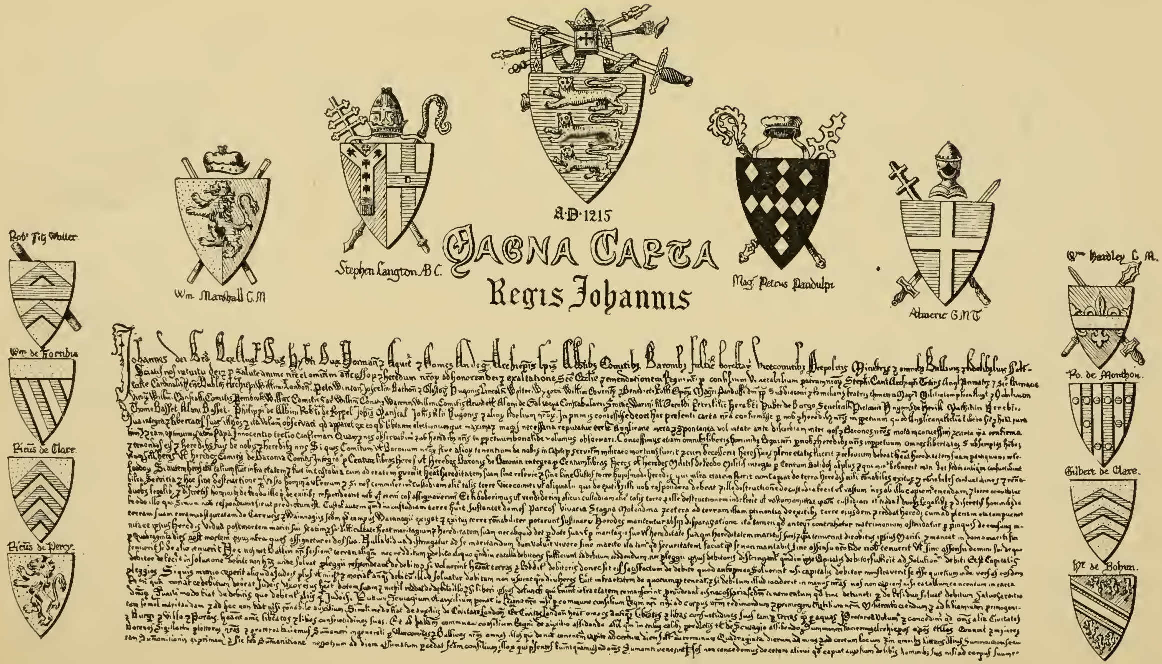
2. The Charter makes some attempt to secure the property of the merchants as well as of the nobles; for the merchants had been useful allies in the fight against King John. Specific mention is made of the city of London: the king promises that it "shall have all its ancient liberties and free customs, as well by land as by water." The same rights are secured to "all other cities and boroughs and villages and ports." These guarantees have special reference to commerce and were of interest chiefly to merchants, whom the English kings had occasionally afflicted with burdensome dues and taxes.

Freedom for the church.

3. The church is assured of the right to govern itself, or to be free from secular interference in the election of its high officials, but the terms used are very general. After the death of Stephen Langton Henry III protested against the choice of the Canterbury monks, and the pope sustained the protest. There were several contested elections in the thirteenth century, and the pope was usually found on the king's side, for the Roman see could not always afford to insist on the freedom that it claimed for the church.

Reforms of Henry II recognized.

4. The machinery of government is left practically untouched. The reforms of Henry II are recognized; but there seems to be an effort to limit their operation and to prevent further extension of the king's power. In a sense, therefore, the Great Charter is a reactionary document: it looks back to the times before the king had begun to interfere with feudal rights. It is important to note that the king promises to collect only the customary dues from the baronage, unless the barons themselves shall consent to the new demands in a formal great council. In this we have at least a recognition of the principle that the king ought not to change the laws without the consent of the classes that were affected by the change.

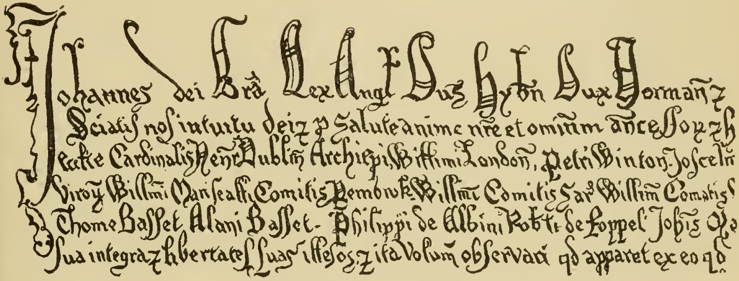

A·D·1215
Magna Carta
Regis Johannis
Rob' Fitz Walter
Wm. de Fortibus
Ricus de Clare
Ricus de Percy
Wm. Marshall C.M
Stephen Langton A.B.C.
Mag. Petrus Pandulph
Almeric G.M.T
Wm. Hardley C.M.
Ro. de Montbon
Gilbert de Clare
Hr de Bohun

The Great Charter

First 25 lines, greatly reduced, from a copy in the British Museum. The marginal coats of arms are a modern addition. For a translation see Cheyney, Readings, No. 110.

The term "freeman," which is used repeatedly in the Great Charter, is used in a feudal sense, and was practically limited to lords and knights. "Liberties" in those days meant privileges; and it was the liberties of the aristocratic classes that the Charter was intended to secure. There were men in England who were neither nobles, churchmen, nor tradesmen, but were still ranked among the freemen; but they formed neither a large nor an important class; the vast mass of the nation was composed of unfree villeins. For the villeins the Charter makes no promises of any value. Only when villeinage had disappeared and all were freemen, did the Charter come to have importance for all classes. Four hundred years after the signing of Magna Carta, in the fight between the English people and their Stuart kings, the Great Charter was revived by the famous lawyer Edward Coke; and with a new interpretation of the word "freeman," it was used very effectively against the king. The following two sections became very important in Coke's day:

Of slight interest to the villeins.



Johannes dei gra Rex Angl Dux Hybn Dux Normanz
Sciatis nos intuitu dei z p salute anime nre et omnium ancessoz z h
ecclie Cardinalis Henr Dublin Archiepi Willmi London, Petri Winton Joscelin
Viroz Willmi Marescalli Comitis Pembrok Willmi Comitis Sar Willm Comitis
Thome Basset Alani Basset Philippi de Albini Robti de Roppel Johis Ma
sua integra z libertates suas illesos z ita volum observari qd apparet ex eo qd

THE GREAT CHARTER

Part of the illustration opposite, four-fifths the size of the original.

Later interpretations of the Great Charter.

"39. No free man shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossessed, or outlawed, or banished, or in any way destroyed, nor will we go upon him, nor send upon him, except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land.

"40. To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny or delay right or justice."

In John's day this meant that the king promised fair and just dealings to his own feudal tenants or vassals, and that a baron should be tried by a court of barons and not by men of a lower class, as they would not be his "peers." A jury for the trial of criminal offenses did not yet exist in England. Coke and the Puritans, however, understood that these sections limited the king's power to imprison his political enemies and secured a jury trial to all who were charged with crime. New England was settled in Coke's day, and the views of the great Puritan lawyer as to the rights guaranteed by the Great Charter ultimately found their way into the earliest amendments to the American constitution.

No reference to jury trials in the Charter.

90. The Death of John: Importance of His Reign. Innocent III condemned the Charter on the plea that it was an attempt to bind his vassal without consulting himself as overlord of England. He ordered Stephen Langton to excommunicate the opponents of John, and when the archbishop refused to do so, he suspended him from official duties. John broke his promises almost as soon as he had made them, and the result was civil war. This time it was the barons who turned to France for help; and Philip's son, Louis, came over to England to lead the disaffected lords. But a year after he had granted the Charter, John died from partaking too freely, it is said, of unripe peaches. A few months earlier Innocent III had passed away. The rebellion soon died down, and Louis of France, consoled by an indemnity of 10,000 marks, departed for France.

Revolt of the barons.

Death of John.

In spite of the fact that the reigning monarch was a man of low ideals in government as well as in personal morals, and that many of his chief advisers were of the king's own kind with small enthusiasm for good government, the reign of John is a notable one in English history. In this reign was broken a foreign connection that had prevented the adoption of a purely English policy. Aquitaine, it is true,

Summary of John's reign.

remained a possession of the Angevin kings; but the connection with this distant duchy was never so close as with the nearer Normandy. In this same reign it became apparent that, although the papacy had reached the culmination of its power and had become what Hildebrand and Anselm and Saint Bernard had hoped that it would become, its weapons, when directed against a resolute nation led by a capable king, would be of little service. But most important of all, in this reign it was asserted in the Great Charter, at least by implication, that the king is subject to law and that there are forces in the nation that have a right to share in the control of the government. The separate provisions of the Charter were easily broken or evaded; but the central principle has remained in the English political system to this day.

The king is below the law.

91. Later History of the Charter. King John was succeeded by his nine year old son Henry III. For the next decade the country was governed by a regency, a small committee in which the papal legate, as the representative of Henry's recognized overlord, held a prominent position. The regency once more issued the Charter though in a mutilated form, some of the more significant provisions being omitted. During the thirteenth century the document was reissued or confirmed more than thirty times, but always in a mutilated form: the original document was never carried out in full. After the feudal system had fallen into decay, the provisions of the Charter became obsolete, and the document was forgotten. Not till the seventeenth century did it again become an object of national interest.

Reissues of the Great Charter.

92. Summary. Henry II and his two sons governed England for nearly two generations. It was a period of great disturbances in the Christian world and of much interest in foreign affairs; still, it was a period of great importance for the internal history of England. Four lines of development can be distinctly traced. (1) There was an evident effort on the part of the king to strengthen his

Chief lines of development, 1154–1216.

position in the kingdom and to give a new meaning to kingship by resuming some of the powers that the monarchy had lost to the church and the nobility. This is particularly true of Henry II. (2) This purpose led to a great conflict with the church which was renewed in the reign of John. There was also an attempt to reduce the importance of the barons; this led to opposition and rebellion and to the demand for a "Charter of Liberties." (3) An important step was taken toward the unification of the British kingdoms by the annexation of Ireland. (4) A great series of reforms in the local government was initiated: the system of itinerant justices was developed; the local courts were strengthened; and the jury came into being. The real achievements of the period belong to Henry II. In the conflict with the church and with the baronage the king lost; but the victorious parties gained very little. The church learned that it was unwise to fight the king; and the barons found that it was difficult to control the ruler after they had defeated him.

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CHAPTER V

THE BEGINNINGS OF NATIONALISM

93. The Medieval Ideas of Universality. Throughout the middle ages the human mind was haunted by the idea that all great institutions should be universal. From the ancient world came the magnificent idea of the Empire, a universal monarchy like that built up by the armies of Rome, which for several centuries governed all the lands that were then regarded as lying within the limits of civilization. It was this idea that inspired Charlemagne with his mighty purpose to unite all the Germanic peoples and tribes into one Christian Germanic Empire with the Franks as the guiding element. In the tenth century and later the kings of Germany strove to realize the same idea but with little success. All through the later middle ages the Christian kings of Europe looked upon the emperor as a ruler of higher rank than themselves; but he could not command their obedience. From Christianity came the idea of a universal Church which in the middle ages came very near realization in the ecclesiastical empire of the Roman papacy. The institutions of the church were all of the universal type: its language, its form of government, its doctrines, and its ritual were practically identical everywhere. Universal, too, were the monastic orders, and especially the newer orders of friars, each of which was controlled by a general who resided at Rome. The middle ages also developed a typical social system, one that was, at least, widely diffused: feudalism with its basis in villeinage.

Medieval ideas and institutions.

94. Nationalism in the Thirteenth Century. The argument must not be pushed too far, however, as there were always local institutions and local peculiarities in the various parts of Europe. In fact, the lack of easy communication tended to emphasize these. There had also been a constant interest in what we now call the nation: the Anglo-Saxon realized that he was an Englishman and that England was his home; and he fought fiercely for his country and his dynasty against the invading Danes and Normans. But the all-pervading passion of nationalism, the feeling that England should be for the English, that all its institutions should bear a peculiarly English stamp, and that the external influences that to such a large extent directed the life and activity of the nation should be controlled from within the state, — this feeling was a matter of slow growth. Nationalism is the product of a common history: not until the Saxon, the Mercian, the Northman, the Dane and the Norman had lost their interest in their individual pasts and had developed a new interest in their common historic experiences, could real nationalism become possible. When English history reaches the thirteenth century, this new feeling is evident in every important field of national life.

England becomes English.

95. Opposition to Alien Officials.[1] The first prominent fact is opposition to foreign influences and foreign control. One thing that John had to promise in the Great Charter was "to remove from the kingdom all foreign-born soldiers, crossbowmen, servants, and mercenaries, who have come with horses and arms for the injury of the realm." During the first half of the century alien influences in the administration were also gotten rid of to a considerable extent. So close had been the relations between England and the country in the valley of the Loire, that it was only natural that adventurers in search of offices should crowd into England, where the natives had been shut out of officialdom for a century and a half.

Foreigners in England.

A stream of such adventurers came into the country during the first decade after the granting of the Great Charter, when the bishop of Winchester, a native of Poitou, was the personal tutor and guardian of the young king, Henry III. In the following decade came a host of impoverished noblemen from southeastern France, the old region of Provence, who arrived on the occasion of King Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence. Among these were four uncles of the royal bride, princes of no striking abilities, but eager for places of power and importance. One of them was even elevated to the office of archbishop. Ten years later, about 1246, came a third migration, this time again from Poitou. The king's mother, Isabella, was still a young woman when John died; soon after that event she returned to France and married the son of the Count Hugh to whom she had been betrothed before King John made his fateful journey into western France. By this second marriage Queen Isabella became the mother of a numerous family; but many of her children were finally forced to withdraw from France because of unsuccessful resistance to King Louis IX (Saint Louis), who was striving to extend the influence of the French crown into the Loire country. They sought refuge in England; and the king's half-brothers, like the queen's uncles, were given places of profit and prominence in Henry's kingdom. They, like the other immigrant nobles, were utterly ignorant of English needs, and did little to help the amiable and kindly, but weak and incompetent king to govern the land.

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[1] Innes, I, 126–129.

Poitevins and Provençals.

1236.

1246.

The king's half-brothers.

96. The Gascon and Sicilian Ventures. It was only natural that these French relatives should be interested in the extension of Angevin influence on the Continent, especially in France. It was largely through their influence that Henry III was induced to look with favor upon two ventures, neither of which accorded with true English policy: he wanted to regain some of the French territories that his father had lost; and he wished to secure the Sicilian crown for his younger son, to whom it had been offered by the pope.

In 1241 Henry made an effort to regain Poitou, which had been lost during the period of the king's minority. But King Henry was no match either in war or in diplomacy for his great rival, Saint Louis of France. Louis IX had inherited all the great qualities of kingship that his grandfather Philip Augustus had possessed; in addition he had certain personal virtues that his grandfather never cared to possess. He defeated Henry's attempt to regain Poitou, and the boundary of English Aquitaine was finally moved one hundred miles south from the Loire to the Charente. On other sides, too, Henry's French territories were pared away, till only a remnant remained of Eleanor's grand duchy. From now on for a hundred years, the possessions of the English kings in France were usually known as Gascony.

The failure in Poitou.

Since the days of Hildebrand there had been an almost continuous strife between the papacy and the emperors, who claimed sovereignty over northern Italy and some authority over the papal kingdom itself. In the thirteenth century the emperor also came into possession of Naples and Sicily, and the pope now found a hostile dynasty on both borders of his kingdom. After the death of Frederick II (1250), the pope made an effort to break up this dangerous connection between northern and southern Italy by finding a new king for Naples and Sicily. The crown was offered to Henry's brother Richard and even to Henry himself; but the English king finally accepted it for his younger son Edmund, and in return for the honor he offered to help the pope with a subsidy of 140,000 marks.

The Sicilian venture.

97. The Opposition of the Barons:[1] Simon de Montfort. These two ventures, the Gascon and the Sicilian, were as futile as they were expensive and the barons objected to the contributions levied. The great chronicler Matthew Paris tells us that when the subject of the Sicilian subsidy was broached in the Great Council, "the ears of all men tingled and their hearts stood still with amazement."[2] The barons finally found a leader in Simon de Montfort,[3] the king's brother-in-law, who was also a Frenchman. It is not likely that in his opposition to King Henry Simon de Montfort was inspired with the highest motives. Some years before, the king had sent him to Gascony as governor, but his methods were not enjoyed by the Gascon people, who had serious objections to efficient government of any sort. Henry III gave a ready ear to the complaints of his subjects and Simon lost the royal favor. Soon he was enrolled among the king's most active opponents.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 126.

[2] Kendall, pp. 80–81.

[3] Tuell and Hatch, No. 17.

Simon de Montfort.

98. The "Mise of Amiens;" the Baronial Revolt. The chief grievances of the barons were the influence of foreigners in the government and the heavy taxes that were levied for purposes that brought no advantage to the nation. Several attempts were made to limit the royal power by giving the king a council appointed by the assembled barons, the most notable of which was a series of provisions drawn up at Oxford at an angry meeting of the barons known as the Mad Parliament.[1] According to the provisions of Oxford the king was to take no measure of importance without consulting a committee of fifteen men chosen by the king and the barons; but neither this nor any other scheme of reform seemed workable. The king was incompetent, but the barons were selfish, and it is unlikely that they would have given England good government. The king soon set the "Provisions" aside and the result was civil war. Finally it was agreed to refer the matter in dispute to Louis IX of France as arbitrator. Saint Louis was a king who was just by nature; but he believed that royalty should exercise wide authority, and to him any plan to limit the king's powers seemed an abomination. By a decision known as the "Mise of Amiens" (1264), he found Henry III's position correct and proper in every respect.

The Mad Parliament.

Louis IX as arbitrator. 1264.

The barons refused to accept this decision and prepared to resist the king. Henry now had the assistance of his young son Edward, a strong, sensible prince, who from this time on came to be the real force in the government. Simon de Montfort led the baronial army against the royal forces at Lewes in Sussex and gained a complete victory. Prince Edward was taken prisoner and for a year Simon was in control of the kingdom.

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[1] Innes, I, 130–134.

The battle of Lewes. 1264.

99. Simon de Montfort's Parliament. In attempting to reach a settlement with the king, Earl Simon made use of an institution that had been taking form since late in the reign of John, the parliament.[1] A parliament was the old great council of prominent nobles with an added element of representative knights from the shires. Simon de Montfort did not originate parliament. As early as 1213, the year of John's reconciliation with the church, an attempt was made to consult the shires through their representatives. During the troubles between Henry III and the nobility, both sides had called in representatives from the counties to assist in the deliberations of the great council. As the members chosen were always knights, this additional element might be looked upon as a representation of the lesser nobility. In the local government of the shires the knights were the controlling element; and it was wise to seek the support of a class that was of such great influence and importance.

Beginnings of parliament.

Simon de Montfort added a new element, one that was distinctly non-baronial, in the burgesses or representatives from the organized towns called boroughs. The parliament of 1265 was packed with Simon's friends; it was to make his control absolutely sure that he summoned in the king's name representatives from such boroughs as he knew to be friendly to himself. It is not probable that he intended this arrangement to be permanent; but Edward, when he became king, acted on the precedent of 1265 and thus parliament came to be composed of three elements: the barons, including the chief officials of the church; two knights from each shire; and two burgesses, usually merchants, from each borough or city. Sixty years after de Mont-

Representation of the boroughs. 1265.

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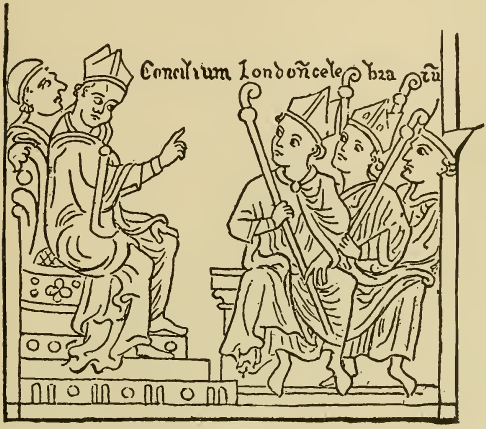
[1] Gardiner, 196, 201–202; Masterman, 54–55.

fort's time, the members from the counties and the boroughs began to sit as one body and the house of commons came into being. In the term "commons" there is no suggestion of any lower or humbler class: the house of commons was the representation of the organized communities,[1] which were the shires and the boroughs. As the boroughs were far more numerous than the counties, the burgesses at once came to be the controlling force in the house.

The House of Commons.



A Church Council

Drawn by Mathew Paris, the St. Albans Chronicler (1195?–1259).

Simon de Montfort's work of reform was not lasting. Prince Edward escaped from captivity and joined the Marchers on the Welsh border who were already in revolt. At the battle of Evesham the baronial insurgents were defeated, Simon de Montfort being among the slain.[2]

Battle of Evesham. 1265.

100. The National Movement in the Church. The opposition to foreign influences was also apparent in the church. During Henry's minority the papal legate took a prominent part in the government, with the result that a great deal of jealousy was excited among the barons. When he was finally withdrawn, Archbishop Langton persuaded the pope to leave the post of legate vacant for a time. In 1237, a new legate appeared on the king's own invitation; his presence excited a great deal of open hostility, and when he came to Oxford he was mobbed by the students.

Opposition to papal legates.

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[1] Masterman, 59–60.

[2] Innes, I, 134–139; Kendall, No. 26; different accounts.

At this point there appears prominently in history an English churchman who from that time on for a period of more than twenty years led the English church in its opposition to foreign domination: Robert Grosseteste, bishop of the extensive diocese of Lincoln. Robert Grosseteste was an Englishman of the villein class, who by sheer power of intellect and courageous devotion to study and research had gained a fame for scholarship and intellectual leadership that extended far beyond the limits of the island. He had studied at the universities of Oxford and Paris, was interested in the translation of Greek writings, and was a friend of Roger Bacon, the greatest scientist of the time. He had passed middle life before he was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln; but he stepped almost immediately into Langton's place as a national leader of the English church.

Grosseteste.

1235.

Lincoln Cathedral

One of the finest churches in England; the choir dates from 1192.

Bishop Grosseteste was a firm believer in the rights of the

Holy See: he held that the pope was above kings and bishops and must be obeyed. But he realized that much corruption and unwisdom existed in high places, and he felt that it was his duty to punish sin wherever he found it. Till the day of his death he was outspoken in opposition to extortion and misgovernment on the part of pope and king. Once he was suspended from his office for resistance to Rome and at a later time was threatened with even severer punishment; but the pope was warned that to proceed against a bishop with such a wide renown for piety and zeal would be indiscreet and the strenuous bishop was permitted to retain his diocese till his death.

Grosseteste as a reformer.

1253.

101. Papal Taxation in England.[1] Aside from the exasperating officiousness of the papal legate, the English church had two grievances against the Roman curia: heavy taxation and the system of provisors. The financial troubles were the earlier ones. The legate who had such a serious encounter with the studious men of Oxford spent several years in England, chiefly in the interest of the papal treasury. The legate finally demanded that the English churches and monasteries should pay a fifth of their income for that year to the Roman see. The English churchmen protested, but to small purpose, as the king, who was unable to see how his obedience to the church could have any limits, took the legate's part and threatened the objectors with dire punishment. Bishop Grosseteste was not able to interfere much with the legate's success as a collector, but he did much to formulate a strong public sentiment against the papal demand.

Papal exactions.

102. The System of "Provisors." The system of provisors was one by which church offices were "provided" with future incumbents, even before there was any prospect of an early vacancy. In other words, the pope would promise a certain definite appointment to some favored friend, follower, or relative while the office was still filled. Frequently the men for whom such "provision" was made

Provisors.

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[1] Gardiner, 194, 197.

were Italians; thus England was threatened with another stream of foreign office-holders, though as a matter of fact most of these "provisors" never came to the country; they performed the duties of the office through deputies, their own care being for the revenues only. To a people that was developing a vigorous national consciousness, such conditions soon became intolerable; and when the pope promised the spoilsmen of Rome the next three hundred church offices that should become vacant in England, the entire nation was stirred. The archbishop of Canterbury, the saintlike Edmund Rich, promptly set out for Rome to protest against this measure. He died on the journey, and Boniface of Savoy, one of the queen's uncles, succeeded him.

103. England Becomes English. Thus far the national movement has been considered chiefly on the negative side, as opposition to domination from abroad. It had, however, a strong positively English phase, which appeared most prominently in the growth of English law and legal institutions, in the revival of English language and literature, and in the development of an English type of architecture. Henry III was a native Englishman and took great pride in the fact. He gave English names to his two sons Edward and Edmund. French, however, remained the language of the royal court for some time yet, though Henry's successor, Edward I, made considerable use of English in conversational speech.

Positive phases of English nationalism.

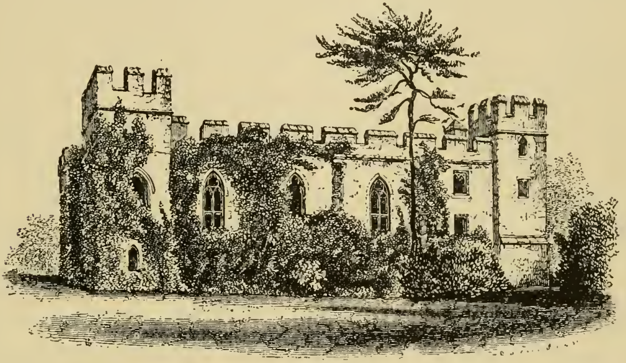
104. Development of English Law. The thirteenth century saw the completion of a remarkable development of English law; it saw the beginning of still another. In feudal times, when custom ruled, laws were local in their application, each section or region having its own usages that passed for law. The itinerant justices[1] that were sent through the circuits by Henry II found these customs deficient; and soon there arose from the decisions of these judges a body of law that was common to the whole kingdom and was therefore known as the

[1] Review sec. 74.

The Common Law.

"common law." The common law was made up of a variety of elements: Old English law, feudal customs, royal instructions to the judges, principles borrowed from Roman and canon law, and judicial decisions were the more prominent. Toward the end of Henry III's reign, after this growth had continued for one hundred years, Henry Bracton, an eminent English lawyer and jurist, summed up and systematized the common law in a famous law book. The growth of the common law did not cease with Bracton's work, but after the close of Henry III's reign this growth is not such a prominent fact in the history of English law.

Bracton.



THE HALL, ACTON BURNELL, SHROPSHIRE

The hall in this case partakes of the nature of a castle, as the towers were probably intended for defensive purposes. One of Edward I's most famous statutes, The Statute of Merchants, was drawn up in the manor house of Acton Burnell.

Statute law.

The legal development continued in statute law, which was enacted from time to time as it was found necessary to supplement the common law. Statute law emanates from some authority that possesses law-making power; in earlier times this was the king, but the power soon passed to parliament. The Charter of Henry I and the Great Charter are counted among the statutes; but the earliest law that bears the statute name belongs to the reign of Henry III.

There were, however, but few enactments of this sort before the reign of Edward I, when they became quite numerous. So great was his activity in this direction that he has come to be known as the English Justinian. Edward ordered the highways to be widened and the underbrush removed so as to make travel safer. Better protection was given to the merchants. A police system was originated for the boroughs. These and many other practical questions were taken up in the councils of the great lawyer-king and found settlement in the form of statutes. The First Statute of Westminster which was drawn up soon after Edward's coronation included no fewer than fifty-one laws.

Legislation of Edward I.

105. Anti-ecclesiastical Legislation: the "Dead Hand." Suggestive of English opposition to papacy as a foreign power and to the growing strength of the ecclesiastical side of the state was an effort in Edward's day to limit the wealth of the church. Feudalism as a force in the state was passing away: the knight was yielding his place to the yeoman archer; and representatives of the mercantile class in the boroughs were soon to control the lower house in parliament. But the financial and social arrangements of feudalism persisted a long time. The death of a tenant brought certain monetary advantages to the overlord: his heir would have to pay a certain sum of money called the relief before he could get possession of the ancestral lands; if the heir was a minor, the lord managed the property, usually to his own advantage, till he was of age; perhaps there would be a widow or an heiress for whom an advantageous marriage could be arranged. These payments, or profits, were known as feudal incidents. The church, too, held lands on feudal terms; — but the church never died. The lords who gave lands to an ecclesiastical corporation could no longer collect the feudal incidents. The hand of the church was a "dead hand:" it could never give out or back what it had once acquired, though its abilities to receive and to hold were never impaired. There was, consequently, a great deal of land in England which could never be bought or sold and

Statute of Mortmain.

which yielded very little revenue to the nominal overlord. To remedy this condition, Edward, by the Statute of Mortmain, forbade all further grants of this type to the church; but various expedients were found by which the statute might be avoided; later kings gave their permission freely, and land continued to pass into mortmain.

106. The Great Central Courts. During the thirteenth century the development of the three central courts also reached practical completion. In the twelfth century, the age of Henry I and Henry II, important disputes of various sorts had begun to find settlement in the *curia regis*, the king's own court, theoretically in the king's own presence. These disputes increased in number and fell into three main classes: financial questions; matters in which the king was interested or concerned; and disputes between the king's subjects that had not found satisfactory settlement in the local courts. The financial disputes very soon came to be decided in the exchequer, which in this way became a court as well as a chamber of accounts. Soon a bench of judges was provided for each of the other two classes, the king's bench and the common pleas. In the same period the jury system of the local courts was perfected by the development of the petit jury for criminal cases.[1] The English judicial system, both the central and the local, was thoroughly national; there were no corresponding institutions just like these elsewhere in Europe. But certain features of the English system, such as the jury and the itinerant justices, have been widely copied.

Development of the judicial system.

The petit jury.

107. The Literary Revival: Layamon and Orm. The thirteenth century also saw an important literary revival. Old English literature reached its highest point about the year 1000 in the prose writings of Alfric. But the Danish conquest crushed the spirit of the Anglo-Saxons and their writings during the eleventh century show little originality or literary excellence. With the passing of the

Anglo-Saxon literature.

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[1] Review sec. 75.

Layamon's *Brut.*

The *Ormulum.*

Norman dynasty, Old English literature also passed away: the last entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is for 1154. For half a century the literary voice of the English people was almost silent. The merry Englishman still sang old folk songs and probably composed new ballads; but, so far as we know, Latin and French were the only languages employed by literary men during the reigns of Henry II and Richard I. English literature reappeared, however, about 1205, when Layamon, a priest from the Severn valley (Worcestershire), wrote a rhyming chronicle in the tongue of the people. Layamon's *Brut* is a confused, inartistic production made up largely of Celtic legends; nevertheless, it is an important landmark in the history of English thought and culture. A few years later another important literary document saw the light: the *Ormulum*, a rhyming almanac and religious handbook by Orm, a priest who lived somewhere in the Midlands. It was Orm's purpose to give an English version of the passages from the Gospels that the church had appointed as a part of the service on each particular Sunday or church holiday, and to add a little sermon to each. Ten thousand lines of this strange production still exist.

Changes in the English language.

The shifting of vowel sounds.

108. The Middle English Language. For the student of the English language the awkward verses of Layamon and Orm are of inestimable value, as they serve to show how the language had developed in the preceding century. Great changes had come over the English idiom in the twelfth century: the grammar had become simplified, largely by the loss of inflections in which the Anglo-Saxon was rich. Certain changes in the vowel sounds of the language had also begun to appear. A and e, which in Saxon times were sounded as in modern German, have become changed to their present sound values; ï, o, and ṳ have in many cases shifted to ī, ṳ, and ou respectively. Thus häl, mïn, dō, and hṳs, have become hale, mine, do, and house. In many instances the changes have not followed this rule and in many other cases the old sounds have remained.

Some of the Old English vowel sounds have disappeared entirely. This development was not completed before the sixteenth century; but some of the changes can be traced back to the twelfth. There had also been changes in the vocabulary: in the writings of Orm, who lived in the old Danelaw, there is evidence of a considerable borrowing from the Danish. It is surprising to find that neither of these two poems shows much French influence on the English. Apparently the changes came from growth within the language itself and not from foreign influences.

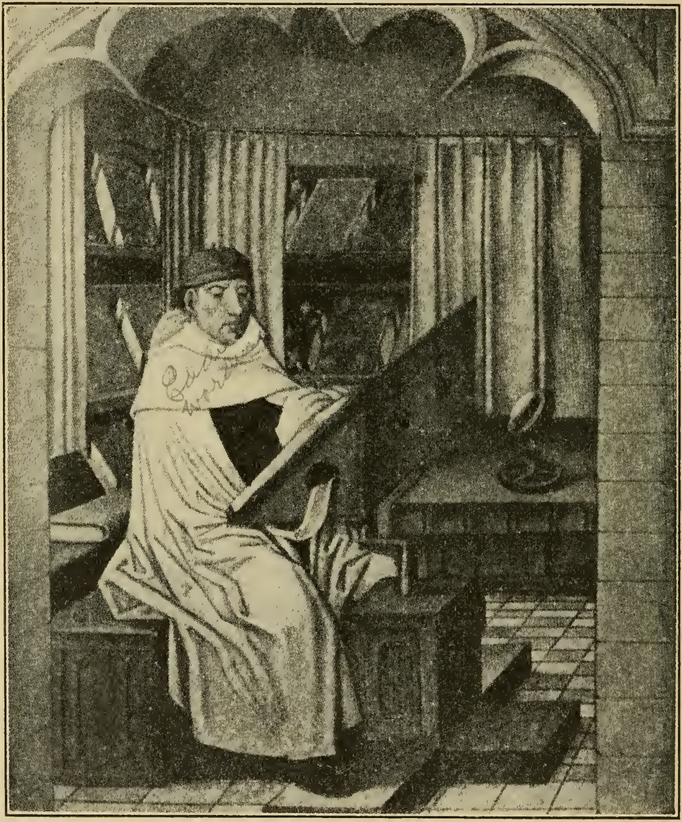
109. The Chroniclers: Matthew Paris. The English spirit is apparent even among the men who wrote their thoughts in Latin. A little later than Layamon and Orm came Matthew Paris, the greatest historical writer of the English middle ages, who gathered into a lengthy chronicle all that he could learn of the British and English past. In the middle ages history was written chiefly in the monasteries: the monks had leisure, they knew the art of writing, and they had access to books. A short distance north of London was the great monastery of Saint Albans, the wealthiest and most important monastic foundation on the island. It had among its officials a historiographer; and in the reign of Henry III Matthew Paris held this important post. This famous monk also wrote the happenings of his own day; and his words betray much indignation when he writes of the inroads of the aliens, whether churchmen or seculars. Matthew Paris condemns abuses wherever he finds them, and in his criticism he spares neither king nor pope.

Matthew Paris.

110. National Themes in Literature. The national tendency is also seen in the choice of literary themes, whether the writing was in English or not. In the eleventh century a literary revival had appeared on the Continent which continued in the romances of the French troubadours and the German minnesingers of the twelfth century. The English literary movement of the thirteenth century doubtless got its impulse from France and

The new literary movement in England and on the Continent.

was, therefore, not wholly national. But it is to be noted that such time-honored subjects as the Trojan war, the deeds of Alexander, Cæsar, and Charlemagne were at this time beginning to give place to subjects that were English or at least British: King Arthur, Lancelot, Tristan and Iseult, the Holy Grail, King Horn, Havelock the Dane, Alfred the Great, and Richard the Lion-heart became favorite subjects among the English romancers of the thirteenth century. Havelock the Dane and King



A Monk in His Study

Horn were probably Danish viking chiefs; but the more important of the themes mentioned were Celtic and belonged to the Celtic lands of Wales and Cornwall. It was believed at one time that King Arthur's bones rested in a church at Glastonbury. According to legend Glastonbury was also the British home of the Holy Grail.

Glastonbury Abbey

Chapel of St. Joseph of Arimathea. King Arthur and Queen Guinevere are said to be buried in the Glastonbury cemetery. Saint Dunstan was one of the abbots of this abbey; the same honor is claimed for Saint Patrick.

From a photograph by W. H. Dudley.

111. The Universities:[1] Oxford and Cambridge. An important factor in this nationalistic development was the English university. Oxford[2] became a university in the twelfth century, in the days of Henry II, though an important school had existed there somewhat earlier. Cambridge was founded in the thirteenth century, in the days of Henry III. It was during the latter reign, too, that arrangements were made for the accommodation of students in colleges. A college was a group of buildings where the students ate, slept, studied, and worshiped; it

Oxford and Cambridge.

The college system.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 111–114.

[2] Tuell and Hatch, No. 23.

would therefore have a dormitory, a dining hall, a library, and a chapel. The first of these colleges is said to have been Merton College, founded by Bishop Merton of Rochester toward the close of the reign of Henry III. About the same time the wealthy Balliol family founded and endowed Balliol College. In those same years a group of students at Cambridge were formed into an association that later grew into the college of Peterhouse. In time the colleges became the most characteristic feature of English university life.

112. Medieval Science: Roger Bacon. The universities were still chiefly devoted to theological study, but other subjects, such as law, also flourished. The sciences were scarcely in existence as yet, for the medieval mind feared to investigate nature, as that might mean searching out the secrets of God, which, it was believed, He guarded jealously; or it might mean coming into contact with the forces of Satan, whose control in this evil world was thought to be quite extensive. However, such men as Robert Grosseteste were not to be deterred from any form of study; and Grosseteste's younger contemporary, Roger Bacon,[1] was a true scientist with wonderful insight. He looked forward to a time when the secrets of nature should all be known, when carriages should be self-propelling, and men should sail the air as well as the sea. Roger Bacon soon came to be regarded as a dangerous character; the pope withdrew his right to teach at Oxford and soon afterwards he was sent to prison, where he spent many years, though superior knowledge of nature was his only crime; but to his contemporaries the science of physics was very much like magic, which, it was agreed, was of evil origin.

Medieval science.

Roger Bacon.

113. The Friars in England.[2] The great scientist belonged to a new religious order of the monastic type, the Franciscan friars. During the years of the interdict in England, an Italian layman, Francis of Assisi, was gathering a small band of followers and organizing them into a monastic brotherhood, whose great purpose should

Franciscans and Dominicans.

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[1] Robinson, Nos. 78–79.

[2] Gardiner, 190–191.

be to serve humanity, to go out into the world and bring physical and spiritual aid and comfort to the distressed and suffering, not like the monks[1] to strive in solitude for their own salvation. The Franciscans and a similar organization of Spanish origin, the Dominicans, came to England in the early years of Henry III's reign, and soon became an important force at the universities. The friars had headquarters of the monastic type and were bound by monastic vows; but they were not necessarily bound to any particular locality, they traveled wherever their presence seemed needful, often begging their way from door to door. The travels and labors of the friars doubtless did much to break down local prejudice and to develop a common English feeling.

114. Architecture: Early English. A national characteristic also appeared in the architecture of the period. The thirteenth century was the great age in the building of the English cathedrals; many of the splendid religious monuments that still adorn the English cathedral cities were built in large part during the reigns of Henry III and Edward I. The erection of great ecclesiastical edifices, churches, cathedrals, and monasteries, began with the Normans, who were far in advance of the Anglo-Saxons as builders. Their style was a form of the Romanesque, with round arches and massive columns. This was later displaced by the lighter Gothic style with its pointed arches, lofty ceilings, stained glass windows, and high towers and spires. In England the builders developed a national type of the Gothic that has since been called the Early English.

Church architecture.

Early English architecture.

115. Progress in the Thirteenth Century. The period of misrule and foreign influence extends down to the middle of the century, when the barons began an organized opposition. The twenty years from 1235 to 1255 were especially fruitful of trouble and discontent. Within this period fall the king's marriage to Eleanor of Provence; the coming of the queen's uncles and the king's half-brothers;

Political disturbances.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 117; Tuell and Hatch, No. 19 (Jessopp).

the exactions of the papal legate; the trouble over the provisors; the unprofitable expedition to France, and the temptation of the Sicilian crown. The rise of baronial opposition culminated in the events of 1264 and 1265, with the mise of Amiens, the battles of Lewes and Evesham, and the parliament of Simon de Montfort. For the next forty years, the influence of Edward as prince and king is the controlling force in the

Salisbury Cathedral

Perhaps the finest specimen of early English architecture in England. Built in the thirteenth century (1220–1258).

government, and England enjoyed a period of sane, efficient administration and progressive legislation. With the close of the century, however, Edward I became involved in foreign affairs and warfare to such an extent that domestic matters were lost sight of.

Achievements of the century.

But the weakness of the political rule in the days of Henry III must not be permitted to obscure the fact that the thirteenth century was a wonderful age. About 1250, when the discontent was rising to the point of rebellion, there lived in England a number of men whose works form strong links in the chain of progress. Five of these deserve to be mentioned once more: Bracton the jurist; Grosseteste the learned churchman; de Montfort, the leader of the baronial opposition and the transformer of parliament; Roger Bacon, the great scientist; and Matthew Paris, the historian of the age. It is the activity of these and many other writers, thinkers, builders, and statesmen which constitutes the true glory of the thirteenth century.

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EDWARD I. — Fletcher, I, i, 199–201; Innes, 117–119; Tout, *Edward I*, c. i.

EDWARD I AS A LAWMAKER. — Andrews, *History of England*, 139–144; Cross, 178–181; Innes, 119–122; Jenks, c. ix; Oman, 149–153; Ransome, 208–213; Tout, *Advanced History of Great Britain*, 182–185; Tout, *Edward I*, c. vii.

THE BEGINNINGS OF PARLIAMENT. — Fletcher, I, i, 201–204; Tout, *Edward I*, c. viii.

CHAPTER VI

THE BRITISH IDEA AND THE WAR WITH FRANCE

116. Edward I. 1272–1307. Edward I, whose reign began in 1272 and continued for thirty-five years, was one of the ablest and strongest kings that have ruled in England. He had none of the weaknesses of his amiable father, nor did he inherit the mean spirit of his grandfather John. In many respects he resembled his great ancestor Henry II, but his character was formed of finer clay. Edward I had great faith in himself, in his judgments, and in his purposes, a faith that almost amounted to a weakness, for the great king found it extremely easy to justify his own actions: so conscious was he of a desire to do what seemed right in every instance, that he rarely doubted the justice of anything that he purposed to do. Like Henry II he strove for order in the kingdom, for internal peace and efficient government; but with the notable difference that what the first Angevin strove to attain by means of administrative machinery, Edward I sought to accomplish through extensive and enlightened legislation.

Edward I: personality and character.

Statesmanship of Edward's reign.

117. The British Idea. In the national movement that has been traced in the preceding chapter, Edward had a considerable part: more than any of his Norman or Angevin predecessors he realized that he was an English king. But Edward's plans were not limited to England: he wished to unify the British archipelago into a single state by extending the English political system over Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. This "British idea" was an ancient one; both the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman kings had asserted feudal

Unification of Britain.

claims to Wales and Scotland, and for a few years the king of Scotland had been the vassal of Henry II, who had also made some progress toward the conquest of Ireland; but not before the reign of Edward I did circumstances appear favorable for the complete realization of the plan.

118. The Final Subjugation of Wales.[1] Edward failed ultimately to subdue Scotland, but he succeeded in his operations against the Welsh. In the thirteenth century Wales was nominally under the suzerainty of the English king; but in fact the Welsh princes ruled quite independently over the parts of their country that still remained under Celtic control. It will be remembered that the Norman kings, being unable to annex the principality, had allowed those of their nobles who had the resources and the inclination to invade Wales and seize lordships for themselves.[2] These adventurers were fairly successful, and soon all the eastern and the southern borders had passed into the power of the lords of the March. Most prominent among the Marchers was the Mortimer family, whose possessions lay along the east border of Wales. The territory actually governed by the Welsh princes was therefore limited to the west and northwest, where the mountain masses of Snowdon make hostile movements extremely difficult.

The situation in Wales.

The March.

While Edward was still a prince, he was made earl of Chester, a county that lies on the border of North Wales. Llewellyn, the last Welsh prince of that name, ruled the principality at the time. Though a vassal of Henry III, it was his policy to oppose his overlord at every opportunity. In the Barons' War of 1265, he sided with Simon de Montfort. Llewellyn's purpose was to extend his sway over all the territories of Wales, the March as well as the Snowdon country. Edward and the Welsh prince regarded each other with deep distrust; and when Edward became king Llewellyn showed no desire to appear at court and do homage. Five years after his accession (1277), the king invaded Llewellyn's territory and

Llewellyn.

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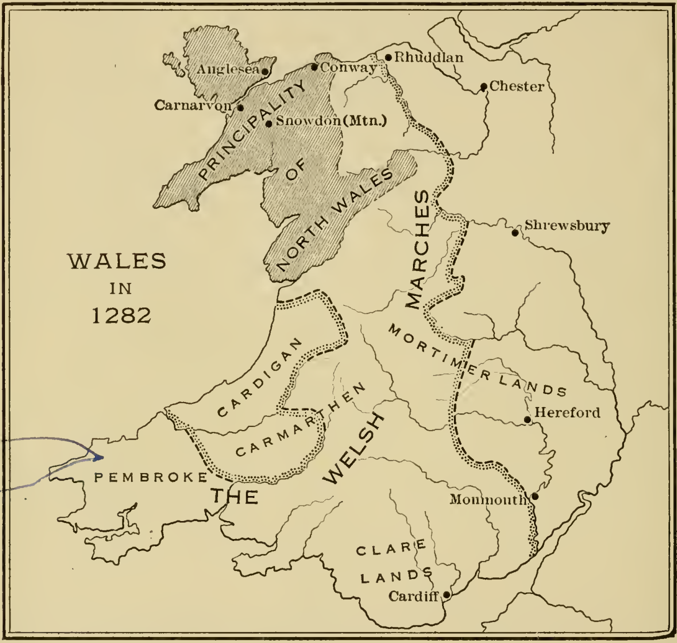
[1] Gardiner, 210.

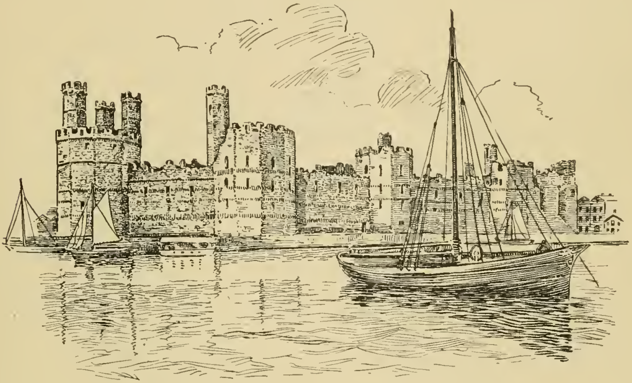
[2] Review sec. 58.

with the help of the lords of the March succeeded in defeating the prince, whose realm was now definitely limited to the northwest part of Wales. The March-lands were formally separated from Wales and annexed to England.


WALES
IN
1282
Anglesea
Conway
Rhuddlan
Chester
Carnarvon
Snowdon (Mtn.)
PRINCIPALITY OF NORTH WALES
MARCHES
Shrewsbury
CARDIGAN
CARMARTHEN
MORTIMER LANDS
Hereford
PEMBROKE
THE WELSH
Monmouth
CLARE LANDS
Cardiff

The Welshmen of the March soon found rule by English officials unbearable, and after five years of uncertain peace, war once more broke out between Edward I and his vassal Llewellyn. The English forces set out to conquer the principality, but found the task beset with great difficulties. Across **Conquest of North Wales.** the northwest part of Wales lies the mount of Snowdon like a massive wall with gentle slopes toward the Irish Sea and steep declivities toward England. **1283.** Llewellyn's position seemed impregnable; but at the critical moment the prince fell in a skirmish and resistance melted away. The conquered principality was cut up into shires after the English plan and governed by royal officials after English methods. The shire system, however, was not extended to the March, where the lords for some time yet were allowed to continue in control. With the death of Llewellyn the old Welsh principality perished. But the Welsh people have refused to become English and have to a large extent remained Welsh in language and sentiment to the present day.

Welsh nationalism.



Carnarvon Castle

Edward II, the first "Prince of Wales," was born in this castle.

119. The Scotch Succession.[1] The pacification of Wales was completed in 1283. Three years later the problem of Scotland took on an unusual interest. In the reign of Henry II, the Scottish king, William the Lion, was taken prisoner in battle and compelled to do homage to the English king for all his lands. For fifteen years Scotland was virtually a province of England; but when the impecunious Richard I became king, William was allowed to buy a release from his homage for 15,000 marks. The terms of the treaty were somewhat ambiguous in language, and there remained some doubt as to whether the English king

Feudal relations of England and Scotland.

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[1] Gardiner, 214.

did not still possess the right to some sort of overlordship over Scotland; but for a century the matter was not pressed.

Alexander III was king of Scotland in the early years of Edward's reign; but in 1286 he was accidentally killed,[1] and Scotland was without a ruler. The nearest heir was a little granddaughter Margaret, the daughter of Eric, king of Norway. A marriage was arranged between the eight year old princess and Edward's young son Edward, who was born soon after the Welsh campaign and bore the title prince of Wales. The princess was sent for, but on the way to Scotland she died, and the hope of a peaceful union of the kingdoms disappeared.

1286. Margaret, the "Maid of Norway."

120. The Makeup of Scotland. The kingdom of Scotland had arisen out of the consolidation of several minor kingdoms; four separate sections make up modern Scotland. Bede informs us that in the fifth century, after the Romans had withdrawn from the island, the Britons were greatly distressed by the raids of Picts and Scots. The Picts were an ancient and probably Celtic people who had dwelt in the Highlands; the Scots lived in Ireland. But a century later (about 500) the Scots had crossed into Great Britain and had settled in modern Argyle. With them came Saint Columba who founded the famous religious center at Iona and introduced Christianity among the Picts. The two kingdoms led a separate existence for three centuries; but in 844 Kenneth MacAlpine, king of the Scots, whose mother was a princess from Pictland, also became king of the Picts. Scone became the capital of this Highland kingdom, so far as any capital really existed, and the whole country was called Scotland. But south of the Forth was the Anglian district of Lothian, which was a part of Northumbria, and in the southwest was the Welsh kingdom of Strathclyde, which also included the northwestern counties of modern England.

Picts and Scots.

Kenneth MacAlpine. 844.

In 1018, just after the conquest of England by Cnut and before the Dane was strong enough to risk war, the Scots invaded Northumbria, seized Lothian, and extended their boundaries to the river Tweed. Sixteen years later the kingdom of Strathclyde was absorbed and the consolidation was complete except for the fact that the three adjacent groups of islands, the Hebrides, the Orkneys, and the Shetlands, were still for some time held by the Norwegians, who had colonized them centuries before. In 1266 the Hebrides were added to the Scottish crown, but the other two groups remained under Norwegian rule for two centuries longer.

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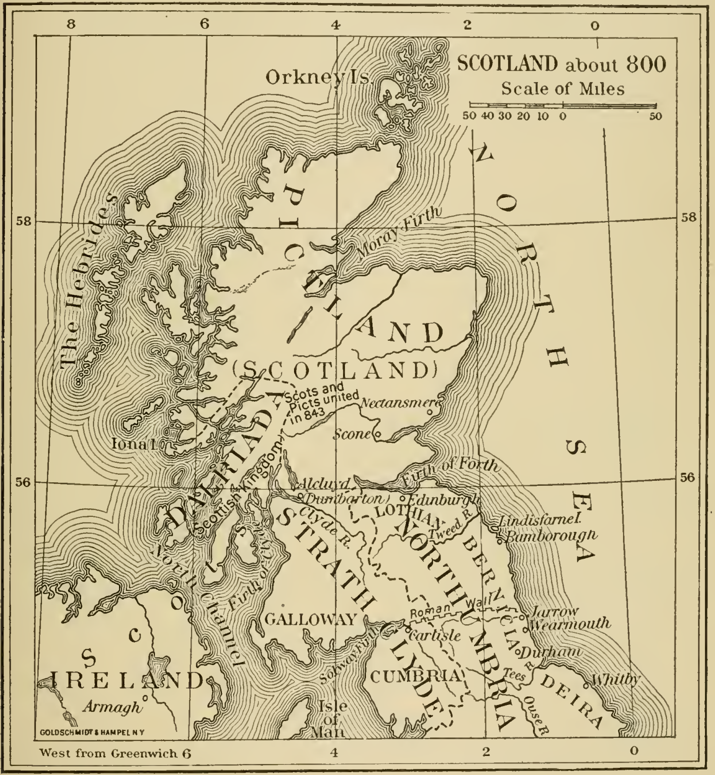
[1] Innes, I, 140–143.

Conquest of Lothian. 1018.

Strathclyde added to Scotland. 1034.


SCOTLAND about 800
Scale of Miles
50 40 30 20 10 0 50
8
6
4
2
0
58
56
Orkney Is.
The Hebrides
PICTLAND
(SCOTLAND)
Moray Firth
NORTH SEA
Scots and Picts united in 843
Nectansmere
Scone
Iona I.
DALRIADA
Scottish Kingdom
Firth of Forth
Alcluyd (Dumbarton)
Edinburgh
LOTHIAN
Tweed R.
Clyde R.
STRATHCLYDE
NORTHUMBRIA
BERNICIA
Lindisfarne I.
Bamborough
North Channel
Firth of Clyde
SCO
IRELAND
Armagh
GALLOWAY
Roman Wall
Jarrow
Wearmouth
Carlisle
Durham
Solway Firth
CUMBRIA
Tees R.
DEIRA
Whitby
Ouse R.
Isle of Man
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N Y
West from Greenwich 6
4
2
0

English elements in Scotland.

121. English Influence in Scotland. The annexation of Lothian brought far-reaching consequences, for Lothian was English and from this section English civilization and English speech spread throughout the kingdom until the Celtic elements lost control. The capital was moved from Scone to Edinburgh, an ancient English town in Northern Lothian. The language of the capital was English, for what is known as Scotch is merely a dialect of English. The old Gaelic speech, however, persisted in the Highlands.

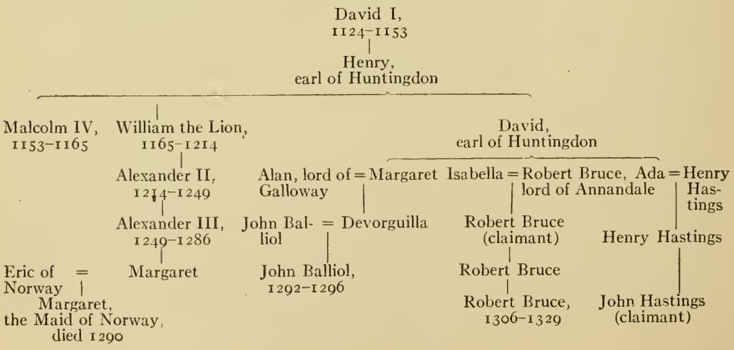
Bruces and Balliols.

During the Norman period, especially in the reign of Henry I, whose queen came from Scotland, close relations were established between London and Edinburgh, and a strong Norman element migrated to the northern kingdom and began to strike roots in Scotch soil. The infiltration of alien nobles continued for some time, and some of these adventurers came into close association with royalty itself. Among these were the Bruces and the Balliols, who by marriage came to be related to the Scotch dynasty.

The Scotch pretenders.

122. The Award of Norham.[1] When little Queen Margaret died, there was no lack of claimants to the throne; nine pretenders immediately appeared and before long four more laid claim to the kingship. Of the thirteen eleven were of Norman-Scotch blood. Only three of them were seriously considered, however: John Balliol, Robert Bruce, and

[1] The problem of the succession to the Scotch throne in 1290.


David I,
1124-1153
Henry,
earl of Huntingdon
Malcolm IV,
1153-1165
William the Lion,
1165-1214
Alexander II,
1214-1249
Alexander III,
1249-1286
Margaret
Eric of Norway
Margaret,
the Maid of Norway,
died 1290
David,
earl of Huntingdon
Alan, lord of Galloway
Margaret
John Balliol
Devorguilla
John Balliol,
1292-1296
Isabella
Robert Bruce,
lord of Annandale
Robert Bruce
(claimant)
Robert Bruce
Robert Bruce,
1306-1329
Ada
Henry Hastings
Henry Hastings
John Hastings
(claimant)

John Hastings. Two of these, Balliol and Bruce, were also vassals of Edward I for lands that they held in England. It was impossible for the Scotch people to decide among so many competitors; so the chiefs agreed to submit to Edward's arbitration: and in requesting his intervention they advanced the theory that he was in fact the lord paramount of the kingdom. King Edward had never made any claim to the control of Scotland, but it is only natural that he should make as much as possible out of this admission on the part of the Scotch leaders themselves.

Edward I summoned the Scotch magnates to meet him at Norham on the border in 1291.[1] He came to the meeting-place with a strong force and at once revived the old claim to overlordship. The Scotch submitted and acknowledged him as suzerain. All the candidates for the kingship agreed "of our own free will to receive judgment from him as our Lord Paramount," and to abide by his decision. The following year Edward made the award, and the crown was given to John Balliol, a decision that was in strict conformity to the feudal law of inheritance. John Balliol promptly did homage to Edward, who was continued as lord of all Britain.

John Balliol, king of Scotland. 1292.

123. The Revolt of Scotland and the War with France. Soon, however, the satisfaction of Scotland turned to distrust; for Edward adopted a policy that went far beyond what feudal law would sustain: he demanded that appeals should go from the courts of Scotland to his own court of king's bench at Westminster. The first case to be appealed was one that was brought against King John Balliol himself by a certain wine merchant of Gascony who had an old bill against the Scotch crown for wine that had been furnished to Alexander III. This was too much for the Scotch king. After scarcely more than a year of apparent loyalty, John Balliol began negotiations with Edward's enemy, Philip the Fair of France. King Edward summoned him to join in a

John Balliol renounces his allegiance.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 133; Gardiner, 215–216.

war upon France, but King John refused. The following year, 1295, he renounced his allegiance.[1]

Situation in 1295.

The year 1295 is one of great landmarks in English history. Edward I was in a difficult position. Scotland was in revolt; Wales was restless; and trouble was brewing in France. There still remained to the Angevin kings the Gascon part of the Aquitanian duchy that Louis IX had permitted Henry III to retain half a century before. For these lands Edward, who was duke of Gascony, was the vassal of the French king. Philip the Fair treated his vassal in Gascony very much as King Edward treated his own vassal, King John Balliol, though the English king, who was easily blinded by his own advantage, did not perceive the similarity. Philip had come into the possession of some of the frontier fortresses in Gascony and refused to return them. War was unavoidable, but with Scotland in rebellion, the time was anything but favorable.

The Model Parliament. 1295.

124. The "Model Parliament." 1295.[2] King Edward now called on all the nation to help provide funds for the wars that were in prospect. All classes of society that had wealth and all the organized communities that had authority to make assessments were called into parliament; this was the so-called "Model Parliament," though the name is hardly appropriate, as no subsequent parliament was just like the model of Edward's reign. It was a large body that Edward assembled in 1295. The earls and the barons appeared in person. The higher church officials, the bishops, the abbots, the archdeacons, and the priors of the cathedral chapters also attended in person; the lower clergy sent proctors or representatives. The shires were represented by 74 knights and the boroughs by 220 burgesses. It is not known how this body transacted its business or whether it sat in a single house. Parliament was still in the process of formation and had no definite field of activities; this parliament was called to grant funds to meet an unusual situation.

Taxation.

The king was successful in his negotiations with the lords and the representative members: each particular class voted a fraction of its personal property to the king's use: the nobles and the knights from the counties offered an eleventh, the church a tenth, and the merchants from the boroughs a seventh.

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[1] Innes, I, 146–147.

[2] Review sec. 99.

125. The Conquest of Scotland. 1296. The next year King Edward attacked the northern kingdom, deposed John Balliol, and proclaimed himself king of Scotland. For ten years Edward ruled as sole king in the British Islands. To symbolize the union of the crowns, the Stone of Scone, on which the Scotch kings had long been crowned, was carried off to England and placed in the seat of the throne in Westminster Abbey where it still remains. An English regent was left in Scotland to represent Edward's authority. For a time the Scotch nobles acquiesced in these agreements, but their loyalty was of doubtful character.

Union of England and Scotland.

126. The Trouble with Boniface VIII: "Clericis laicos." The trouble with France was still unsettled, and Edward soon found himself in need of more money. Instead of calling another parliament, he tried to secure funds by making private arrangements with the merchants and the church for aid. On the papal throne at this time sat Boniface VIII, an aged and unbending Italian, who clung to the principles of Gregory VII and Innocent III[1] without realizing that it would be most inexpedient to make them practical issues. In 1296 Boniface issued a famous bull, the *Clericis laicos*, in which the old claims to superiority were restated, and the clergy forbidden to contribute money on the king's demand. The bull had its effect: when a new parliament was called later in the year to vote taxes, the archbishop of Canterbury resisted and the church did not contribute. In reply the king withdrew the protection of his courts from the clergy, thus virtually outlawing the entire clerical order. An agreement was soon reached, however, according to which the clergy were to give voluntary gifts but not pay taxes. These "gifts" were as-

Papacy and church taxation. 1296.

The bull *Clericis laicos.*

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[1] Review secs. 54–55, 86.

sessed by church councils called convocations that were summoned whenever the king called a parliament. Of these convocations there were two, one for each of the two provinces, Canterbury and York. This arrangement was the rule for more than two centuries. The clergy withdrew permanently from parliament. The bishops and many of the abbots continued to hold membership, but they sat as lords, not as representatives of the church.

127. The Rebellion of William Wallace.[1] The conquest of Scotland had been marked by much unnecessary severity and cruelty, and Edward's commissioners showed little tact in administering the government. Aroused by these wrongs, the Scotch nation revolted. William Wallace, a Scotchman of gentle though not noble blood, led the rising. The aristocracy held aloof from the movement; but the national church, which feared subjection to the archbishop of Canterbury, aided the revolt. At Stirling Wallace's ragged followers routed an English army (1297). Wallace now carried the war into England and ravaged the northern shires. Edward hurried back from France and took command in person. At Falkirk Wallace suffered a disastrous defeat and his influence began to wane; some years later he fell into the hands of the English government and was executed as a traitor.

Wallace's rising.

Stirling. 1297.

Falkirk. 1298.

The rebellion continued for six years after the battle of Falkirk, but when the second conquest was completed, Edward at once proceeded to annex Scotland to England. It was his intention to retain Scotch laws and institutions as far as practicable, but the parliament at Westminster was to be made up of representatives from both kingdoms. It is interesting to note that the final union of England and Scotland four centuries later followed the lines laid down by Edward I (1305).

Scotland annexed to England. 1304–1305.

128. The Rebellion of Robert Bruce. It was now fifteen years since Edward had been invited to intervene in the matter of the Scotch succession. During these years much had occurred to sow hatred for the English king in Scottish hearts. There was, however, no leader around whom the northern magnates were willing to rally. But the next year the leader appeared in Robert Bruce, the young grandson of the aged Bruce who had claimed the throne in 1291.[1] In 1306 Bruce took up the sword and demanded the crown. He was young, strong, aggressive, and persistent, a chief with something of the heroic in his make-up. But even with a leader like Bruce the Scotch were slow to rally. The nobles were distrustful and jealous of the young pretender; he had several times broken his oath to King Edward; he had slain a fellow-claimant; his following was therefore small. Only one national force, the Scotch church, continued to favor revolt. Bruce was formally crowned king, but so weak was his support that he soon found himself a fugitive in his own kingdom.

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[1] Gardiner, 221–222; Innes, I, 148–152.

Robert Bruce.

The Bruce Statue, Stirling

The strongholds of Scotland were in English hands, but the garrisons were so small that, in their efforts to reduce them,

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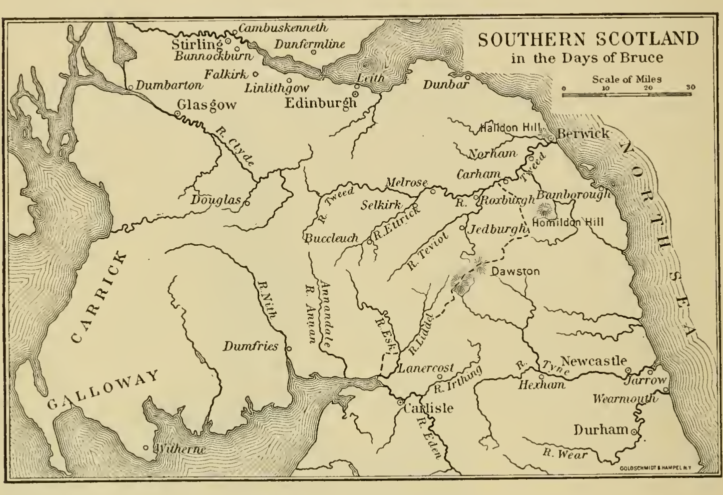
[1] Innes, I, 152–155.

Death of Edward I. 1307.

Bruce and his followers had no need of large forces.[1] But soon Edward appeared on the southwest border with a powerful army, and prospects looked gloomy for the young rebel, when the great king suddenly died and the advance into Scotland was halted and given up (1307).


SOUTHERN SCOTLAND
in the Days of Bruce
Scale of Miles
0
10
20
30
Cambuskenneth
Stirling
Bannockburn
Dunfermline
Falkirk
Dumbarton
Linlithgow
Leith
Dunbar
Glasgow
Edinburgh
R. Clyde
Halidon Hill
Berwick
Norham
Tweed
Carham
NORTH SEA
Douglas
Melrose
Tweed
Selkirk
R. Roxburgh
Bamborough
R. Ettrick
Homildon Hill
Jedburgh
Buccleuch
R. Teviot
CARRICK
Dawston
R. Nith
R. Annan
Annandale
R. Esk
R. Liddel
Dumfries
Lanercost
R. Tyne
Newcastle
R. Irthing
Hexham
Jarrow
GALLOWAY
Carlisle
Wearmouth
R. Eden
Durham
Witherne
R. Wear
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

129. The Battle of Bannockburn. The death of Edward secured the independence of Scotland. His successor, Edward II, was an incompetent king, who permitted himself and the kingdom to be ruled by worthless favorites. This disgusted the English barons who regarded themselves as the true counselors of the king. Under such conditions all plans for the reconquest of Scotland had to be postponed.

Edward II.

Meanwhile, Bruce and his men carried on a series of successful attacks on the castles and strongholds that were still in English possession, until after six years Stirling, a position of great strength and strategic importance at the entrance to the Highlands, alone remained in the enemy's hands. The siege of Stirling awakened the English, and Edward II made preparations to succor the garrison and reduce the country. With a vast army of more than 50,000 men the English king appeared in the neighborhood of Stirling in June, 1314. Robert Bruce with a force only one-third as large took up a position behind the little stream of Bannockburn,[1] a few miles southeast of Stirling. The field was well chosen, for in addition to the stream in front the Scotchmen had a swamp on either side, which made a successful attack on the enemy's part very difficult. In the battle that followed, the English host suffered an overwhelming defeat. Scotland secured her freedom and her nationality, and Robert Bruce secured his throne.

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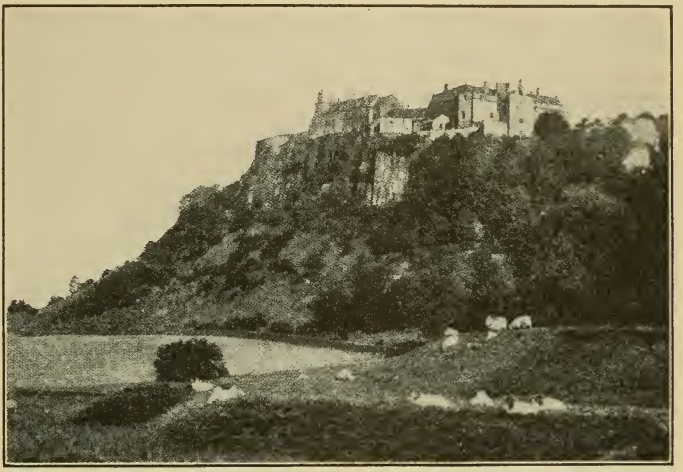
[1] Kendall, No. 29.



Stirling Castle

Stirling is situated at the gateway into the Highlands and is a strategic point of great importance.

Battle of Bannockburn. 1314.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 134; Gardiner, 226; Innes, I, 155–159; Tuell and Hatch, No. 24 (Burns, *Scots wha hae*). The selections from Cheyney and Innes are from different chronicles. See also Bates and Coman, 100–106 (Scott, *Lord of the Isles*, Canto VI).

130. Edward II Deposed: the Rule of Mortimer. The defeat at Bannockburn completely discredited the government of Edward II. The rule of England fell into the hands of the chief nobles, but their selfishness and incompetence were so great that the nation fared even worse for the change. After much strife and turmoil the king once more got the upper hand; but his devotion to his favorites alienated all the classes that were of any importance in the state. In 1325 Isabella, the queen, a French princess of low character, found a pretext for a journey to her relatives in France, where she was joined the next year by her eldest son Edward. A conspiracy was formed of which the queen and Roger Mortimer, a wealthy nobleman from the Welsh March, were the chief members. In 1326 the conspirators arrived in England with a foreign host. A parliament was summoned a few months later (1327) which compelled the king to abdicate in favor of his son Edward. Not long afterwards Edward II was murdered.

Misrule in England.

Roger Mortimer.

The rule of the conspirators was brief. The great problem was what attitude the government should take toward Scotland: the English refused to recognize the independence of the Scotch, but were unable to stop their raids across the border.[1] Finally in 1328, Roger Mortimer made peace and acknowledged the independence of Robert Bruce's kingdom to the great disgust of the English. Not long afterwards he, too, was slain, the victim of a conspiracy which included the young prince. Edward III, who had been nominally king for a year and was already a husband and father, though only in his sixteenth year, now began his long and adventurous reign of fifty years.

1328.

Edward III.

131. The Hundred Years' War: the Succession in France. Thirty years of intermittent warfare with their neighbors to the south had unified the Scottish people and intensified their passion for nationality. And what is more important for English history, it led them to seek allies elsewhere: a close relationship sprang up between Scotland and France which endured for nearly three hundred years. Mortimer's treaty was of short duration: war with Scotland soon broke out again, but the new warfare came to be closely associated with another and greater conflict, the Hundred Years' War with France. This was rather a series of wars, which with long periods of merely passive hostilities continued for more than a century, till final peace was made in 1453.

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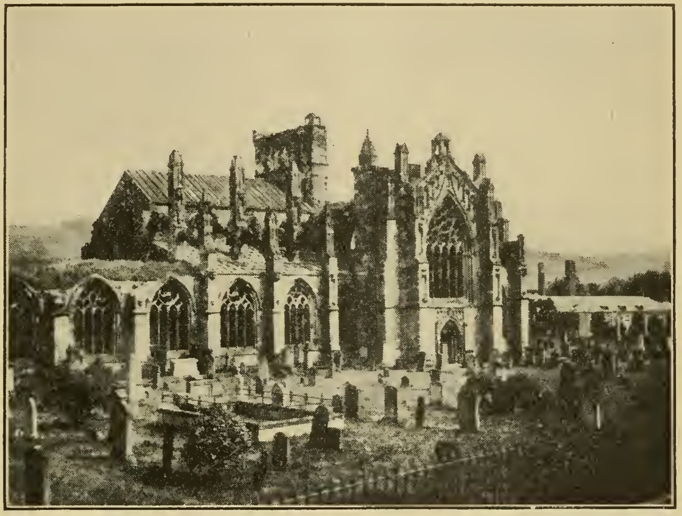
[1] Innes, 164–166.

Alliance of Scotland and France.



Melrose Abbey

The heart of Robert Bruce was buried in this monastery. From a photograph by W. H. Dudley.

The dispute that introduced this war began in 1328, the year of the truce with Scotland, when the direct male line of the French dynasty expired and a representative of a collateral branch of the family inherited the kingship. Three brothers, the sons of Edward I's old enemy, Philip the Fair, had successively mounted the French throne and

The French succession.

died leaving no sons.[1] On the death of the third and last, Edward III (or rather his advisers in the government, as the king himself was a mere youth) thought seriously of claiming the French crown for himself as the heir of his mother Isabella, who was a daughter of Philip the Fair. But the claim, for which there was no legal basis, was not pressed, and Edward, as lord of Gascony, rendered the usual homage to the new king of France, Philip VI.[2]

The Gascon problem.

132. Difficulties in Gascony and Flanders. Ten years passed without any attempt to revive the claim. Conditions were such, however, that war with France was almost inevitable. The French king was anxious to get rid of powerful vassals like Edward of Gascony, and eagerly sought a pretext for depriving him of his rights on French soil. Edward III on his side protested against the aid that France continued to render to his Scotch enemies. But more important than either of these considerations were the trade relations that existed between England and Flanders.

The Low Countries, or the modern kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium, were, in the fourteenth century, a group of more than a dozen little states, whose only bond of union was geographical. Nearly all of these were dependencies of the German kingdom; but Flanders, the most important member

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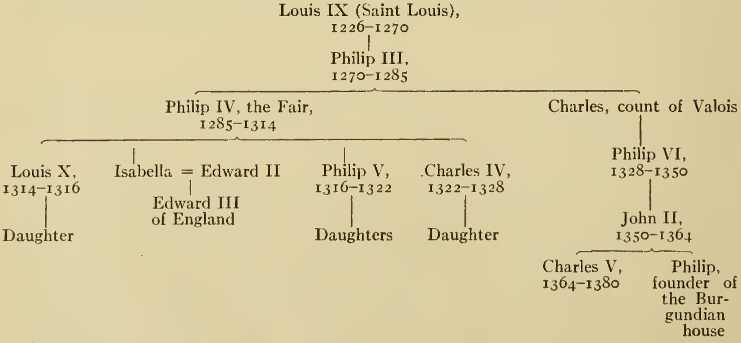
[1] The problem of the succession to the French throne in 1328:


Louis IX (Saint Louis), 1226–1270
Philip III, 1270–1285
Philip IV, the Fair, 1285–1314
Charles, count of Valois
Louis X, 1314–1316
Daughter
Isabella = Edward II
Edward III of England
Philip V, 1316–1322
Daughters
Charles IV, 1322–1328
Daughter
Philip VI, 1328–1350
John II, 1350–1364
Charles V, 1364–1380
Philip, founder of the Burgundian house

[2] Gardiner, 232.

of the group, was a French fief governed by a count. In Flanders a number of cities had grown up, which were among the chief industrial and commercial centers of Europe. The most important industry of the time was the manufacture of cloth, for which the Flemings needed English wool. Between these wealthy Flemish towns and the English kingdom there were consequently important economic bonds. Neither side could afford to offend the other, for the Englishman was as anxious to sell his wool as the Fleming was to purchase it.[1]

Flanders.

While drawn to England for economic reasons, the Flemings were chronically hostile to France for political reasons. The cities claimed a large measure of self-government, far more than their rightful but indiscreet ruler, the count of Flanders, was willing to grant. In his trouble with the rebellious merchants the count had the active support of his overlord, the king of France. In 1328 the new king induced the count to arrest all the English merchants in Flanders. It will be remembered that Edward III was at this time putting forward a hesitating claim to the French crown. Edward's reply to the count's attack on the merchants was to forbid the exportation of English wool. The result was economic distress in the Dutch towns and increased hostility to the French overlord, who had ruined their industry and their trade.

The English wool trade in Flanders.

The Flemish merchants wished to be loyal to the king of France, but not to Philip VI who was then on the throne. They approached Edward III with the proposition that he should claim the throne of France, and promised to accept and support him as the true king.[2] In this way they fancied that their oaths and pledges of loyalty would remain unbroken. The plan was one that appealed mightily to the English king, for Edward III was a knight rather than a statesman. In many respects he resembled Richard I: he was a strong, well-built, and handsome man of twenty-five

Personality of Edward III.

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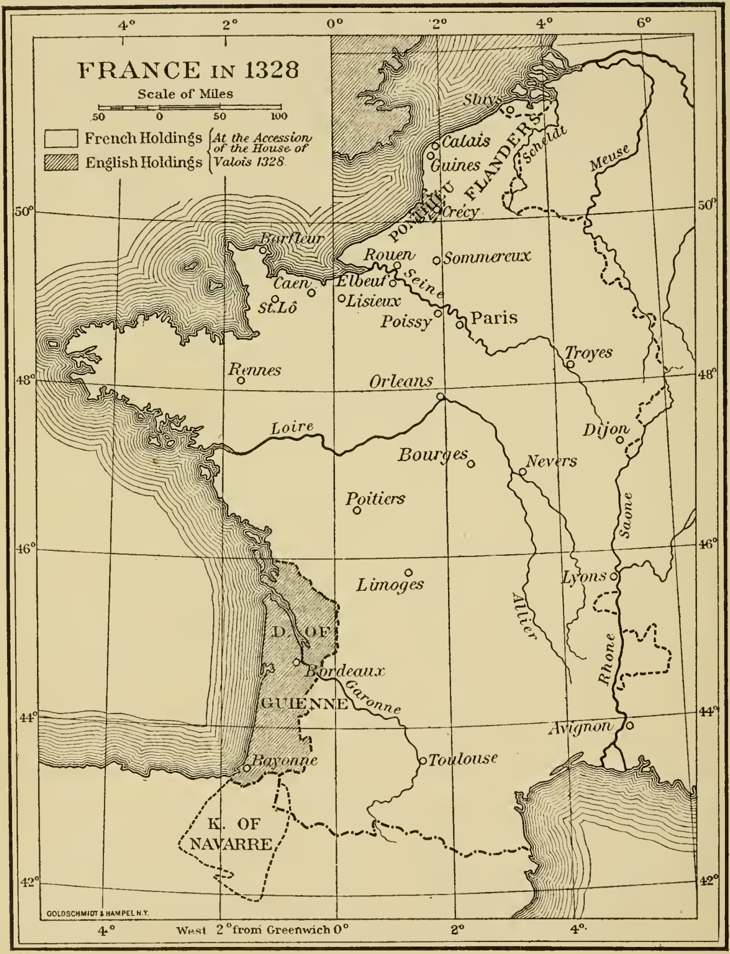
[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 78.

[2] Cheyney, 236–238.


FRANCE IN 1328
Scale of Miles
50 0 50 100
French Holdings
English Holdings
At the Accession of the House of Valois 1328
Sluys
Calais
Guines
FLANDERS
PONTHIEU
Crecy
Scheldt
Meuse
Barfleur
Rouen
Sommereux
Caen
Elbeuf
Seine
St. Lô
Lisieux
Poissy
Paris
Troyes
Rennes
Orleans
Loire
Dijon
Bourges
Nevers
Poitiers
Saone
Limoges
Lyons
Allier
D. OF GUIENNE
Bordeaux
Garonne
Rhone
Avignon
Toulouse
Bayonne
K. OF NAVARRE
50°
48°
46°
44°
42°
4°
2°
0°
2°
4°
6°
West 2° from Greenwich 0°
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

years when this temptation came; he loved the battlefield and honored chivalry; he was kind and courteous to all who were of noble blood; but in the masses, the merchants, the artisans, and the villeins, he was interested only as they might contribute to his power. It was, indeed, a tremendous undertaking for the king of a nation that scarcely counted more than three or four million inhabitants to cross the sea and force his will upon a country that probably counted twenty millions. But the English statesmen assented to the plan, and in 1337 Edward formally laid claim to the crown of France. But this claim must be regarded as a pretext merely: Edward was ambitious to rule his Gascon territories in full sovereignty and the English merchants were anxious to place the Gascon and Flemish trade on a more secure footing. These were the chief causes of the Hundred Years' War.

Edward claims the French crown. 1337.

133. The Battles of Sluys and Crécy. Hostilities began in a small way the next year; and two years later, 1340, the English won an important naval victory at Sluys off the Dutch coast. But not before 1346 did the English make any serious attempt to invade France. The French king had been fairly successful in his attempt to conquer Gascony, and in that year he collected a vast army for a final effort. To draw the French away from the southwest, Edward crossed the Channel with a strong force and landed in Normandy. Failing in his attempt to reduce the Norman strongholds, he turned rapidly eastward in the direction of Flanders. When not far from Calais, he was confronted by a large French army and forced to make a stand. In the resulting battle of Crécy,[1] Edward won a decisive victory, and for a time Gascony was secure from French invasion.

Sluys.

Crécy. 1346.

134. The English Seize Calais.[2] 1347. From Crécy Edward proceeded to Calais, which he besieged and forced to surrender the following year. The seizure of Calais was the most important event of the earlier period of this long war. Calais was the nearest Continental port and was only a few miles distant from the friendly cities of Flanders: it, therefore, formed a most excellent base from which to direct further operations against France. King Edward at first threatened to take the lives of the stubborn citizens, but the prayers of Queen Philippa availed, and there were no executions. But all the inhabitants who refused to swear allegiance to the conqueror were driven from the city and English colonists took their places. In this way Calais became virtually an English city and remained an English outpost and a sore irritation to France for more than two hundred years.

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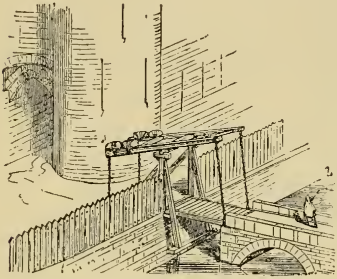
[1] Cheyney, No. 138; Gardiner, 240–242; Innes, I, 166–173; Kendall, No. 30; Tuell and Hatch, No. 25. The selections in the source books are all from Froissart.

[2] Innes, I, 173–178; Tuell and Hatch, No. 26.

Siege of Calais.



Drawbridge
Fourteenth century.

135. Suspension of Hostilities; the Battle of Poitiers. For the following nine years there was an almost complete suspension of active hostilities, and strong efforts were made to reach an agreement and close the struggle. During the fourteenth century the popes, who were French, had left Rome and had taken up their abodes in the beautiful city of Avignon on the French frontier, though outside the French kingdom. The Avignonese popes were anxious to bring the belligerents to terms, as the war seriously interfered with the prosperity of the church, especially on the financial side; for the English disliked to send revenues to a French papal court, whose sympathies and blessings were presumably given to the side of the national enemy. Papal mediation availed nothing, however; especially did the claim of Edward to the throne of France prove a persistent difficulty.

Efforts of the pope to secure peace.

But what the pope was unable to accomplish, an awful visitation known as the Black Death succeeded in bringing about. With death in every household in western Europe, the warring kings did not have the heart to continue the conflict. France especially was sorely stricken: to the desolation caused by hostile armies were now added the terrors of the pestilence. King Edward was at last willing to resign his pretended claims to the French crown, if he might be permitted to retain Gascony, not as a vassal of the French king but as an independent sovereign. The French, however, would not consent to the complete surrender of these territories and insisted on homage. In 1356 the war was renewed. Edward III took practically no part in this war, as he was busy with the Scotch who, as allies of the French, had once more crossed the border. It was fought in the southwest of France by Edward's oldest son, Edward the Black Prince,[1] as he was called from the color of his armor. The prince had been made governor of Aquitaine and on the renewal of hostilities he led a raid into central France. On the return to his capital Bordeaux, he was met by a large French force at Poitiers, where the results of Crécy were repeated. Nearly 5000 French knights lay dead on the battlefield or were taken prisoners by the victorious English.

The Black Death.

The war in Aquitaine.

Poitiers. 1356.

136. The Treaty of Bretigny. At Poitiers the French king, John, and one of his sons fell into the hands of the English, and it was now possible to resume negotiations with more hope of a favorable outcome. The defeats of the war had resulted in the break-up of armies and the formation of lawless bands that preyed on the peasantry and threw the nation into complete anarchy. Immediate peace was necessary, and the war closed with the treaty of Bretigny on the terms that had been proposed earlier: Edward III gave up his claims to the French crown and King John released him from homage for Gascony, which now became an independent duchy wholly separate from France (1360).

The treaty of Bretigny. 1360.

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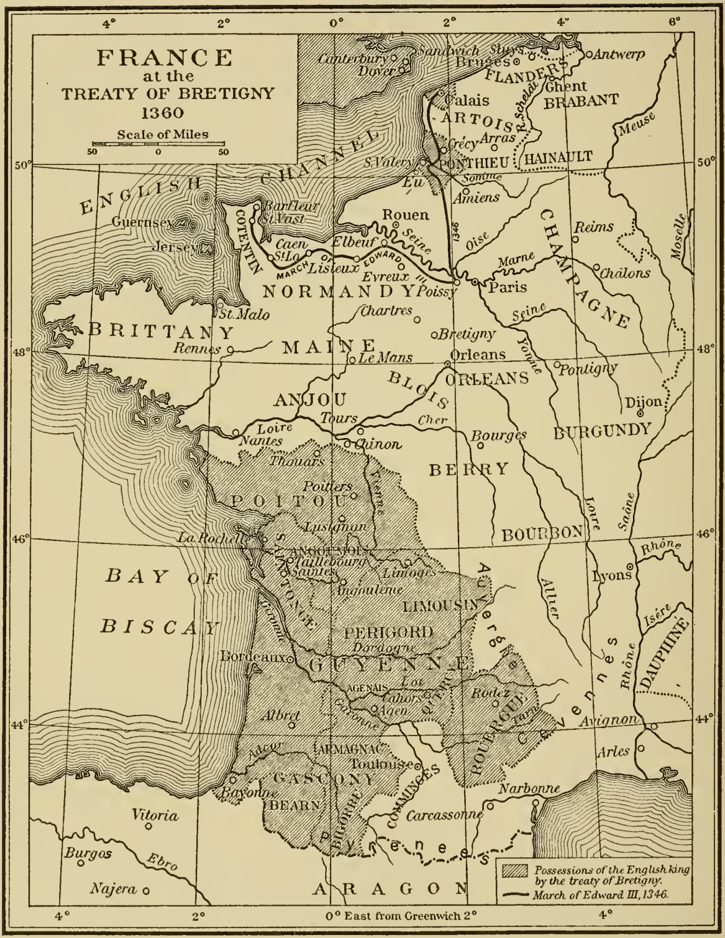
[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 27.


FRANCE
at the
TREATY OF BRETIGNY
1360
Scale of Miles
50 0 50
4° 2° 0° 2° 4° 6°
50° 48° 46° 44°
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Canterbury
Dover
Sandwich
Sluys
Bruges
Antwerp
FLANDERS
Ghent
BRABANT
Calais
ARTOIS
R. Scheldt
Crécy
Arras
Meuse
HAINAULT
S.Valery
PONTHIEU
Eu
Somme
Amiens
Barfleur
St.Vaast
COTENTIN
Guernsey
Jersey
Caen
St.Lo
Lisieux
MARCH OF EDWARD III
1346
Elbeuf
Rouen
Seine
Oise
Evreux
Poissy
Paris
Marne
Reims
Châlons
CHAMPAGNE
Mosselle
NORMANDY
St.Malo
Chartres
BRITTANY
Rennes
MAINE
Le Mans
Bretigny
Orleans
Seine
Yonne
Pontigny
ORLEANS
BLOIS
ANJOU
Tours
Cher
Dijon
Loire
Nantes
Chinon
Bourges
BURGUNDY
Thouars
BERRY
Poitiers
POITOU
Vienne
Lusignan
La Rochelle
ANGOUMOIS
Taillebourg
Saintes
SAINTONGE
Limoges
Angoulême
BOURBON
Loire
Saône
Rhône
Lyons
BAY OF BISCAY
Gironde
LIMOUSIN
AUVERGNE
Allier
Isère
DAUPHINE
PERIGORD
Dordogne
Bordeaux
GUYENNE
AGENAIS
Lot
QUERCY
Cahors
Agen
Rodez
ROUERGUE
Tarn
Cevennes
Rhône
Avignon
Albret
Garonne
Adour
ARMAGNAC
Toulouse
Arles
GASCONY
COMMINGES
Bayonne
BEARN
BIGORRE
Narbonne
Carcassonne
Pyrenees
Vitoria
Burgos
Ebro
Najera
ARAGON
4° 2° 0° East from Greenwich 2° 4°
▨ Possessions of the English king by the treaty of Bretigny.
— March of Edward III, 1346.
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

137. Decline of English Power in Aquitaine. The treaty was, however, scarcely more than a temporary truce. So long as the English remained in Aquitaine, the French kings could not be expected to lay down their arms, and very soon the strife was renewed. Edward III was now advancing into premature old age, — he was becoming feeble both in body and in mind. At the same time a most capable king, Charles the Wise, ascended the throne in France. Conditions became more and more unfavorable for the English. Edward the Black Prince, who had shown such genius and bravery on the field of battle, did not prove to be a wise governor. He tried to interfere in Spanish affairs and taxed the Aquitanians heavily to pay for a fruitless expedition across the Pyrenees. Revolts broke out in various parts of his duchy, in suppressing which he displayed a cruel strain in his character that has defaced an otherwise fair reputation: in the rebellious city of Limoges more than 3000 were put to the sword in one day. In 1371 the prince, broken in health, left Aquitaine and returned to England, where he died five years later. When Edward III's reign closed in 1377, the English kings scarcely retained more territory in southwestern France than the city of Bordeaux, which remained loyal because the connection with England was likely to bring commercial profit. The wines of Bordeaux were famous even in that day; but in France they had to compete with the products of Burgundy and the Rhine country, especially with those of Champagne. England, however, produced no wines, and so long as the English kings had territories in Gascony, the merchants of Bordeaux would enjoy a monopoly of the English wine trade.

Failure of the English in Gascony.

Massacre at Limoges.

138. Summary. The three Edwards ruled England for a little more than a century. It was a period when foreign affairs occupied a very prominent place in the thoughts of the English nation. Three purposes dominated and directed the foreign policy of the kings and statesmen of the period: (1) they wished to consoli-

Foreign policy of the three Edwards.

date Britain by uniting Wales and Scotland with England and Ireland into a single monarchy; (2) they wished to secure full sovereignty for the English king in Gascony; (3) they wished to make sure of a market for English products in Flanders. These purposes led to nearly a century of almost constant warfare. It was a period of many great battles, an age that produced a number of heroic figures; but in the end little was gained for England. Wales was conquered, but Scotland was lost. The king gained complete control of Gascony, but when Edward III died, most of his Gascon lands had been seized by Charles the Wise. With respect to the Flemish markets England was more successful; for some time there was a close alliance between England and the manufacturing towns of Flanders. In the next century, however, this connection was broken; meanwhile, the manufacture of woolen cloth had been introduced into England, and the time was coming when the island would not be in such great need of Flemish markets.

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CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION

139. An Age of Revolution: the Reign of Richard II, 1377–1399. The second half of the fourteenth century was a period of great and far-reaching social and political changes. English society was being transformed at its very foundations; the center of authority in the English constitution was shifting from kingship to parliament; serfdom was disappearing and the economic system of the nation was being rebuilt on a new basis; heresy threatened to disrupt the English church. These developments are often associated with the reign of Richard II (1377–1399); but they began long before and continued far into the fifteenth century.

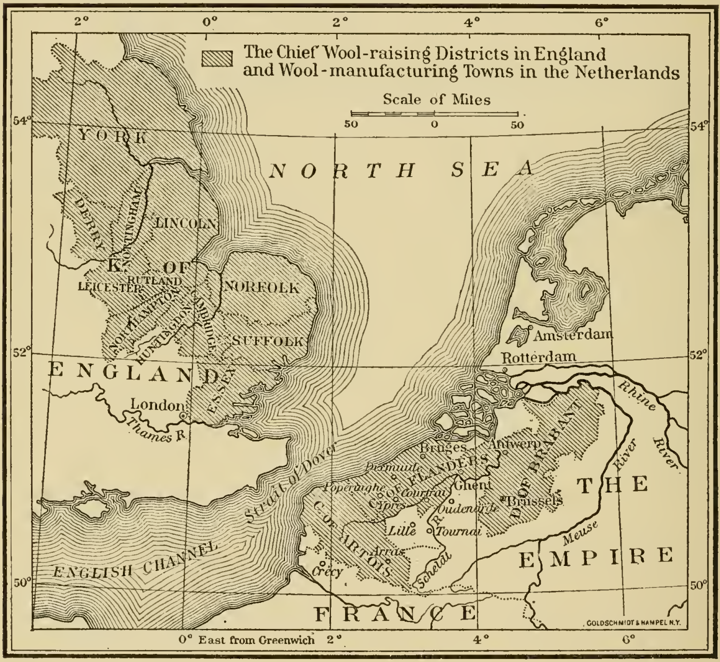
Social changes in the fourteenth century.

140. The Hundred Years' War and the Wool Trade. One of the principal factors in this series of movements was the war with France. The victories of Sluys, Crécy, and Poitiers meant much for the prestige and glory of England, but these were frail rewards: English success was won at a terrible cost in blood and treasure. Nevertheless, the struggle was not without advantages to the English people, though these were chiefly indirect. It was during the reign of Edward III that the manufacture of woolen cloth in England had its beginnings. Edward I had encouraged trade, particularly the commerce in wool, which was the staple product of the kingdom. He encouraged Flemish weavers to settle in England and set up their looms in the great English wool district, which comprised the old East Anglian country and adjacent terri-

The beginnings of woolen manufactures.

Flemish weavers in England.

tories. The Hundred Years' War in which the Flemings were involved made it easy to induce the weavers to come.[1] From this time on, England dealt in cloth as well as in raw wool. From these small beginnings in the fourteenth century has grown the greatest system of manufactures in the entire world.


▧ The Chief Wool-raising Districts in England and Wool-manufacturing Towns in the Netherlands
Scale of Miles
50
0
50
2°
0°
2°
4°
6°
54°
52°
50°
0° East from Greenwich
NORTH SEA
YORK
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
LINCOLN
K. OF
RUTLAND
LEICESTER
NORFOLK
NORTHAMPTON
HUNTINGDON
CAMBRIDGE
SUFFOLK
ENGLAND
ESSEX
London
Thames R.
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Strait of Dover
Amsterdam
Rotterdam
Rhine
River
River
Bruges
Antwerp
Dixmude
FLANDERS
C. OF
Poperinghe
Courtrai
Ypres
Ghent
Oudenarde
Brussels
D. OF BRABANT
Lille
Tournai
R. Scheldt
Arras
C. OF ARTOIS
Crecy
Meuse
THE EMPIRE
FRANCE
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

141. The Development of Foreign Commerce.[2] In addition to wool, England produced leather, tin, and lead in considerable quantities, most of which found markets abroad. It was believed in the later middle ages that the wealth of the country consisted chiefly in gold and silver; since a man who had money could purchase whatever he wished, it seemed evident to the statesmen

Medieval ideas of commerce.

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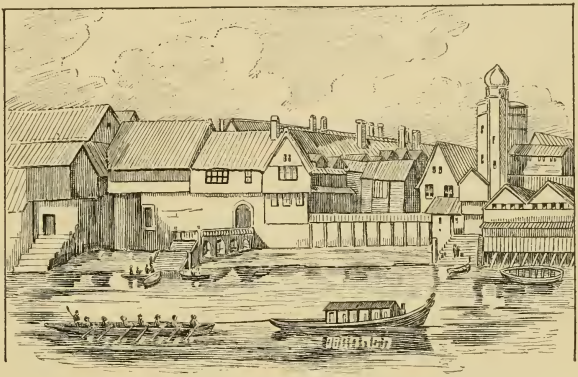
[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 82.

[2] *Ibid.*, 70–72, 76–80.

of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that the real purpose of foreign trade must be to bring the precious metals into the country. It was, therefore, held necessary to regulate commerce in such a way that only a part of English products should be exchanged for foreign goods. The English merchant who sold his wool in Flanders was forbidden to take Flemish cloth in exchange for the full value of his wares; a part must be paid in gold or silver. This regulation was, of course, difficult to enforce: for the English people had developed a strong taste for foreign products. As a result of the Flemish trade, the English were beginning to wear more expensive clothes; the old, coarse native cloth was giving way to the finer and more expensive fabrics of the Flemish looms. During the two hundred years of the crusades, the people of Britain had been introduced to the fashions and luxuries of the Orient. The Hundred Years' War in France did much to intensify the desire for the comforts that the English soldiers found abroad. These new wants were regarded as very extravagant by the moralists of the time. Carpets appear to have been seen in England for the first time in 1254, when Eleanor of Spain came to the country as the queen of Edward



THE STEELYARD IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The headquarters of the Hanse Merchants in London, 1250–1597.

The import trade.

I. Matthew Paris tells us that her apartment was "hung with palls of silk and tapestry like a temple, and even the floor was covered with arras." This, however, was not agreeable to the simple tastes of the great historian, for he explains that "this was done by the Spaniards according to the custom of their country; but this excessive pride excited the laughter and derision of the people."

142. The Merchants of the Staple.[1] As a part of their plan to regulate the foreign trade, so that it might be productive of the precious metals and bring revenues to the royal treasury, the English kings decreed that all the leading products of the land should be bought and sold in certain specified towns only; these were known as the "staple towns." The word staple came from a German word *stapel*, meaning a heap, in this case a heap of wares; next it came to be applied to a warehouse; later to a market, and finally to the products that were bought and sold in these markets. A staple town had a market that was open the entire year; it also could force all merchants that came that way to take their wares to the public market and offer them for sale. It is clear that if a certain line of trade could be limited to a small number of market towns, the law governing that trade could be quite easily enforced, and the collection of tariff duties would be a simple matter.

The "staple towns."

In the thirteenth century it was customary to send all the chief exports of England to some city on the Continent, usually in the Netherlands; for a time Dordrecht in Holland had a monopoly of the English staples. After the taking of Calais this became an important staple town. But in 1291, Edward I designated certain English towns which were also to have staple rights. The five great staple articles were wool, woolfells, leather, lead, and tin. The merchants who dealt in these commodities were the "merchants of the staple." Edward III gave them the monopoly of the trade in certain other products, such as butter, honey, and tallow,

Staple products.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 81; Tuell and Hatch, No. 21 (Gibbins).

by adding these to the staple list; but this arrangement was temporary only.

143. Merchant Gilds and Craft Gilds. The development of trade led to the organization of a certain characteristic medieval institution, the gild. In Anglo-Saxon times groups of men frequently organized themselves into fraternities for social, charitable, or religious purposes; these fraternities were called gilds. Later the merchants of a particular city banded themselves together in the same way for the purpose of promoting their business interests; this was called a merchant gild;[1] and there could be only one in each borough. Still later, as trade and industry grew, the various crafts began to organize separate fraternities: thus the carpenters had their gild, the weavers theirs, and so on through all the trades or industrial occupations.[2] The tendency to organize the crafts into gilds is quite apparent in the reign of Edward I, and in the fourteenth century these fraternities became a powerful factor in industrial life.

Merchant gilds.

Craft gilds.

The gild system had its advantages and its disadvantages. The master workmen who composed the membership of each gild soon began to draw up very definite regulations for the trade concerned; these covered such subjects as materials to be used, weight and measure, hours of labor, and the like, and each member watched his fellows closely to make sure that the rules were observed.[3] The buyer could then be sure that every article that bore the stamp of the gild was what it was claimed to be; adulteration, short weight, and kindred faults were little known in the medieval crafts. But the system also made it exceedingly difficult for any one to engage in business or follow a trade who was not a member of the proper gild. No man could learn a trade except as an apprentice in the shop of some

Advantages and disadvantages of the gild system.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 120; Innes, *Industrial Development*, 62–69.

[2] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 62–69.

[3] Cheyney, Nos. 121–122 Robinson, No. 71; Tuell and Hatch, No. 22.

master workman who belonged to the gild. The gilds also were able to control prices to a large extent, and usually fixed them with an eye to their own profit. It will be seen that the gilds in their small way combined the characteristics of the modern trust and the labor union: they controlled the manufacture, the prices, and the labor supply; and they determined the conditions under which industry was to be carried on.

Borough government.

The chief, or governor, of a gild was usually called an alderman. Time came when the government of many boroughs fell in a large measure into the hands of the gilds,[1] and the council that managed the affairs of the town was frequently made up of these aldermen. The men of the borough showed an early desire for self-government; but this privilege was one that the king was not likely to grant unless he was paid for it. The merchants were the class that could best afford to pay for this privilege, and so it came about that the merchants frequently secured a charter from the king that permitted the borough to manage its own affairs and allow the merchant gild to control the trade of the city. Such charters were granted as early as the reign of Henry I and the privilege was sold quite freely after the accession of Richard I. The twelfth century was the great age of the merchant gild. In the reign of Edward III, however, its importance was on the decline, and the craft gilds were taking its place. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the government of the cities and boroughs came almost entirely into the hands of these gilds.

Borough charters.

144. The Development of Tariff Duties: Tunnage and Poundage. It was in this period, too, that England first developed a regular system of tariff duties. In the middle ages the freedom to carry on trade in a larger way seems to have been regarded, not as a right, but as a privilege that ought to be paid for. Merchants, and especially alien merchants, had consequently long been subject to certain local dues, collected sometimes by the municipal authorities of the port or market town where the wares were unloaded or offered for sale, and sometimes by lords or other important men who levied tolls on the trade of their localities or for the use of roads and routes that had come into their control. In the thirteenth century the central government began to "regulate" trade and to take over these customary local dues, which now became a tax payable to the king. This tax was not regularly imposed, however, and its legality was often in dispute, as the king frequently charged "evil tolls," or more than was customary. The first general levy of such duties in the fourteenth century came in 1347, the year after the battle of Crécy, when a tax of two shillings on every tun of wine and of six pence on every pound's value of other forms of imported merchandise was agreed to by parliament. This tax was henceforth known as tunnage and poundage. The financial needs of the warlike monarch led to further levies by the king without the permission of parliament: the result was much complaint on the part of the merchants and consequent disputes between the king and parliament. The outcome was that while the king was allowed revenue from this source, the rates were to be determined by parliament. At first tunnage and poundage was granted for a fixed number of years; but in the next century it became customary to make the grant once for all to continue to the close of the reign.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 59–60.

Medieval tariff duties

Tunnage and poundage.

145. Medieval Armies. The armies of the middle ages were commonly small bodies of knights and their attendants who served for a limited period at their own expense; but a war of invasion could not be carried on with such forces. Edward III needed a voluntary army that would be willing to remain in the field till the campaign closed. It seems that every man in the English host was paid a daily wage ranging from two pence to two shillings a day; these seem small sums, but they would prob-

The armies of the fourteenth century.

ably purchase twenty or thirty times as much as the same amount in our own country at present. It is also true that the shilling of the reign of Edward III contained at least twice as much silver in weight as the English shilling of our own time. The army was raised by the contract system: the king arranged with different lords of prestige and influence that they were to raise bodies of men and to see to their wages, provisions, and equipment. Three classes of soldiers made up the forces: the men-at-arms (knights), the archers, and the knife men, whose chief duty seems to have been to kill the enemy's horses and to slaughter wounded Frenchmen.

Classes of soldiers.

146. The Growth of Parliamentary Power.[1] Trouble came when the king was called on to pay the lords who had recruited the forces, for the war proved more expensive than had been anticipated. It was held in the middle ages that the king should "live of his own," which meant that the customary revenues that came to him from his demesne lands, from his feudal tenants, from fines, and from tariff dues and the like were really all that the king had a right to collect and with these he was supposed to carry on the government as best he could. But foreign warfare soon brought the royal treasury to the verge of bankruptcy. There was nothing for Edward to do but to summon parliament; and this body was called year after year to provide funds for the war chest. The result was that in this way parliamentary control over finance came to be established for all time. In 1340 (the year of the victory of Sluys) Edward was forced to grant as a new principle of government that no taxes should be imposed without parliamentary consent. This was followed by the demand that parliament should also be allowed to appropriate the funds for definite purposes to which alone they could be applied.[2] The king also agreed to this (1353). During the same period parliament also began

The king's customary revenues.

1340.

Parliamentary control of taxation.

1353.

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[1] Masterman, 69–77.

[2] Cheyney, No. 164.

to examine the accounts of the government to determine how the money was spent and whether it had been used as parliament had directed. The commons, as the chief contributors to the royal treasury, also claimed that all money bills should originate in their house; but this principle was not formally accepted by the king before the next century (1407). These four principles — that parliament should control taxation, examine the accounts, and make definite appropriations, and that all financial legislation should originate in the house that is most nearly representative of the people — have passed into practically all the constitutional systems of the world, including the American. Their origin lies in the financial needs of the English king during the Hundred Years' War.[1] At one time this need was so great that Edward III had to mortgage his own person to the Dutch bankers; but at the first opportunity the king broke faith by mounting his horse and galloping away from his insistent creditors.

Money bills to originate in the house of commons.

1407.

147. England and the Papacy. The Hundred Years' War was also to some extent responsible for a growing hostility toward the papacy during the fourteenth century. In 1305 the cardinals elected a Gascon archbishop as pope; and for seventy years the church was governed by French popes and cardinals. During this period of the "Babylonian Captivity" of the church, the capital of the Catholic world was at Avignon in the Rhone valley. The Avignonese popes were suspected of being favorable to the French cause and consequently could not be popular in England. Three specific questions helped to intensify feeling against the court at Avignon and led to a series of antipapal acts on the part of parliament. These were the subjects of the papal tribute, provisors, and appeals to the papal court.

The "Babylonian captivity."

A few years before the war began (1333), England had sent her last installment of the tribute that John had promised the pope in 1213.[1] The pope made repeated efforts to collect the tribute in arrears but failed. After thirty-three years of failure to pay, the English parliament repudiated the tribute entirely, declaring that John had no right to bind the nation to any such payment (1366). The repudiation was doubtless in part due to the financial difficulties of the crown and in part to a reluctance to pay tribute to a foreign power, which, to make matters worse, was French.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 83–84.

The tribute of 1213.

1366.

148. The Statutes of Provisors and Præmunire. In 1351 the Statute of Provisors[2] was passed to correct an evil that had become acute a century earlier in the days of Henry III and Grosseteste.[3] In this act parliament forbade the practice entirely and provided severe penalties for all who should accept offices in the church as papal provisors. The act was no doubt dictated by hostility to a French pope; but the English might fairly plead the impossibility of accepting French church officials from Avignon while the war with France was still in progress.

Statute of Provisors.

Two years later parliament passed the Statute of Præmunire, which forbade the king's subjects to take appeals to any foreign court. The act was general, but it was clearly aimed at the papacy. It would seem that disputes could be settled more equitably in the country where they had arisen and where their merits were known than in distant Rome or Avignon. But the act did not grow out of any such consideration: its purpose was to reduce papal authority, and this it would have done very effectively, had enforcement been practicable. Both these statutes were reënacted and strengthened at later times, but neither was strictly enforced. The crown could not do without papal assistance when vacancies had to be filled in the church. As a rule the government continued to dictate the choice of bishops to the chapters, but the bishop-elect had to have his election confirmed at the papal curia before he could be consecrated;

Appeals to Rome forbidden. 1353.

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[1] Review sec. 86.

[2] Cheyney, No. 145.

[3] Review sec. 101.

and the king could not afford to risk failure of confirmation by a too determined stand on the matters of provisors and appeals.

149. The Disappearance of Villeinage.[1] The most significant fact in the social history of the period is the disappearance of the condition known as villeinage or serfdom.[2] For at least three centuries the mass of the rural population had been chained to the soil, each successive generation inheriting the duty of tilling the earth on the estate where it was born. But in the fourteenth century the villeins were developing an interest in the world beyond the boundaries of the manor, and it became increasingly difficult to hold them to their inherited duties.

Weakening of serfdom.

There were several causes that led to the disappearance of villeinage. Of first importance were the great wars of the age. The vast military undertakings of Edward I and Edward III demanded more men than could be collected from the nobility and its force of retainers: consequently it became necessary to draw soldiers from the unprivileged classes. The common farmer was found to be a capable warrior, and, as a result, he came to have a value in the eyes of the state that he did not earlier possess.

The villeins employed in warfare.

150. The Villein as a Warrior: the Long Bow.[3] As the typical weapon of the knight was the sword, that of the peasant was the bow. The long bow, which was the most effective weapon of the age, was very much like the kind of bow that the American Indian used with so much skill: it was a piece of tough yew carefully strung with a strong cord, a weapon so well made, it is said, that a strong-armed archer could drive an arrow through an oaken plank three fingers thick. Ordinarily the arrow was drawn to the breast without much attempt at taking aim; but the shaft sped to the mark with wonderful accuracy. At Crécy the French army was four times as large as the English and at

The long bow.

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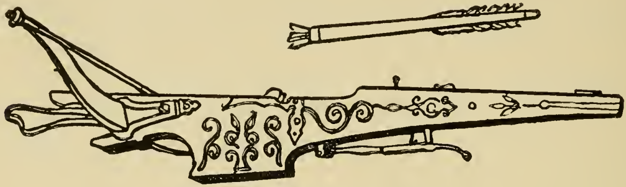
[1] Cheyney, Nos. 123–124; Innes, *Industrial Development*, 85–87.

[2] Review sec. 47.

[3] Cheyney, No. 141; see also Scott, *Ivanhoe*, c. 13 (archery contest).

Poitiers six times as numerous; but the English archers secured the victory.

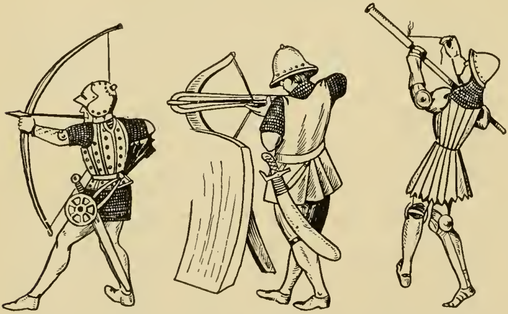
The long bow seems to have come to England from the Welsh border. On the Continent the crossbow was a favorite weapon, and it had certain advantages, especially when careful aim was a consideration; but the man with the long bow could shoot six arrows to every bolt that the crossbowman could discharge, as his weapon was ready at all times no matter how damp the weather might be. At Crécy many of the Genoese mercenaries in the French host found their crossbows almost useless because a recent rain had shrunk the bow strings. Warfare took the farmer away from his little manorial world and off into other lands where he learned new things and came into contact with new forms of civilized life. But the most important fact was that he began to realize his new importance in the state; and



CROSSBOW USED AT CRÉCY

The crossbow shot a winged bolt called a quarrel.

The cross bow.



ENGLISH ARCHERS AND GUNMAN OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

From fifteenth century manuscripts.

on his return he found it difficult to resume his former tasks in the old servile spirit.

151. The Black Death.[1] A second cause was the great pestilence that passed over western Europe soon after the victory at Crécy. The Black Death was apparently what is to-day known as the bubonic plague, and had its immediate rise in the Orient. It followed the routes of commerce into all parts of western Europe; to England it seems to have come from Flanders with returning soldiers. In 1348, the year after the fall of Calais, it appeared in southwestern England in Dorsetshire, whence it traveled eastward and northward the whole length of the island and across the sea to northern Europe. The mortality was frightful: in places half the population was stricken down. In the middle ages there was a popular notion that such calamities were sent from heaven and came as punishment for national sins: prayers, processions, and extreme forms of penance, such as scourging, were therefore the only effective means of stilling the divine wrath. But these measures, which brought the sick and well together in large throngs, were rather likely to spread the contagion. Furthermore, the hovels of the manorial villages were anything but sanitary habitations, and the death rate everywhere was abnormally large.

The great pestilence.

Medieval attitude toward great calamities.

152. The Statute of Laborers.[2] One result was that the manorial lord found large areas of his land lying untilled; the farmers who escaped the plague were unable to cultivate the entire estate. Nor was it easy to recruit the force farmers from other villages, as the same conditions obtained everywhere. Matters were further complicated by the dearth of labor in the growing boroughs, where the population also had been materially reduced. Many of the villeins left their homes in the country and settled in the towns, where they joined the industrial classes.

Scarcity of labor.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 146

[2] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 88–90; Kendall, No. 33.

The sudden activity in the labor market inevitably brought a demand for higher wages on the part of those whose time was at their own disposal. The employers soon began to complain that their workmen would no longer serve at the old rates and asked for a statute fixing a maximum wage. While the pestilence was still raging, the king's council issued an ordinance commanding the laborers to work for the customary wages. Soon afterwards this ordinance was made a parliamentary statute and is known as the Statute of Laborers. The enforcement of the law was entrusted to special "justices of laborers" but after a time it was placed in the hands of the local justices of the peace. For some years the act seems to have been strictly applied, and it was no doubt one of the chief grievances that led to the peasants' revolt thirty years later.

Wages fixed by statute.

1351.

153. The Enclosures.[1] These enactments, however, could not supply the lack of laborers. Rather than leave their lands lying untilled, many landlords decided to enclose their fields. By enclosure is meant the practice of surrounding a certain area of tilled land with a fence or hedge and turning it into a pasture for sheep. This was an old practice in England which had grown steadily with the increase in the wool trade. As it was found that a greater income could be derived from these enclosed pastures than from fields that were cultivated in the old way, the landlords gladly enclosed their lands. So eager were many to enclose their fields that they dismissed the villeins whose families had held and tilled the land from time past all memory. Agricultural employment was thus lost to many, and they were forced to find work in the cities. It was not till the following century was well under way, however, that the practice of enclosing became particularly burdensome; but then it became a problem of food as well as of employment; for with the increase in sheep farming came a corresponding decrease in the production of grain; food became expensive,

Sheep farming.

Effects of enclosing land.

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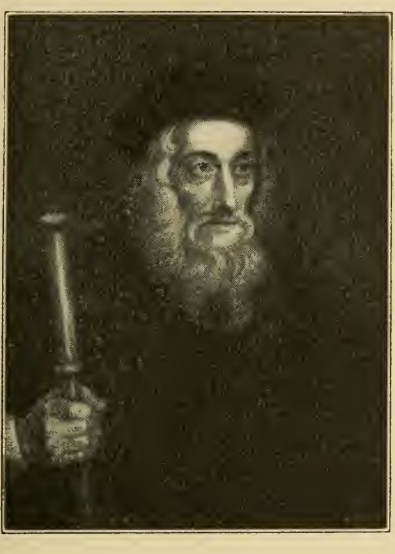
[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 135–138.

while wages in the overcrowded cities naturally sank to lower levels.

154. Dissatisfaction with the Church: John Wycliffe. The general dissatisfaction with the economic situation in the second half of the fourteenth century was soon paralleled by a revolutionary movement on the religious side. In the days of the great pestilence, John Wycliffe,[1] a professor of theology at Oxford, was developing a set of heretical opinions. Wycliffe was one of the many Englishmen who disliked to render service and submission to the French pope. He was largely influential in the movement that abolished the papal tribute in 1366: he furnished the argument that parliament used to justify the repudiation. Wycliffe also gradually came to doubt a large part of the medieval theological system. Especially important was his position on the subject of the Eucharist, or Lord's supper. For several centuries it had been the official belief of the church that when the priest consecrated the bread and wine that were used in the sacrament, they became the body and the blood of the Savior; this doctrine was known as transubstantiation. Wycliffe rejected this belief and all that the doctrine might imply. As transubstantiation was a fundamental tenet in the church, Wycliffe's position was distinctly

John Wycliffe: his heretical opinions.



JOHN WYCLIFFE

From an engraving by Alexander Van Hecken.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 153.

revolutionary. He also held peculiar views on the subject of social organization: he looked on all land from the feudal view-point, as held from some higher lord in return for service. But as it was inconceivable that God should want a disobedient sinner as his tenant or vassal, it was clear to Wycliffe that only the righteous were entitled to hold land.[1] For the churchmen he had only slight respect; he charged the entire hierarchy from pope to priest with wickedness and sin. He also held that the friars were of little service to the world, and that the ascetic life of monks and nuns was less holy than the active life. For an age that believed in ascetic ideals, this was a hard doctrine. The patience of the church was at last exhausted, and in 1377 the pope ordered Wycliffe to be tried for heresy. He was tried twice, but no conclusion was reached.

Wycliffe's opinions on society and government.

1377.

The English church was actually in a bad way. The black death had naturally caused a great mortality among the churchmen. The monks, whose abodes were not always clean and sanitary, the friars who traveled widely through the infected districts, and the village priest who ministered to the dying in his parish fell ready victims to the plague. The church was compelled to recruit her forces as best she could, and many were admitted to the priesthood who were scarcely more than youths, and moreover were lacking both in education and saintly character. To take up the work in parishes that were vacant or provided with indifferent service, Wycliffe sent out a number of itinerant preachers known in history as the "poor priests," many of whom were university men who had received his own teachings. In the church at large the situation was, if possible, worse than in England. In the year after Wycliffe's trial for heresy began the Great Schism, with two popes, one at Avignon and the other at Rome, contending for supremacy in the western church. It is not surprising that the decree against the militant English-

Decline of efficiency in the church.

The "poor priests."

The Great Schism.

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[1] Gardiner, 261.

man was ignored, for no one could now be sure where authority really resided.

155. The "Good Parliament." 1376. During the closing years of Edward III's reign, there was, therefore, much dissatisfaction — with the church, with the government, with economic conditions, and especially with the heavy taxation that resulted from the wars in France. This discontent came out openly in the "Good Parliament" of 1376, whose presiding officer, then for the first time called the Speaker, led the opposition to the government. Edward III, though not aged, was feeble in health; his intellect was much impaired; and he was controlled by wicked and incompetent favorites. As "the king can do no wrong," his acts could be reached only through his chief officials, and the Good Parliament is best known for introducing the practice of impeachment.[1] Two men were charged with corruption by the commons and sent to the lords for trial. They were convicted, but as the government continued in the old hands, little improvement resulted.

The Speaker.

Impeachment.

The next year King Edward died and was succeeded by his grandson, Richard II, a boy of ten years. For some time the government was in the hands of a group of nobles, the chief of whom was the young king's uncle, John of Gaunt. The evils in the administration persisted, and the men who led the opposition in the Good Parliament were imprisoned. The war with France flared up again and led to a new grievance, a poll tax, which was levied on all, both men and women, of the age of fifteen or above. The population was roughly classified according to rank and supposed abilities to pay, and were taxed accordingly, but all paid something, and the dues were rigorously collected.

Richard II: aristocratic rule.

The poll tax.

156. The Great Revolt of 1381.[2] The poll tax furnished the occasion for a wide-spread uprising on the part of the peasantry, the great revolt of 1381. The peasants' revolt in many ways resembled a modern strike: it was an organized and somewhat violent movement to secure greater economic freedom for villeins and laborers. The grievances were many: English society was slowly passing through a change from compulsory dues and labor to money rents and hired labor. But the workingman was held by the laws fixing maximum wages, and many of the landlords insisted on collecting the old customary dues in labor and kind:[1] a cock and two hens at Christmas; compulsory harrowing, mowing, harvesting, wood cutting, and the like; two shillings at Easter and Michaelmas; fees for permitting a villein's daughter to marry or his son to enter the clerical order. In their effort to strike off the shackles, the rebels terrorized the insistent landlords, persecuted the king's officials who had collected the poll tax in merciless fashion, slew lawyers who had assisted in enforcing the old manorial customs, and burned manorial records that might be used as evidence of dues and debts.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 165.

[2] Cheyney, No. 151 (Knighton); Gardiner, 268–270; Innes, *Industrial Development*, 91–96; Kendall, No. 34 (Froissart).

Grievances of the villeins.

The movement began at two different points, the old East Anglian counties and Kent, but finally spread to nearly all parts of the kingdom. The Kentishmen found aggressive leaders in Wat Tyler, whose particular grievance was the poll tax, and John Ball,[2] a priest whose ideas were distinctly communistic. The rioters finally decided to appeal to the government; from Kent and Essex, from the southeast and the northeast, armies of discontented farmers marched upon London. The men from Kent seized London Bridge and entered the City, where they found sympathy among the laboring class, especially among the apprentices. For some days London was at the mercy of a riotous mob: John of Gaunt's palace was destroyed; the Temple and the Inns of Court, where the lawyers had their schools and their headquarters, were burned down; several of the king's ministers

1381.

Wat Tyler and John Ball.

Rioting in London.

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[1] Kendall, No. 32; Robinson, No. 69.

[2] Cheyney, No. 150.

were slain; and the Flemish weavers in the city were made to feel the wrath of the envious apprentices.

The authorities treated with each force separately. At Mile End the king parleyed with the Essex men and made satisfactory promises, on the strength of which they returned home. The next day King Richard held a conference with the Kentishmen at Smithfield, and during an altercation with the lord mayor of London Wat Tyler was killed.[1] With his death the movement disintegrated. The young king forgot all the promises that he had made; but the men in power did not neglect to take a bloody revenge, and for a time it looked as if the lot of the peasantry would be worse instead of better. The landlords, however, did not dare to repeat the old harshness; gradually improvements came and villeinage died out.

Death of Wat Tyler.

157. The Reaction against Reform. A strong reaction set in after the peasants' revolt, a reaction that also extended to the religious field. Wycliffe and his followers came to be looked upon as dangerous agitators and were attacked on all sides. In the year after the riots, Wycliffe was summoned before convocation to answer to the charge of heresy. He was convicted of twenty-four erroneous beliefs; his works were ordered to be burned; he was dismissed from his chair at Oxford and was compelled to retire to his parish at Lutterworth, where he died two years later. The last years of his life were spent largely in preparing an English translation of the Bible, but it is not likely that this work was circulated very widely until somewhat later. For the historian the translation is valuable chiefly as a literary document that shows the state of the English idiom in the fourteenth century. Wycliffe's party, the Lollards, survived for some time and probably never wholly died out in England before the Protestant revolt one hundred and fifty years later; but in the next reign, persecution became severe and the strength of Lollardy was broken. In the wider field

Attack on Wycliffe, 1382.

The Lollards.

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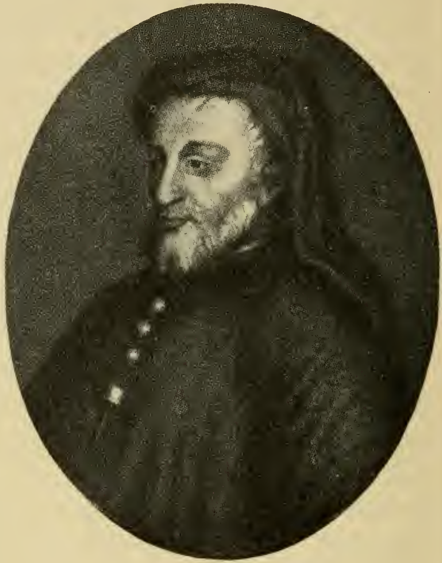
[1] Innes, I, 200–204.

of European history, Wycliffe is important as the intellectual father of John Huss, the Bohemian reformer. King Richard II's first queen was a Bohemian princess, and in the negotiations that preceded the marriage, the doctrines of Lollardy found their way to Prague.



Geoffrey Chaucer
From an engraving by Goldar.

158. "Piers Ploughman" and Geoffrey Chaucer. Several other writers who flourished in the age of Wycliffe are also of great importance as illustrating not only the literary and linguistic situation in this century, but also the social, economic, and moral conditions. The *Vision of Piers Ploughman*,[1] the first installment of which appeared in 1362, is a poem that describes the misery of the poor and the vain ostentation of the rich. It seems to have been the work of several hands; but one of these melancholy singers appears to have been one William Langland, who lived among the Malvern Hills on the Welsh border. He is thought to have been in some way associated with the religious profession, and apparently earned his living by singing at funerals. It is worth noting that Langland places the scene of his poem in a region that was not touched by the movements of 1381; perhaps we may infer from this that the troubles of the peasantry were not limited to the east and southeast, and it is

The Vision of Piers Ploughman.

William Langland.

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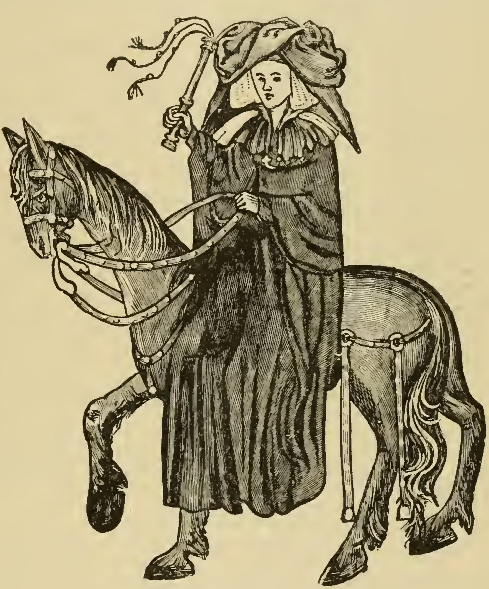
[1] Gardiner, 258–259; Innes, I, 184–189.

likely that in this border country conditions changed more slowly than in the regions nearer the capital.

Geoffrey Chaucer.

Geoffrey Chaucer lived under more favorable circumstances and gives us a far more agreeable picture of contemporary society. Chaucer was a soldier, a diplomat, and a poet. He was of the citizen class (his father was a London wine merchant), but he enjoyed the friendship of the great, even of royalty; especially was he favored by John of Gaunt, whose third wife was the sister of Dame Chaucer. When John's son Henry ascended the throne as Henry IV, one of his first acts was to increase Chaucer's pension; but the poet did not enjoy it long, for he died the following year (1400).



THE "WIFE OF BATH."

"Upon an amblere easily she sat
Y-wimpled wel, and on hir heed an hat
As brood as is a bokeler or a targe."
—CHAUCER, *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, ll. 469–471.

The Canterbury Tales.

About 1350 the Italian writer Boccaccio wrote the *Decameron*, a series of one hundred short stories that he pretended were told by ten Florentines who had fled into the country to escape the Black Death. It was this work that suggested to Chaucer the form of the *Canterbury Tales*,[1] a collection of stories that were told by a company of pilgrims on a journey from Tabard Inn, Southwark, to the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury. From these tales and especially from Chaucer's Prologue, we get an admirable picture of life among the more prosperous classes of the English commonalty. Most of the lay members of the company Chaucer describes as excellent people, though some of them have their weaknesses. It is significant, however, that the clerical members do not all find favor in the poet's eyes. The prioress dressed in a very worldly fashion. The monk, too, loved fine clothes and "a fat swan loved he best of any roost;" he also delighted in horses and in the chase, but for monastic rules he cared very little. The friar heard confession sweetly and gave pleasant absolution; "he knew the taverns well in every town," and was the best beggar of his order. The pardoner had a sack brimful of pardons "hot from Rome." But the "poor parson" was a man after Chaucer's own heart. He was patient, diligent, and devout; "riche in holy thought and work;" and heedless of "pompe and reverence" —

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[1] Gardiner, 270–272; Innes, I, 190–194.

Chaucer's attitude toward the clergy.

"But Christes lore, and his apostles twelve,
He taughte, but first he followed it himselve."

There was also an Oxford scholar[1] in the company who had the poet's sympathy. He was, if anything, poorer than the parson —

"As lene was his hors as a rake,
And he was nat right fat, I undertake."

But this was because he was not sufficiently worldly to get an office in the church. The Prologue was written a few years after the death of John Wycliffe. It is clear that the English people were much displeased with the church and the clergy; but conditions were not yet ripe for a revolt from Rome.

159. The Beginnings of the Renaissance. It was in the reign of Richard II that the intellectual revolution known as the Italian Renaissance first found its way to England. While on a diplomatic mission to Genoa in 1372, Chaucer became acquainted with the movement and the

The Italian Renaissance.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 160.

ideals that it represented. It may be that he met the great Petrarch, who was the first prominent figure of the Renaissance. He also brought back with him a new supply of literary materials: in his *Canterbury Tales* he has told some of Boccaccio's stories in English verse. The interest of the Renaissance included the whole field of intellect; but during the fourteenth century the movement in England showed itself chiefly in the impetus that it gave to literature in the national tongue. The enthusiasm for classical literature and art, the renewed study of the Greek language, and the growing interest in scientific investigation did not come to Britain until the fifteenth century was well under way.

160. The Government of Richard II. During Richard's minority, the government was in the hands of a council composed of the chief barons, who controlled the kingdom for a decade. When the king became of age, he began to show a desire to rule as actual king. He also appeared inclined to follow the advice of upstart favorites, as Edward II had done, with much the same results. The aristocracy, fearing that the power would soon be transferred from themselves to these hated favorites, rebelled and for some time continued to control the kingdom. After a few years, however, Richard succeeded in throwing off the baronial control and began to conduct the government in person.

Baronial control of the government.

For ten years, Richard II was actual ruler of England. At first he showed a self-control and an intelligent appreciation of his duties that approached real statesmanship, and England had eight years of constitutional government.[1] But all this time he seems merely to have been awaiting an opportunity to take revenge on the lords who had bound his hands in his younger years. In 1397 he showed his colors: absolute rule was evidently his aim and purpose.[2] He began by terrorizing the aristocracy, and among those who felt his wrath was Henry, earl of Derby, his own cousin, and son of John of

Eight years of constitutional monarchy.

Two years of absolutism. 1397–1399.

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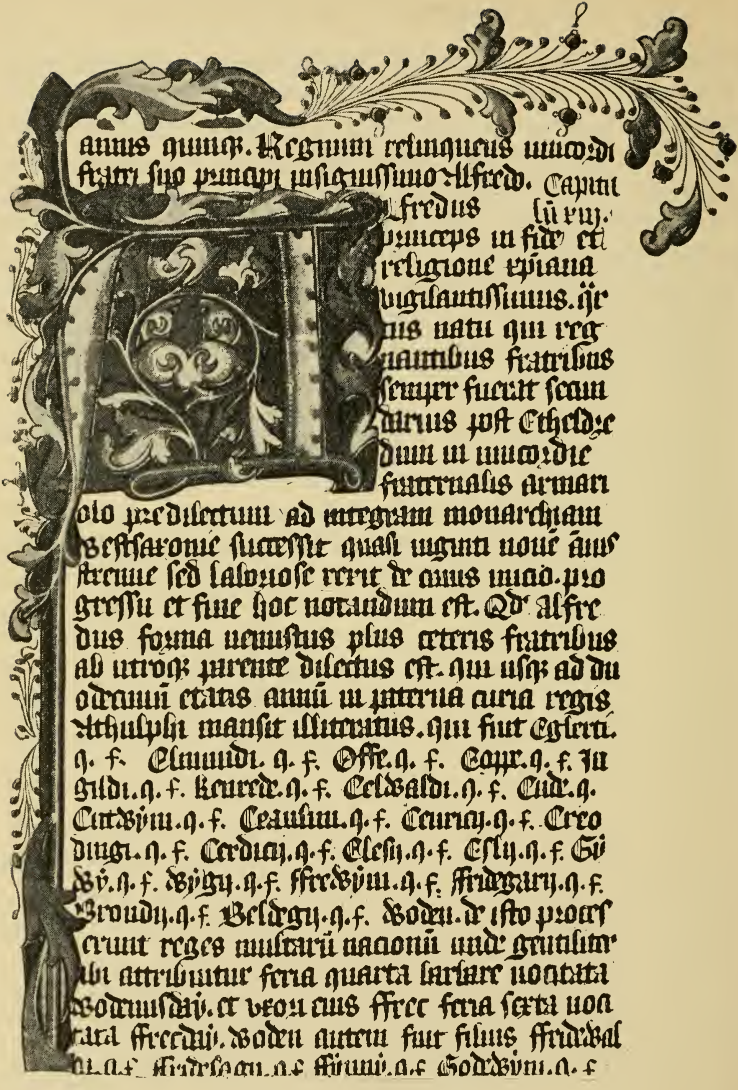
[1] Gardiner, 280–282.

[2] *Ibid.*, 282–284.



annis quinqꝫ. Regnum relinquens iuniori
fratri ſuo principi inſigniſſimo Alfredo. Capitu
Alfredus lū xvij.
princeps in fide et
religione xpiana
vigilantiſſimus. iūr
nis natu qui reg
nantibus fratribus
ſemper fuerat ſecun
darius poſt Ethelre
dum in iuniordie
fraternalis armari
olo predilectum ad integram monarchiam
Weſtſaxonie ſucceſſit quaſi viginti noue ānis
ſtrenue ſed laborioſe rexit de cuius inicō. pro
greſſu et fine hoc notandum eſt. Qđ Alfre
dus forma venuſtius plus ceteris fratribus
ab utroqꝫ parente dilectus eſt. qui uſqꝫ ad du
odecimū etatis annū in paterna curia regis
Athulphi manſit illiteratus. qui fuit Egberti.
q. f. Elmundi. q. f. Offe. q. f. Eappe. q. f. In
gildi. q. f. Keuredi. q. f. Celwaldi. q. f. Cude. q.
Cuthwini. q. f. Ceaulini. q. f. Ceuricy. q. f. Creo
dingi. q. f. Cerdicy. q. f. Eleſij. q. f. Eſly. q. f. Gi
wy. q. f. Wygy. q. f. ffrewyni. q. f. ffridegary. q. f.
Broundy. q. f. Beldegy. q. f. Wodeni. de iſto proceſſ
erunt reges multarū nacionū unde gentilitr
ubi attribuitur feria quarta larlare nocitata
Wodenisday. et uxor eius ffrec feria ſexta non
cata ffrecday. Woden autem fuit filius ffridewal
di. q. f. ffrideſagu. q. f. ffinni. q. f. Godwini. q. f

FOURTEENTH CENTURY WRITING

From *Liber de Hyda* (Book of Hyde Abbey, Winchester). The manuscript dates from about 1400 or perhaps a little later. The part reproduced gives an account of the early years of Alfred the Great and of his accession to the English throne.

Gaunt, the duke of Lancaster. For a trivial reason he exiled Henry for a term of six years, but promised not to touch his inheritance. This promise he did not keep: when the aged Duke John died a few months later, King Richard seized the Lancastrian estates. Doubtless he feared that the vast possessions of the Lancastrian family would make his young, aggressive cousin too powerful and might prove a temptation to disloyalty.

161. The Lancastrian Revolt: Richard II is Deposed. 1399.[1] When Henry of Lancaster learned of his father's death, he hastened to England. At the moment Richard was out of the country: the affairs of the English colony in Ireland were in a bad way, and the king had set out to rectify matters in person. Meanwhile, Englishmen were gathering in support of the returned exile, who asserted that he had come to demand his titles and patrimony only. King Richard hastened back to England, but he found the national leaders in arms against him. By his many arbitrary and unjust acts during the two years of absolute rule, he had forfeited the loyalty of his people. At Flint in northern Wales he encountered Henry of Lancaster's host and was forced to surrender.

Return of Henry of Lancaster.

With a scrupulous care for legal forms that is characteristic of the English people, the rebels called a parliament in the captive king's name, and before this body was laid Richard's abdication, a document that was evidently drawn up by his enemies and in which he surrendered all his regal rights. The abdication was accepted, but to make matters doubly sure, parliament formally proceeded to depose Richard II. When this had been done, Henry of Lancaster stepped up to the vacant throne, and in a brief speech in the English language laid claim to the kingship as a descendant of Henry III. Parliament at once approved the claim and Henry IV mounted the throne. The real significance of all these proceedings lies in the part played by parliament. In deposing

Richard II deposed.

Henry of Lancaster given the crown.

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[1] Gardiner, 284–288.

Richard and approving the claim of Henry (which had no good basis), parliament reaffirmed an ancient principle that the great council of the nation has the ultimate authority to determine who shall sit on the English throne. It was circumstances that dictated the choice: Henry of Lancaster was the leader of the uprising and the wealthiest and most powerful noble in England; no other choice would have seemed practicable.

162. Henry IV: Early Difficulties of his Reign. With Henry IV the kingship passed to a younger branch of the Angevin family, the Lancastrian, descended from John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III. In choosing Henry parliament had passed over other heirs whose claims were better than those of the Lancastrians; and this fact made much trouble for the new king. It was apparently Henry's intention to let his deposed cousin die a natural death in prison; but before many months conspiracies were discovered looking toward the restoration of Richard II. The result was that the unfortunate monarch, like Edward II, his equally unlucky and indiscreet ancestor, lost his life.

Death of Richard II.

The Mortimers, the Nevilles, and the Percies.

More dangerous was the Mortimer family, a powerful clan on the Welsh border which was related by marriage to Lionel, John of Gaunt's older brother. The Mortimers had vast domains and were able to muster large forces of tenants and retainers. A nationalistic uprising in Wales also promised to be of advantage to the Mortimers, for the Welsh rebels allied themselves with their old enemies of the March, who were now hoping to seize the English throne. Two powerful noble families in the north, the Nevilles of Westmoreland and the Percies of Northumberland, had also become dissatisfied with Henry IV and had joined the partisans of Mortimer. But while on their march toward the Welsh border where the Mortimers were mustering, these northern earls were intercepted by the Lancastrian forces at Shrewsbury, where a bloody battle was fought.[1] The king was victorious,

Battle of Shrewsbury. 1403.

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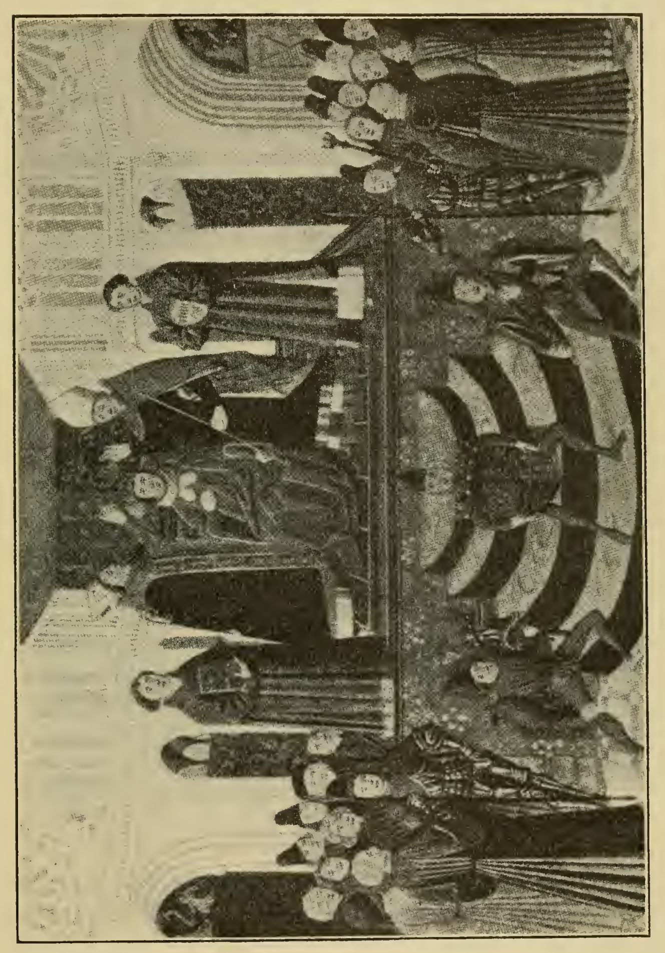
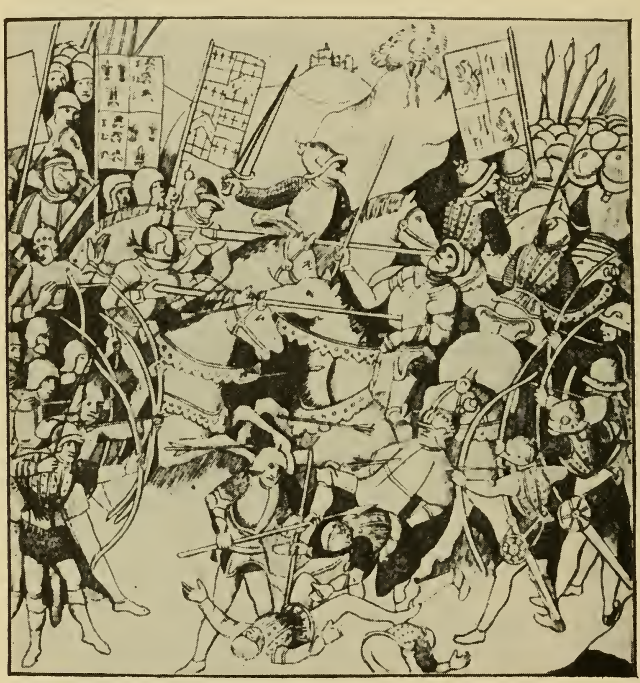
[1] Cheyney, No. 157; Gardiner, 292, 298, 300.



Coronation of Henry IV
From a manuscript of Froissart's Chronicles (fifteenth century).

and as the Mortimers were deprived of their allies, the conspiracy collapsed (1403).

163. Henry Allies Himself with the Church: Persecution of the Lollards. Realizing that his title to the crown was defective and that he ruled by sufferance only, Henry of Lancaster sought the alliance of the two great forces in the kingdom, the house of commons and the church. It was during this reign that the commons were granted their claim to originate all money bills. The Lancastrians ruled England as a constitutional monarchy in which parlia-



THE BATTLE OF SHREWSBURY

From a drawing in the "Life of Warwick" by John Rous, ca. 1485.

Parliamentary monarchy.

ment was the controlling force; but unfortunately neither the lords nor the representatives of the commons were ready for the self-government that limited monarchy implies.

Richard II had been accused of inclinations toward Lollardy or at least indifference toward the welfare of the church, and it may be that this was one reason why the bishops and abbots acquiesced in the revolution of 1399. To the churchmen Henry IV appeared as a zealous defender of ancient rights. The king disappointed many of his supporters but not the church: he placed his signature on a terrible statute that provided for the burning of heretics, which meant the followers of Wycliffe.[1] There was to be no toleration any longer. The Lollards were to be seized, tried by the courts of the church, and if found guilty, they were to be burned by the sheriff of the county. Even before the statute was enacted, a Lollard priest, William Sawtre, was burned by order of the king. Persecution continued under the new law, and in this and the following reigns a number of Lollards were executed.

Statute for the burning of heretics.

The second half of Henry IV's reign was uneventful. A natural caution that was emphasized by the irregular mode of his accession kept the king from embarking upon any important undertakings. During the last eight years of his reign Henry was afflicted with a lingering disease; in 1413 he died and was succeeded by his oldest son, Henry V.

Accession of Henry V. 1413.

164. Summary: the Fourteenth Century. The history of the fourteenth century was one of far-reaching movements and stirring events. For twenty years (1340–1360), the chief business of the nation was foreign warfare, and the popular imagination was stirred by the news of English success at Sluys, Crécy, Calais, and Poitiers. Then followed twenty years of discontent and heretical agitation which culminated in the peasants' revolt of 1381. During the following two decades the interest is chiefly political and

Foreign warfare.

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[1] Gardiner, 293–294; Innes, I, 204–209.

centers about a running strife between a small group of nobles who wished to control the government and the young king who longed for absolute power. The strife closed with the revolution of 1399 and the election of Henry IV.

In statesmanship the period is decidedly barren. The kings and politicians of the age are more famous for errors in government than for great practical ideas. The real importance of the century lies in the movements that stirred and transformed society; for the age was one of considerable progress. The functions of parliament were becoming more clearly defined. Villeinage was disappearing and the masses were enjoying greater economic freedom. Trade and manufacture were developing. The resources of the English language were being brought to light. It was the age of John Wycliffe and Geoffrey Chaucer.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: THE RENAISSANCE

165. The Fifteenth Century. The fifteenth century is the dreariest age in the political history of England. From 1415 to 1485, the story is one of fruitless and calamitous warfare, first with France as a continuation of the Hundred Years' War, and finally among the English barons themselves. For seventy years the blood and treasure of the nation were spent to satisfy morbid ambition. Otherwise, too, the period is barren of true greatness. English intellect was active as in the century before, but it produced nothing of enduring qualities: no great literary genius appeared to carry on the work of William Langland and Geoffrey Chaucer. Under the surface, however, the forces of the newer civilization were at work. The process of enclosures was going steadily forward at an increasing rate with its double result of unemployment and increased production of wool and cloth. And among the scholars of the time the impulse of the Renaissance was expressing itself in various ways.[1]

Character of the period.

166. The Character of Henry V. The mass of the nation had but one interest, the French war, which was renewed in 1415. Henry IV had been anxious to avoid foreign warfare, and had made no serious attempts to interfere in French affairs; but with the accession of Henry V in 1413, the quiet came to an end. Henry V was not remarkable for statesmanship, and cannot be ranked among the great rulers of England; but he was virile and energetic, and had many personal traits that endeared him to his subjects. As a prince he had not been a model son: it seems that he was

Prince Henry.

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[1] Review sec. 159.

unduly anxious to succeed his invalid father, and Henry IV who had dethroned and murdered his predecessor was much shocked when his "madcap" son suggested abdication; it may be that the prince actually plotted to dethrone his father. However, when the throne was finally his, the young king, who had apparently led a wild life as prince, cast aside all the frivolities of earlier days and took up the duties of kingship with unusual energy.

167. The Situation in France. Across the Channel the situation was one of misery and confusion. On the throne of France sat Charles VI, an insane king, and the chiefs among the nobility were striving for the power to govern in his name.

Partisan strife in France.

Two contending parties stood prominently forth: the Burgundians under the lead of the dukes of Burgundy, whose strength lay in the north and east; and the Armagnacs, whose partisans were chiefly from beyond the Loire. The temptation to attack the disrupted country was too great for the young English king. With a cool assurance that is almost astonishing, he revived the ancient claim to the French throne. It will be remembered that the rights of Edward III were at best doubtful,[1] and that they had been wholly surrendered in the treaty of Bretigny. Moreover, if any such rights yet remained, they belonged to the Mortimers, whose rights of inheritance as descendants of Edward III's second son, were prior to those of Henry, who represented a younger line. The English attack on France in 1415 was, therefore, scarcely better than piracy. The French war, however, had always been popular; one of the reasons for the unpopularity of Richard II was that he did not push his claims against France.

English claim to the French crown renewed.

168. The Battle of Agincourt. With a large army Henry V invaded France and landed near Harfleur; but like his warlike ancestor he found that fighting in Normandy had its difficulties and he therefore hastened toward his own city of Calais. On the way he encountered a vast

Invasion of Normandy.

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[1] Review sec. 131.

French host at Agincourt, a few miles from the field of Crécy, and once more the army of France suffered a crushing defeat.[1] It is thought that Henry V was prompted to attack France by a desire to gain personal popularity among his subjects and permanence for the Lancastrian dynasty; if he did, he succeeded beyond his wildest hopes. On his return to London soon after the battle of Agincourt,[2] he shared the idolatry of his subjects to a greater extent than any of his predecessors for centuries. A single victory had made the wild prince a hero.

Agincourt. 1415.

169. The Treaty of Troyes. Two years after the battle of Agincourt, Henry returned to France with an army and proceeded to reduce the strongholds of Normandy. In this he had considerable success, though his conquest was not extensive. Finally in 1420, an effort was made to end the war by the treaty of Troyes, according to the terms of which Henry V was to marry the princess Katherine, daughter of the insane king, and to inherit the French crown after the death of his father-in-law. Two years later both the young English hero and the old witless king died; but Henry V died first. The treaty of Troyes was consequently never carried out as intended.

The treaty of Troyes.

Death of Henry V.

Henry VI, the new king of England, was an infant less than a year old; and for twenty years the nation was ruled by a council of which the little king's uncles, John, duke of Bedford, and Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, were for some time the chief members. The situation was at best one of grave difficulties, and the insistence of the English statesmen on placing the infant on the French throne complicated matters still further. Bedford, who was by far the abler and the wiser of the two uncles, found it necessary to spend most of his time in France, the selfish and intriguing Humphrey being left at home to govern England.

The minority of Henry VI: Bedford and Gloucester.

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[1] Gardiner, 301–303; Innes, 209–215.

[2] Bates and Coman, 186–190 (Drayton, *Agincourt*).

170. Renewed Efforts to Conquer France. The English continued to have some success in France, though in the end their efforts failed. During the same period, Philip the Good, the duke of Burgundy, by means that look anything but honorable, was coming into possession of the small but wealthy provinces of the Netherlands. The duke who controlled the weaving district of Europe and founded the Order of the Golden Fleece could not be indifferent to the claims of the English wool trade. Bedford therefore found it easy to secure support from the Burgundian faction; and for more than a decade there was close alliance between England and Burgundy.

Burgundian power in the Netherlands.

The war was renewed soon after the accession of Henry VI, and for seven years the English advance continued. For the ultimate failure several reasons may be assigned. First of all, England did not possess the resources necessary to conquer a country that was far richer and more populous than itself; without the aid of the Burgundian faction the attempt would have been absurdly hopeless. The second difficulty was that a coolness gradually arose between Henry's advisers and Philip of Burgundy. Philip the Good's purposes were essentially selfish; and soon he began to fear English interference with his ambitions in the Netherlands. Two years after the accession of Henry VI, Duke Humphrey married Jacqueline, a Dutch princess, whose lands the "good duke" of Burgundy coveted. So great a stir did the Burgundians raise about this that the marriage was practically annulled. Later in the reign the duke of Bedford committed the same mistake in marrying a Dutch heiress. This was too much for the Burgundian duke: Philip the Good had intended that all feudal heiresses in the Netherlands should, if possible, die unmarried; and this interference with his plans cost England his friendship.

Causes of English failure in France.

171. Joan of Arc: the Rise of French Patriotism.[1] A third and perhaps the chief cause was the wave of patriotic

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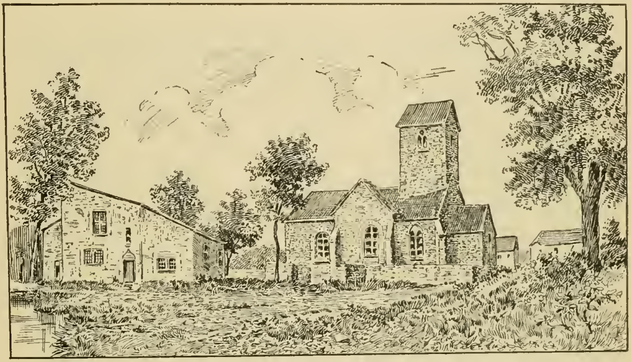
[1] Cheyney, Nos. 174–176; Gardiner, 309–312.

Joan of Arc.

fervor that swept over France as the result of the appearance among the French soldiers of the Maid of Orleans. Joan of Arc was a young girl from the eastern border of the kingdom, who believed that heaven had sent her for the deliverance of her country. So long did she brood over the miseries of France that her thoughts and purposes began to become real and she believed that she heard the saints, whom she adored in the village church, speak to her and urge her to go to the rescue. She set out in 1429 and found her way to the Dauphin Charles' court at Chinon, and informed him of the mission that the saints had entrusted to her. Reluctantly the Dauphin after much delay allowed her to join the army and proceed to the relief of Orleans which was just then narrowly besieged by the English. It is likely that the English would have been obliged to raise the siege in any event, as their strength was not sufficient for the undertaking; but the aggressive attacks of the French under the Maid's inspiration hastened the outcome. The French discovered that their enemies were not invincible. The English advance was checked and the Dauphin was taken triumphantly to the old coronation city of Rheims, where he was crowned king of the French.



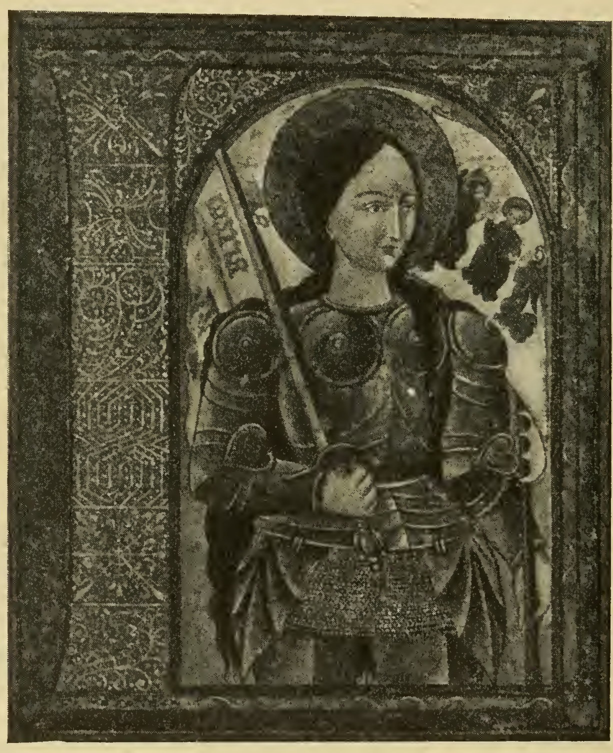
The Home of Joan of Arc at Domremy

The relief of Orleans. 1429.

Coronation of Charles VII.

Martyrdom of the Maid. 1431.

The coronation at Rheims changed the situation completely. After seven years the nation had once more a consecrated king; and many of the Burgundians began to fear the consequences of opposing the Lord's anointed. On the Dauphin's urgent request Joan of Arc continued to assist in leading the French forces; but less than a year after the coronation she was captured by Burgundian soldiers, who soon afterwards sold her to the English. After a year of imprisonment she was tried as a witch by a court of ecclesiastics



JOAN OF ARC

From a miniature of the fifteenth century.

belonging to the Burgundian party. It was clear to these holy men that a young girl could not do what Joan had done unless she was in league with the evil powers. She was condemned and burned at the stake in Rouen (1431). She was at the time probably nineteen years old. Her public career had comprised but little more than two years, one year at the head of the French army, and one in the prison at Rouen. She had been neither general nor soldier: she took no part in the active fighting and directed no movements, though she often gave the officers excellent advice. Her task was to inspire the French soldiers with a faith in themselves and their cause and with a fervid love for the fatherland. And since her day patriotism has never cooled in France.

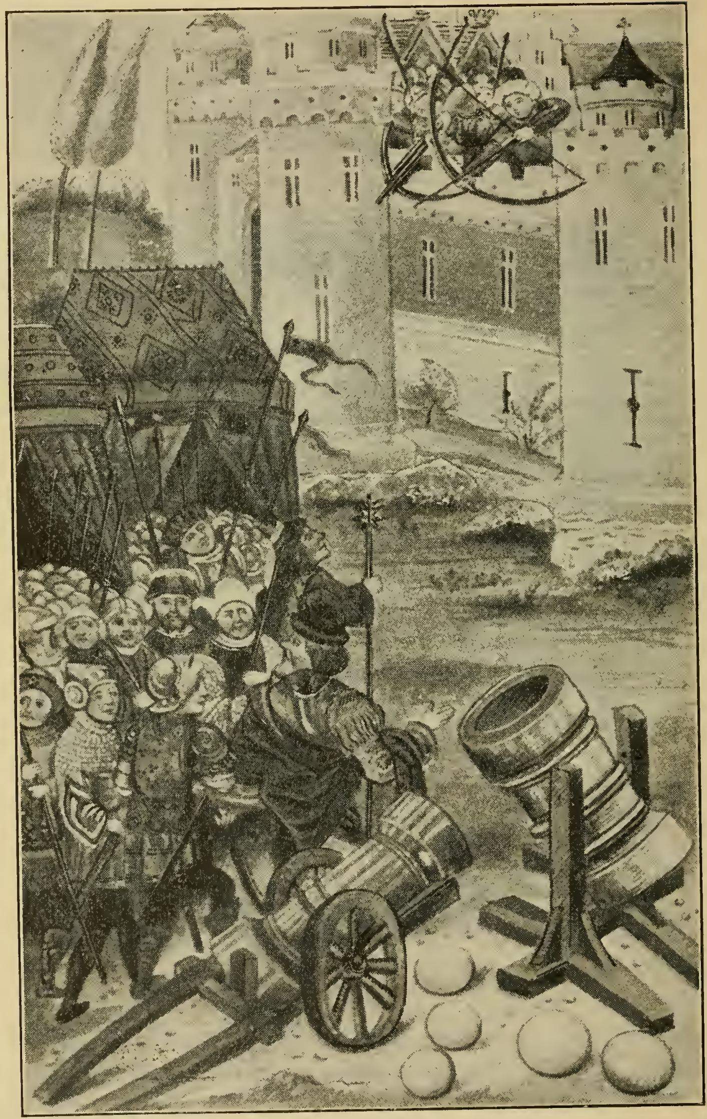
Importance of Joan's career.

172. The English Failure in France. 1431. That same year Bedford brought the English king, now ten years old, to France and had him crowned, not in Rheims but in Paris. But it was now too late to stem the adverse tide that was setting in. It was soon after this that Bedford committed the imprudence of his Dutch marriage. Philip the Good began to tire of a war that was going against his allies. After a fruitless effort to secure a general peace, the duke of Burgundy made a separate peace with Charles VII (1435). Bedford had died a few months earlier and no capable leader was ready to take his place; but English pride would not permit a retreat, and so the hopeless war continued.

The Burgundians desert the English. 1435.

At the same time there was a powerful peace party in England that was anxious to end the war. Finally, ten years after Bedford's death, this party came into control of the English government and arranged a truce with France. Among the provisions was an agreement on Henry's part to marry Margaret of Anjou, a French princess fifteen years of age, whose family was conspicuous chiefly for its poverty. The arrangement was unsatisfactory to the majority in the nation and the truce

Henry VI's marriage to Margaret of Anjou.



FIFTEENTH CENTURY ARTILLERY
From a manuscript of "The Chronicles of England" (fifteenth century).

was unpopular. Soon the war flared up again on the Norman frontier and later in Gascony. The English sustained repeated defeats; and in 1453 they finally retired from France, though Calais was retained for another century.

1453.

173. The Rivalry of Margaret and Richard of York. Two years later began a series of civil wars which continued with intermittent periods for sixteen years. Later writers, believing that the Yorkist line had adopted the white rose and the house of Lancaster the red rose as a family emblem, called these duels the Wars of the Roses; it seems, however, that the red rose was first used as a dynastic emblem by the Tudors. The wars were fought for the possession of the English crown. The peace with France was a terrible blow to English pride, which could not forget Crécy and Agincourt; and Queen Margaret and her advisers were exceedingly unpopular. Henry VI was a pious, gentle, and amiable man, but he was feeble in intellect and weak in will.[1] In 1453, the year of the ignominious retreat from the Continent, his mind gave way, and for some months he was hopelessly insane. It will be remembered that his grandfather was the insane king Charles VI of France and the weakness was probably inherited. Under the circumstances some form of regency was necessary. Queen Margaret,[2] who was a strong and spirited though not always discreet woman, claimed the right to rule in her husband's name; but this was opposed by a large faction of the nobility. At the head of the opposition stood Richard, duke of York, a descendant of Lionel and Edmund, the second and fourth sons of Edward III. As chief of the Mortimer family duke Richard had wide possessions in the west, whence he drew the larger part of his forces. At first he pretended to be fighting for better government only — England should not be

Character of Henry VI.

Queen Margaret.

Richard of York.

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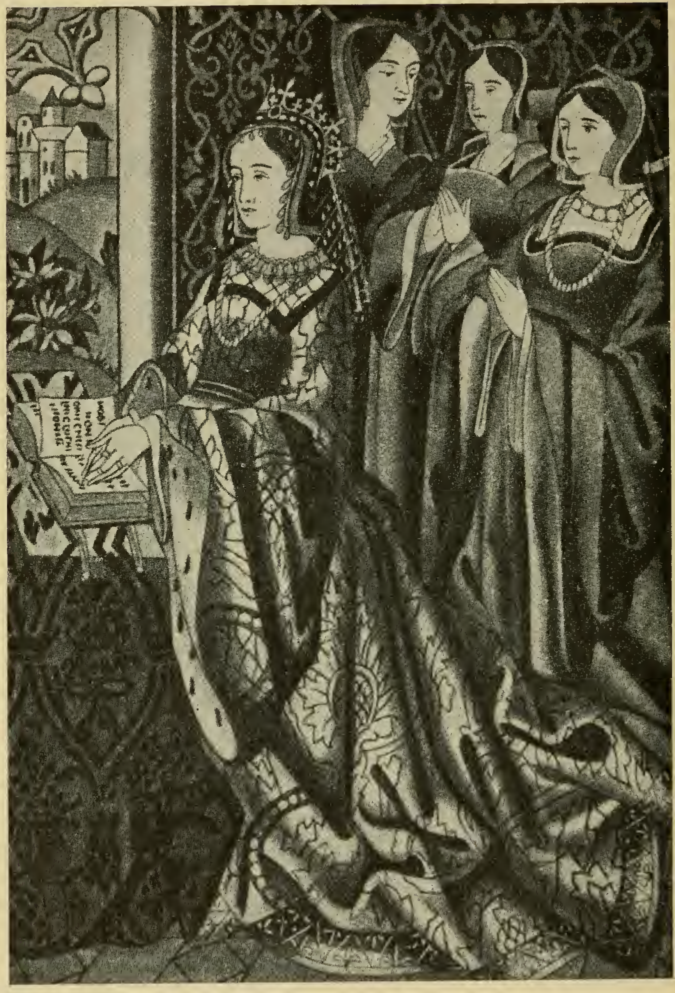
[1] Cheyney, No. 178; Kendall, No. 37; Bates and Coman, 210–212 (Shakespeare, *Henry VI*).

[2] Kendall, No. 41.



Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI, and Ladies of Her Court

From a fifteenth-century tapestry.

ruled by a French princess and an insane king — but soon he set his heart on the crown itself.[1]

War between York and Margaret. 1455.

174. The Wars of the Roses. 1455–1471. The war between York and Margaret began with the battle of St. Albans in 1455 and closed five years later on the field of Wakefield, where the Yorkist pretender fell.[2] However, his young son Edward, the earl of March, who now succeeded to his father's power and dignities, openly claimed the throne and was crowned the following year. The Wars of the Roses differed from ordinary civil wars in this, that they were fought chiefly by the nobles and their retainers; the masses of the nation took no great interest in the struggle, except when forced to take sides in self-defense. This happened in 1460, when the queen came into southern England with a large force of wild warriors from the northern border, who could not resist the temptation to pillage the country as they were in the habit of doing on their raids into Scotland. It was this campaign that ruined the Lancastrian

Queen Margaret loses the south.

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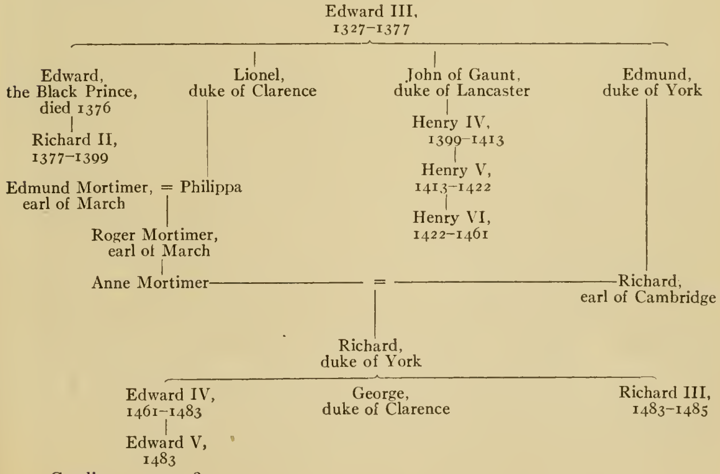
[1] Genealogy of the houses of Lancaster and York.


Edward III,
1327–1377
Edward,
the Black Prince,
died 1376
Richard II,
1377–1399
Lionel,
duke of Clarence
John of Gaunt,
duke of Lancaster
Henry IV,
1399–1413
Henry V,
1413–1422
Henry VI,
1422–1461
Edmund,
duke of York
Edmund Mortimer,
earl of March
= Philippa
Roger Mortimer,
earl of March
Anne Mortimer
=
Richard,
earl of Cambridge
Richard,
duke of York
Edward IV,
1461–1483
Edward V,
1483
George,
duke of Clarence
Richard III,
1483–1485

[2] Gardiner, 327–328.

cause: in their wrath the populous districts of the south accepted the young Edward.[1] Margaret was defeated and fled to Scotland with her helpless husband.

Edward IV.

For ten years England had two regularly crowned kings, the invalid Henry VI and the capable but unscrupulous Edward IV. Margaret, meanwhile, continued the fight and gave up only after the battle of Tewksbury, where she suffered a complete and final defeat. Her young son probably fell in this battle and her husband was killed shortly afterwards (1471). There was no longer any effective opposition to Yorkist rule, and for twelve years longer King Edward wore the crown in peace till his death in 1483. Margaret retired to France.

Battle of Tewksbury. 1471.

175. Parliamentary Government.[2] The fifteenth century, the age of Lancaster and York, is known in political history as the age of parliamentary rule. Circumstances forced the kings of both dynasties to be very deferential to parliament and to consult that body at frequent intervals. Henry IV owed his crown to a parliamentary act and dared show no independence. With Henry V the French war was revived and parliamentary support, especially in the form of subsidies, was called for at the very outset of the reign. The long minority of Henry VI, the weakness of that unfortunate monarch, and the financial necessities of protracted warfare continued the need of frequent parliamentary sessions. Edward IV was in a position similar to that of Henry IV: he was a usurper and realized that he could not maintain his position without parliamentary support. Throughout the century, therefore, the representatives of the nation met frequently and were consulted on all important matters. The ultimate power and the final word were consequently with the houses of parliament. But, as this body gained in authority, it lost its popular favor; and when the Tudors in the next century introduced a type of absolute monarchy into the English government, the nation welcomed the change.

King and parliament.

Parliament loses popular favor.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 181.

[2] Masterman, c. 8.

176. The Decline of Parliamentary Prestige. The chief reason for the decline of parliamentary prestige was that parliament had gradually ceased to be representative of the nation and had become the instrument of some momentarily successful faction. The latter fact appears especially in the numerous bills of attainder that disgrace parliamentary history during the strife between Margaret and the Yorkists. A bill of attainder is "a criminal condemnation by legislative act:" an act of parliament that deprives a subject of his life and his family of what property they might expect to inherit from him. In such cases there was no trial: parliament had unlimited power, — it could even take life. After a campaign the successful faction would call a new parliament and complete its revenge upon the vanquished by attainting the leaders and sending them to the block. It is not surprising that the nation lost faith in its representatives.

Bills of attainder.

177. The Influence of the Barons: the House of Lords. The chief difficulty was that parliament had become subservient to the aristocracy of the kingdom. A few years before the beginning of the Hundred Years' War (about 1330), the members of parliament came to be definitely grouped into two bodies, with the knights from the shires and the merchants from the boroughs forming the house of commons. In the house of lords there were also two classes, the lords spiritual and the lords temporal. Of these the spiritual lords were the more numerous; they were the bishops and the mitred abbots, that is, the abbots of the larger and more important monasteries. But though the temporal peers were fewer in number, they were, nevertheless, the controlling element; for while the selection of bishops and abbots lay ultimately with the king, he usually chose the candidates from among the younger sons of the great noble families. As a rule these churchmen would be faithful to the family interests and would follow the lead of the family chief, who was always a member of the house of lords.

The House of Lords.

In Norman times and later, all the lords were known as barons; only occasionally did the king grant the ancient and higher title of earl. But in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, new titles began to appear: first the duke and later the marquis took places above the earl; and in 1440 the last of these new dignities, that of the viscount, appeared as an honor next below that of the earl. The barons remained as the lowest class in rank in the peerage. Still lower were the knights, but they did not sit in the house of lords. The possession of a peerage brought with it no power or authority of any sort, except membership in the house of lords. Nor did rank within the peerage count for anything except on social occasions, when the lords held places according to rank. In the house of lords the vote of a baron was equal to that of a duke.

Rank within the nobility.

The title of lord usually includes some geographical name: he is duke of Norfolk, earl of Chester, or lord of some other region. But this does not signify that he in any sense governs that region; it usually means that his estates or other wealth are chiefly located in the region that gives him the title. This fact is extremely significant; it gives the lord an influence in that locality that amounts to authority; at least such was the case in the earlier centuries. Power within the peerage was consequently a matter of wealth. When the Wars of the Roses opened, the most powerful peer in England was the earl of Warwick: he drew revenues from more than one hundred and fifty manors and had retainers in fifteen castles. Warwick was of the wealthy Neville family, whose estates were largely in Westmoreland; he married the heiress of the Beauchamp family in Warwickshire, which marriage brought him the Warwick title and his vast possessions. During the wars between Lancaster and York, he played such an important part that he is known in history as the "kingmaker." His career illustrates the selfishness of the English aristocracy of the fifteenth century; most of the time he was a Yorkist partisan; but the last year of his life he was allied to Margaret.[1]

Local influence of the lords.

Warwick the "king-maker."

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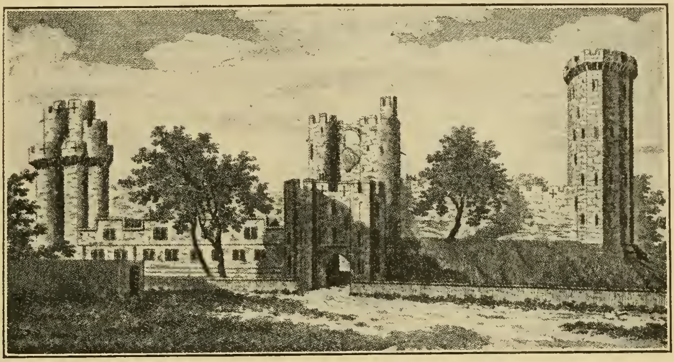
[1] Innes, I, 222–230.

He was one of the many peers who perished in the battles of 1471.

178. Aristocratic Control of the House of Commons. It is clear that in counties where families like the Percies, the Mortimers, and the Nevilles had centered their strength, a free election of representatives to parliament would not always be possible. That was one reason why the knights and the burgesses ceased to be representatives of the people. Another reason was the restriction of the suffrage. To make it easier for the men of power to control the elections, a law was made in 1430 that limited the right to vote for members of parliament to freeholders whose lands would rent for at least forty shillings annually, a sum that would mean twenty times as much or more in present day values. But the majority of the farmers were not freeholders, they were still tenants of some sort. When the lord of a manor released his tenants from the old customary villein services and dues and agreed to take a specified money rent instead, the agreement was recorded on the records of the manor, and



WARWICK CASTLE

One of the finest castles in England. It has been rebuilt in recent years but a part of the medieval structure is still intact; one of the towers dates from 1394, another from the Norman period.

The "forty shilling freeholders."

from that time on the tenant was a copy-holder. But no copy-holder or other tenant could vote for members of parliament, no matter how large his income might be. In the boroughs, too, a like condition existed: the right to elect members of parliament had fallen into the hands of a small group of favored electors.

Copy-holders.

179. The Local Government: the Justices of the Peace. Thus the majority of the nation was excluded from all share in the national government; during the same period the masses also lost control of the local administration. The ancient shire courts of the middle ages were democratic bodies; they were composed of farmers from the various towns, who acted as jurors and otherwise assisted in the work of government. But during the fourteenth century the king began to depend for the maintenance of order in the rural districts on a set of new officials, the justices of the peace. These were originally intended merely to supplement the existing courts; but in time they practically displaced them. The riot and disorder that followed the enactment of the Statute of Laborers, the return of the soldiers after the treaty of Bretigny, and the peasants' revolt gave these new "keepers of the peace" much to do and their authority grew as their activities increased. By 1450 the government of the counties had fallen almost wholly into their hands.

Decline of the shire courts.

1351.

The justices of the peace were appointed by the king, and were chosen from the wealthier class among the land owners, the landed gentry, or squires. Each county could have as many as the king cared to appoint. In 1362, two years after the treaty of Bretigny, the justices were ordered to hold general sessions four times each year: these meetings were the "quarter sessions" which still are held. At these sessions a great variety of business came to be transacted: disputes were settled; criminal offenses were tried and punished; taxes were assessed; the public funds were appropriated; appointments were made; and many other

Quarter sessions. 1362.

administrative functions executed. Meanwhile the old shire courts shrank into insignificance. In our own political system the quarter sessions found an early place: the counties of the Virginia colony were governed by justices of the peace meeting in the county court; and many of their administrative functions still survive in the powers of the circuit judges in Pennsylvania.

180. England and the Church. While the aristocracies were fighting for crowns in England and France, vast changes were being prepared in Europe that were to affect England along with the rest of the world. In 1415, the year of Agincourt, a world-council of the western church was held at Constance, which finally settled the papal schism and once more unified the church under a single pope residing in the old Roman city. In this council the representatives of the English church played a leading part; for England favored a Roman papacy because the nation was opposed to Avignon and everything else that was French. The council also initiated a new struggle which endured for nearly half a century: an effort was made to change the constitution of the church from an absolute to a limited monarchy by giving it a controlling legislative body like the parliament of England or the estates general of France. The movement failed: parliaments were losing ground everywhere, even in England. The world was beginning to look on a strong monarchy as the safer and more efficient form of government.

The Council of Constance. 1415.

The conciliar movement.

181. The Renaissance in England. Of greater importance was the Renaissance movement which reached its height in the fifteenth century. In England it is associated with two chief lines of development: the growth of libraries and the introduction of Greek as an important study in schools. Some of the men whom we think of chiefly in connection with war or politics were much interested in the promotion of scholarship. In 1440, the young king Henry VI founded a college for boys at Eton just across the Thames from his palace at Windsor. Eton College is still one of the

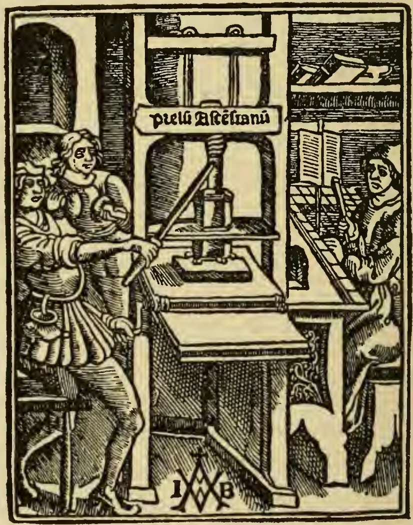
Eton College.

important schools of England. The same king also founded a number of grammar schools and King's College in Cambridge.

Duke Humphrey as a patron of letters.

Humphrey's gift to the Oxford Library.

182. Books and Printing: Gloucester and Caxton. Everywhere the new movement was hampered by a lack of books. Writing materials, especially parchment, which was prepared from the skins of animals, were scarce and expensive. Books were written by hand, and copyists, at least skillful ones, were few, and their work was naturally slow. Consequently, books were not plentiful and could be produced at great cost only. Among the men who did the most to improve this situation, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, the unstatesmanlike and intriguing politician, holds a high and honored place. He realized the need of better libraries and sought books wherever they could be found, especially in Italy. The great church councils of the period were usually held on Italian soil; and a Norman bishop who attended these also acted as Humphrey's agent in the purchase of books. Many of the copies that the duke in this way procured were presented to the library of Oxford University which Humphrey remembered with a gift of 129 volumes, a princely gift for those days.



THE EARLIEST PICTURE OF A PRINTING PRESS

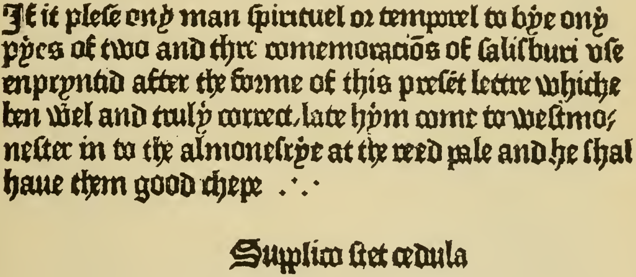
Soon the want was helped by the invention of printing. The first printed book left the press of the German inventor John Gutenberg in 1455, the year of the first fight of the Roses. The

Gutenberg: invention of printing.

new invention was of immense importance: almost any number of copies could be produced from the same types, and the cost of a printed book was only one-eighth of what was charged for one written out by hand. Gutenberg's establishment was at Mainz on the middle Rhine, and soon the invention was known along that river to the Netherlands, where the presses began to interest Caxton, an English merchant. William Caxton printed the first English book in 1474 at Bruges; but a few years later he removed his press to Westminster, and the English book famine began to be relieved. In three years more than thirty books came from Caxton's press. Unfortunately, Caxton had to make use of Dutch printers as the only available ones, and these took great liberties in the matter of English spelling and did much to fasten on the language the difficult and illogical orthography that is still in use.

William Caxton.

1477.



If it pleſe ony man ſpirituel or temporel to bye ony
pyes of two and thre comemoracio̅s of ſaliſburi vſe
enpryntid after the forme of this preſe̅t lettre whiche
ben wel and truly correct, late hym come to weſtmo/
neſter in to the almoneſrye at the reed pale and he ſhal
haue them good chepe .·.

Supplico ſtet cedula

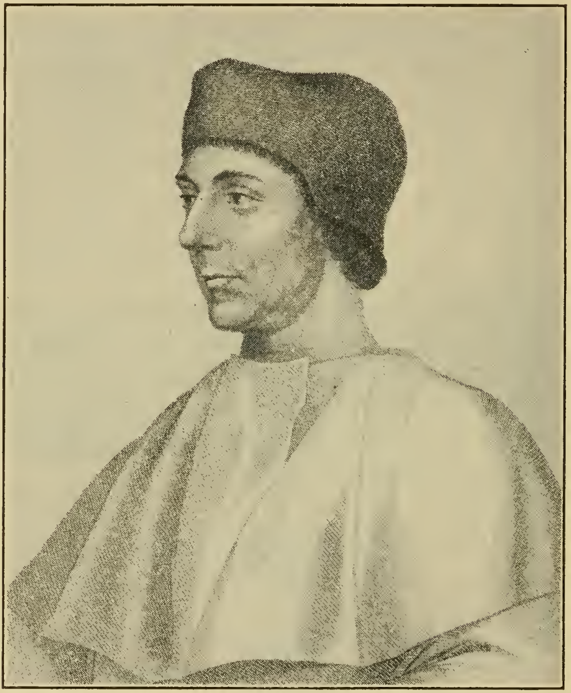
Reproduction of a Caxton Advertisement

183. The Introduction of Greek into the Schools: William Selling. The introduction of Greek as a subject for study may be traced to the efforts of William Selling, a Canterbury monk, who studied in Italy during the period of the Yorkist kings. After his return to Canterbury he made the library of the monastery his particular care; and he also taught in the monastery school. Some of his pupils went to Oxford and brought with them their enthusiasm for

William Selling.

The Humanists.

the Greek language that Selling had taught them. One of these, Grocyn, later taught Greek at Oxford. Another pioneer in this field was Linacre, a Canterbury student with leanings toward scientific study. Colet, a young theologian, also gave efficient assistance. Selling, Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet are to be remembered as the pioneers in this work which has had such a strong influence on the intellectual growth of modern England.



JOHN COLET

From a drawing by Holbein. Hans Holbein was a German artist, but most of his work was done in England where he died in 1554.

The study of Greek brought these so-called humanists face to face with the greatest literary artists of the ancient world;

it also took them into a literary atmosphere where reason was regarded as the only safe guide. Not only did the humanists feel free to think and speculate on all manner of themes, — they held it a duty to do so. This newfound freedom led to much criticism and doubt, and it finally helped to produce a revolt from the most venerable and powerful of all institutions, the medieval church.

The study of Greek.

184. The Development of Commerce and Industry.[1] In spite of the great waste of wealth and energy in foreign and civil warfare, the fifteenth century saw a notable expansion of English commerce. The trading vessels of the Netherlands and the North German cities were coming to English ports as of old; and now the Venetians also came to compete for the northern trade. The Italian galleys that arrived every year from the Adriatic to the ports of London and Southampton were welcome guests, for they brought the products of the Orient, which formerly had come to England in the ships of the Hanseatic merchants. Italian merchants found it convenient to settle in English towns; it was during the reign of Edward IV that John Cabot found his way to Bristol. The growth of commerce called for more available capital and German and Italian banking houses established themselves in the chief trading centers of England. The presence of so many foreigners created a great deal of ill feeling, and the persons as well as the privileges of the Hanseatic merchants in London were often in serious danger.

Expansion of foreign trade.

John Cabot.

In the fifteenth century, too, we find the earliest traces of the wonderful growth of English commerce in English ships owned by English merchants. For a long time England had been wholly dependent on the Flemish manufacturers and the Hanseatic merchants in the matter of imports and exports; but this dependence was now at an end. The domination of the Germans was shaken off, and soon English ships were trading freely on the Baltic

An English merchant marine.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 97–108.

shores, to the great disgust of the Hanseatic merchants who had earlier enjoyed a monopoly of the Baltic trade. In this same period English merchant adventurers extended their operations to the south and the first English ship appeared in the Mediterranean. The fifteenth century was an age of great ventures in which England shared, though in a small way only. During the period of the Roses a generation of famous navigators was growing to manhood, among whom were Columbus, Cabot, and Vasco da Gama. And it was the discoveries of these men that made possible the British Empire.

English ships in the Baltic and the Mediterranean.

The dependence on the looms of Flanders had also come to an end. We have seen how Flemish partisanship for the English king had made it difficult for the weavers to remain in Flanders, and that many of them migrated to England, especially to the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk.[1] Here in ancient East Anglia, where wool-raising was already an important occupation, they set up their looms and laid the foundation of a growing and prosperous business in woven cloth. With this prosperity the Wars of the Roses did not materially interfere. The leading families that were concerned in the war, the Lancastrians, the Yorkists, the Nevilles, the Mortimers, and the Percies, had their estates chiefly in the west and north. In the wool district no battles were fought.

Growth of woolen manufactures.

185. The Merchant Adventurers.[2] When the fifteenth century began, England stood ready to enter the markets of the Continent with her first important manufactured product. As no individual trader could hold his own against the Hansards and the Flemings, the English merchants began to organize themselves into associations called Merchant Adventurers, the purpose of which was to sell English cloth abroad. To secure an official standing and protection from the English government these associations found it advisable to apply for charters, and the first charter of this

The Merchant Adventurers.

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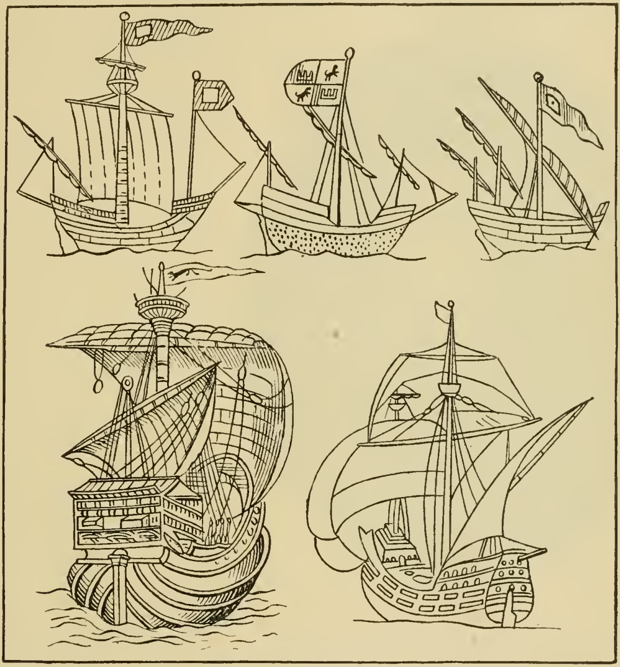
[1] Review sec. 140.

[2] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 104–105.

sort was granted by Henry IV in 1404. The merchant adventurers differed from the merchants of the staple[1] in that they did not deal in raw materials and were not bound to any particular Continental towns. They carried their cloth wherever there was a market, even as far as Venice. At first these merchants had to depend on foreign shipping; but before the century closed, the woolen cloth of England was carried largely in English ships.

1404.



SHIPS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

186. The New Towns. The growth of industry was also responsible for the rise of several new commercial towns. London, York, Lincoln, Exeter, Southampton, and Winchester had been important boroughs in Saxon times. Bristol and Norwich grew into prominence after the Norman conquest. It will be noted that all these towns are situated on the coast or not far distant. All these towns maintained their position in the fifteenth century; but, with the exception of London, their growth was slow. This was due largely to the narrow and selfish policy of the craft gilds: their monopoly was dear to the master workmen; they were reluctant to admit new masters into their gilds; nor did they care to give places to the newer crafts; and they clung to the old regulations and restrictions long after these were out of date.[1] But in the interior of western and northern England were a number of growing villages where trade was unrestricted and gilds were no bar, and to these the craftsmen repaired who had found the door closed elsewhere. In this way there grew up such important industrial centers as Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Leeds.

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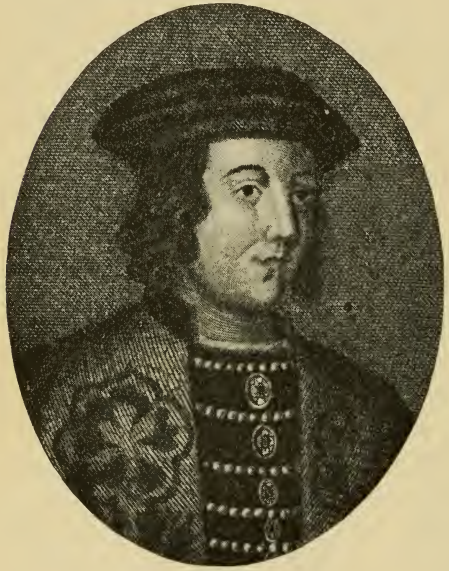
[1] Review sec. 142.

The older towns.

The new towns.



Edward IV

187. Edward IV: Benevolences. The growing passion for commercial ventures even seized on the English king. Edward IV was a business man as well as a ruler. It did not always suit his purposes to have parliament in session, for Edward IV liked to govern without interference; and he therefore was compelled to find revenues by other means. He tried forced gifts from the wealthy, which were euphemistically called benevolences.[1] These were not always joyfully given, though it is told that an elderly Englishwoman liked the handsome king's appearance so well that she gave him twenty pounds instead of the ten that he asked for; King Edward gratefully kissed her and she doubled the amount once more.[2] He also tried to raise funds by commercial speculations. These were doubtful sources of revenue; but fortunately Edward did not engage actively in foreign warfare and had therefore no need of extraordinary sums.

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[1] Review sec. 143.

Financial methods of Edward IV.

188. Richard III:[3] the Downfall of the Yorkist Dynasty. Edward IV died in 1483. His young son Edward V is counted as his successor, though he never ruled. The boy was seized by his vigorous uncle Richard and deprived first of power and later of life. The usurper placed the crown on his own head and wore it two uneasy years. His brother Edward was large, strong, and handsome; but Richard III is said to have been ugly, short, and misshapen. He was therefore lacking in some of the chief qualities that make for popularity. His usurpation had to be bolstered up by crime and tyranny; and soon a combination of the Lancastrian remnant and a group of discontented Yorkists was formed to dethrone the monster. There were still many descendants of Edward III's numerous sons, but unfortunately for the conspirators nearly all of them were women and children, while leadership against a resourceful king like Richard III could be safely entrusted to none but a strong man who had been seasoned by experience.

1483.

Personality of Richard III.

Such a leader was found in Henry Tudor, the son of a Welshman, Edmund Tudor, and Margaret Beaufort, who was descended from John of Gaunt. Henry was in Brittany in exile, but he promptly responded to

Henry Tudor.

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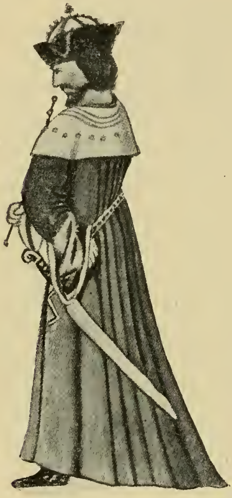
[1] Cheyney, No. 182.

[2] Gardiner, 335–336.

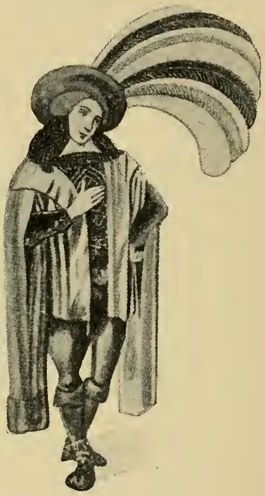
[3] Cheyney, No. 184; Innes, I, 241–245.

Battle of Bosworth. 1485.

the call. He landed in southwestern Wales and with constantly growing forces marched northeastward into central England. At Bosworth he met and defeated Richard. Henry Tudor was at once proclaimed king, though according to English law he had no right whatever to the throne. The defect in his title was soon remedied, however, by an act of parliament, which recognized the validity of his kingship. Soon afterward he married Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV, whose hereditary claims to the throne were unquestioned. The dynasties of Lancaster and York were thus united and the civil wars came to an end.



A King in His Royal Robes



A Courtier in Court Dress

From a fifteenth century (ca. 1480) manuscript of the "Romance of the Rose."

189. The Close of the Middle Ages. With the battle of Bosworth and the accession of the Tudor line the medieval period of English history is generally regarded as having closed. The last century of the middle ages was a dismal period; kings were false and cruel; popes and bishops were corrupt and immoral; low and sordid ideals ruled among the masses.[1] The person and career of Richard III make a fitting close to the fifteenth century in its medieval aspects. At the same time it is far more important to remember that the same century carried forward the Renaissance with all that it signifies: the revival of learning; the discovery of new worlds; the growth of scientific knowledge; the invention of printing; and the development of industry and commerce. Far more important than the many battles in France and England are the growth of the library at Oxford; the founding of Eton College; the study of Greek in the Canterbury cloisters; and the work of the Caxton press.

Achievements of the fifteenth century.

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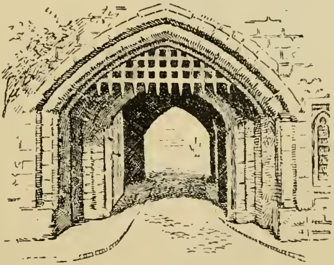
[1] Gardiner, 330–331.

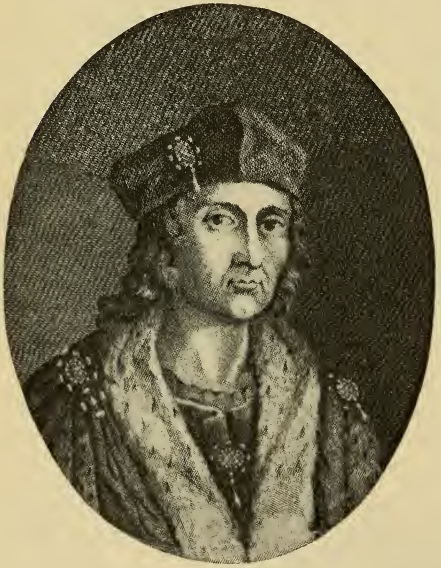


CHAPTER IX

THE EVE OF THE PROTESTANT REVOLT. 1485–1527

190. The Tudor Dynasty: Henry VII. With the coming of the Tudors to the English throne, the transition from medieval to modern conditions in England was nearing its end. Closer fellowship had developed, not only between provinces, but between nations. Commerce had grown immensely and new interests were being developed which all civilization was coming to share. The Renaissance was at its height: the enthusiasm of the Italian scholar had spread to the lands north of the Alps and across the Channel. Antiquity was being studied as never before, and new worlds were on the point of discovery. In the immediate future lay great changes that could come through revolution only; and the great task of the Tudors was to carry the nation through this revolution with the least possible disturbance and danger to the kingdom.

Beginning of the modern period.



Henry VII
From an engraving by J. Robert.

When he seized the English throne, Henry VII was only twenty-eight years old, but he was thoroughly matured, highly experienced, and carefully schooled. Most of his lessons, however, had been learned in prison and in exile; still, they were important for the future of England. In all essential respects, Henry Tudor was a modern king. He showed, it is true, some of the medieval fondness for the church and selected his chief advisers from the clerical order; but this could scarcely be avoided, as nearly all the choice intellects of the land were still to be found in the ranks of the church. He had, however, none of the medieval passion for conquest and warfare. His policy aimed at domestic quiet and peace with the nations of the neighborhood. The first Tudor was not a lovable man: he had no endearing qualities; he was cold, suspicious, and grasping. But he possessed evident business abilities; he was cautious in his dealings with his subjects as with his royal neighbors. Unlike his Yorkist predecessors, he was not a cruel king; he was averse to needless executions and was always willing to show mercy, especially if the royal clemency was likely to bring a financial reward. On the whole the new reign was popular, for it brought the rest and quiet that the nation sorely needed after the long struggle between Lancaster and York.

Henry VII.

Tudor policies.

191. The Yorkist Pretenders: Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. A fragment of the Yorkist party had survived the slaughter at Bosworth and continued hostile to the new king. Risings and intrigues appeared soon after Henry's accession and continued for more than ten years. Margaret of Burgundy, the widow of Charles the Bold and a sister of Edward IV and Richard III, was exceedingly hostile toward the Tudor dynasty, and the English plotters found her court in the Netherlands a safe rendezvous and a convenient rallying point. Two pretenders were put forward, each claiming to be a Yorkist prince. Lambert Simnel,[1] an Oxford boy who claimed to be a nephew of the kings Edward and Richard, appeared as early as 1487. Henry knew that he was a fraud, as he had the young prince himself safe in

Lambert Simnel. 1487.

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[1] Gardiner, 347.

the Tower. The pretender was caught and finally relegated to a subordinate place in the royal kitchen. More dangerous was Perkin Warbeck,[1] a youthful Dutchman, who tried to impersonate Richard, the younger son of Edward IV, who with his brother, Edward V, is believed to have been secretly murdered in the Tower by the orders of their wicked uncle, Richard III. Warbeck's attempt was also a failure; he was seized and imprisoned. The king had intended to be lenient with him, but as a third pretender soon appeared, it was thought necessary to be severe for once and Perkin Warbeck was hanged (1499).

Perkin Warbeck.

1499.

192. Statutes against Livery and Maintenance.[2] Interest in the fallen dynasty was not the only cause of opposition to Henry VII. The Tudors believed in a strong and efficient government and insisted upon order and due respect for law throughout the kingdom. As the more conspicuous offenders were lawless members of the nobility, who wished to continue as uncontrolled as they had been during the age of the Roses, the king's efforts had to be directed largely against men of great power and influence. Early in the reign, steps were taken to enforce certain old statutes against livery and maintenance. The wealthier lords were in the habit of keeping large bands of armed retainers at their castles or within easy call: these wore their lord's uniform (livery) and they could always count on the lord's pledge to maintain or support them even in the public courts; this was known as maintenance. The ordinary citizen was often, therefore, at the mercy of the magnates, who frequently respected neither person nor property. It was this condition that Henry VII tried to remedy. By his efforts in this direction he alienated some of the more prominent noble families; but at the same time he drew the middle classes closer to the Tudor throne: and this union of interest between the monarch and the masses was a source of great strength to the new dynasty.

Livery and maintenance.

Disorder in the kingdom.

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[1] Gardiner, 350–352.

[2] *Ibid.*, 281, 321–322, 345–346.

193. The Star Chamber Court.[1] To secure peace and order in the kingdom, the Tudors relied chiefly on the justices of the peace. Henry VII and his successors understood thoroughly how useful the courts of quarter sessions might be to the monarchy, and they did much to develop them.[2] As there was no limit to the king's power to appoint justices, he was usually able to keep a friendly majority in charge of the local government in every shire. But in dealing with the nobles these local courts were often helpless. To meet this difficulty, the king trusted to a new judicial and political organ, the Star Chamber court. This was made up of judges selected from the privy council; their particular duty was to seek out offenders among the barons, summon them to trial, and punish the guilty ones. As the star chamber assumed the parts both of accuser and judge and was not hampered by the employment of juries, it proved very efficient for the king's purposes. Gradually its activities were extended until a century later it had developed into a powerful engine of tyranny.

The Star Chamber.

194. The Privy Council. In theory the star chamber was merely a committee of the privy council: frequently it was in practice the whole council meeting in judicial session. The reign of Henry VII emphasized the importance of the privy council. The king in the middle ages always had the assistance of a body of councilors; but their share in the administration was not usually well defined. In the Norman period this body was called the *curia regis* or king's court and was given important and extensive duties as judges and as a committee on finance (exchequer) in addition to their ordinary function of giving the king good counsel. In the reign of Edward I the council came to be known as the "ordinary council," and its importance became more evident. It was a great honor to belong to this body and the temptation to reward a faithful baron with a place at the council board was frequently yielded to; and as a consequence the number of councilors grew too large for effi-

The curia regis.

The "ordinary council."

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[1] Masterman, 88–89.

[2] Review sec. 179.

cient work and secrecy. It became customary, therefore, in the fifteenth century, especially in the days of Henry VI and Margaret, to ignore the "ordinary council" as much as possible, and to consult merely a few select members, which were then known by the new name of "privy council."[1] When Henry VII began his reign, the privy council was a comparatively new creation; but the shrewd king realized its great possibilities and entrusted a large share of the administration to this council, or to its various courts or committees. Especially were new forms of business, such as control of Irish affairs and colonial matters, likely to come under the authority of the privy council. Under the Tudors and their successors the Stuarts, the activities of the privy council were extended continuously, until it finally threatened to supersede parliament itself. As the members were chosen by the king, the importance of this body when directed by a strong king is evident. The privy council still enjoys a nominal existence; but nearly all its functions have passed to the cabinet, which in a sense is a committee of the privy council.

The "privy council."

195. The King's Financial Methods; Benevolences. The increase in the authority that was wielded by the organs of His Majesty's government was paralleled by an evident decline in the prestige of parliament. It will be remembered that all the kings of the fifteenth century had recognized the supremacy of parliament, but that this body had suffered in popular estimation since it had become an instrument of factions that were seeking revenge. After the first few years of his reign, Henry VII rarely summoned parliament; and when he did, it was usually for the single purpose of levying taxes. Henry VII recognized the right of the commons to control taxation, and was not backward in asking for subsidies; but he did not assume that this was the only source of the royal funds. He found various expedients for increasing his revenue, which, though they were not authorized by law, were not expressly forbidden and for a time served the purpose well.

Finance.

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[1] Masterman, 78–80.

Benevolences.

The collection of benevolences, which had originated in the reign of an earlier royal financier, Edward IV,[1] was reduced to a system in Henry's day.[2] The king also employed lawyers whose business it was to ferret out violations of old forgotten laws, with the expectation that the offenders would pay liberally to escape prosecution. These methods bear a striking resemblance to common blackmail; but they helped the king to finance his reign without having to summon the representatives of the nation.

Other sources of royal revenue.

The English people, however, did not wholly escape taxation. On Henry's accession to the throne, parliament gave him permission to collect tunnage and poundage[3] as long as he held the kingship. On the pretext of impending war with France (1489), he summoned parliament and requested funds which were cheerfully granted; the old animosity toward France was not yet dead in the popular breast. After some show of hostilities and extensive negotiations, Henry, by the treaty of Etaples, concluded peace with the French on the basis of a money indemnity which that kingdom was glad to pay. When his daughter Margaret was married to the king of Scotland, the royal miser insisted on a cash payment on the part of the bridegroom. The old feudal payments due to the king were collected to the last penny. The feeble Yorkist uprisings also brought money into the royal treasury, for Henry was careful to confiscate the lands and other wealth of the nobles who supported the pretenders. The recent laws against livery and maintenance were another source of revenue. At one time when the earl of Oxford entertained the king, he had all his retainers present and drawn up in his Majesty's honor. Henry noted the number, but said nothing until he was ready to leave. He thanked the lord for hospitality and good cheer; "but," he added, "I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight. My attorney must speak with you."[4] The attorney

The case of the earl of Oxford.

[1] Review sec. 187.

[2] Gardiner, 349 (Morton's fork).

[3] Review sec. 144.

[4] Gardiner, 357.

appeared and the earl had to pay 15,000 pounds. Thus the money chest of Henry Tudor was filled from many sources: it is said that Henry's hoard on the day of his death amounted to nearly ten million dollars, an enormous sum for those times. As the hoard grew, the statesmanship of Henry VII grew more and more economical; but when he was dead and his son Henry VIII ruled in his stead, the contents of the royal chest rapidly disappeared.

196. Continental Problems: the Spanish Alliance. In 1485 Europe was on the eve of vast political changes. France had become fairly unified. The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile had brought about a permanent consolidation in Spain. The Netherlands were now a political unity in the possession of the Burgundian dynasty; but its ruler was a young woman whose choice of a husband might and did determine the fate of these wealthy provinces. In all these developments Henry VII showed a keen interest, especially as they might concern the fate of England's ancient enemy, France.

Changes on the Continent.

The old duchy of Brittany, which for centuries had maintained a semi-independent existence, was now on the point of being absorbed into France. England was opposed to any strengthening of her old rival, and more particularly to the acquisition of Brittany, as this would mean a great extension of France along the Channel coast. To prevent this Henry sought the alliance of Spain and prepared for war. He did not enter upon active hostilities, however, and after three years of strained relations he concluded the peace of Etaples, as noted above. The venture was, nevertheless, important: it brought a considerable money indemnity and an alliance with Spain which was cemented by the fateful betrothal of Henry's oldest son Arthur to the princess Catherine of Aragon.

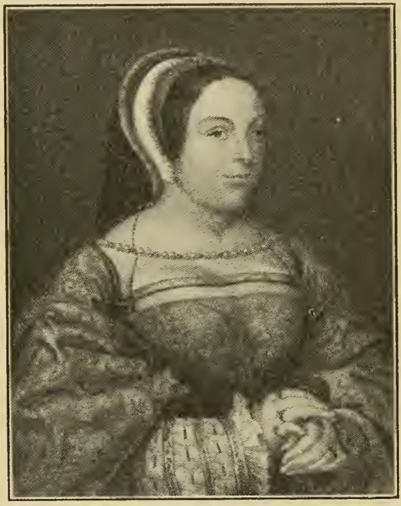
Threatened war with France.

1489.

The Spanish alliance.

197. The Scotch Marriage. The French troubles were followed by a Scotch difficulty. The pretender, Perkin Warbeck, found help at the Scotch court which was still in chronic opposition to England. As war was expensive, an economical king like Henry could not be expected to push the quarrel. Negotiations were begun which finally ended in a treaty and the marriage of Henry's daughter Margaret to the Scotch king, James IV (1503), a marriage that ultimately led to the union of the two kingdoms, one hundred years later when Queen Margaret's great-grandson mounted the English throne as James I.

Marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV. 1503.



Margaret Tudor, Queen of Scotland

After a painting by Holbein.

198. Henry Tudor and the Netherlands:[1] Commercial Treaties. With the Netherlands, which were still theoretically parts of France and the Empire, the relationship continued close. English wool was more than ever a necessity to European commerce and industry, especially in the case of the Flemings. Henry appreciated this fact and used it to drive hard bargains. In 1496 the "great treaty" (*Intercursus Magnus*) was drawn up, a treaty of commerce which regulated English-Dutch trade. A few years later Philip, the ruler of the Netherlands, came into the power of Henry, who used the prince's predicament to force from him a still more favorable treaty, in which the Flemings yielded so much that they named it the "evil treaty" (*Intercursus Malus*).

The "Great Treaty."

The "Evil Treaty."

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[1] Innes, I, 248–250.

Earlier treaties of the same import had been made with Denmark and the Italian cities, and in this way English products were able to find more favorable markets on the shores of the Baltic and the Mediterranean. As the Flemish treaties were largely in the interest of the merchants of the staple, the agreement with Denmark was to the particular advantage of the merchant adventurers,[1] who still dealt chiefly in manufactured cloth, but were allowed to trade in other commodities. At the same time Henry narrowed the privileges of the Hanseatic merchants in England. Measures were also taken to confine English trade, as far as possible, to English vessels, measures that gave a tremendous impetus to English ship building. Thus, while his brother monarchs were dreaming of territorial acquisitions and fighting for outlying possessions, especially in Italy, Henry VII was laying the foundation of the future economic greatness of England.

Expansion of foreign trade.

199. The Great Navigators; India and the New World. It was during Henry Tudor's reign that European navigators made the great discoveries of new routes and new worlds, which were to afford such vast fields for the commercial and colonizing energies of England. The Cape of Good Hope was rounded, India was reached, and the foundations of a great East Indian empire were being laid by the Portuguese. The West Indies and the American mainland were discovered by Christopher Columbus, and Spain was colonizing islands of the Caribbean Sea. In these ventures England, too, had a part: the Cabots, who were still located in Bristol, sailed out into the awful west and reached the coast of North America.[2] There was much excitement in Bristol after John Cabot's return. "Vast honor is paid to him; he dresses in silk, and the English run after him like mad people," wrote a Venetian from London later in the same year. In his private account book the close-fisted king records that he gave "to hym that founde the new Isle, 10 pounds."[3]

Geographical discoveries.

The Cabots. 1497.

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[1] Review sec. 185.

[2] Cheyney, No. 186; Tuell and Hatch, No. 28.

[3] Cheyney, p. 308.

It was the discoveries of the Cabots that gave England her claim to North American soil.

200. The Administration of Cardinal Wolsey. To a large degree Henry VII had served as his own chief minister: the policies of the government were his own; and to him also belongs the credit for carrying them out successfully. When he died (1509), he was succeeded by his son Henry VIII; but for nearly twenty years English affairs were directed according to the ideas of a brilliant churchman and politician, Thomas Wolsey.[1] Wolsey sprang from the middle class — he was the son of an Ipswich tradesman. He was educated for a clerical career and rapid promotion soon brought him successive bishoprics, the archbishopric of York, and finally the cardinalate. His hand was even stretched out after the papal office, but in this ambition he failed. On the political side he held the office of lord chancellor, which placed him next in rank only to the primate among the king's subjects; and in power and influence even in the church he was decidedly superior to the archbishop of Canterbury, for he was the pope's official representative or legate in the kingdom. His position was emphasized by a court and a retinue of servants which were almost royal in magnificence.[2]

Cardinal Wolsey.

With a love of splendor Wolsey united an extraordinary capacity for work and unusual industry in attending to administrative details. The king himself was a totally different person. As time amply proved, Henry VIII possessed a wonderful insight into matters of state and unusual abilities both as a demagogue and a statesman. But in the earlier eighteen years of his reign, he did not apply himself to the task of governing. For the first four years he had no minister; but when he discovered Wolsey's genius (in 1513) he surrendered authority to him and devoted himself to the arts of a gentleman of leisure. A fine, handsome, athletic prince, skilled in archery, successful in the chase, and a leader in all

Henry VIII.

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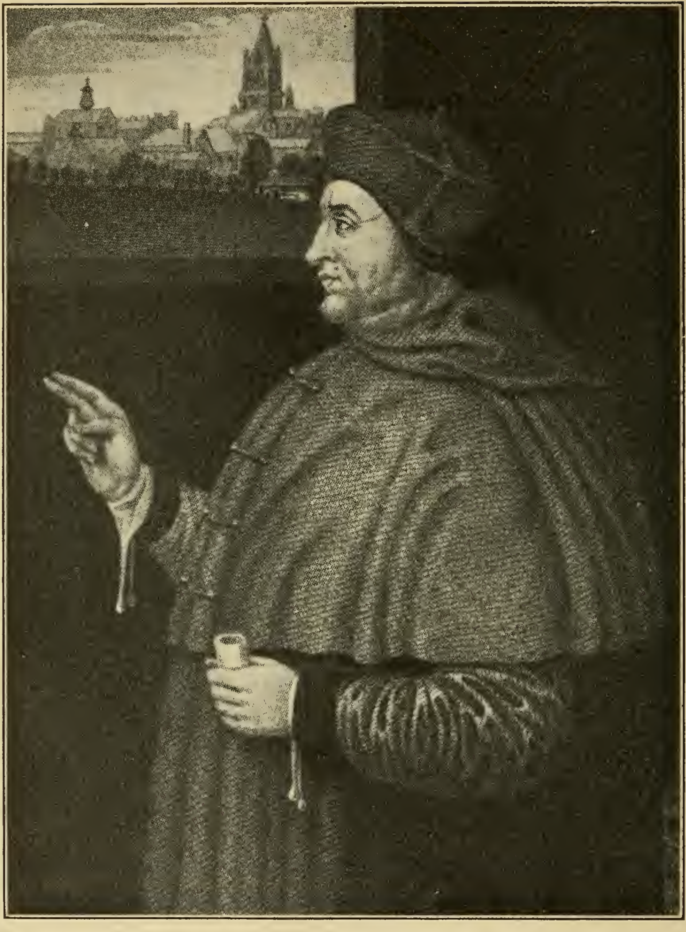
[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 30.

[2] Cheyney, No. 198; Innes, I, 272–275.



Thomas, Cardinal Wolsey
After a portrait by Holbein.

kinds of manly sport, Henry VIII developed a remarkable popularity which he never entirely lost.[1]

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 190 (Erasmus), 195; Kendall, No. 44; Robinson, No. 114; Tuell and Hatch, No. 29 (Jusserand).

201. The Continental Situation: the "Balance of Power." Wolsey's great strength lay in his diplomacy. It was he who evolved the idea of "balance of power." This meant that the kings of Europe ought not to allow a single state or ruler to become so powerful as to dominate European politics, but should strive, by forming alliances or otherwise, to build up several powers of approximately equal strength. In the earlier decades of the sixteenth century, three great nations laid claim to leadership in European affairs: France, Spain, and Germany. The strength of the German Empire was largely imaginary; but a decade after Henry's accession it took on new importance through its union with Spain in the person of Emperor Charles V. The strife between the jealous kings of France and Spain found a favorable field in Italy where each tried to gain a foothold or to extend his territories. The Italian troubles naturally involved the pope and Venice, as leading powers in the peninsula; and England was interested as the supposed ally of Spain. However, it was Wolsey's plan not to commit England too completely, but rather to throw her influence to the weaker side in the conflict in order to prevent any nation from becoming too powerful and thus destroy the European balance.

The problem of Italy.

The "balance of power."

202. War with Scotland and the Battle of Flodden. The attention of Henry and Wolsey was, however, soon drawn to affairs nearer home. In spite of the marriage between King James and the princess Margaret, the relations between England and Scotland continued strained. The old French alliance,[1] now two centuries old, had become a habit which the Scotch found it difficult to overcome. While Henry was absent at Calais directing operations in a futile war against France, his brother-in-law James IV invaded the north of England with a strong force. Lord Howard (the earl of Surrey) was sent against him and on Flodden Field[2] inflicted a defeat on the Scotch that crippled their military

Flodden Field. 1513.

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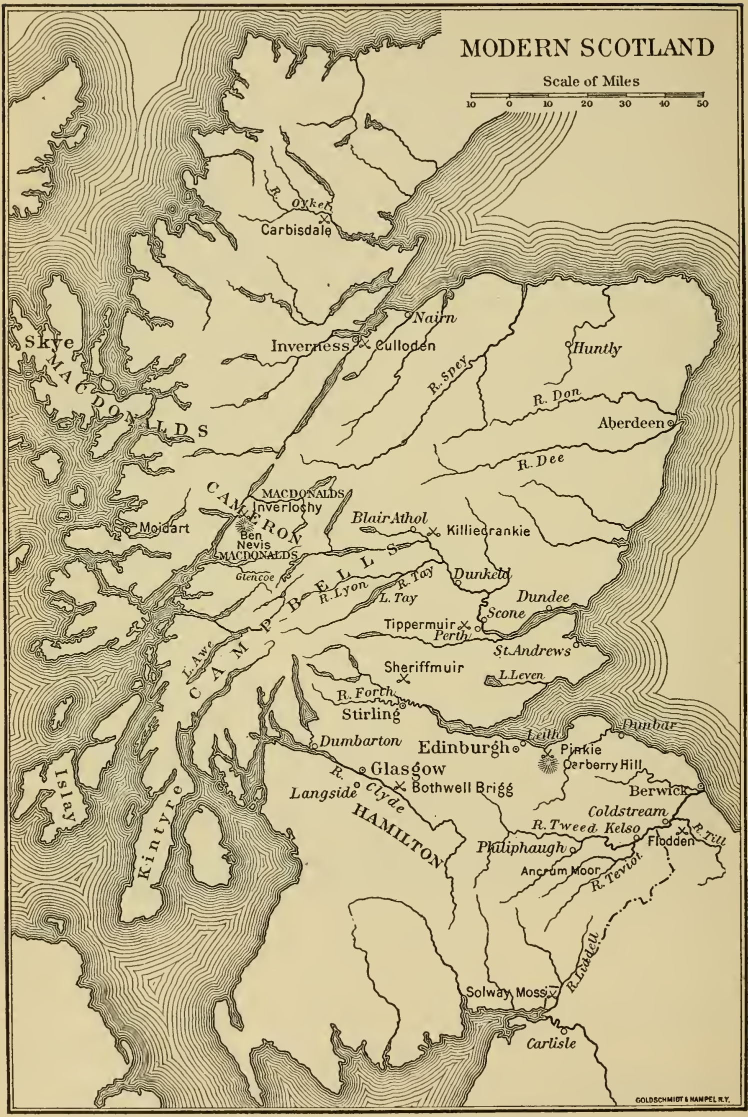
[1] Review secs. 123, 131.

[2] Innes, I, 263–268; Bates and Coman, 248–257 (Scott, *Marmion*).


MODERN SCOTLAND
Scale of Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50
R. Oykel
Carbisdale
Nairn
Inverness
Culloden
Skye
MACDONALDS
R. Spey
Huntly
R. Don
Aberdeen
R. Dee
CAMERON
MACDONALDS
Inverlochy
Moidart
Ben Nevis
MACDONALDS
Blair Athol
Killiecrankie
Glencoe
CAMPBELLS
R. Tay
Dunkeld
R. Lyon
L. Tay
Dundee
Scone
Tippermuir
Perth
St. Andrews
L. Awe
Sheriffmuir
L. Leven
R. Forth
Stirling
Dumbarton
Edinburgh
Leith
Dunbar
Pinkie
Carberry Hill
Glasgow
R. Clyde
Langside
Bothwell Brigg
Berwick
Islay
Coldstream
R. Tweed
Kelso
HAMILTON
R. Till
Kintyre
Philiphaugh
Flodden
Ancrum Moor
R. Teviot
R. Liddell
Solway Moss
Carlisle
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

power for years to come (1513). King James fell in the battle, and for some years Queen Margaret was in chief control of the Scottish government. For twenty years England and Scotland were at peace, except on the border, where private raids continued as of old.

203. The Intellectual Movement: the Oxford Reformers. These years also saw the culmination of the intellectual movement that may be called the English Renaissance. This movement did not reach England in one overpowering wave: its various interests came slowly and singly during the period of a hundred years.[1] The importance of Chaucer's enthusiasm for modern English, of Duke Humphrey's activities as a collector of manuscripts, of Selling's work as a teacher of Greek, and of Caxton's achievements as a printer has been discussed in earlier chapters. In the reign of Henry VII, Oxford was the center of the new type of learning and among its chief promoters were Colet, who later established a boy's school of a new type at Saint Paul's, London; Grocyn, who was professor of Greek; and Linacre, who was instrumental in founding the first medical college in England. Associated with these were Thomas More,[2] who became a famous lawyer and was Wolsey's successor in the chancellorship, and the great Dutch scholar Erasmus.[3] Two years after Flodden, Thomas More began to write his famous *Utopia*,[4] which shows clearly the influence of classical studies, especially of a close reading of Plato's *Republic*.

The Oxford reformers.

Utopia.

In the *Utopia* More outlines the social and political conditions in the land of Nowhere which was located on the "island" visited by the Cabots. The interest of the book lies chiefly in the fact that it brings before us the great problems that called for solution in the Tudor period. Economic conditions were not satisfactory. England was steadily growing in wealth; but in this prosperity the masses were not permitted to share. Prices were fixed arbi-

Economic conditions in England.

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[1] Review secs. 158, 182, 183.

[2] Kendall, No. 45.

[3] Cheyney, No. 187.

[4] Cheyney, No. 192; Gardiner, 367–368.

trarily by the merchants who enjoyed practical monopolies, and the cost of living was deemed unreasonably high. At the same time the workingmen were protesting against the laws that fixed maximum wages. Thomas More, as the lone social reformer of the age, worked out solutions for these problems which he embodied in his famous work.

Humanism.

The great purpose of the Oxford reformers was not social but educational: they wished to change radically the methods and subjects of university study. Instead of law and theology they would emphasize literature, more particularly classical literature. This would necessitate the study of the Greek language, and Latin would be viewed as the gateway to the treasures of the ancient literature and not, as in the middle ages, as an aid to theological study. The plans of the reformers, who called themselves "humanists," met with violent opposition from the friends of the "old learning." If the classics and the other human studies were to take the place of theology, there would soon be a class of educated men who were not churchmen, and the church would lose its monopoly of education. The king would no longer be compelled to choose his chief ministers from among the clergy, and the church would lose much of its influence in the state. The fears of the theologians were well founded: since the time of Wolsey the chief offices of the state have been filled by laymen. Cardinal Wolsey was to some extent in sympathy with the humanists and had great plans looking toward larger and better facilities for teaching and study. How far he was willing to go in this matter cannot be known, for very soon English interest was drawn to a new field, the German revolt against papal authority.

Wolsey and the "new learning."

204. The Eve of the Reformation.[1] Various causes had combined to weaken the wonderful strength of the medieval church. The constant interference of the pope and the bishops in the affairs of state came to be resented by the governing classes, especially after

Dissatisfaction with the church.

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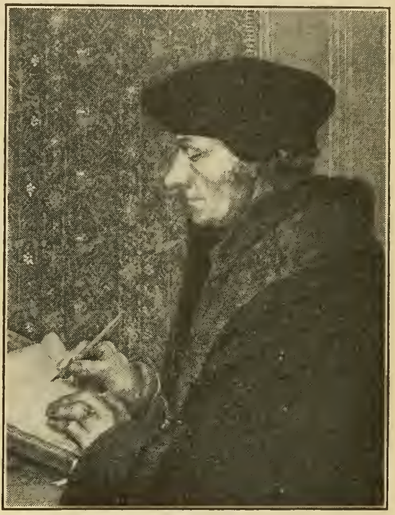
[1] Review secs. 55, 61, 70–71, 86, 100–102, 126, 147–148, 154.

the rise of the new national consciousness. The residence at Avignon during the Babylonian captivity had deprived the papacy of its universal character and had given it a provincial appearance; in England it was looked on as a tool of a faction. The scandal of the great schism and the fight between the pope and the church councils in the first half of the fifteenth century had further lessened the respect for Rome in the minds of thoughtful men. Then followed a series of "Renaissance" popes, whose ideals were low, whose morals were in some cases questionable, and whose policies were not wholly acceptable to the church at large. When one of these, the ease-loving Medicean, Leo X, sent out men to sell indulgences with a view to securing funds for the building of Saint Peter's, the Germans rose in protest under the vigorous leadership of Martin Luther.[1]



Desiderius Erasmus

From a portrait by Holbein.

Earlier resistance to papacy.

England had offered resistance to the papacy at intervals for several centuries: we need only to recall the protest of Grosseteste, the opposition of Edward I to the edicts of Boniface VIII, the statutes of provisors and præmunire, and the agitation of John Wycliffe. But in 1517, when Luther threw down the gauntlet to Romanism, England had no particular grievance that would justify revolt from the authority of the papal see. But against the clerical order the English people held that they had a real grievance: the churchmen, like other Englishmen of the Tudor period, were eager for money; with almost every important religious act some fee was associated; and these fees were often collected by priests (and other churchmen) whose lives were not suggestive of holiness or even ordinary piety.

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[1] Gardiner, 377–379.

205. State of the English Church. As all these religious acts were the expression of some important doctrine, the fees exacted did much to discredit the beliefs themselves. Before the reformation movement closed, some of the more important of these had been rejected by the English church.

Confession.

1. The church had always held that it was a meritorious act for one to confess his sins to a priest and receive the assurance that his sins were forgiven. For several centuries this had been regarded as a duty that no Catholic should neglect. But before the forgiveness (absolution) was extended, the confessor would order the penitent to perform some act that would in part atone for the offenses committed. This was called penance and might consist in fasting, pilgrimages, or some work that would call for self-denial and would show real sorrow for sin. But in Tudor times it had become possible to pay a sum of money instead of doing the prescribed penance, and to many this seemed to be no penance whatever.

Penance.

Dispensations.

2. The laws of the church with respect to fasting and other matters of personal conduct were also made a source of revenue. It was possible for one who did not enjoy fish or who wished to marry a cousin to have the law set aside in his particular case. This was called a dispensation, and the power to grant such privileges belonged to the pope as ruler of the entire church. Dispensations were always expensive.

Pilgrimages.

3. A common form of penance was a pilgrimage to some holy place like the shrine of Saint Thomas at Canterbury or the holy places on the Continent. To the pilgrimage itself there was little objection, — as a rule the journey was thought very enjoyable; but every pilgrim felt it his duty to bring some gift to the shrine that he visited.

Thus there was a steady stream of gold and silver flowing toward certain favored centers in the church, and to this the average Englishman had strong objections.

Peter's pence.

4. Papal taxation had long been a real grievance. In some way or other a great deal of English gold found its way to Rome. The two more prominent forms of tribute were Peter's pence and annates, or first fruits. The Peter's penny was a tribute of a silver penny from every family in England except the very poorest. Annates resembled feudal relief and were paid by certain church officials before they could enter upon the duties of their offices. No bishop-elect, for instance, could be consecrated before his election had been confirmed by the pope, and for the bulls of confirmation he paid into the papal treasury all the income from his office for the first year.

Annates.

Indulgences.

5. The sale of indulgences was another important source of revenue for the papal treasury. It was believed that very few escaped the tortures of purgatory after death, but it was also held that the living could help the dead by having masses said for their souls and by the purchase of indulgences. An indulgence is the remission of certain penalties; and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries these were offered freely for sale. The common people who bought these pardons were sure that they would materially shorten the stay in purgatory. The official teachings of the church did not justify this belief; but the men who sold the indulgences often made claims for these that the church had never sanctioned. Thus the practice of the church officials was in a measure responsible for the general belief. Many had their doubts, however: Chaucer's remark that the pardoner's wares were "hot from Rome" would indicate that the genial poet had but little faith in papal indulgences.

Fees and fines.

6. It was also felt that too many fines for trivial offenses were assessed in the church courts and that the parish priests were often ruthless in collecting fees from the very poor. The fact that many of the chief officials of

the church lived in luxury and that the monks and nuns passed the time in apparent idleness did much to strengthen the growing dissatisfaction with the church. It was inevitable, therefore, that the explosion in Saxony should find echoes in Britain. The English revolt from Rome, like the German movement, began in a popular agitation. How far this movement would have succeeded without support from the government cannot be known; but it had its importance, for when Henry VIII took up the fight in 1529, much had been done to prepare the nation for the events that swiftly followed.

A popular movement.

206. The Cambridge Movement; William Tyndale. The Lutheran teachings found their readiest acceptance at the university of Cambridge, where Thomas Bilney, an English priest, seems to have been the first conspicuous adherent to the new movement (1524). Bilney is important for having won a number of Cambridge men to his views, among whom was the famous Hugh Latimer. Nicholas Ridley, another great Protestant leader, got his impressions of Lutheranism at Cambridge during the same year, as did Thomas Cranmer, who a decade later became the first Protestant archbishop and in a sense the builder of the English church. All these men found death at the stake, Bilney in 1531 after having twice denied the new faith, the others more than twenty years later in the days of Mary Tudor. The order for Bilney's death was secured from the Lord Chancellor, the gentle and tolerant Thomas More, who himself suffered for conscience a few years later.

The Cambridge reformers.

It was an Oxford man, however, who did more than any other to prepare the English mind for secession from Rome. William Tyndale was a pupil of Erasmus and an enthusiastic student of the Greek language; and soon after Martin Luther had begun his German translation of the New Testament, Tyndale formed a resolution to turn the Bible into English. Being forbidden to publish his work in England, he withdrew to the Continent and completed

Tyndale.

his translations there. Tyndale provided the various Biblical books with notes and prefaces in which he developed the views of the German reformers. He also wrote a number of controversial tracts which found their way into every part of England and were widely read.

Tyndale's translation of the Scriptures.

Tyndale's New Testament was translated and printed in 1524 and 1525, the same years that saw the beginnings of Protestant preaching at Cambridge by Bilney and his associates. The new version met with immediate hostility from the rulers of the English church, not so much because it was a translation of the Scriptures as because it was unauthorized and was provided with "prefaces and other pestilent glosses." Tyndale's writings were effective: in 1526 a strong popular current was moving in the direction of church reform. For a period of four years the English people read and discussed the writings of the English exile and learned the watchwords of Protestantism. But thus far no great leader had appeared and no means had been found to give the movement a definite form. Tyndale himself was hunted from city to city and after ten years of labor for reform he was imprisoned in the Netherlands and finally executed by the order of Charles V.

Tyndale's death.

207. The two Currents in the Anglican Revolt. Then it happened that in 1527 and the following years a series of events occurred which gave the movement both energy, leadership, and direction. Henry VIII, who had thus far shown no sympathy for Luther and Tyndale, found it convenient to follow the lead of the German princes and abolish papal authority in England. During the decade of 1530 to 1540 a double current runs through the history of the English church: on the surface appear the signs of parliamentary activity in a series of great statutes that were directed chiefly at the government of the church. But underneath, the popular movement was running with constantly growing force in the direction of reform in doctrine and worship. For a time the two movements followed the same course; the reformers assisted the government by developing public

Henry VIII becomes reformer.

sentiment in favor of change; the government became useful to the reformers as an effective means of translating their ideas into law.

208. Summary. The period from 1485 to 1527 is not an age of striking achievements on the part of the English people; still, the period is not without significance. Several facts and tendencies are prominent.

An age of peace.

(1) Both Henry VII and Wolsey strove to keep England at peace with other nations. The old menace of the French-Scotch alliance Henry VII tried to match with an alliance with the Spanish sovereigns. Cardinal Wolsey favored a wider system of alliances that should maintain the "balance of power."

Absolutism.

(2) The period reveals a strong tendency toward absolute rule: it was the purpose of both Henry VII and Wolsey to consult parliament on rare occasions only. The problem was how to provide the necessary revenue for the government; and the first Tudor tried to solve this by demanding forced loans, collecting benevolences, etc.

Growth of commerce.

(3) English foreign commerce grew immensely during the reign of Henry VII; the king promoted it intelligently and effectively by well-considered legislation and commercial treaties. The geographical discoveries of the same period also meant much for the future of English trade.

The Renaissance.

(4) The Renaissance movement, with its center at Oxford, showed much vigor; it enjoyed the favor of Cardinal Wolsey and of Henry VIII, who took great pride in his learning. For a time Erasmus, the chief of the humanistic forces, resided and worked in England.

Protestantism.

(5) The Protestant movement was gathering great strength in Germany and the neighboring lands. In England it centered about the university of Cambridge and its ideas were being widely disseminated. But it lacked leadership and did not make much headway before 1529, when Henry VIII allied himself with the revolutionists.

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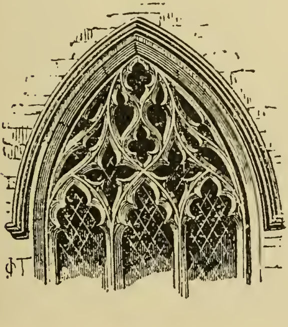
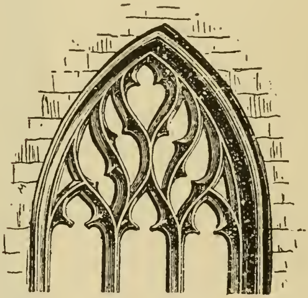


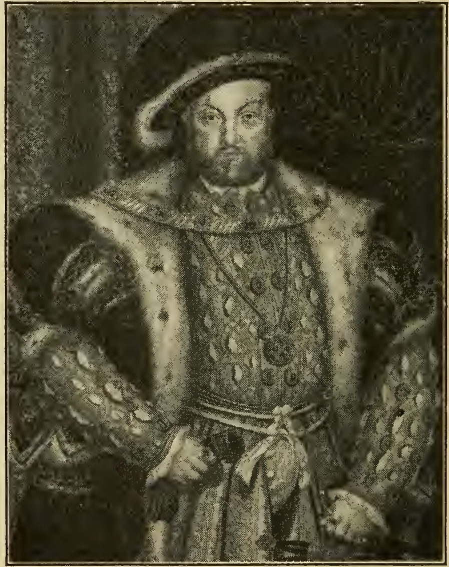


CHAPTER X

THE REVOLT FROM ROME

209. Henry VIII and the Anglican Revolt. The anti-Roman movement, which had been gathering strength in England during the ten years following the challenge of Martin Luther in 1517, was now to find support and leadership at the English court itself. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the English king initiated a new movement into which the earlier currents were drawn. But Henry's quarrel with the church, unlike that of Martin Luther, did not grow out of any differences as to morals or doctrine: it was a question of authority, of power, of supremacy in the English church. Henry VIII had, indeed, always claimed supremacy for the crown in ecclesiastical as well as secular affairs: but up to 1527 this claim had no particular importance, — it was a mere theoretical assertion. In that year, however, a difficulty arose that

Henry's quarrel with the church.



Henry VIII
From an engraving after Holbein.

altered the situation completely: the occasion was the king's divorce.

210. The Problem of the King's Marriage. The death of Henry's older brother Arthur left the young princess Catherine a widow after a marriage of only a few months. The Spanish and English dynasties had, however, good reasons for wishing to continue the alliance: Catherine's dowry had been paid in part only. Henry VII was afraid the remainder would never be paid, while Ferdinand had similar well-founded fears that what had already been paid would never be returned. After some negotiations it was agreed that Catherine should marry her brother-in-law Henry. As the laws of the church forbade a union of this sort, it was necessary to secure the permission of the pope; and on the urgent request of Queen Isabella, who was on her deathbed, Pope Julius II granted the license. There seems to have been some doubt at the time as to the validity of the pope's dispensation, since marriage with a sister-in-law was thought to be forbidden by the Mosaic law; the obstacle that Pope Julius had removed might, therefore, be considered as a divine ordinance, and the church had never claimed authority to dispense with divine law. The legality of the dispensation was not seriously questioned, however, before 1527, when Catherine had been Henry's wife and queen for eighteen years.[1]

The king's marriage.

The papal dispensation.

Five years before this, Anne Boleyn, a young girl of sixteen years, had come to court and had attracted the king's attention. Henry's interest soon grew to infatuation and he determined to marry the dark-eyed maiden.[2] But to do this he must get his marriage to Catherine annulled. Wolsey was ordered to secure a papal decree to this effect, and proceeded to the task with much reluctance. Clement VII was pope at the time; he was a weak man and would probably not have scrupled to grant Henry's request, had he been free to do so:

Anne Boleyn.

Clement VII and Henry's demand. 1527.

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[1] Cheyney, pp. 337–339; Robinson, No. 115; Bates and Coman, 238–239 (Shakespeare).

[2] Cheyney, No. 199.

the European situation was such, however, that it seemed equally dangerous to grant and to refuse.

211. The Pope's Dilemma. Germany was in revolt against the Roman see and Lutheran ideas were spreading into the Scandinavian North. Charles V, Catherine's nephew, had ambitions in Italy; Henry VIII and Francis I, the king of France, were allied against him. Consequently, Charles was the pope's enemy while Henry VIII would be counted among his active friends. The year that brought Henry's urgent request to Rome also brought Charles' forces to the papal city: Rome was sacked by the imperial (German) troops, and Clement was made a prisoner. Situated as he was, the pope naturally found it difficult to choose between Charles and Henry, for a prisoner is not wholly a free agent. If he should refuse to grant the petition of the English king, England might be lost to the Roman church. On the other hand, to annul Catherine's marriage would offend Charles, who was the nearer and more dangerous enemy. There was, therefore, nothing to do but to delay the decision, and in this Clement succeeded for two years.

Difficulties in Italy.

1527.

212. The Failure of the King's Suit; the Fall of Wolsey.[1] However, the pope could not refuse the request for a formal trial of the king's case, and accordingly he provided a special court for this purpose of which the lawyer Campeggio, an Italian cardinal who was also bishop of Salisbury, was to be the presiding judge with Cardinal Wolsey as chief assistant.[2] It was some time before the new machinery was set in motion, and after the court was formally opened it proceeded at a pace that seems to have been purposely slow. Before it had concluded its hearings, the pope had made peace with Charles V; and suddenly England learned that Clement had ordered the court and its hearings and the whole case transferred to Rome.

Cardinal Campeggio and his court.

The court transferred to Rome. 1529.

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[1] Gardiner, 383–384; Innes, I, 275–282; Tuell and Hatch, No. 31 (Shakespeare).

[2] Cheyney, No. 200.

As this practically amounted to a decision in Catherine's favor, the impatient Henry became furious and his wrath struck Wolsey, the minister and diplomat who had failed to secure what the king's heart so much desired. A few months after the new orders had come from Rome, the cardinal was deprived of his secular offices and ordered to return to his cathedral at York.[1] For a year the worldly statesman strove to act the part of a devoted and efficient churchman; but his old habits still in part controlled him and tempted him to communicate with the king of France. The correspondence was discovered and Wolsey was summoned to London to answer to the charge of treason. On the way he died at Leicester Abbey, where illness had driven him to seek refuge (1530).[2]

The fall of Wolsey.

The power that had centered in Wolsey's hands was distributed among several officials. The chief guidance of the state Henry took into his own hands, and the lover of pleasure and adulation was soon transformed into a remarkable statesman and politician. Stephen Gardiner became the king's secretary and confidential agent. The chancellorship was given to Thomas More, who has been mentioned as one of the greatest of the humanists and the author of the *Utopia*. In matters relating to the English church, the king very soon began to listen to Thomas Cranmer, the Cambridge scholar, who in 1533 was made archbishop of Canterbury. A little later in the reign, the king discovered another agent in Thomas Cromwell, who assisted Henry on the administrative side of the church. Of these four men all but Thomas More were in agreement with Henry in hostility to Rome.

The new ministers.

Thomas Cranmer.

Thomas Cromwell.

213. The "Reformation Parliament." The summons to appear at Rome was a blow in the face of the national consciousness that the English people were quick to resent. The thought that their much admired sovereign should have to appear in person or by attorney before a foreign law court the nation refused to entertain for a moment. Nearly two centuries earlier all appeals to the papal court had been forbidden by the statutes of Præmunire, and these laws had never been repealed. The present case was clearly a violation of the spirit of this legislation, the purpose of which was to secure a final decision of all suits in English courts. Henry's reply to the papacy was an order for parliamentary elections. There is no evidence that any attempt was made to influence the electorate: at the moment compulsion was unnecessary, as the indignation of the governing classes was sure to lead to the choice of anti-clerical members. When the new parliament met, it was found that on church matters the majority was in hearty accord with the king and willing to follow his lead.[1]

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[1] Bates and Coman, 246–247 (Shakespeare).

[2] Innes, I, 284–286.

Henry calls parliament. 1529.

The king's challenge was well-timed: in attacking the papal claims to authority and supremacy in 1529, Henry displayed no extraordinary courage, only vigor, shrewdness, and decision. The cause of Rome was losing everywhere in the Teutonic lands. Three years earlier the Germans had established the principle that every prince should determine the religion of his own land. Sweden had seceded from Rome two years before. Denmark was rapidly moving away from Catholicism: in 1527 the Danish parliament had recognized Lutheranism as on equal footing with Romanism. The outlook was dark for Clement VII. If threats could move him this was the time.

Progress of Protestantism in Europe.

The Reformation Parliament was, perhaps, the most important legislative body that England had thus far seen. It legislated for six years (1529–1534), and in a series of bold enactments carried through a successful revolution that has mightily affected the later history of the state as well as the church. Most of its work was done, however, during the last two years of its existence (1533–1534). It was the statutes of these two years that destroyed

The Reformation Parliament.

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[1] Masterman, 92–94.

the authority of the papacy in England and placed the Anglican church on a national, anti-Roman basis.

214. The Appeal to the Universities. Soon after the temper of the new parliament had become known, two suggestions came to the king, on both of which he proceeded to act. Thomas Cranmer proposed that, since the question of the validity of Henry's marriage to Catherine was really a matter of canon law, it might properly be referred for settlement to the universities, where canon law was taught. Could a papal dispensation set aside the law in this case? This question was accordingly submitted to the theological faculties of the various European universities. It is believed that both Henry VIII and Charles V made successful attempts to bribe the learned theologians; at any rate, the decisions show much disagreement. Oxford and Cambridge supported Henry's contention that he had never been legally married, as did Paris, Bologna, and some of the other important universities on the Continent; while those of Spain held that the marriage was unquestionably legal.

Henry's case before the universities.

Divided opinions.

215. The Submission of the Clergy.[1] The other suggestion came from Thomas Cromwell, an educated layman of great business abilities, who had served as secretary to Cardinal Wolsey. It went to the root of the whole matter: the difficulty lay with the papal supremacy; if this were abolished the whole matter might be tried and definitely settled in the English courts. There was no doubt, said Cromwell, that the king had ultimate authority in all matters, both secular and religious; and if the pope exercised authority in the English church, it was merely because Henry permitted him to do so; but this permission the king could withdraw at any time.

The attack on the papal supremacy.

But to become the recognized lord of the church the king must first of all secure the allegiance of the churchmen. The English prelates, in submitting to the authority of Wolsey as the pope's legate, had technically violated the Statute of Præmunire, now nearly two centuries old and long ago fallen into disuse. This act was now dug up and the clergy was threatened with its penalties. The bishops realized the danger of their situation and in convocation (1531) confessed that they had violated the law, craved the king's pardon, and voted a heavy contribution to the royal treasury. The king was acknowledged "the singular protector, the only supreme lord, and so far as the law of Christ allows, even the supreme head" of the Anglican church. The next year (1532) this "submission of the clergy" was given practical force by a promise on the part of the convocation to draw up no canons, or laws, for the church, and to hold no more sessions except when expressly permitted by the king. The rulers of the church thus meekly resigned their authority in the church at large and made impossible every form of resistance to the king's will.

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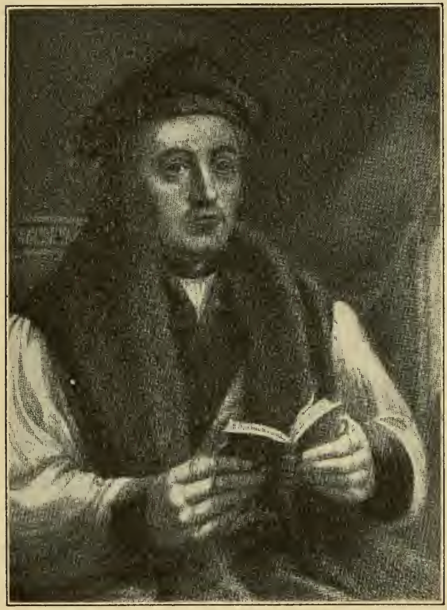
[1] Gardiner, 385–387.

Convocation submits to the king. 1531.



Thomas Cranmer

After a portrait by Holbein painted in 1547.

216. Cranmer Becomes Archbishop. The same year the death of the aged Archbishop Warham still further secured the king's power over the English church. Thomas Cranmer, who at Cambridge had listened favorably to the preachings of the early reformers, was chosen archbishop of Canterbury and primate of England. The desperate position of the papacy is shown by the fact that Rome promptly confirmed the appointment of a man who was strongly suspected of heresy and hostile opinions, and sent the necessary bulls of confirmation in spite of the fact that parliament the year before by an "Act of Annates" had reduced the fee for such confirmation from the entire first year's income from the office to five per cent of the same.[1]

Archbishop Cranmer. 1533.

217. The "Act of Appeals." With the appointment of Cranmer the revolt began. The head of the English church now joined with the ruler of the English state in the effort to destroy every vestige of Roman authority in the kingdom. The bulls confirming the archbishop's appointment had scarcely reached England, when parliament passed an "Act of Appeals" which forbade all appeals to the papal curia and provided for the termination of all suits in English courts.[2] A month later the new primate organized a court to try the king's suit. After a hearing of two weeks this tribunal declared in the king's favor. The marriage of Catherine was declared null and void. Several months earlier the king had privately married Anne Boleyn: this marriage was now confirmed.

Appeals to Rome forbidden.

Catherine's marriage annulled.

218. The Secession from Rome Made Complete. The following year (1534) the work of secession was continued and three statutes of wide import and far-reaching consequences were passed. These were (1) the so-called "statutory submission of the clergy" which completely subordinated the church to the state; (2) "an act forbidding papal dispensations and the payment of Peter's pence" which swept away the last traces of papal taxation; (3) the "act of supremacy" which declared the king to be "the only supreme head on earth of the English church." These three enactments, with the earlier "act of appeals," cut every bond that had hitherto joined the English church to the Roman see.

Anti-papal legislation.

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[1] Review sec. 205 (4).

[2] Review sec. 148.

These statutes were not wholly destructive: they reorganized the church on a national basis. In general it may be said that no church dues or ecclesiastical authority were abolished; they were simply transferred to authorities already existing, to the archbishop of Canterbury or the king.

Act of Appeals.

The Act of Appeals provided that all suits that earlier might have been appealed to Rome should be settled finally in the archbishop's court, though appeals were to be allowed to a special tribunal of "delegates" (as they came to be called) which derived its powers from the courts of chancery. This was essentially a secular court, though not necessarily under the king's influence. The court of delegates continued to act in ecclesiastical matters until 1832, when it was abolished and its powers were transferred to the privy council. The following year a new tribunal was established, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which hears appeals in ecclesiastical cases and also acts as a sort of supreme court for the British Empire.

Papal taxation to cease.

The act that abolished Peter's pence also did away with indulgences and papal dispensations; but dispensations were not wholly abolished; under certain conditions they might be granted by the archbishop of Canterbury. It may be said, however, that dispensations in the medieval sense have never been granted in England since the separation from Rome.

Royal supremacy in the church.

The supremacy of the king was virtually acknowledged in all these acts: (1) in the provision for a review of appeals by the court of delegates; (2) in the provision of the "submission of the clergy" that made the king's consent necessary for the holding of convocation; (3) in the act abolishing Peter's pence which formally absolved the subjects of Henry from all allegiance to the papacy; but most particularly (4) by the Act of Supremacy,[1] which gave to the king all the power and authority formerly exercised by the bishop of Rome.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 204. Robinson, No. 118.

Act of Succession. 1534.

The princess Elizabeth.

Persecutions.

219. The Act of Succession.[1] An act that had no ecclesiastical import was the Act of Succession which was passed the same year (1534). It confirmed the decision of Cranmer's court as to Henry's early marriage and declared the infant Elizabeth, Anne Boleyn's daughter, heiress to the English throne. An oath was required of all to support the provisions of the act. There were Englishmen who were willing to accept the princess Elizabeth but were unwilling to swear that they believed Catherine's marriage to have been illegal. Among these were the lord chancellor Thomas More and the aged Bishop Fisher of Rochester. A year later both were beheaded (1535).[2]

The English Catholic Church.

220. The Anglican Church in 1534. When the year 1534 closed, there were at least three churches in Europe that claimed to maintain Catholic standards. The English church had taken a place alongside of the Orthodox Greek church, both repudiating the supremacy of the Roman bishop, though holding to the essentials of Catholic faith and worship. So far as doctrine and ritual were concerned, no changes had been made; the

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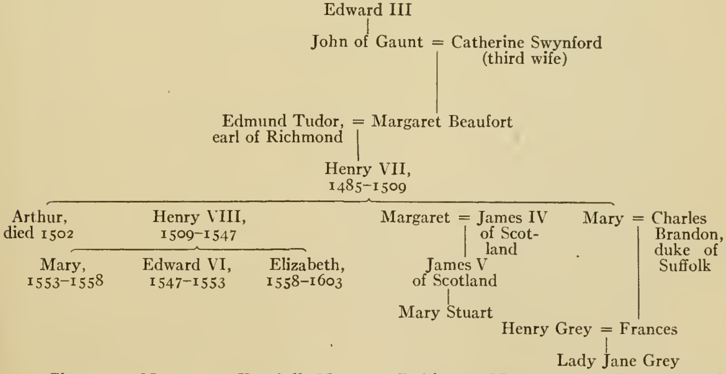
[1] Genealogy of the Tudor dynasty.


Edward III
John of Gaunt = Catherine Swynford (third wife)
Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond = Margaret Beaufort
Henry VII, 1485–1509
Arthur, died 1502
Henry VIII, 1509–1547
Margaret = James IV of Scotland
Mary = Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk
Mary, 1553–1558
Edward VI, 1547–1553
Elizabeth, 1558–1603
James V of Scotland
Mary Stuart
Henry Grey = Frances
Lady Jane Grey

[2] Cheyney, No. 207; Kendall, No. 47; Robinson, No. 119; Tuell and Hatch, No. 32; Innes, I, 291–297 (other executions). The accounts of More's death are all from Roper's life except the one in Robinson.

worship in the churches continued as before in the Latin language and according to the customary forms. All the church officials in England retained their respective offices. The pope indeed had been repudiated, but a new pope had been created in the person of the king.

221. Thomas Cromwell and the Suppression of the Monasteries. To carry out the many duties of his new office, the pope-king needed an efficient assistant; such a one he found in Thomas Cromwell, whom he appointed, a few months after the Act of Supremacy was passed, to exercise authority as "lord vicegerent in ecclesiastical causes." Cromwell's office was administrative and was not concerned with spiritual matters; consequently it did not encroach on the enlarged sphere of Archbishop Cranmer. Thomas Cromwell was a man of extensive learning and considerable abilities of the practical sort. He understood the king's purposes and acted accordingly. The first important move of the new vicegerent was to inspect the English monasteries. Henry and Cromwell saw clearly that these institutions were dangerous to the new régime. While the abbots and priors seemed tractable and obedient, it was not likely that they approved of the violent acts that had terminated papal authority. Their influence with the people of the country surrounding the monasteries would probably lead to national unrest, perhaps to rebellion. In addition there was the fact that these institutions possessed numerous and extensive estates, which the English aristocracy had long regarded with covetous eyes.

Cromwell as "lord vicegerent."

The problem of the monasteries.

The "visitations" began in 1535 and continued for several months with the result that sufficient evidence of corruption was found, it was claimed, to warrant drastic action. Accordingly, parliament in the spring of 1536 suppressed all the smaller houses, 376 in number,[1] and gave all their possessions to the king. The larger monasteries, those that had an annual income of 200 pounds or more, were permitted

Cromwell's "visitations."

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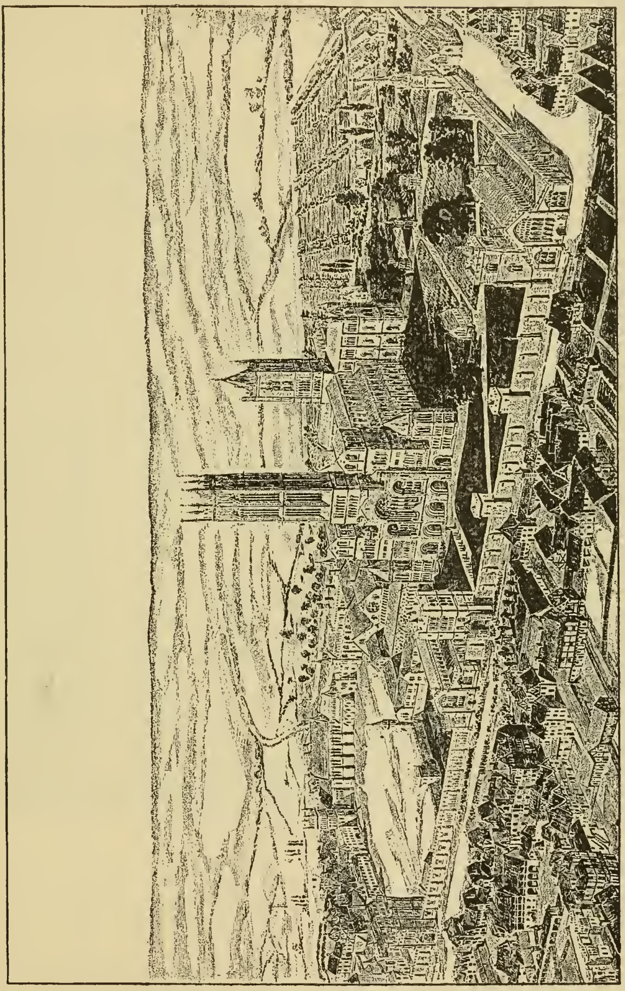
[1] Cheyney, No. 205; Gardiner, 393–395; Robinson, No. 120.

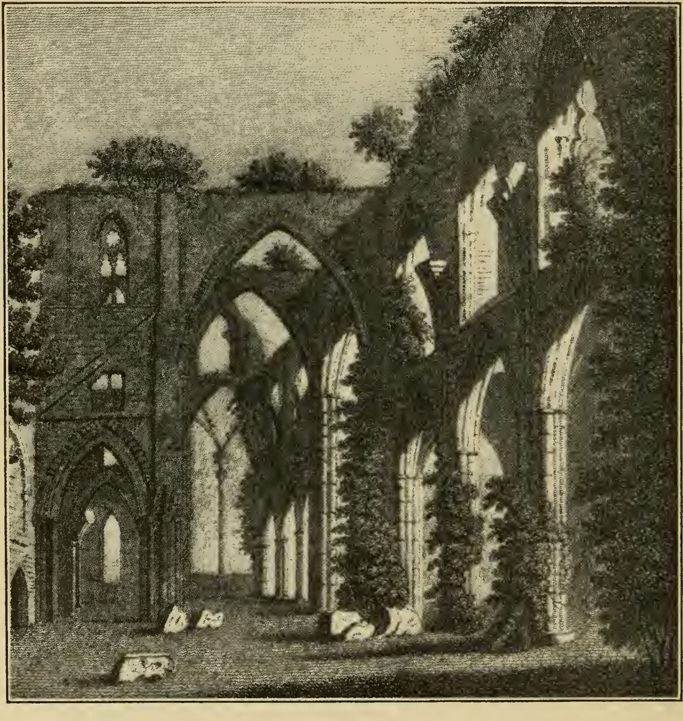


St. Edmund's Abbey

Before the suppression of the Monasteries. (Conjectural restoration.)

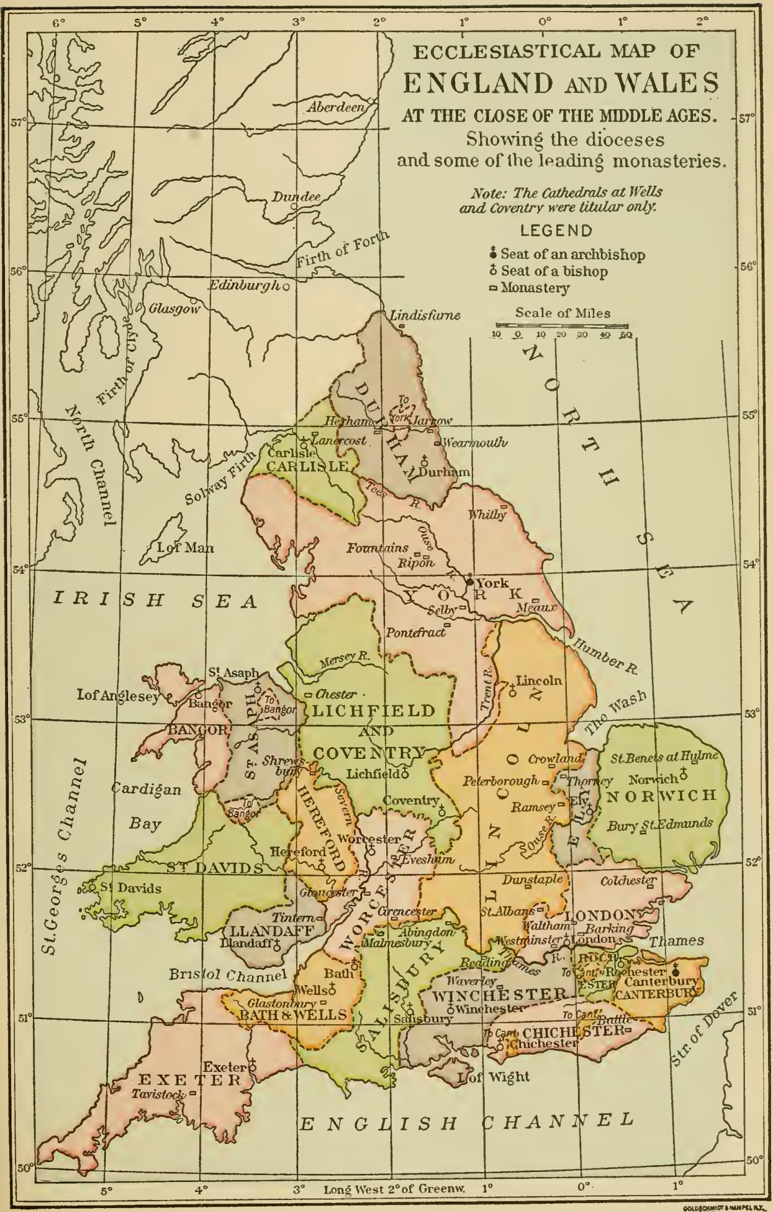
The larger monasteries disband.

to remain a few years longer. But a panic seems to have seized the monastic world in England. One after the other, the great monasteries surrendered their possessions and disbanded. An uprising in favor of the monasteries in northern England, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, was also responsible in part for the king's renewed persecution. In 1539 parliament added the possessions of all such disbanded houses to the king's revenues. In 1540, monasticism disappeared from England. Nearly six



TINTERN ABBEY

Ruins of a famous Cistercian monastery in Monmouthshire dating from the twelfth century. It was one of the monasteries suppressed by Henry VIII and Thomas Cromwell. After an original drawing by R. Godfrey.



ECCLESIASTICAL MAP OF ENGLAND AND WALES AT THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Showing the dioceses and some of the leading monasteries.

Note: The Cathedrals at Wells and Coventry were titular only.

LEGEND
♁ Seat of an archbishop
♁ Seat of a bishop
▭ Monastery
Scale of Miles
10 0 10 20 30 40 50
6° 5° 4° 3° 2° 1° 0° 1° 2°
57° 56° 55° 54° 53° 52° 51° 50°
5° 4° 3° Long West 2° of Greenw. 1° 0° 1°
Aberdeen
Dundee
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Firth of Clyde
North Channel
Solway Firth
I. of Man
IRISH SEA
NORTH SEA
Lindisfarne
DURHAM
To York
Hexham
Jarrow
Lanercost
Wearmouth
Carlisle
CARLISLE
Durham
Tees R.
Whitby
Ouse R.
Fountains
Ripon
York
YORK
Selby
Meaux
Pontefract
Humber R.
Mersey R.
St. Asaph
I. of Anglesey
Bangor
To Bangor
ST. ASAPH
Chester
LICHFIELD AND COVENTRY
BANGOR
Trent R.
Lincoln
LINCOLN
The Wash
Cardigan Bay
Shrewsbury
Lichfield
Crowland
Peterborough
Thorney
St. Benets at Hulme
Norwich
NORWICH
Ramsey
Ely
ELY
Coventry
Severn
HEREFORD
To Bangor
Worcester
Ouse R.
Bury St. Edmunds
St. Georges Channel
Hereford
Evesham
ST. DAVIDS
St. Davids
Dunstaple
Colchester
Gloucester
WORCESTER
Tintern
Grencester
St. Albans
LONDON
Waltham
Barking
LLANDAFF
Llandaff
Abingdon
Malmesbury
Westminster
London
Thames
Thames R.
SALISBURY
Reading
Bristol Channel
Bath
ROCHESTER
To Cant.
Rochester
Canterbury
CANTERBURY
Wells
Waverley
WINCHESTER
Winchester
Glastonbury
BATH & WELLS
Salisbury
To Cant.
Battle
Str. of Dover
To Cant.
CHICHESTER
Chichester
Exeter
EXETER
I. of Wight
Tavistock
ENGLISH CHANNEL

GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

hundred institutions harboring about 10,000 monks and nuns had ceased to exist.

Distribution and use of the monastic wealth.

Thus large sums were added to the yearly income of the unthrifty king, but it was not long before the greater part of this wealth had passed into other hands. The spoils were employed in various ways. They were used to endow university professorships, establish schools, and build colleges; to improve fortifications, especially along the Channel shore; to pension homeless monks and nuns; and to finance a new aristocracy. The suppression of the abbeys reduced materially the membership in the House of Lords, since the abbot's office had become extinct; but the places of the mitred abbots were taken by members of a new nobility of Henry's own creation to whom monastic lands were given outright or sold at absurdly low prices. In this way Henry was able to tighten his control of the House of Lords.

Monastic decadence.

It is impossible to approve either the purposes or the methods of Henry and Cromwell; at the same time, it is not likely that English monasticism in the sixteenth century deserves much sympathy. Its old usefulness was passing away; modern civilization has provided agencies that perform the social service of the convents and monasteries far more effectively than most of these institutions were ever able to perform them.[1] Nor does there seem to have been either spirit or energy left in the religious houses. Many of the younger monks appear to have lost faith in the ascetic life and were anxious to be released from their vows. Protestant ideas had struck root in some of the monasteries, and in such houses the dissension on religious matters was so great that the abbots gladly disbanded them. A few of the chiefs heroically refused to stifle their consciences and found death in martyrdom; but the vast majority meekly submitted. It seems that those who suffered death were executed, some for refusing to accept the principle of the Act of Supremacy, others for refusing to deny the legality of the king's marriage to Catherine.

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[1] Review sec. 20; Tuell and Hatch, No. 19.

222. The Introduction of the English Bible into the Churches. In the suppression of the monasteries England took a second long step in the direction of Protestantism. A third was taken during the same period when the king authorized the use of the English Bible in the churches. In 1537, when monastic strongholds were surrendering everywhere, the so-called Matthew's Bible was ordered to be placed in every church. The new Bible was virtually the old version of Tyndale who had suffered martyrdom the year before. Cranmer was evidently anxious to have the Bible read in the churches, and the king assented, it seems, because the Bible was likely to prove useful in his fight with the papacy. But Henry evidently did not believe that the Scriptures could be hostile to Catholic doctrine. Only two years later appeared the famous "Six Articles" in which the king took Catholic ground on all the chief theological questions that were in dispute between Protestants and Catholics.

The English Bible. 1537.

223. The Agitation for Doctrinal Reform. At this point the two currents of reform, the constitutional and the doctrinal, the parliamentary and the popular, came squarely into collision. The agitation begun by Bilney and Tyndale sixteen years before had continued without abatement.[1] At first the questions debated were of secondary importance: the use of relics, the efficacy of pilgrimages, the worth of the monastic life, and the doctrine of purgatory. But soon the nature of the Eucharist came up for discussion, and here was a dogma upon which a large part of the Catholic doctrinal system rested. In abolishing papal supremacy, in dissolving the monasteries, and in permitting the reading of the Scriptures in the churches, the king had acted in harmony with the doctrinal reformers; but he would go no farther. In the Six Articles the Catholic position on the Eucharist, celibacy, and confession was affirmed; prayers for the dead were approved; the laity were to receive only the bread in the communion; and the monks, friars, and

The question of doctrine.

The Six Articles. 1539.

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[1] Review sec. 206.

nuns, whose monastic homes were now closed, were ordered to continue the celibate life according to their earlier vows. These articles were law during the remainder of the reign, but they were never strictly enforced.

224. Archbishop Cranmer. In the doctrinal statement of 1539 Cranmer had no part. In the Reformation movement the archbishop occupied a peculiar place: he stood somewhere between the king and the advanced reformers, though his thoughts flowed in the popular current. Cranmer's mind was fine in quality and highly cultivated; but he was of a timid disposition both intellectually and morally. Cranmer was constantly advancing toward the Protestant ideal; but the advance was cautious, slow, and halting. He was a reformer, not a revolutionist, and he wished to have everything done in an orderly manner and by legal methods. It may be that his caution was inspired by the masterful personality of the king to whom nearly all the great intellects of the nation yielded all too frequently. At times he was in mild opposition to the ruler; but Henry loved Cranmer, as he loved no other man; and their friendship continued unbroken till the king's death.

Cranmer's position.

225. The Fall of Cromwell. 1540. The Six Articles Act was followed the next year (1540) by the fall of Thomas Cromwell. All through this period both domestic and church policies were largely influenced by the relations with foreign powers. It was Cromwell's policy to form a close alliance with the German Protestant princes, a policy that would unavoidably force England further along the road to Protestantism. After less than three years of married life Henry became a widower; Anne Boleyn was charged with gross crimes and executed. After ten days the king took a new wife, Jane Seymour, who bore him a son Edward, the king's first legitimate male offspring. But twelve days later the mother died, and Henry remained unmarried two entire years.

Cromwell and the German Protestants.

Birth of Prince Edward.

Cromwell now conceived the plan of cementing the proposed alliance with the German Protestants by the marriage of his sovereign to some Protestant princess. But Anne of Cleves, the chosen princess, did not please the king; and though a wedding ceremony was performed, the marriage was merely a nominal one. Cromwell's failure to secure an attractive queen doubtless hastened his downfall; but his Protestant leanings and his Protestant foreign policy were also largely responsible. In 1540 he was charged with treason; a bill of attainder was rushed through parliament and Cromwell was executed without trial.

Anne of Cleves.

Cromwell executed.

226. Irish Affairs.[1] During the last seven years of Henry's reign the interest shifts to affairs beyond the borders of England. One of the most troublesome problems was that of Ireland. Though the king of England was lord of Ireland, his authority was practically limited to the Pale, an English colony in and about Dublin. The Irish Pale had its own parliament; but it was virtually controlled by the English privy council, as the parliament of the Pale had agreed in what is known as Poynings' Law (1494)[2] to pass no act that the English council had not approved beforehand. Efforts to extend the control of the Dublin government were met with stubborn resistance. During the decade of the Reformation Parliament and the suppression of the monasteries, Ireland was in almost constant rebellion. These uprisings were put down, however, and in 1540, Henry VIII induced the Irish chiefs to recognize him as king of Ireland.[3] The practical result of this was to extend the authority of the Irish parliament and the English privy council over all the island.

The Irish Pale.

Henry becomes king of Ireland.

227. Renewed War with Scotland: the Battle of Solway Moss. Trouble was also gathering across the Scotch borders. King James of Scotland was in close alliance with the Catholic bishops of his kingdom, and at their instigation he broke the peace with his aggressive English uncle. After ten years of hostility, open or threatened, war broke out in 1542. A

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[1] Review sec. 72.

[2] Gardiner, 350–351.

[3] *Ibid.*, 404.

Scotch army invaded northwestern England, only to be driven back with frightful slaughter at Solway Moss.[1] The broken-hearted Scotch king dragged his weary body back to the edge of the Highlands where he died a little later. The throne went to an infant daughter who was born a few days before her father's death, — Mary Stuart.

War with the Scots.

The birth of the Stuart princess awakened new aspirations in the English mind; a marriage was promptly proposed between Mary and Henry's son Edward, who was now about six years old. But the queen regent of Scotland, Mary of Guise, could not think of a union with a heretic dynasty and renewed the old alliance with France. England was thus involved in a new French war; some fighting occurred but without important results: when peace was made there was no mentionable gain for either side.

Mary Stuart.

228. The Reign of Henry VIII: Course and Significance. In 1547 Henry VIII died after having held the English kingship for nearly thirty-eight years. The years were not kind to Henry: the fine, athletic young prince who rowed so well and danced so gracefully developed into a gross old king, so burdened with flesh that he was finally unable to walk without assistance. As a king, however, he was remarkably successful: in every statute that was passed after the fall of Wolsey, evidence of the royal will is clearly seen. Circumstances were favorable for the revolt that the king led: still, the outcome proves that the royal leader possessed unusual abilities. Like his father he was grasping, shrewd, and calculating; like his grandfather Edward IV he was headstrong, unscrupulous, and cruel. In addition he had all the characteristics of the modern politician: no executive ever managed a parliament more successfully than did Henry VIII.

Henry VIII as king.

His reign is chiefly important for the Protestant revolt that resulted in the secession of the Anglican church from Rome. For two years (1527–1529) the interest lies in the king's suit at Rome and in England. Then follow

Achievement of the reign.

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[1] Innes, I, 306–310.

three years of strained relations with the papacy, during which period the king endeavors with threats of hostile legislation to force the pope to decide in his favor. A step is taken toward the reduction of papal revenues by the Act of Annates. In the years 1533-1534 came the great statutes that destroyed the pope's authority in England and made Henry pope of the national church. During the following six years the king and his chief agent, Thomas Cromwell, attacked the monasteries and destroyed the entire monastic system. At the same time Cranmer was introducing the English Bible into the churches. Thus three great steps were taken in the direction of Continental Protestantism: the separation from Rome; the suppression of the monasteries; and the authorized use of the English Bible in the churches. The movement so far as Henry is concerned had run its course by 1539 and closed with the reaffirmation of Catholic doctrine in the Six Articles.

Course of the English Reformation.

It will be observed, however, that all these changes were authorized by parliamentary acts. There were only two bodies that could make any legal changes in the English church: convocation and parliament. But convocation was a weak and spineless body; and after it had resigned its power to the king by the "submission of the clergy" (1532), parliament remained as the only power that could carry out a legal reform. When changes were made by royal decrees, the king acted by virtue of powers expressly granted by parliament.

Legal character of the revolt from Rome.

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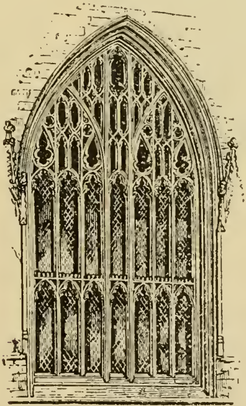


CHAPTER XI

THE PROTESTANT ADVANCE AND THE CATHOLIC REACTION

229. England in 1547. During the last eight years of Henry's reign no changes were made in the creed or constitution of the church. It remained Catholic in doctrine, in ritual, and in government. It is not to be inferred, however, that the English mind was quiet: the Protestant party was growing among the people; several of the newer bishops were inclined toward Protestantism, especially was this true of those chosen while Thomas Cromwell administered the temporal affairs of the church; and the primate himself was gradually coming to hold reformed views. But so long as Henry lived, the machinery of government was beyond the control of those who favored the Protestant system, and no legal changes could be made. When the masterful king was dead, however, the forces of the revolt could be held in check no longer. England took another long step away from the old standards. This was followed by a period of reaction during which almost the whole medieval system was restored. Had the reaction been less complete, it might have succeeded; but after twenty years of Cranmer's system in the church the nation found it difficult to resume the old habits of obedience to Rome.

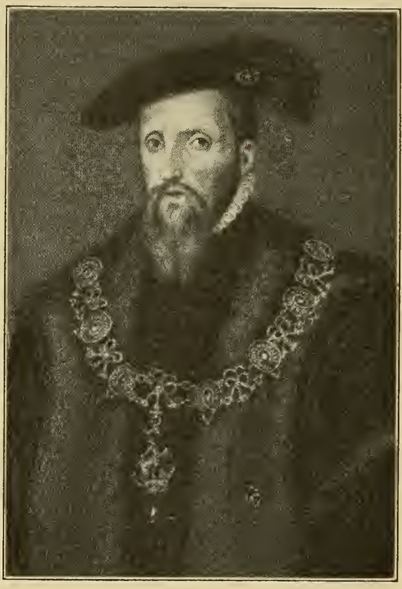
Growth of Protestant opinion.

Reaction under Mary.

230. Edward Seymour, Protector of the Realm. During the decade of Edward's and Mary's reigns, three men successively guided the destinies of England: Edward Seymour, John Dudley, and Stephen Gardiner. Edward VI was a mere child of nine years when he ascended the throne, and he died before he reached mature manhood. Con-

The regency.

sequently, the government throughout the reign had to be carried on by a regency. Henry VIII had provided for such a body in his will: he had appointed a committee of sixteen men to whom the executive authority was to be entrusted. Among these were to be found representatives of almost every faction or tendency in the church; but the members who favored continuing the work of reform were the abler and more aggressive; and they soon succeeded in placing the substance of power in the hands of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, the king's maternal uncle, who was given the title of Protector of the Realm. For two stormy years the policies of Somerset controlled England.



Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset

After a portrait by Holbein.

Somerset's policies.

The Protector was a well-meaning man with some abilities; but the times also required unusual strength, and Seymour's arm was weak. Three large problems interested the Protector: (1) the unsatisfactory condition of the English church, which he hoped to remedy by making it more distinctly Protestant; (2) the ancient hostility of Scotland, which he hoped to remove by a marriage of the two youthful sovereigns, Edward and Mary; (3) the economic misery that had come upon the land largely as a result of the practice of enclosures, which he hoped to alleviate by legislation directed against the landlords who were enclosing their fields.

231. The Protector's Scotch Policy. It was not to be expected that Somerset could resist the temptation to interfere in the affairs of the turbulent neighbor to the north. During the closing years of Henry's reign, a movement for church reform had begun in Scotland under the leadership of the famous preacher, George Wishart. For some time Wishart was accompanied by the more famous John Knox, who acted as his bodyguard and bore "a two-handed sword." In 1546, George Wishart was burned; but John Knox lived to become the chief builder of the Presbyterian church. Seymour had ambitions to settle the troubles that distracted Scotand by uniting that kingdom to England; but the Protector was not a diplomat. In his usual blunt and tactless manner he attempted to force the government at Edinburgh to agree to the marriage that he was planning for the little Scotch princess. With a strong army he crossed the border and overwhelmed a Scotch force at Pinkie Cleugh near Edinburgh. After the battle came a season of plunder and then a return to England. The result was embittered hostility and a closer alliance between Scotland and France, to which country the little queen was sent for education and marriage.[1]

The Protestant movement in Scotland.

Seymour and the Scots: Pinkie Cleugh. 1547.

232. Attempts at Economic Reform. Somerset also failed in his efforts to secure economic reforms. The development of textile manufactures had created an increasing demand for English wool. Land owners found it even more profitable than before to "enclose" their fields, or turn them into sheep pastures.[2] Tenant farmers thus lost their holdings and were compelled to wander elsewhere in search of land and work. But as the same movement was going on throughout the kingdom, it became increasingly difficult to secure a livelihood. This condition was productive of much economic unrest; and the ranks of the revolutionary party

The Tudor enclosures.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 35.

[2] Cheyney, No. 209; Innes, I, 250–254; Kendall, No. 62, selection from More's *Utopia;* Innes, *Industrial Development,* 140–144.

were readily recruited from these elements in distress. Though usually associated with religious changes, the uprisings of the Tudor period, of which there were several, were more frequently due to economic difficulties.

Legislation against enclosures

Somerset wished to put an end to the practice of enclosure and to force enclosed land back into agricultural holdings. But it was the nobles and the men of wealth who owned the land and enclosed the fields: the same element sat in the house of lords and in large measure controlled the elections to the house of commons. It was therefore impossible to secure effective legislation: the first parliament of Edward VI's reign could think of nothing better than to have collections taken in the churches to help the dispossessed; parliament was also willing to have certain types of vagabonds sold into slavery; but these expedients did not prove effective. Efforts had also been made in earlier reigns to check the process of enclosures;[1] but these older statutes were easily evaded; juries were intimidated and failed to convict the offenders; a few oxen were turned in with the sheep and the enclosure was called a cattle pasture; occasional furrows were run across the pasture that it might be classed as plowland. Meanwhile distress grew, and the Protector lost support on all sides: the landlords were irritated by continued threats of legislation; and the dispossessed were disappointed in finding that the policy of the government showed no results.

Failure of Somerset's policy.

233. England Becomes Protestant.[2] Seymour's religious policy seemed more successful. With the aid of Cranmer[3] he transformed the English church into a Protestant communion. In this work the archbishop had the assistance of his two old Cambridge friends: Ridley, who was made bishop of the neighboring see of Rochester, and Latimer, who took up his residence in the archbishop's palace. The reform work began a few months after Edward's accession.

Somerset's religious policy.

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[1] Kendall, No. 63; review sec. 153.

[2] Cheyney, No. 208; Kendall, No. 49.

[3] Gardiner, 413–414.

Anything that suggested actual worship or undue reverence for images and pictures was forbidden. Various acts looking toward the punishment of heresy were repealed. The clergy were given permission to marry and the laity were permitted to partake of the wine as well as of the bread in the communion. The Six Articles Act was repealed. But of the greatest importance was the publication of a new liturgy or order of church worship, the English Prayer Book of 1549 which in a revised form is still in use in the Anglican church. An Act of Uniformity, which was passed by parliament in that same year, for the first time in English history ordered absolute uniformity of worship in the churches of the kingdom. The Prayer Book was first used at Whitsuntide, 1549; and on that day the English people came face to face with the positive side of the Reformation. The earlier changes did not directly concern the common man: they were mainly financial and administrative, and concerned chiefly the officials of the church. But now the forms of worship were changed. The Latin ritual was replaced by one in English. From now on all shared, though for the most part unwillingly, in the novelties of Protestantism.

Progress toward Protestantism.

234. The English Prayer Book.[1] **1549.** The Prayer Book was chiefly the work of Cranmer; and, though it has seen many revisions and changes, it still remains essentially Cranmer's work. In large measure it was based on the ancient "Uses" and was composed of what were considered the best forms and prayers in the medieval liturgies. In the translation of these materials Cranmer showed himself a great master of English prose style. In the selection of ceremonial forms, and still more in the changes and omissions, the influence of Protestant thought is clearly evident. But aside from the repeal of the Six Articles, no official changes were made in the doctrinal standards of the English church, though a step in this direction was taken later on in the reign.

Cranmer's Book of Common Prayer.

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[1] Gardiner, 415, 418–419.

The Litany and the Primer. 1544.

The movement for church worship in the English language began five years earlier; when Henry VIII was fighting in France, Cranmer ordered prayers to be said for his safety; these were to be said in English. The same year Cranmer drew up a Litany in English for use in the church service and published a book of private prayers called the Primer. The priests were also ordered to have the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments repeated in English. The masses were, therefore, not wholly unprepared for the changes; still, the Prayer Book was received with mixed approval. The mysterious phrases in the older Latin suddenly became intelligible and seemed to lose their sacred character. For the majority the change was too great. The dissatisfaction with the new service added to economic pressure soon led to risings. In three parts of the kingdom rebellion appeared. In the extreme southwest where Cornish (a Celtic language) was largely spoken, the uprising was caused by the compulsory use of the English language in the church service. In the eastern counties the grievances were economic, but many joined the rebels because of their dissatisfaction with the changes in religion. An insurrection was also attempted in Yorkshire. These movements all failed, but indirectly they brought about the Protector's downfall.

Dissatisfaction with the English service.

235. The Fall of Somerset and the Rise of Northumberland. Somerset's policies had failed to meet the difficulties of the situation and had alienated all classes except the religious reformers, most of whom were of little consequence in the government. The council that ruled in Edward's name finally turned against him and deposed him. It was his policy as to enclosures that ruined Somerset. The leader in the plot to depose him was Dudley, whose enclosed fields had been plowed up by officers of the law. The vacancy in the protectorship was not filled, but Dudley, commonly known by his later title as duke of Northumberland, became the ruling force in the state. Somerset

Seymour deposed from the protectorship. 1549.

submitted; but three years later he was found intriguing with Dudley's enemies and was sent to the block.

Northumberland.

Dudley was the son of a lawyer who had gained a doubtful reputation in the days of Henry VII as attorney and extortioner for the king. He was dishonest and unscrupulous, and possessed of little real statesmanlike abilities, though he had much sly cunning and capacity for intrigue. In most respects he continued the policies of Somerset. In religious matters he found it expedient to follow Cranmer's lead and to push the nation farther along the path of Protestantism. In this respect he achieved nothing, however, except to replace some of the more conservative bishops like Bonner and Gardiner with men of more pronounced Protestant tendencies. Steps were taken in the direction of a new official creed.

The "Forty-two Articles."

A set of "Forty-two Articles" drawn up by Cranmer was published by royal mandate in 1553; but as the king died less than a month later, no attempt was ever made to force the acceptance of these Articles. The Roman standards of faith remained the official creed of the Anglican church for nearly twenty years longer, till the "Thirty-nine Articles" were made the doctrinal standard by act of parliament in 1571.

236. Lady Jane Grey: the Nine Days' Queen. 1553.

Northumberland is remembered chiefly for his unsuccessful attempt to change the line of succession to the English throne.

The succession: Lady Jane Grey.

Edward died at the age of sixteen and according to Henry's will, to which parliament had given the force of law, the elder of the king's sisters, Mary, should succeed him. It was clear to the regents whose power was now to cease that the granddaughter of Queen Isabella, who gave her favor to the Spanish Inquisition, was likely to spare neither themselves nor their work. Northumberland now conceived the plan of proclaiming the young and lovable princess, Lady Jane Grey,[1] as queen of England. Lady Jane was the granddaughter of Henry VIII's youngest sister and next in line after the princesses Mary and Elizabeth. In anticipation of success Northumberland had married her to his own son.

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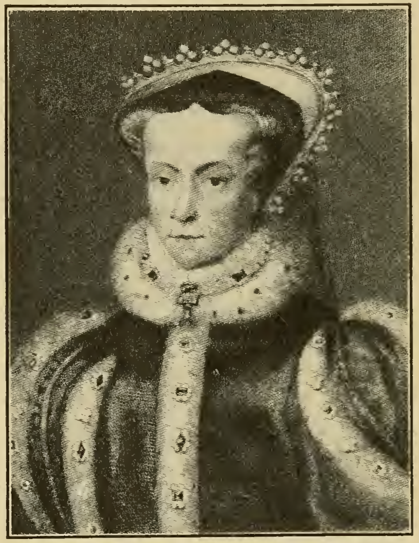
[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 33 (1).

The nine days' queen.

The duke had laid his plan carefully. The council had agreed to the change, though with much reluctance, for Englishmen have always shown a great and mysterious reverence for law. Lady Jane was proclaimed and for nine days was nominal queen of England. An effort was made to secure Mary's person; but the men of the eastern counties rallied to her support, and the regency thought it wise to surrender. Lady Jane was imprisoned but she was not executed until a later uprising had impressed Queen Mary with the danger of permitting her cousin to live.[1]



Mary Tudor

After a painting by Antonio More.

Mary Tudor.

237. Mary Tudor: the Restoration of Catholicism. There was nothing attractive about Mary Tudor. She was not beautiful and had none of the intellectual charms and accomplishments that made the Tudors such an interesting family. She had inherited the Tudor self-will in full measure, but not the caution, the prudence, and the strong qualities of the dynasty.[2] The new queen's first and chief concern was to restore the old order in the church. Mary had all her life been an ardent Catholic. Furthermore, the English Reformation was hateful to her for personal reasons: it was closely associated with her own and her mother's disgrace.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 211.

[2] Cheyney, No. 210; Kendall, No. 50; Robinson, No. 121; two reports of Venetian ambassadors.

Mary's church policy.

Much had to be done before the old ecclesiastical régime could be restored; but Mary and her associates began promptly, and the changes came swiftly. First it was necessary to replace the rulers of the church with bishops who were devoted to the Roman Catholic system; this was difficult to accomplish, as the loyal generation was passing away and the young theologians were tainted with heresy. But Mary was determined to have no Protestant bishops; on different pretexts a number were removed and some imprisoned for heresy. It was also a part of Mary's plan to dismiss the married priests, to reëstablish the monasteries, to abolish Cranmer's Prayer Book, and to repeal all the laws relating to the royal supremacy in the church. All these purposes were accomplished but one: the monastic lands were now held largely by the aristocracy, who refused to surrender what was legally, if not morally, theirs; and Queen Mary had no other funds with which to endow monastic foundations. The only monastery that Mary was able to reëstablish was Westminster Abbey, where a small community of fifteen monks took up its abode.

Romanism reëstablished.

Bishops Bonner and Gardiner were at once restored to their respective sees of London and Winchester, and the reconstruction of the hierarchy was begun. Gardiner had at one time been enthusiastic for the royal supremacy, and had even served Henry as agent at the Roman court in his fight for release from his wife, Mary's own mother. But all this was now forgiven, for the queen had great need of Gardiner's abilities. He was elevated to the lord chancellorship, and during the reaction he was not only the chief subject of the realm, but also chief adviser and executive minister.

Stephen Gardiner.

238. The Marriage of Mary to Philip II. A matter of prime importance was the queen's marriage. The dread of civil war in case of a disputed or doubtful succession had long hung over the land; and the nation hoped for an heir whose title would have no cloud. Marriage was also of vast importance to the queen herself: if after her death the crown should pass to Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, as the law provided, all that Mary had accomplished in behalf of Rome and the church might fail. But to find a suitable husband was no easy matter. As Catholic Europe was still divided into two hostile camps led by the emperor and the king of France, the choice of a husband from a Continental dynasty would be sure to lead to foreign complications. Accordingly, many Englishmen, including the astute Bishop Gardiner, preferred a marriage to Edward Courtenay, a young English nobleman, who represented the Yorkist line of kings. Mary, however, was determined to marry her second cousin, Philip of Spain;[1] and the nation consented with evident reluctance, for a matrimonial union with Spain was likely to mean the revival of the ancient trouble with France and Scotland. In spite of the popular opposition a marriage treaty was drawn up and accepted by parliament; and in July, 1554, Philip came to England and was married to the queen by Bishop Gardiner in Winchester cathedral.

The queen's marriage plans.

Philip of Spain her choice.

1554.

239. The Reunion with Rome. Meanwhile the religious reaction was growing in strength. Four months after the queen's accession parliament repealed all the reforming laws of Edward VI, and thus restored the system that ruled at the death of Queen Mary's father, Henry VIII. The Prayer Book had to give way to the older forms of service and a large number of married priests, perhaps as many as 2500, lost their benefices. This was as far as the English people were prepared to go at the time. Not till a year later could a new and carefully selected parliament be induced to repeal the church legislation of Henry VIII and reëstablish papal supremacy.

Religious reaction.

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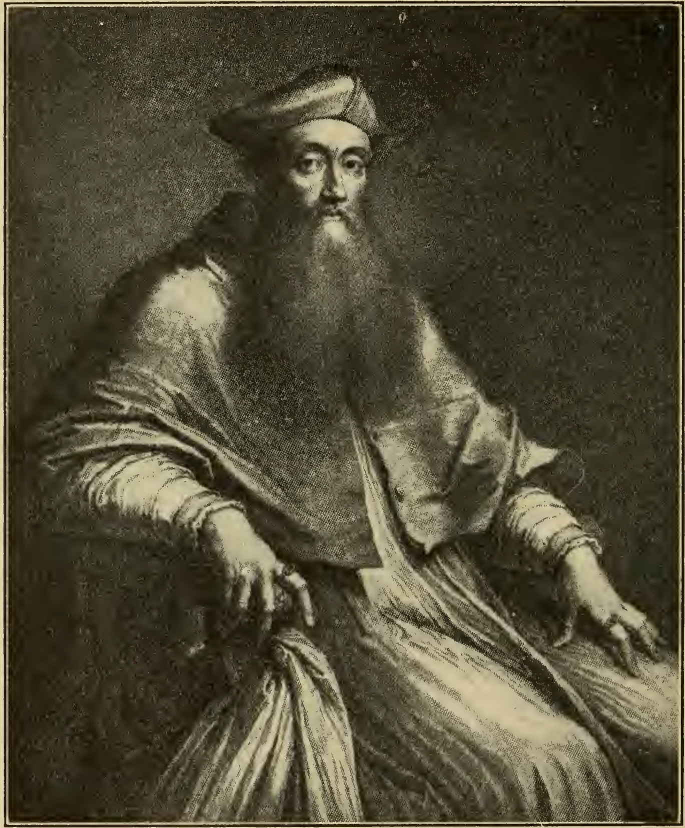
[1] Kendall, No. 60; Robinson, No. 124; two separate accounts.

The "reunion with Rome" necessitated two distinct acts, absolution and repeal. The nation was regarded from the Roman viewpoint as an individual who had grievously sinned and was in need of the forgiveness of the church. Reginald Pole, an Englishman of royal blood and cardinal deacon, was sent to England as legate to receive the supplication and con-



REGINALD, CARDINAL POLE
After the picture attributed to Raphael or Fra Sebastiano del Piombo, engraved by Nicholas de Larmessin.

fession of the nation, to extend absolution, and to command penance. At a great gathering in Whitehall Palace, parliament, through Lord Chancellor Gardiner, presented a statement of the national sin and requested the king and queen to intercede with the pope's representative and ask the forgiveness of the church. On receiving the supplication from the hands of their majesties, the cardinal extended forgiveness to the kneeling assembly and commanded a repeal of all the anti-papal statutes of the Reformation Parliament as a suitable penance.[1] Five weeks later these laws were duly repealed (January, 1555).

The nation absolved by Cardinal Pole. 1554.

Repeal of the Reformation statutes.

240. The "Marian Persecution." In less than two years Mary had razed the entire structure that Cranmer had built up so carefully and so laboriously in the reigns of Henry and Edward. But there was still a powerful public sentiment to reckon with. Twenty years under the new régime had developed habits in the nation that could not be changed by statutes. A strong minority clung to the newer Protestant ideals. Soon after the reconciliation, parliament, under pressure from Mary and Gardiner, took a third step backward and reënacted the old laws against heresy. These laws were applied in the most merciless manner. It seems to have been Gardiner's plan to strike down only the great leaders of the Protestant movement: but under Mary's inspiration an inquisition was organized which struck at heretics of every class.[2] For three years the fires burned and nearly three hundred victims were given to the flames; a considerable number (estimated at sixty) perished in prison; while numerous Protestants fled to the Continent where they found homes in a few Protestant cities, particularly Frankfort and Geneva, the city of John Calvin.

Laws against heresy reënacted.

Persecution.

Five bishops suffered at the stake among whom were the three famous Cambridge men, Latimer, Ridley,[3] and Cranmer.

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[1] Review secs. 217–218.

[2] Cheyney, No. 212.

[3] Innes, I, 317–324.

The archbishop had never been courageous: worn-out and broken in health he signed some sort of a recantation in the hope, no doubt, of escaping death. But on the day of his execution his constancy returned; he repudiated the document. "And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished. For if I come to the fire it shall first be burned." An hour later he redeemed his promise at the stake.

The Oxford martyrs.

Cranmer at the stake.

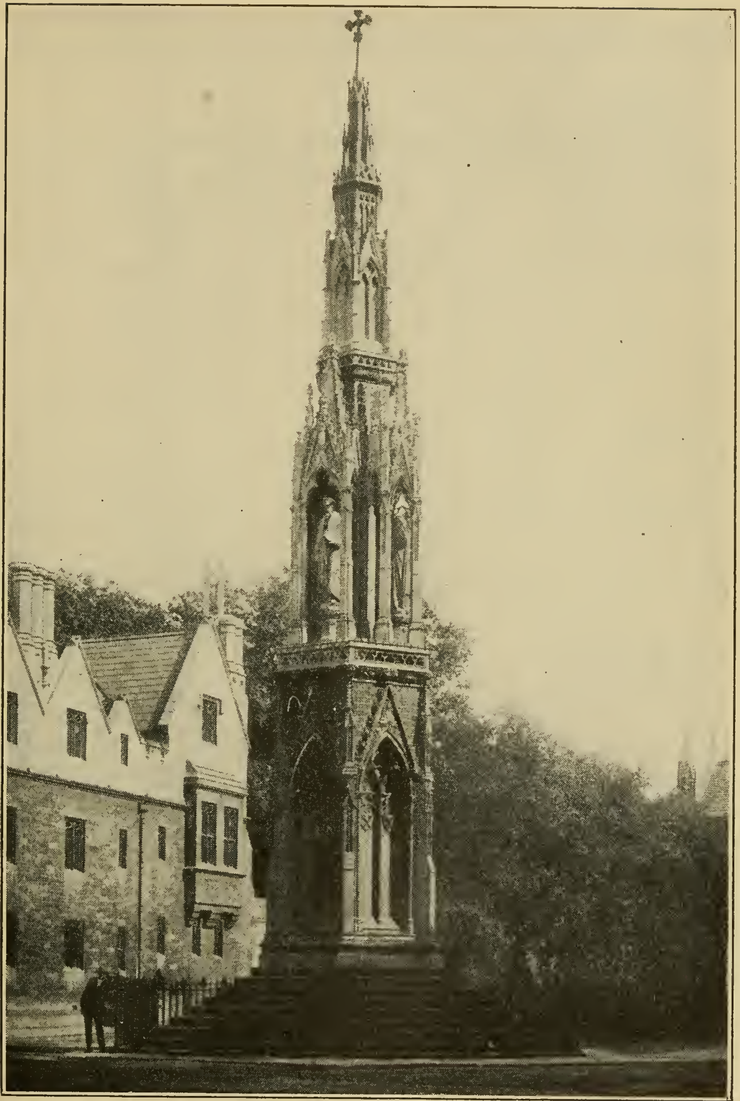
241. The Failure of the Reaction. The heroism of the Marian martyrs stands out in clearer light when the European situation is examined. In 1555 Protestantism appeared to be a losing cause everywhere. The Catholic reaction was rolling its mighty wave northward. The Jesuit order, a wonderfully efficient organization still under the guidance of its founder the great Loyola, was undermining the fortresses of the reformed forces. The council of Trent had begun its efforts to cleanse the Church from the abuses that had done so much to make the Lutheran movement successful. On the papal throne sat Paul IV, an aged Italian whose heart was aflame with enthusiasm for a purified hierarchy. But what was more significant, the Catholic forces of Europe had found a leader in Philip II of Spain, whose principles would permit neither toleration nor compromise. The wealth and power of Spain were at his disposal; his hand lay heavy on Dutch Protestantism; his English queen was uprooting heresy in Britain. For the cause of English Protestantism there could be but slight hopes.

Loyola and the Jesuits.

The Catholic reformation.

The reaction failed; and its failure in England did much to check the movement on the Continent. Nothing that the unfortunate queen undertook seemed to prosper. England recoiled from her policies. Her subjects had supported her against the intrigues of Northumberland; but they revolted at the sight of the executions and they learned to speak of her as "Bloody Mary." Men had suffered cruel and unjust death in the reign of Henry

Failure of the reaction in England.



MARTYRS' MEMORIAL, OXFORD

Raised to commemorate the death of Cranmer and his fellow-martyrs; the actual site of the burning is a little distance away.

VIII; better men than Fisher and More have never gone to the scaffold. But these executions did not affect the current of events as did the burning of unknown women and humble commoners in the days of Mary.

242. Mary's Foreign Policy: the Loss of Calais. In foreign policy, too, the queen failed. The marriage to Philip brought her the support of Spain but also the renewed hostility of France. In the war that inevitably followed, England lost Calais, her last possession on French soil. England was better off without Calais, but the loss wounded the national pride. Far worse was the difficulty that arose between Philip and the aged pope, Paul IV, who was a native of Naples and bitterly resented the Spanish activities in southern Italy. Thus Mary found herself at war even with the Holy See! Cardinal Pole, who had succeeded Cranmer as archbishop of Canterbury, was suspected of heresy. The English people began to feel that there was surely something wrong with the Roman system, when the head of the church could ally himself with the enemies of the land and make war on a queen so loyal and so Catholic as Mary Tudor.

The war with France.

Trouble with papacy.

243. The Last Days of Mary Tudor. But there was no rising. It was known that the queen was dying, and the nation refused to add to her sorrows. The last days of Mary Tudor were days of deep gloom and despair. She knew that Elizabeth would soon succeed her and she realized that her work would then be undone, as she had undone that of her father and brother. When her reign closed, Catholicism as an ecclesiastical system in England was thoroughly discredited. And for this result the methods and purposes of the queen herself were chiefly responsible.

Tragedy of Mary's life.

244. Summary. In ten years England had passed from the English form of Catholicism of Henry VIII to the Protestantism of Cranmer and back to the Roman Catholicism of Mary and Cardinal Pole. Many a priest who said mass in Latin in 1547 read the English Prayer Book two years later and was ordered to say mass once more in the reign of Mary. It was a difficult time for the individual conscience, though it is likely that the masses had not yet come to any clear convictions on religious matters. There was an evident drift toward Protestantism, but it was a sluggish movement. Peter Martyr, a famous Swiss reformer who was residing at Oxford, wrote in 1550: "The business of religion is making progress in this country, not indeed with the success and ardour that I could wish but yet far more than our sins deserve." Mary did her part, though it was unintentional, to develop English Protestantism. Her persecution not only caused a reaction against her faith, but it drove hundreds of Protestants to the reformed centers of the Continent where they came in touch with the newer ideas of Protestantism. And by causing the laws of Henry and Edward to be repealed she gave the English people freedom to choose what form of religion they wanted, and the nation finally chose the matured faith of Thomas Cranmer.

The drift toward Protestantism.

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CHAPTER XII

THE TRIUMPH OF ANGLICANISM

245. The Problem of the Succession. 1558. When Mary Tudor died (in November, 1558) the succession was again theoretically in doubt. According to the laws of descent as understood by Roman Catholics (and England was still officially in the Catholic communion), Mary Stuart was the legitimate heiress; but Henry's will, which was founded on a parliamentary statute, designated Elizabeth. Though Mary Stuart was of Tudor blood and directly descended from Henry VII, there were excellent reasons, aside from the statute, for rejecting her claims: she was queen of Scotland and dauphiness of France; with England and Ireland added to the possessions already held by her own and her husband's family, Mary Stuart would become the first monarch in Christendom. The union of Britain and France, the old dream of the Hundred Years' War, might now have been realized; but England could not endure the thought of being governed from Paris. A few hours after Mary Tudor's death, Elizabeth, the daughter of Anne Boleyn, was proclaimed Queen of England and began her glorious reign of nearly forty-five years.

The claims of Mary Stuart.

The European situation.

246. Queen Elizabeth.[1] Elizabeth came to the throne as a mature woman twenty-five years of age. The Tudors took pride in mental accomplishments, and Elizabeth like her father, Henry, and her cousin, the unfortunate Lady Jane, was carefully educated. Though a princess, she had not wholly escaped the severe lessons of experience in a rough world: during the reign of her

Queen Elizabeth: personality and character.

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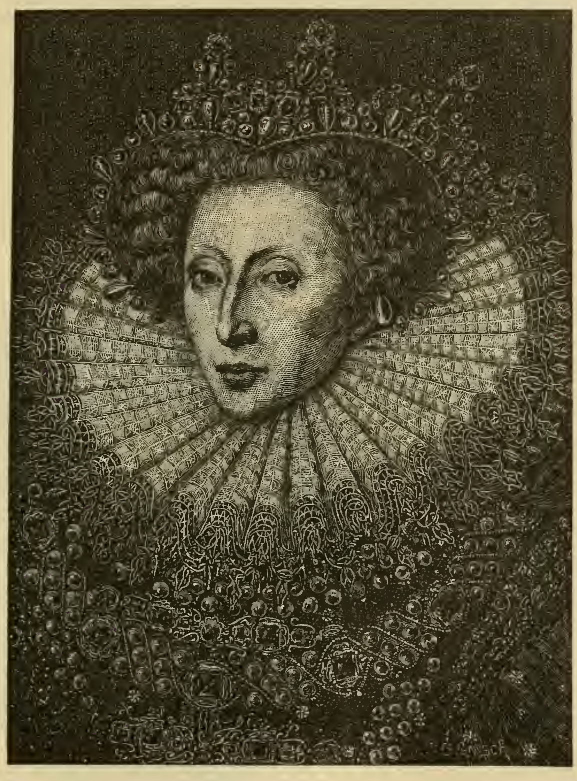
[1] Cheyney, Nos. 213, 218; Innes, I, 326–333; Kendall, No. 53; Robinson, No. 129; Tuell and Hatch, Nos. 33 (Ascham), 34 (Green). Most of the selections in the source books are from Melville's *Memoirs*.

sister Mary she was the object of constant suspicion on the part of the government. A rising in favor of Elizabeth and Protestantism actually had occurred four years earlier; but Elizabeth was too shrewd to become involved in any treasonable movements and escaped with a brief residence in the Tower. Like all the Tudors she was willful and stubborn, but she also had the Tudor love of approbation, and like the other rulers of the family she had a profound respect for the senti-

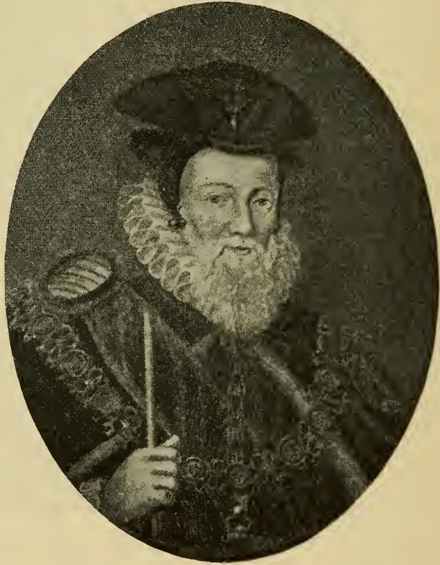


QUEEN ELIZABETH

The "Ermine portrait."

ment of the nation. She had inherited in full measure the frivolous nature of her mother, the stupendous vanity of her father, and the niggardly spirit of her grandfather Henry VII, though this did not extend to what she considered her personal needs: at the time of her death she is said to have possessed 3000 gowns. But she was also shrewd, spirited, and independent; she was determined in her purposes, and in every real crisis she displayed remarkable strength and self-reliance.

247. Her Ministers. During her entire reign Queen Elizabeth was the actual ruler of the kingdom, though the policies of the government were often those of her advisers rather than her own. The queen had the advantage of living in an age when the intellect of England flourished as never before. There was, therefore, no dearth of able counselors, and Elizabeth exercised great discretion in her choice of high officials. During the earlier part of her reign two men held the chief places in her council: William Cecil, later created Lord Burleigh, one of the most capable among English statesmen, who was secretary of state; and Matthew Parker, a clear-headed theologian and able ecclesiastical statesman who succeeded Reginald Pole as archbishop of Canterbury. Both of these men had decided Prot-



William Cecil, Lord Burleigh

From a portrait by Gheeraerts.

Lord Burleigh.

Matthew Parker.

estant leanings, but neither was an extremist. Associated with Burleigh and Parker was Nicholas Bacon, who held the high office of lord chancellor, but played a lesser part in the queen's government. The three were all Cambridge men and firmly believed in a church establishment of the type that had been outlined in the reforms of Thomas Cranmer.

Nicholas Bacon.

248. The Chief Problems. The two questions that had been uppermost at the accession of Mary Tudor, religion and the queen's marriage, also came into immediate prominence at the beginning of the new reign. However, the settlement that was reached was vastly different. Both for personal and political reasons, perhaps, Elizabeth did not marry. For political, perhaps also for personal reasons, she made the English church Protestant. In determining the form of the religious settlement, the queen had a choice among several differing types of worship and creed. Two great movements were at their height in the first year of her reign. The Council of Trent, the world-council of the Catholic church, had resumed its sessions and was making rapid progress in weeding out abuses. In Geneva the great Calvin had developed an extreme form of Protestantism which aimed at a republican system in church government, simplicity in the ceremonial of the church, and the acceptance of Protestant doctrines of the reformed type. But neither of these could possibly attract the English queen. Roman Catholicism denied the validity of her mother's marriage and left Elizabeth herself no rights whatever to the English throne. Nor is it likely that Elizabeth, who loved power as all the Tudors did, would have been willing to diminish her own authority in the kingdom by accepting the papal supremacy in the church. Equally unattractive was Calvinism, as it, too, denied the authority of the sovereign over the church. Public sentiment probably favored a return to the Anglican system of Henry VIII; but Elizabeth saw clearly that no form of Catholicism was now possible but that of Rome. The outcome was that the

The religious settlement.

Calvinism.

Anglican church was reorganized along the lines followed by the Protestant princes on the Continent; but care was taken to proceed with caution and to avoid extremes.

249. The Settlement of the Church.[1] The first necessity was to fill the episcopal offices with men who could be trusted to give loyal assistance in the work of transforming the church. The great number of vacancies that existed at the time made this a relatively easy task. Archbishop Pole, who was under suspicion of heresy during the last months of Mary's life, was naturally unable to act with much vigor and allowed several sees to remain vacant. He died within twenty-four hours of Queen Mary's death, and several of the other bishops followed him to the grave within the next few weeks. Other vacancies were created by plain deprivation: in all fourteen bishops were either deprived of their offices or induced to resign. As soon as suitable candidates could be found, these vacancies were filled, and gradually the bench of bishops in the house of lords was filled up with men of the reformed faith.

The appointment of bishops.

In the work of reconstruction Archbishop Parker adopted the principle of Cranmer that the English church should accept the religious system that came into England with Saint Augustine in 597; what had been developed since that time might be rejected. This principle allowed the retention of the episcopacy and the use of an elaborate ritual, for these had developed very early in the church. Cranmer's principle also allowed considerable freedom in the matter of doctrine, as the points of belief that were most in dispute were not formally and officially accepted and enforced by the church until long after the coming of Saint Augustine. Transubstantiation, for example, did not become a dogma before the days of Lanfranc; celibacy of the priests was not generally insisted upon before the pontificate of Gregory VII, who was Lanfranc's contemporary; confession was not made compulsory before the time of Innocent III.

Cranmer's principle adopted.

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[1] Gardiner, 429–431.

250. The Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy. 1559. As convocation at the opening of the reign was controlled by Catholic bishops who had not yet been deprived, the initial steps toward a reorganization of the church along reformed lines were taken by parliament. A few months after Elizabeth's accession two important acts were passed: the Act of Supremacy and the Act of Uniformity. The former restored to the crown the supreme authority in the church as it had existed in the days of Henry VIII and Edward VI, with the difference, however, that the supremacy was lodged with the government rather than with the person of the sovereign. The Act of Uniformity aimed to secure uniformity in ceremonies and worship, and prescribed Cranmer's Prayer Book in an amended form. Heavy penalties were provided for failure to use this form of worship and for making changes and omissions. These penalties, it was hoped, would discourage the continuance of Catholic worship; but it was soon found that the most violent enemies of the Prayer Book were to be found among the Protestants themselves.

The Act of Supremacy.

The Act of Uniformity: the Prayer Book.

An organized church presents three distinct and important phases: its government, its ritual, its creed. It was not Cranmer's or Parker's purpose to interfere with the hierarchy that had governed the church during the centuries, only to define the duties of the various officials and bring them into subordination to the crown. This was accomplished by virtually abolishing convocation and by giving the crown complete authority in the matter of episcopal appointments. The cathedral chapters, whose right to elect bishops had been theoretically recognized for four hundred years and more,[1] were retained; but they were forbidden to elect without a license from the king (*congé d'élire*). It was also provided that this license should be accompanied by another document called a "letter missive" which should contain the name of the candidate whom the chapter was instructed

Authority of the crown in episcopal appointments.

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[3] Review sec. 61.

to choose. The election by the chapter was thus reduced to a mere formality. At present the English bishops are virtually chosen by the prime minister, who may or may not be in sympathy with the Anglican church.

Bishops chosen by prime minister.

251. Ritual and Creed. The matter of the ritual was covered by the Prayer Book and the Act of Uniformity. The Prayer Book was the instrument by which the reformers hoped to reach and educate the masses who could not be expected to appreciate the distinctions and refinements of doctrine that delighted the theologians. No changes in the official creed except such as were implied in the form of worship were made for some years: in fact England can hardly be said to have had such a creed before 1563, when convocation drew up and signed the "Thirty-nine Articles;" but this statement did not receive parliamentary sanction and legal force before 1571.

The Thirty-nine Articles. 1571.

The reason for this delay is to be sought in the confused and dangerous situation of the time. Public sentiment was constantly changing and all shades of belief could be found from the most extreme Calvinism to the sternest Romanism. The government was not anxious to search hearts and to punish for opinions held, but was satisfied with outward conformity and attendance on the prescribed worship in the expectation that the coming generation would learn to love the Prayer Book and be loyal to the new standards. Menacing, too, was the situation abroad. After the Council of Trent Catholicism took up the fight with renewed vigor: the Jesuit order was at work in Protestant lands winning large numbers, especially families of prominence, back to the old faith. The Catholic princes, most of them following the leadership of Philip II, were striving for the same results by war and diplomacy. The Queen's government feared that harsh measures might drive the Romanist faction into an alliance with the Catholic forces on the Continent; but circumstances soon forced the government to take a decided stand on religious matters. In 1570

Uncertain state of public opinion.

Catholicism becomes aggressive.

the papacy assumed a more aggressive attitude; and the following year Parliament replied by giving the English church a reformed creed. The "Thirty-nine Articles," which are still the standard of faith among the Anglicans of the British Empire and the Episcopalians of our own country, are chiefly a revision of the "Forty-two Articles" drawn up by Cranmer in the last year of Edward's reign.[1] Thus it was Thomas Cranmer who gave the English church its creed as well as its forms of worship. The influence of Henry VIII and the work of parliament are important in the history of English Protestantism, but chiefly in giving force to the ideas and principles of Archbishop Cranmer.

Cranmer's place in the Reformation movement.

252. The Catholic Powers: Mary Stuart. When parliament began the work of reorganization in 1558, no power in Europe was in position to interfere. The Catholic monarchs would gladly have seen Elizabeth deposed, but the only possible Catholic candidate was Mary Stuart and her accession was not seriously considered. It was a part of the Spanish policy to prevent at all hazards a union of France and the British kingdoms, as the Channel would then be a closed passage, held by their combined fleets, and Philip II would be cut off from his possessions in the Netherlands, which were at the time the richest country in Europe. Two months after the passage of the acts of supremacy and uniformity, Mary became queen of France by the death of the king, Henry II. It seemed as if England with wise management would steer clear of foreign difficulties and that the reign would be one of quiet and peace.

Philip II and the candidacy of Mary Stuart.

But a year later (1560) Mary's husband, Francis II, died and his brother ascended the throne. The beautiful queen of only seventeen years was now a widow with Scotland alone as her kingdom. The death of the imbecile Francis made a complete change in the diplomacy of western Europe. The interest of all Europe became centered upon the ambitions of three women: Catherine de Medici,

Death of Francis II; Mary a widow.

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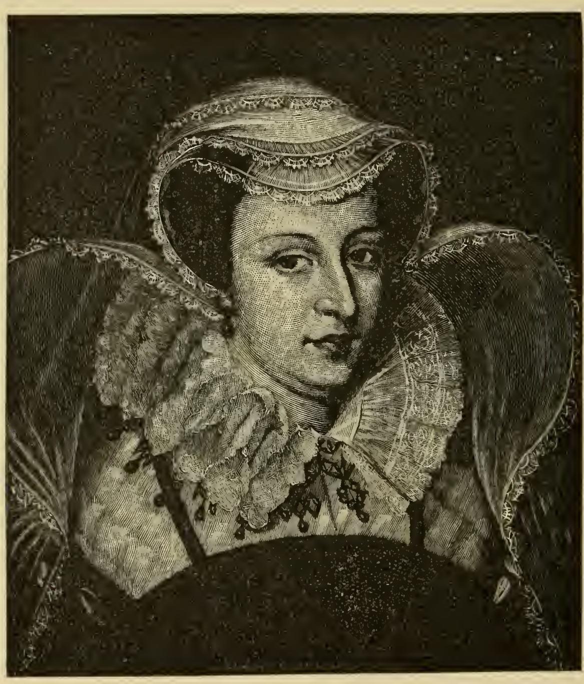
[1] See sec. 235.

Three ambitious women.

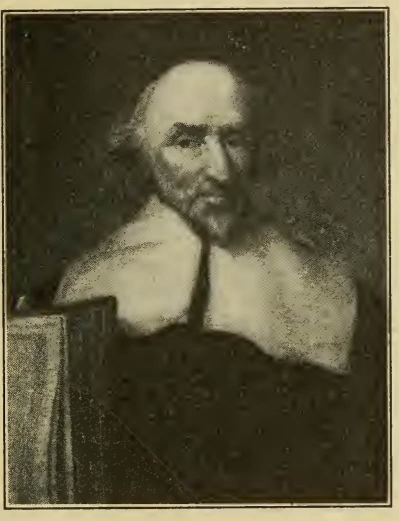
the queen-mother of France, who controlled that kingdom through her worthless sons; Elizabeth, queen of England, who, the Catholic world held, had no right whatever to her crown; and Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, young, attractive, and ambitious, whose hopes looked forward to the throne in Westminster. In none of these women were the virtues that we ordinarily associate with womanhood conspicuously present; nor were they noted for striking abilities as rulers or administrators: Elizabeth alone showed any real understanding of the problems of the age and she wisely committed the cares of statesmanship into the hands of capable men.



Mary Stuart

The chief result of Mary's widowhood and return to Scotland, so far as England was concerned, was to give the Catholic party a candidate for the English throne. Mary Stuart could now confidently count on the active support of Philip II. Now began a long intermittent struggle between Elizabeth and her Catholic enemies in Britain and on the Continent. For seventeen years the webs of intrigue were woven at home and abroad. In this fight the Romanists were the aggressors; but the queen foiled them at every point.

The Catholics rally about Mary Stuart.



JOHN KNOX

After a painting in the possession of Lord Somerville.

253. The Failure of Mary's Candidacy. The failure of these movements in the earlier years of the reign was due to several causes. Of first importance was the native loyalty of the English people who resented any suggestion of interference and dictation from abroad, even from Rome. Philip II had many irons in the fire, especially did a threatening revolt in the Netherlands prove an awkward hindrance. Nor could the Catholic party count much on Scotch support for its plans, for the Scotch people under the leadership of the energetic Calvinist John Knox had become Protestant.[1] Of great importance, too, was the fact that Elizabeth was unmarried. Her supposed desire to find a suitable husband was her strongest diplomatic asset.[2] If serious danger

Mary's difficulties.

Elizabeth's marriage negotiations.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 36; Innes, I, 325–328; selection from Knox.

[2] Innes, I, 341–344.

should threaten from any quarter of Europe, it might be averted by prolonged negotiations looking toward a matrimonial alliance: for it would not seem proper to make war on a future wife or daughter-in-law. At some time or other almost every marriageable prince in Europe, from Philip II of Spain to impoverished princelings in Germany, was a favored candidate for the queen's hand. With Elizabeth it was all merely a diplomatic game, but a game that she played with brilliant success for nearly twenty years.

254. Mary's Marriages: the Revolt of the Scotch Nobles. But the chief cause of the Catholic failure was Mary Stuart's scandalous behavior in the matter of her own marriages. Four years after her return to Scotland, the young queen took as king-consort her cousin Henry Darnley of the Lennox family. As the Lennoxes were related to both the Tudors and the Stuarts, the match was regarded as an advantageous one. But the queen, who had hoped for a husband who could help her support the burdens of state, soon discovered to her great chagrin that she had married a worthless trifler. After a year and a half of married life the queen was widowed for a second time; for Darnley was murdered by a group of conspirators among whom the earl of Bothwell was the chief.[1] Only three months later, Mary was Bothwell's bride. For the moment Mary was impossible as Catholic candidate for the English throne; for Bothwell was already a married man; furthermore, he was a Protestant, and a Protestant service had been used at the marriage. Such sinful disregard of the rules of the church no honest Catholic could overlook. Pius V sorrowfully cut off all communication with the erring queen.

Mary's second marriage: Darnley.

Darnley assassinated.

Mary's third marriage: Bothwell.

The dissatisfied Scotch lords took quick action. A month later the royal bride was made a prisoner and confined in Loch Leven castle. Here on a lonely island she spent nearly a year; but in the spring of 1568 she managed to escape.[2] Her supporters rallied and

Mary deposed; prisoner at Loch Leven.

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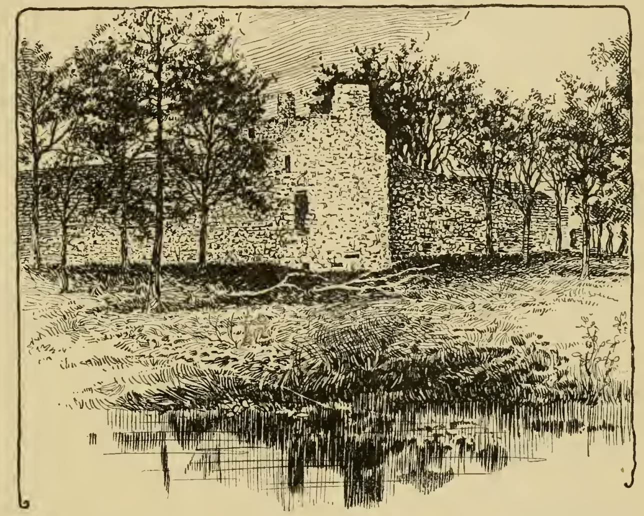
[1] Innes, I, 337–341.

[2] Kendall, No. 55.

fought the Protestant nobles at Langside, where the queen was defeated. Mary fled to England and threw herself on the mercy of her cousin and rival Elizabeth.[1] Her infant son James, in whose favor she had been forced to abdicate while a prisoner at Loch Leven castle, continued to rule in Scotland, while rival nobles plotted and fought for the regency.

Her flight to England. 1568.



Loch Leven Castle

Mary Stuart was imprisoned here from June, 1567 to May, 1568.

255. Mary as a Prisoner in England. 1568–1587. It is impossible to determine whether satisfaction or embarrassment was the stronger emotion that Elizabeth felt when she learned that Mary was on English soil. The Scotch queen had hoped for hospitality in England or for permission to continue her journey to France. She was disappointed in both: for nearly nineteen years she was kept a prisoner in England.[2] The imprisonment was not

Mary in England.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 37.

[2] Bates and Coman, 286–288 (Burns, *Lament of Mary*).

severe: Mary was, indeed, deprived of her liberty, but she enjoyed all the comforts of castle life and was allowed a large number of servants.

256. The Papal Attack. At Loch Leven Mary had become reconciled to the Roman church, and once more the enemies of Elizabeth could take hope. But their movements had to be planned and executed with the utmost care and secrecy, for Elizabeth virtually kept Mary as a hostage to insure the good behavior of her Catholic subjects. The two English border earls, however, raised the standard of revolt in Mary's interest in the following year (1569), but the rising was soon put down. Equally futile was an attempt on the part of Pius V to use the old weapon of excommunication against the English heretic queen. A bull issued in 1570 excommunicated Elizabeth, deprived her of her right to the kingdom, and released her subjects from their pledges of loyalty;[1] the queen was thus virtually deposed so far as the papacy could still exercise authority over princes. It was a most unwise step to take, however, as it forced the adherents of the old faith to choose between disloyalty to the queen, which meant treason in English law, and disobedience to the head of the church, which might mean peril to their souls, for all who adhered to her were "to be cut off from the unity of the body of Christ."[2] The weapon proved useless, and the papacy has never since attempted to depose a sovereign. The chief result of the pope's action was that parliament felt compelled to take the final step in the separation from Rome and made the "Thirty-nine Articles" the authoritative creed of the kingdom. All priests were ordered to subscribe to these, and thus the breach between Anglicanism and Romanism was made complete.

Elizabeth deposed by the pope. 1570.

Difficulties of the English Catholics.

The decade of the seventies saw few developments in the English situation. It was none the less a stirring period, with the interests of the English people widening as never before. The coming of Mary Stuart, the

European events.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 220; Gardiner, 441–442.

[2] Cheyney, No. 221.

rising in the north, and the papal bull had come in successive years (1568–1570); these events were followed by a plot against Elizabeth's life (1571) and the massacre of Saint Bartholomew's in France the following year. This was also the period of the Dutch revolt under the masterful leadership of William the Silent. The decade also witnessed repeated and successful piratical incursions on the part of the English sailors into Spanish American waters. All these events helped to intensify the hatred for Catholic Spain, to strengthen Protestant feeling in England, and to quicken the loyalty of Englishmen to their strong-hearted queen.

257. Seminary Priests and Jesuits in England.[1] In 1580 the papal attack was renewed, and a struggle began that lasted for ten years. The Catholics saw clearly that unless their priesthood in England could be recruited and the faithful kept in close touch with the church, Romanism must inevitably perish in the English kingdom. William Allen, a devout Englishman who was finally honored with the cardinalate, tried to meet this need by founding a seminary for English Catholics at Douai in northern France. In a few years these "seminary priests" became quite numerous and active in England; but they were not sufficiently aggressive to accomplish much in the way of converting the nation. In 1580, however, two men appeared in England who were filled with the spirit of conquest: they were the Jesuits Campion and Parsons. Both were Englishmen. Campion was a man of the highest character, enthusiastic for his faith, and filled with the missionary spirit. Parsons, on the other hand, was a common plotter. Their activity continued but a year, when Campion was seized and hanged along with several others,[2] while Parsons escaped and fled the country. Campion was executed under a new set of "recusancy laws," which made the practice of Catholic rites a crime.[3] These laws

Cardinal Allen and the seminary priests.

English Jesuits. 1580.

The "recusancy laws."

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[1] Gardiner, 453–454.

[2] Cheyney, No. 224; see also Nos. 225–227.

[3] Gardiner, 454.

were passed earlier in the same year (1581) to nullify the work of the Jesuits; but the order did not cease its activities.

258. Catholic Plots: the Association. The years 1582–1586 were years full of personal danger to the queen of England. In general all the various plots looked forward to the assassination of Elizabeth; the prompt invasion of England from northern France or the Netherlands, where Spain had a large army; the liberation and accession of Mary Stuart; and the reëstablishment of Roman Catholicism in England. In these plots the Jesuit Parsons and the Spanish king were the prime movers. In 1583 the English discovered that Philip II had a part in these plots, and the Spanish ambassador was driven from the land. The following year news came of the assassination of William of Orange at the open instigation of the Spanish king, and Englishmen grew fearful for the life of the queen.

Catholic plots.

It was clearly understood that the attempts on Elizabeth's life were all in the interest of the captive Mary, and the English were determined that no profit should come to her from the queen's death. Soon after the fall of the Dutch hero, loyal subjects of Elizabeth formed themselves into an "Association" whose members pledged themselves to take the life of any pretender in whose interest the queen might be murdered. Early the next year the aims of the Association were given confirmation by parliament.

The "Association."

259. Babington's Plot: Execution of Mary. 1587. The last plot against Elizabeth's life, called Babington's plot from its chief promoter, took form in 1586. Walsingham, one of the queen's secretaries, a shrewd Englishman who possessed the instincts of a detective and had reduced espionage to a system, discovered the conspiracy and secured the death of the plotters. He also charged the imprisoned queen with complicity in the plot. Mary Stuart was tried by a court created for the purpose, convicted, and executed (1587).[1]

Babington's plot.

Execution of Mary Stuart.

The unhappy queen has been idealized in art and literature and the picture presented is usually one that calls forth sympathy. But it should be remembered that outward attractiveness and a clever mind are not all that should be looked for in a queen. For her fate the activities of her friends are more to blame than those of her enemies. Apparently the Catholic powers did not realize the hopelessness of Mary's cause in England; it is not likely that her life would have been safe a single day if Elizabeth had fallen a victim to assassination. The queen signed the death warrant with much reluctance and is not to be blamed for Mary Stuart's death. The Scotch queen was condemned and executed by an indignant nation; Elizabeth merely yielded to and carried out the popular demand.

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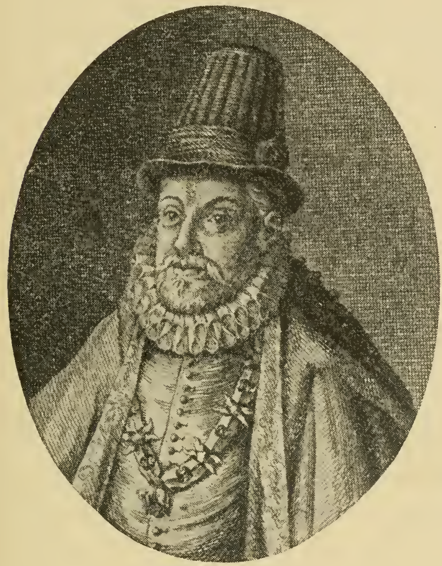
[1] Kendall, No. 58.



PHILIP II
After a painting by J. Pusst

Was Mary Stuart's fate deserved?

260. The Spanish Attack: the Armada. Before her death Mary made a will in which she transferred her supposed rights to the English crown to Philip II. In England such a document could have no force or value; but it gave the Spanish king a further pretext for attacking England. He also urged his own descent from Edward III who had ruled six generations earlier. Realizing the impracticability of uniting the crowns of England and Spain, he seems to have intended that the kingdom of England should go to his daughter Isabella.

Philip prepares to attack England.

Philip had other and better reasons for making war on Elizabeth. The English seamen had surely taken unwarranted liberties in the American waters; and in assisting the rebels in the Netherlands England had virtually invited war. Mary was executed in February, 1587, and Philip hoped to invade England during the summer of the same year. But, while he was preparing for the expedition, Francis Drake made a raid along the Spanish coast, which proved so destructive to the Spanish stores and ships that the invasion had to be postponed to the following year.[1]

The "Invincible Armada."

In 1588 the "Invincible Armada" appeared in English waters. It was a large fleet of about 130 ships, though not all of these were effective in fight. Against these the English had assembled an even more numerous fleet, but the individual ships were smaller. On the whole, however, the advantage was with the English. The battle was to be fought in the Channel, where the queen's captains knew every headland and inlet, while the Spanish pilots had but little knowledge of these waters. The English artillery was better and was more effectively used; but the greatest advantage of all was the fact that on the English ships were the best sailors and the greatest captains in the world.

The battle in the Channel.

The battle in the Channel in 1588 is a landmark in the history of naval warfare. For centuries the object of the captains was to come into close quarters with the enemy, so that his ship might be boarded and seized. The battle would then be fought out on the opponent's deck, and for such fighting considerable forces of soldiery were required; the Armada was, accordingly, well manned in this respect. But that year the English employed new tactics: their plan was to fight from a distance, to destroy or disable the enemy's ships. In such warfare the soldiers on the Spanish ships were not only of no service, but a positive hindrance to effective action.[2]

Early in May, the Spanish Armada gathered in Lisbon harbor and on the 20th proceeded northward. But a storm interfered with the progress of the fleet and it was compelled to seek refuge in Corunna. It was not a very hopeful host that gathered here; the Spanish admiral, who had no knowledge of what naval warfare meant, urged that the venture be given up; but Philip's purpose was immovable. He hoped that the fleet would at least reach the coast of Flanders in safety and assist in transporting his forces in the Spanish Netherlands to English soil. It was this junction of forces that the English were determined to prevent.

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[1] Gardiner, 458.

[2] *Ibid.*, 459–460.

The Armada sails. 1588.

261. Defeat of the Armada;[1] Results. While the Spaniards were still at Corunna, the major part of the English fleet was gathering in Plymouth harbor, while a smaller flotilla was holding a position at the east of the Channel. The Plymouth fleet was commanded by Admiral Howard with Drake and Hawkins as vice admirals. The English plan was to act chiefly on the defensive, to harry the rear of the Armada, and gradually to hammer the great fleet into pieces. On July 12 the Spaniards weighed anchor at Corunna; seven days later their sails were sighted off Lizard Point.[2] During the night of July 19 and 20, the English worked their way out of Plymouth harbor in the face of the wind from the south which was driving the enemy up the Channel. They did not open fire before the Armada had passed. For a week the two fleets sailed eastward together, renewing the fight from time to time. No great impression was made on the Armada, but the Spaniards were prevented from carrying out their plans and found it necessary to seek refuge in Calais.

Tactics of the English seamen.

The decisive action was fought at Gravelines, a few miles from Calais, on July 29. The night before, while the Armada was at anchor in Calais roads, the English had sent fire ships in among the Spanish vessels. The Spaniards became panic stricken; they cut their cables and started for the open sea. In their attack the next morning the

The fight at Gravelines.

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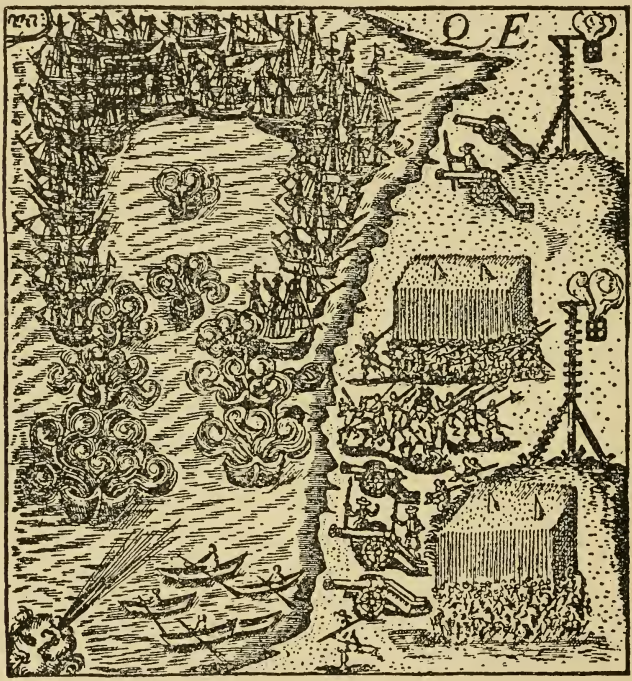
[1] Innes, I, 365–375.

[2] Bates and Coman, 288–293 (Macaulay).

English were victorious, and the Armada took the only possible chance to escape, — flight eastward into the North Sea. The journey back to Spain around the north of Scotland was a series of disasters, and only half of the "invincible" fleet found its way back to Spanish waters. The English loss had been slight: one ship and one hundred men.[1]



THE ENGLISH SEND FIRE SHIPS INTO THE ARMADA

From a contemporary broadside. The fire ships are drifting into the midst of the Spanish fleet. On the shore is Queen Elizabeth (on horseback) with her artillery and pikemen ready to prevent a landing.

The defeat of the Spanish Armada had far-reaching results. The power of Spain was paralyzed. The Catholic party gave up its desperate attempt to displace Elizabeth and began a search for a suitable candidate to succeed the queen after her death. The Romanist reaction was given a serious check which was emphasized the following year by the victory at Ivry of Henry IV, the Protestant candidate for the French crown. The confidence of the English nation was immensely strengthened. The English were now in position to reach out in all directions. The idea of a British kingdom began gradually to be coupled with the newer dream of a British empire. With Spain removed as a dangerous competitor, England began to reach out for her share of the wealth that was coming to Europe in Spanish ships from the East and the West. Less than twenty years after the battle in the Channel, the English were building colonies in America and trading in the East Indies. Spain still claimed North America for herself: it had been assigned to her by the pope when he drew the demarcation line a century earlier; but England had repudiated Rome and had lost her fear of Spain.

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[1] Robinson, No. 130; Gardiner, 462.

The Romanist reaction checked.

Growth of English maritime power.

262. Summary. Queen Elizabeth came to the English throne at a fortunate hour: the hands of her enemies were bound. While Mary Stuart was queen of France, Elizabeth could count on effective support from Philip II. For two years Elizabeth was reasonably secure on her throne, and during these two years the queen and her ministers rebuilt the Anglican church along Protestant lines. But when the widowed Mary Stuart returned to Scotland in 1561, the period of security was ended. The nation was threatened with great danger. The Presbyterian movement in Scotland, however, gave Mary Stuart enough to do for a time, and in a few years her indiscretions made her impossible as a queen in her own kingdom. In 1568 she fled to England where she was kept as a hostage for nearly nineteen years. Danger again threatened in 1569 and the following year; but England and Elizabeth escaped once more. Spain and France were more hostile toward each other than toward Protestant England. Religious wars were devastating France; Philip II was wasting his resources in the Netherlands; no Catholic power was prepared to strike at the island kingdom. Ten years of comparative peace followed; but in 1580 the Jesuit order began to operate in England and the quiet was at an end. Now came a series of plots looking toward the assassination of Elizabeth in the interest of the captive Mary Stuart. The outcome of these was the execution of the Scottish queen in 1587. The next year the storm that had threatened so long broke over the Channel; but when it had passed it was the cause of England's enemies that had been defeated. England was stronger than ever before.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

263. Material Progress in the Sixteenth Century. The sixteenth century was an age of tremendous changes in the life and civilization of the English people. Most of these occurred during the life-time of Elizabeth. The queen was born while the Reformation movement was in its earliest stage; she lived through times of intense religious agitation and reaction; but she finally saw her own ideas successfully realized. The religious change alone would suffice to make the period memorable, but it was only one of many. Old ways and ancient ideas were rapidly being discarded, and the England of Elizabeth's old age was not the England of her youth. The new forms of material and intellectual life were particularly evident during the last quarter of the century, which has therefore been called the "Elizabethan age."

Changes of the Tudor period.

The closer contact with southern and eastern Europe, which Henry VII had done so much to promote, naturally resulted in the growth of new wants and necessities among the people. The English began to crave more comforts and luxuries than they had earlier enjoyed. The increasing knowledge of how the world lived beyond the seas of Britain was also a potent factor. It is said that three changes in the English home were peculiarly evident in the days of Elizabeth: the houses that were built were more comfortable; the bed rooms were better and more richly furnished; and the table-ware showed marked improvement.[1]

Elizabethan homes.

In earlier times all the houses except the more pretentious ones were built with an open hearth in the middle of the principal room and around this hearth the family gathered in cold weather; here, too, the meals were cooked. The smoke found its way out through a lanthorn in the roof as in the Anglo-Saxon houses, and it was counted no annoyance to have it collect in the room. But in the queen's day men built fireplaces with chimneys, to the great disgust of their elders who missed their old discomforts. The windows, too, were being improved by the substitution of glass for horn and lattice. In the sleeping rooms pillows became more common and the straw pallets gave place to more comfortable bedding. Articles of pewter and tin took the place of the older wooden bowls and spoons on the table; in the wealthier households silver ware was also coming into use. Carpets, too, were now regarded with much more favor than earlier.

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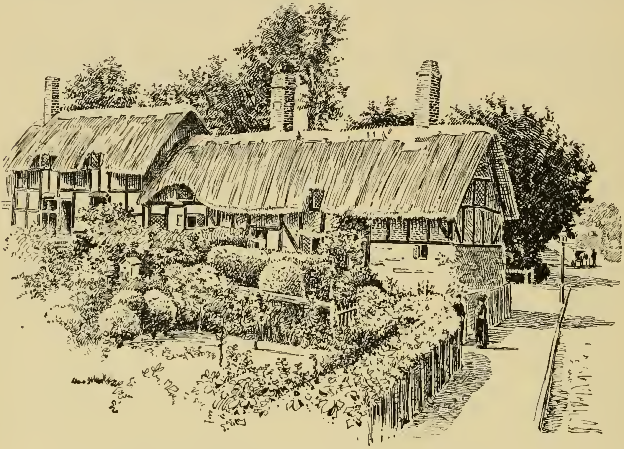
[1] Cheyney, No. 191 (Erasmus); Gardiner, 464–468; Kendall, No. 67 (Harrison).



ANN HATHAWAY'S COTTAGE, STRATFORD

From a photograph by W. H. Dudley.

Furnishings.

Considerable change is also seen in the matter of food and clothing. Earlier custom had called for four meals daily, but in Tudor times the number was reduced to two: "and each one (except here and there some young hungrie stomach that cannot fast till dinner-time) contenteth

Food and drink.

himself with dinner and supper only." The Venetian trade had brought to England the luxuries of the Orient, especially its silks and spices. From other southern lands came wine, of which the Englishman recognized fifty-six varieties. From the New World came tobacco and the potato. Sir Walter Raleigh tried to cultivate these on his Irish estate; the tobacco plant seems not to have flourished, but the experiment with the potato was apparently successful.

Interest in America and the Indies.

264. English Interest in the New World.[1] These products and many others that came from the newly discovered lands in Africa and America together with the immense riches that flowed regularly from the Indies into the treasuries of Spain stirred up a desire in the English heart to sail the unknown seas and trade on the new shores. But the power of Philip II stood in the way: Spain claimed a monopoly of American enterprises; and after Philip became king of Portugal (1580), all the wealth of the West and the East had to pass through his ports.

Spanish settlements in the West Indies.

The Spaniards had lost no time in making good their claim to the New World: before his return to Spain in 1493, Columbus planted a settlement on the island of Haiti which he named Isabella in honor of the great queen of Castile. In 1509, the year of Henry VIII's accession to the English kingship, settlements were founded on the neighboring islands of Puerto Rico and Jamaica; two years later Cuba was settled. During the second decade of the century, while the European monarchs were struggling for bits of Italian soil and Thomas Wolsey was chiefly concerned about the balance of power in Europe, Spain extended her operations to the mainland about the Caribbean Sea, and in 1519 she began the conquest of Mexico. Two years earlier Martin Luther had risen in opposition to the papacy, and the attention of the Continent outside of Spain was soon given almost wholly to the Protestant movement in Germany. Ten years later, when Henry VIII was in the midst of his fight

Mexico and Peru.

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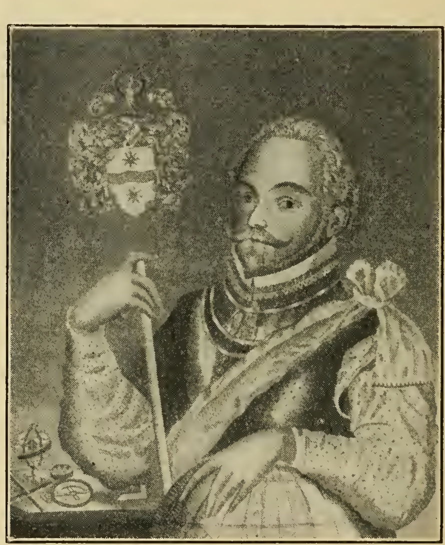
[1] Gardiner, 446–449.

with the papacy, the conquest of Peru was begun in earnest. Before Henry VIII's reign had closed, Spain had founded settlements in the Americas from northern Mexico to Valparaiso and Buenos Ayres. Trade on the American shores was forbidden to all but Spanish merchants.

The English pirates.

It was not to be expected that English seamen, who did not always respect the rights of English merchants, should make the Spanish claims a matter of conscience, especially since Protestant England looked on Philip II as the chief of her Catholic enemies. Accordingly there grew up a form of expeditions to the Spanish American waters that were scarcely better than piracy.



Sir Francis Drake

From an engraving published in 1587.

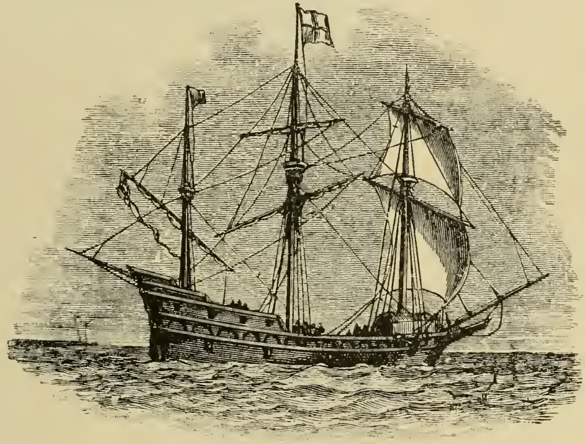
265. John Hawkins and Francis Drake. The pioneer among these dreaded English seamen was Sir John Hawkins, a ship captain from the Devon country, whose father had made several expeditions to Spanish America about 1530. Sir John also enjoys the doubtful distinction of being the first English slaver. His operations in Guinea and the West Indies extended through nearly the entire reign of Queen Elizabeth. Among others who imitated Hawkins in piracy were Richard Grenville and Sir Walter Raleigh, both of whom were Devon men, but particularly Francis Drake, a kinsman of John Hawkins, and probably the boldest seaman of his time.

Sir John Hawkins.

Devon sailors.

Francis Drake.

During the last three decades of the sixteenth century the most terrible name to Spanish ears was "the Dragon," Francis Drake. In a number of raids he visited Spanish America, seizing and plundering ships. His greatest achievement, however, was the circumnavigation of the globe in the years 1577–1580.[1] With five little ships he left Plymouth, but Drake's own ship alone saw the western coast of South America. Having secured vast plunder on the Peruvian coast and fearing to return through the Straits of Magellan, he continued his journey northward to Vancouver's Island. From this point he struck westward across the Pacific, and after many dangerous adventures returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope. He arrived in England at a time when the nation was in great fear of impending war with Spain; and it was Drake's bold protest and advice that prevented the privy council from agreeing to a humiliating treaty with Philip II. The queen rewarded the great captain with the honors of knighthood and 10,000 pounds of the plundered bullion.



DRAKE'S "GOLDEN HIND"
In this he sailed round the world, 1577–1580.

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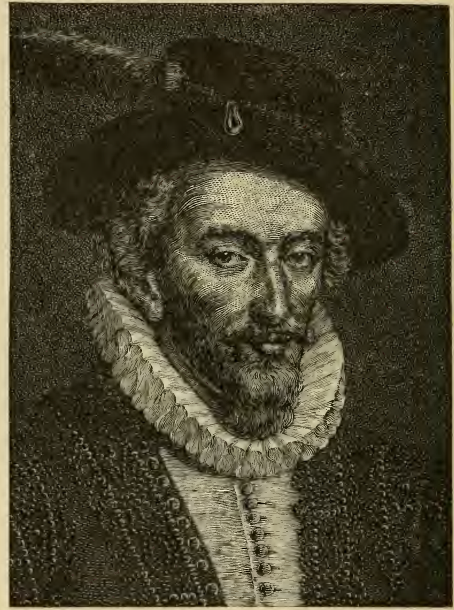
[1] Cheyney, No. 229; Innes, I, 344–351.

Walter Raleigh.

266. Walter Raleigh: Virginia. Sir Walter Raleigh is also counted among the heroes of Devon, but his intellect was of a finer quality than that of Drake or Hawkins; his purposes were larger and his plans more enduring. It was Raleigh's idea that the power of Spain might be weakened not only by seizing her American treasure ships, but by appropriating and colonizing parts of the American mainland. His ideas were shared by his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who in 1583 tried to establish a colony in Newfoundland. This was the first English colony, but it failed because suitable colonists had not been secured. Two years later Raleigh founded a settlement on Roanoke Island[1] off the coast of North Carolina or, as it was then called, Virginia. This proving a failure, he made another attempt in 1587. But the times were unfavorable for such a venture. The danger from Spain was becoming real, and the authorities could not be induced to render assistance at a moment when all the resources of the kingdom might be needed to meet the enemy. The second colonizing expedition set sail for Virginia only about two months after the execution of Mary Stuart. The colony was

Humphrey Gilbert. 1583.

Roanoke Island.


Sir Walter Raleigh

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 38.

not reinforced as planned, doubtless because England was using all her energies in preparing to meet the expected Armada. Consequently the Roanoke colony was lost; but the idea survived and twenty years later Englishmen succeeded in planting a permanent settlement at Jamestown.

Failure of Raleigh's colonizing ventures.

267. The Northwest Passage. There was another idea that haunted the English seamen in the Tudor period: John Cabot's belief that the northwest passage would shorten the route to the Orient lived through all the century. In Queen Elizabeth's day two famous navigators were sent in search of this route: Sir Martin Frobisher and John Davis, whose name has been given to Davis Strait. Frobisher was in the Arctic[1] during the years when Drake made his wonderful journey around the globe; Davis sailed on a similar mission ten years later. These expeditions brought no material gains, however, and the belief in a northwest passage was discredited.

Frobisher and Davis.

268. John Davis and the East India Company. More fortunate was John Davis in other waters. In the early years of the century, while Spain was building colonies in the West Indies and on the American mainland, the Portuguese were developing an extensive and profitable trade in the East Indies. Throughout the Tudor century, Lisbon was the great distributing center for Asiatic products. After 1580, however, the commercial importance of Lisbon began to decline; for in that year Philip II ascended the throne of Portugal, and merchants from rebellious Holland and heretic England were no longer welcome in Lisbon harbor. But with the destruction of the Armada the fear of the Spanish galleons was removed and seven years later the Dutch were establishing themselves in the East Indies as rivals of the Portuguese merchants. The Dutch, however, were too anxious for large profits and materially raised the prices of Oriental products: the price of pepper, for instance, was advanced from three to eight shillings per pound.

The East Indies.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 228.

These excessive prices led to a movement on the part of the merchants in London looking toward the formation of an Asiatic trading company like the trading companies that were operating in Russia, Turkey, and Morocco.[1] On the last day of the century the East India Company was chartered and was given the monopoly of English commerce from the Cape of Good Hope eastward to Cape Horn. In the following spring a fleet of five ships sailed from London to India. Davis, who had accompanied a Dutch expedition to the same waters not long before, served as pilot. The venture proved highly successful, the merchants interested netting a profit of ninety-five per cent. But the expedition of 1601 had other results that were even greater: it marked the beginning of the English empire in India.

The East India Company. 1600.

269. Theology and Philosophy: Hooker and Bacon. Glorious as are the maritime annals of the Elizabethan age, grander still are those of literature. For this was the time of Hooker and Bacon, of Spenser and Shakespeare. Hooker[2] was the theologian of the period: his *Ecclesiastical Polity* was written in defense of Anglicanism against the attack of a reforming party in the church, the Puritans. Another great writer of English prose was Francis Bacon, the son of the lord chancellor to whose office he was later elevated. Bacon was the first great English philosopher. His achievement was to develop a new method of thought and reasoning, the inductive, by which a conclusion is reached from the examination of a number of particular instances. The world has always reasoned inductively, but it was Francis Bacon who first reduced the process to scientific form and gave it a scientific basis.

Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

Francis Bacon.

270. Elizabethan Poets: Spenser and Shakespeare. Edmund Spenser was known through most of Elizabeth's reign as a faithful government official in the Irish civil service. His employment was more honorable than profitable, it seems; he was given a castle and three thousand

Spenser.

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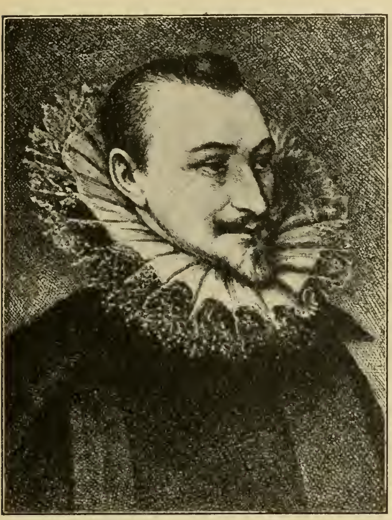
[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 150–151, 164–169.

[2] Gardiner, 472–473.

acres in the county of Cork; but the estate appears to have had scenic attractions only. In these Irish solitudes, however, he found time and inspiration for literary labors: for a poem addressed to the queen he was allowed a pension, which was not regularly paid, however, as Burleigh's practical soul objected to paying "all this for a song." He is best known for his *Faery Queene*, a poem in praise of Elizabeth, the first cantos of which were not published before the queen was nearly sixty years old and had lost all the physical attractions that she struggled so hard to conserve[1]. But this fact did not discourage Edmund Spenser; he writes that


EDMUND SPENSER

The Faery Queene.

"Fairer and nobler liveth none this hour,
Ne like in grace, ne like in learned skill;
Therefore they Glorian call that glorious flower;
Long mayst thou, Glorian, live in glory and great power." [2]

Shakespeare.

But the greatest genius of the century was William Shakespeare, who developed the dramatic art to a higher point of excellence than literature had known before. Shakespeare was an indifferent actor from Stratford, whose connection with the stage was important in that it taught him his dramatic methods. The life that is reflected in Shakespeare's plays is that of the declining years of the queen's life. It may be doubted whether his writings could have reached their wonderful excellence if it had not been for the inspiration of the age and its magnificent achievements. Like all other Englishmen Shakespeare had great reverence for Queen Elizabeth. A few years after her death he placed these prophetic words on the tongue of Cranmer who assisted at her baptism:

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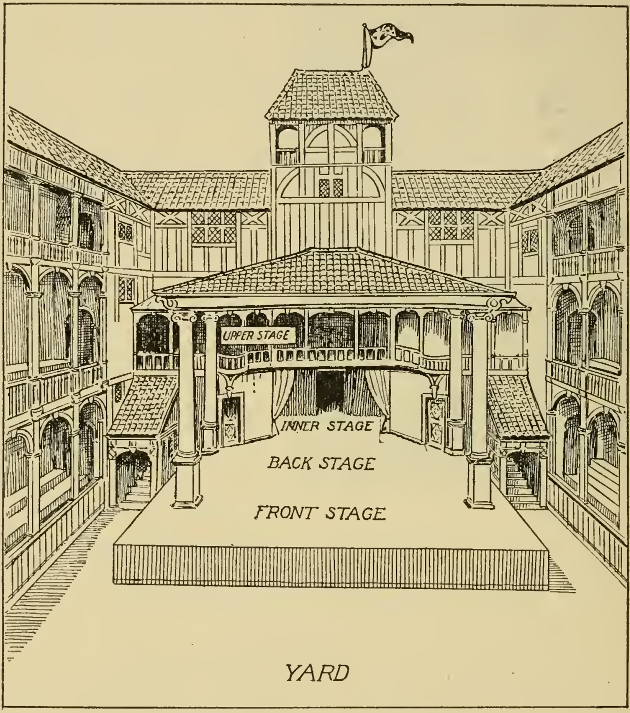
[1] Robinson, No. 131.

[2] *Faery Queene*, Book II, Canto X.



Shakespeare's Globe Theatre

"All princely graces
That mould up such a mighty piece as this is,
With all the virtues that attend the good
Shall still be doubled on her: truth shall nurse her,
Holy and heavenly thoughts still counsel her.

. . . .

In her days, every man shall eat in safety
Under his own vine what he plants, and sing

> The merry song of peace to all his neighbors:
> God shall be truly known, and those about her
> From her shall read the perfect ways of honor." [1]

As Elizabeth was no longer living, this cannot be regarded as mere flattery: it was the poet's way of saying that wisdom had ruled in the government, that Protestantism had triumphed, and that the reign had been one of prosperity and peace. No doubt it was easy to idealize the queen in the days of James I, who had no "princely graces" and whose thoughts were not "holy and heavenly." The praise of King James that continues the prophetic strain may be regarded as mere flattery that the poet addressed from motives of expediency.

271. The Last Years of Elizabeth. The last ten years of the sixteenth century saw, perhaps, more strong and brilliant men in England than any earlier period had beheld. Hawkins, Howard, Drake, and Grenville were still striking terror into the hearts of Spain; Frobisher and Davis were still sailing waters known and unknown; Raleigh was active in many lines, as poet, conqueror, and courtier; Spenser was publishing his masterpiece; Hooker and Bacon were investigating profound problems in politics and science; Shakespeare was writing his immortal plays.

Giants of the Elizabethan age.

The same decade also saw the greater number of these giants play their final part on the Elizabethan stage. In 1591, Sir Richard Grenville with his little ship, the *Revenge*, fought fifty-three Spanish ships near the Azores and was finally taken after a night and a day.[2] Four years later old John Hawkins and Francis Drake led their last attack on the Spanish Main. Hawkins died the same year at Puerto Rico, and Drake eleven weeks later near the Isthmus of Panama.[3] Frobisher fell in Brittany in 1594. Lord Burleigh died in 1598. Others were withdrawing from

The last of the great Elizabethans.

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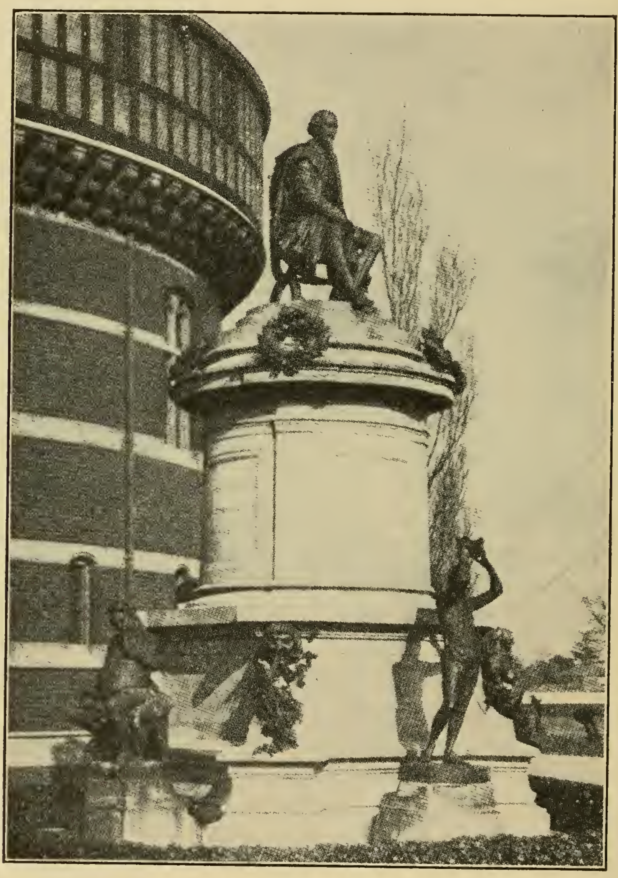
[1] *Henry VIII*, Act V, sc. 5; see also *Midsummer-night's Dream*, Act II, sc. 1, where Oberon refers to Elizabeth as "a fair vestal, throned by the west."

[2] Bates and Coman, 295–302 (Tennyson, *The Revenge*).

[3] *Ibid.*, 293–294 (Newbolt, *Drake's Drum*).

active life and service. Old age and loneliness stole upon the masterful queen, and it is not strange that flatterers and favorites should find important places at the royal court. Their influence was not of the best. The last few years of Elizabeth's reign heard a great deal of complaint: Englishmen were much displeased with the queen's government. The problems that



The Shakespeare Memorial, Stratford

gave most concern were the creation of monopolies in trade and manufacture; the unsettled state of Ireland; the question of the succession; and the unsatisfactory situation of the church.

Domestic problems and discontent.

272. The Monopolies.[1] It had long been the custom of kings to grant exclusive rights to manufacture and sell certain necessities. For such rights annual payments were made to the crown, and the government consequently could see little wrong in the practice. But as the monopolies covered such articles as glass, soap, starch, and salt, there was naturally much complaint of extortionate prices. For twenty-five years the agitation against such favors was kept up; but it was not until 1601 that any step was taken to cancel any of these grants.[2] Only partial relief was given, however, and the problem remained.

The right of monopoly.

273. The Problem of Ireland. The Plantation of Ulster.[3] The Irish problem may be said to have originated when Henry VIII elevated Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom and placed the crown on his own head. The English kings, whose authority had earlier been practically limited to the Pale, were ambitious to control the whole island; and to secure a firmer hold upon the country the queen's government planned to colonize the disaffected parts of the island with Englishmen. It was easy enough to find men like Raleigh who would gladly become Irish landlords; but real colonists were not forthcoming before the seventeenth century. The attempts of the English kings to plant settlements and to organize the island into shires irritated the Irish chiefs and several uprisings resulted which were led by the Fitzgeralds, a Norman-Irish family that controlled large parts of southern Ireland, and the O'Neills, a native Irish family whose power lay in the extreme north. All these uprisings failed; but they were a source of continued expense to

Attempts to colonize Ireland.

Irish rebellions.

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[1] Gardiner, 478; Innes, *Industrial Development*, 152–154.

[2] Cheyney, No. 243.

[3] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 151–152.

the English government and brought on strained relations with parliament; for the commons were sure to bring up the grievance of the monopolies whenever the queen asked for additional funds to be used against the rebellious Fitzgeralds, O'Neills, and O'Donnells.

The Irish troubles culminated in the plantation of Ulster early in the next reign. As the rising of O'Neill in 1595 was not general, it scarcely could hope for success and was put down after several years of fighting in the year of the queen's death (1603). In 1607 the defeated chiefs appear to have planned another uprising, but they found little response among the natives and fled the land. On the theory that the lands of the Irish tribe belonged to the chief, King James, who had succeeded Elizabeth, declared large areas of the land in Ulster forfeited to the crown, and proceeded to colonize the region with Protestants from England and Scotland. Most of the new settlers were Scotch Presbyterians who made excellent colonists. The four northeastern counties of Ireland are still the most progressive and prosperous section of the island, and Belfast is its chief port. The natives were not driven out of Ulster, but the colonists became the dominant class. Unfortunately a strong feeling of hostility grew up between the Ulster Presbyterians and the Irish elsewhere on the island, and this feeling shows no signs of abatement. The plantation of Ulster had a precedent in Elizabeth's project for the colonization of southern Ireland twenty years earlier at the time when Raleigh and Spenser received their Irish estates. The Ulster settlement came to be of great importance, as it has always remained loyal to the English king.

Plantation of Ulster.

274. Virginia. Another line of Tudor policy was carried out in the same year by the settlement of Virginia at Jamestown. For this, King James deserves little honor, as he did not believe in such colonization. The venture was a direct result of the commercial operations in Russia, the Levant, and the Indies: the Virginia Company was one of a series of trading companies of which the East India Company

The Virginia Company.

was the most prominent. The company was an association of merchants in London and Plymouth; but the leading spirits were Gosnold the navigator, who had visited the American shores earlier, Edward Wingfield, a London merchant, Sir John Popham, an eminent English judge, Ferdinando Gorges, a naval officer, and the adventurer John Smith. The company was chartered in 1606, and on the following New Year's Day three ships carrying 105 men sailed out into the Atlantic to plant the British Empire in America,[1] as it had been planted six years before in India.

Jamestown. 1607.

275. The Succession. As the years passed, England became more and more solicitous about the succession: the queen was approaching the edge of the grave; but no one knew who was to succeed her. The Tudor dynasty was not without its representatives; but none of them possessed the dignity of station necessary to a candidate for the throne. Elizabeth's nearest relative in England was Lord Beauchamp, a nephew of Lady Jane Grey; and the queen probably had him in mind when she said that no rascal should sit on her throne. Whether she ever really designated James Stuart, "our cousin, of Scotland,"[2] as her successor is not known and is not important, as no will without parliamentary sanction could dispose of the crown. James, however, was the queen's nearest male kinsman, and, though ineligible so long as Henry's will was still law, he had a strong following among the English magnates, who hoped that his accession would secure the peaceful union of the two crowns and perpetual peace in Great Britain. There was much intriguing in favor of the Stuarts during the last years of Elizabeth's life, and it is said that many prominent Englishmen had accepted Stuart gold. In March, 1603, the day after the great queen's death, the privy council proclaimed James I the king of England; the people of England gladly acquiesced; and a few weeks later the Scotch king mounted the throne without opposition.

The problem of the succession.

Accession of James I.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 264.

[2] Gardiner, 480.

276. Achievements of the Tudor Dynasty. For a little more than a century the Tudors had ruled in England and during this period they had achieved much that has endured. In the sixteenth century England came to hold an entirely new position in Europe. Papal control and influence were a thing of the past; and the English church had been rebuilt on a Protestant basis. English commerce had reached out to the new continents and an English ship had girdled the earth. Spain, whose immense power had overshadowed Europe, was crushed when the Armada was defeated, and England was left without a serious rival on the sea. All ambition to rule Continental territory was surrendered; but the English flag had been planted in Virginia and in India — the British Empire was born in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. To the Stuart dynasty the Tudors passed on their policies and ambitions: plans for further commercial development; plans for the union of the Scotch and English crowns; plans for colonial expansion. These were in great measure realized during the earlier years of the new reign. But the Stuarts also inherited the strife that had arisen between Elizabeth and parliament and the problem of composing the difficulties that had arisen within the English church.[1]

The Anglican church.

Imperial ambitions.

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[1] Masterman, 96–102.

CHAPTER XIV

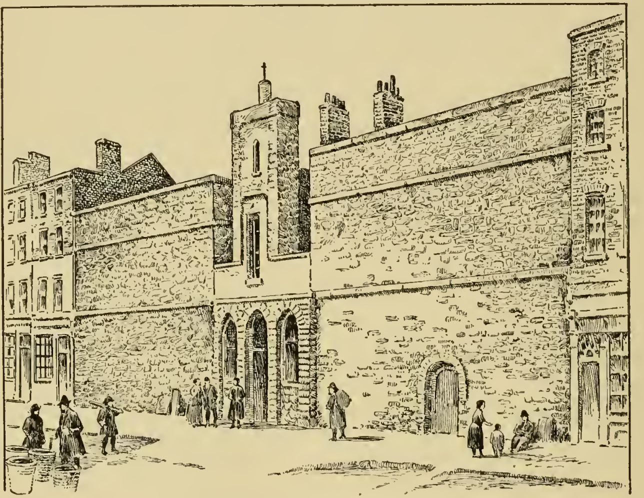
THE RISE OF THE PURITAN PARTY

277. The Opponents of Anglicanism. The Anglican church had received its sanction from parliament. Its government rested on statutory acts; its worship was ordained by the legislature; even its creed was authorized by law. These various acts were to a large extent dictated by a spirit of compromise and consequently the establishment did not satisfy all classes; still, so long as the conflict with Rome was on, the quarrel over details was kept down. But with the final victory for Protestantism in the early years of Elizabeth's reign, the internal strife broke out in earnest. The dissatisfaction at first was chiefly with the ceremonies and worship of the church, which many felt were too nearly like those of Romanism. This feeling had existed in England since the beginning of the Protestant movement: John Hooper, who is sometimes called the first Puritan, refused to wear the scarlet robes of the episcopal office which the church required in the days of Edward VI; he was also unwilling to take the episcopal oath; he was "argued with learnedly, kindly, patiently, and when this did not answer was thrown into the Fleet." The Marian exiles, who on the Continent had come into contact with the bald and simple worship of Calvinism, did much to spread and intensify this opposition to elaborate robes and ceremonies. In the matter of doctrine there was but little disagreement: the English Protestants were inclined to accept on disputed points the theology of John Calvin rather than that of the German reformers. Soon, however, a strong opposition also arose to the Anglican form of church government, which in time developed an intense bitterness.

Early dissatisfaction with Anglicanism.

The Marian exiles; Calvinism.

278. Puritanism. The men who began to mutter opposition to the established order soon came to be known as Puritans, men who wished to purify the ceremonial of the church. The term Puritan is very inclusive, and is often used as a general term for all the various Protestant tendencies that were working in united opposition to the established church. Any positive platform or series of Puritan principles is difficult to find or formulate: but there did exist a Puritan type of mind and a Puritan view of life that gave distinct color to the movement.



THE FLEET PRISON

The Fleet was a prison of evil repute, used as a place of confinement for debtors, offenders against religion, victims of the Star Chamber, and other unfortunates. It was established in the twelfth century and abolished in 1843.

The Puritan type of mind.

The characteristics of Puritanism were chiefly derived from a close and continued study of the Scriptures. In those days there were no newspapers or magazines; literature was not generally accessible; but the love for reading was strong; and this love the Bible helped to satisfy. The sacred book proved to be a comfort and a revelation to the serious-minded reader and the result was a profound modification of character in a direction that is, perhaps, best typified in the character of John Milton. The mind that was filled with the historic lore of the Old Testament, the sublime poetry of the Psalms, the eloquent passion of the Prophets, and the clear-cut principles of the Mosaic law could not fail to display its spiritual possessions; and so we have the Puritan Christian, strong in prayer, strict in conduct, quick to discern evil or the appearance of evil in others, eager to testify to the faith that was in him, and sure of his own position.

Characteristics of Puritanism.

The great strength of Puritanism was its emphasis on the right of every conscience to determine what is truth; but this was also its fundamental weakness; for all consciences have not the same light. It was inevitable, therefore, that factions should soon rise within the Puritan fold: on the need of the simplification of the Prayer Book there was general agreement; but on the subject of church government there were notable differences. It seemed evident to many that the episcopal system, under which each bishopric is a little monarchy, was evil. The restless agitators came into early conflict with the statutes that governed the life of the church,[1] especially with the Act of Uniformity. Naturally they looked on the enforcement of these laws as wicked persecution. As it was the peculiar duty of the bishops to enforce the regulations of the church, such persecution could usually be traced to their activities. Consequently, the dislike for episcopacy grew into a conviction that the bishop's office must be of evil origin.

Disagreement among Puritans.

Opposition to the episcopacy.

279. Presbyterianism: Thomas Cartwright. The earliest distinct anti-episcopal party originated in the teachings of Thomas Cartwright, a professor at Cambridge, which was still the center of radicalism in England. Cartwright began to urge reforms in church government

Thomas Cartwright.

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[1] Review sec. 249.

shortly before 1570. His plan was to remodel the Anglican church on a republican basis, and create an organization somewhat similar to the system that was being developed in Scotland chiefly through the efforts of Cartwright's learned and courageous contemporary, the Scotchman Andrew Melville. Melville's plan has been called "Presbyterian" from its emphasis on the local ministry, the elders or presbyters, who are chosen by the congregation to govern the local church, and of whom the pastor, or preaching elder, is always one. The local churches are grouped into presbyteries which are administered by a meeting of elders sitting as delegates from the various congregations. These presbyteries again send delegates to a larger body, the synod, and to the general assembly, which is a church parliament for the entire nation. In the Presbyterian system there is no logical place for a bishop. It will be observed that authority originates in election by the communicant membership, and not, as in the Anglican system, in appointment by the central government. In 1572 and the following years efforts were made to establish presbyteries in England but without success.

Andrew Melville.

Presbyterianism.

1572.

280. Separatism: Robert Browne.[1] Ten years after Cartwright had begun his agitation, the bishops were once more disturbed by a demand for a change in the constitution of the church. One Robert Browne, an Anglican priest, began to preach that the state church was unbiblical, that, in fact, all forms of church government except that of the local church were unauthorized by Scripture: every local body of believers by right formed a self-governing unit in church matters, independent of all outside authorities. Browne was therefore in opposition to the Presbyterian idea as well as to the episcopal system. His theory was known as Separatism and bears close resemblance to the system called Independency or Congregationalism, which arose in England a generation later and was widely adopted among the

Robert Browne.

Early Congregationalism.

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[1] Gardiner, 470–472.

reformed churches in the American colonies. Early Congregationalism, however, did not contemplate absolute separation from the established church, but was forced by circumstances to take this position later.

1579.

Robert Browne organized a separatist congregation in 1579, the year before the Jesuits first appeared in England. If his doctrine had prevailed, all formal union among the Protestants would have disappeared, for under Brownism no general organization could exist. Cartwright's plan would have maintained the unity of the church; but its adoption would have driven thousands who venerated the ancient episcopal institution into the Romanist fold. The government, therefore, found it necessary to emphasize the connections of Anglicanism with the historic past; and it was determined to allow no deviation from the legal standards. The "recusancy laws," which were aimed chiefly at the Romanists, came to be used against all who tried to subvert the existing order, Protestants as well as Catholics. Brownism seems not to have been very influential; the originator himself finally renounced his theory and was reconciled to the established church.

Recusancy laws.

281. Low Church Anglicans. A third faction, which may be called the low church Anglicans, wished to retain the historic constitution, bishops and all; but would reduce the power of the church authorities and give more freedom to the individual conscience; without asking that the Prayer Book be abolished, they demanded the right to make changes or omissions in the ceremonial. It was this party that was rightly called Puritan. Later events, however, especially the vigorous enforcement of the recusancy laws, drove many of these moderates into the more pronounced Presbyterian or separatist camp.

Low churchmen.

282. Court of High Commission. Thus during the dangerous decade of 1579–1589, the decade of the Jesuits, the Babington plot, the Armada, and Brownism, the Anglican church was attacked from two sides, by Romanist and Puritan.

In the struggle with these enemies, the authorities made extensive use of a new ecclesiastical tribunal, the Court of High Commission. This was an English form of the Inquisition which was authorized by the Act of Supremacy, but was not fully organized before 1583. The chief members of this court were the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London. Its chief function was to purge the church of dissenting clergymen, and to punish such as in any way failed to carry out the ecclesiastical regulations. It was an energetic body and doubtless did much to check the spread of Puritan views.

Court of High Commission.

1583.

An English inquisition.

283. Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity." Perhaps even more effective was a famous work on the constitution of the Anglican church that was published at intervals from 1594 to 1604. This was the *Ecclesiastical Polity* by the great intellectual opponent of Puritanism, Richard Hooker. Hooker was an English priest of great piety and learning. The author held that the episcopal system had proved its excellence by efficient working in England for one thousand years; that the proposed Presbyterian system could not be shown to have originated with Christ, as its supporters claimed; and that, consequently, the English church was under no compulsion to change its constitution.

"Ecclesiastical Polity."

Nevertheless, the reforming party was constantly gaining in strength. To Elizabeth's great disgust, Puritan members of parliament persisted in bringing up the subject of church reform; but the queen and the bishops manfully resisted all attempts at changes and nothing was accomplished.

Puritans in parliament.

284. James I and the Theory of Divine Right.[1] In 1603, a few weeks after the death of Queen Elizabeth, James VI of Scotland came to England and was crowned as

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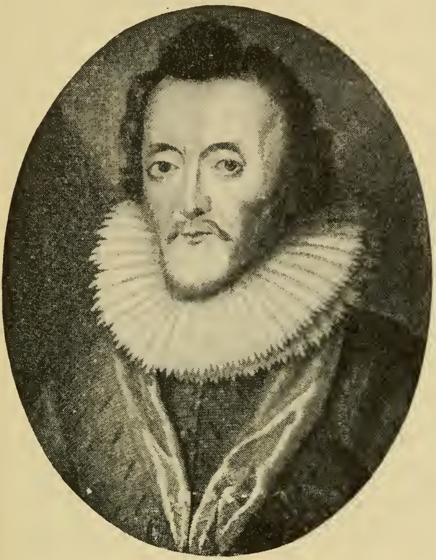
[1] Cheyney, Nos. 249–250 (Speeches by James I); Masterman, 105–107; Robinson No. 156; Tuell and Hatch, No. 41 (extract from King James' book on "Monarchie").

"Divine Right."

Origin of the theory.



James I

After a painting by E. Lutterell.

James I.[1] Though the son of the Catholic Mary, James had been brought up a Presbyterian; but he disliked the republicanism of the Scotch church, as it was not suited to his theories of monarchy. During the middle ages much had been heard of the church as a divine institution. A few bold thinkers had held that kings and emperors also ruled by virtue of appointment by the Almighty; and in the sixteenth century this belief in the divine character of the state came to be widely accepted. Martin Luther's revolt from Rome and his denial of papal supremacy naturally drove him to place greater emphasis on the divine right of the secular princes. This doctrine was

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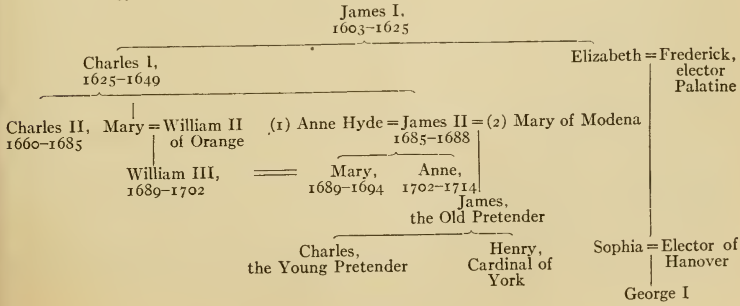
[1] Genealogy of the Stuart dynasty in England.


James I,
1603–1625
Charles I,
1625–1649
Elizabeth = Frederick,
elector
Palatine
Charles II,
1660–1685
Mary = William II
of Orange
(1) Anne Hyde = James II = (2) Mary of Modena
1685–1688
William III,
1689–1702
Mary,
1689–1694
Anne,
1702–1714
James,
the Old Pretender
Charles,
the Young Pretender
Henry,
Cardinal of
York
Sophia = Elector of
Hanover
George I

eagerly accepted by James who developed it into a theory of divine hereditary right: not only had the Almighty ordained government, but he had placed it in the hands of a definite family in each state. Thus the king at the same time exalted monarchy and established his own right to the English crown. For a king ruling by divine right, a government of the church by bishops of his own selection would naturally seem an ideal system.

William Laud.

No bishops, no church.

285. William Laud and the Divine Right of Episcopacy. In the same years there appeared a related doctrine in England: the divine right of the episcopal system. The year after the accession of James, William Laud, a young Oxford theologian, maintained in an academic disputation the principle that without bishops there could be no true church. Laud's position was wholly different from that of Hooker; but gradually it came to be the accepted view in high church circles.

The "Millenary Petition."

The Hampton Court conference.

286. King James and the Puritans. The church problem was the very first to present itself to the new king. Naturally the Puritans hoped much from a ruler who had been trained in Presbyterianism; and even before King James had reached his new capital, a petition was presented to him which bore the signatures of several hundred disaffected Anglican priests (a thousand signatures had been hoped for) asking permission to omit certain parts of the Prayer Book service: especially did the petitioners object to the use of the sign of the cross in Baptism, to questions addressed to infants, to confirmation, to clerical robes, to bowing at the mention of the name of Jesus, and the like.[1] The king, who was rejoicing in the vernal glories of his English kingdom, made a show of benign liberality; and early the next year he called a conference between the Puritan and high church parties at Hampton Court over which he presided. No result came, as the purpose of each faction was merely to overcome the other in debate. When from a chance remark the king discovered that the Puritan reformers leaned toward a Presbyterian organization, he lost his royal patience and in a rambling speech informed the conference that "a presbytery as well agreeth with a monarchy as God and the Devil." When the Puritans had nothing to reply to the king's speech, he adjourned the session and definitely placed himself on the high church side: "If this be all that they have to say, I shall make them conform themselves, or I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse." [1] Three hundred priests refused to submit to the royal will and lost their offices. In 1604, therefore, the issue was definitely drawn between the contending parties both as to church government and as to ritual. An effort was also made to hunt out separatist congregations, and some of these found it expedient to seek refuge in Holland. Of these the most famous is the congregation at Scrooby in Nottinghamshire, which stole out of England in 1608, and a dozen years later emigrated to New England, where they founded the colony of Plymouth.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 248.

THE BREWSTER HOUSE, SCROOBY

The house of William Brewster was the first house of worship of the Scrooby church (organized in 1606), the members of which fled to Holland in 1608, and finally emigrated to New England in 1620, where they founded the Plymouth Colony.

The Scrooby congregation.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 253; Kendall, No. 69.

287. The "Authorized Version" of the Bible.[1] The one important result of the Hampton Court Conference was the appointment of a commission to revise the text of the English Bible. There were several versions current at the time. Though William Tyndale had translated the greater part of the sacred book, he had been unable to complete the undertaking. In a part of his work he had been assisted by Miles Coverdale, who brought out a complete translation of his own just before Tyndale's death. Coverdale also assisted in the preparation of the "Great Bible" which Cranmer ordered to be placed in the churches and which was chiefly Tyndale's version revised and completed. During Mary's reign, the English exiles at Geneva made another translation in which Coverdale also had a part. The English Catholics who gathered about William Allen on the Continent also took up the task of preparing a version: this is known as the Douai Bible, and is still the standard among English-speaking Catholics.

Earlier versions of the Bible.

In the violent religious debates of Elizabeth's time, all parties appealed to the Scriptures and many a good soul was perplexed to find that the divine word had not been understood in the same way by all the translators. Consequently, there was little opposition when a Puritan scholar proposed that the translations should be given a careful revision. A body of forty-seven scholars was appointed to undertake the work. These worked in six groups, each translating a certain part of the Bible. Afterwards the work was gone over by the whole commission. After several years of work, the translators had their version ready for the public in 1611. It proved to be very largely a revision of Tyndale's translation. The work was never "authorized," but its merits were so evident that it soon displaced all other versions among the Protestants.

King James' version. 1611.

288. King James and Parliament.[2] James I was a man of no striking abilities as a statesman, but he possessed considerable learning and had great faith in himself.[3] His strong belief in

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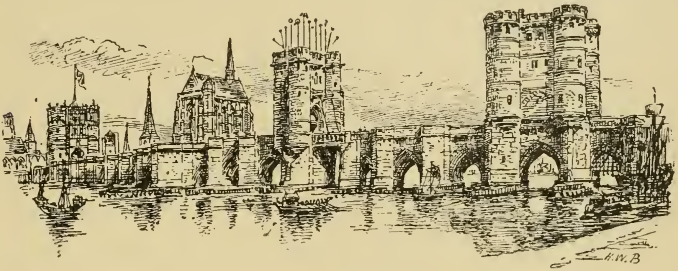
[1] Review secs. 206, 222.

[2] Masterman, 112–117.

[3] Cheyney, No. 244 (Duc de Sully); Tuell and Hatch, No. 40 (Green).

"divine right" implied absolutistic ideas; and though he lacked the courage to take any positive steps in the direction of absolute monarchy, the spirit was present in his reign from the very beginning. The dissenting church party ranged itself in opposition to his policies quite early in the reign; soon another faction joined this opposition on political grounds. In time these two factions coalesced into a single political party which in a vague way came to stand for reforms in the established church and limitation of the royal authority.

James I: his ideas of government.



OLD LONDON BRIDGE

King James did not expect to govern without the assistance of parliament; but in the Stuart system the legislature was to play a decidedly secondary part. Parliament could be made useful to carry out the king's will: it was to legislate and levy taxes according to the king's directions. Such had practically been its functions under the early Tudors; but the frequent, almost yearly sessions of the people's representatives between 1529, when the Reformation Parliament first met, and 1559, when Protestantism was made a permanent fact, had developed a sense of importance, independence, and pugnacity in the house of commons that made it difficult for the king to carry out any arbitrary purposes. The king's insistence upon his "divine right" irritated the commons;[1] but still more serious was his

His attitude toward parliament.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 252; Kendall, No. 70.

interference with the cherished right of parliament to levy or refuse taxes.

289. Tunnage and Poundage. "Impositions." For nearly three centuries it had been customary for parliament to allow the king the revenues from tunnage and poundage, the right to collect duty on certain specified classes of imported goods.[1] This made a very important part of the royal income, but the yield was insufficient for the improvident ruler; and what with his expensive family, his Scotch favorites, and the chronic rebelliousness of Ireland, his resources soon dwindled. After three years of English rule, his treasury was empty. There were two ways of increasing the revenues from tunnage and poundage, by raising the rate of the tax or by levying (imposing) the tax on new products. King James adopted the latter expedient: he imposed a duty on currants, which netted a handsome sum.[2] A merchant of the Levant Company questioned the right of the government to levy such a tax without the permission of parliament. However, the court of the exchequer, which had jurisdiction over matters relating to the revenue, upheld the king's contention. The king construed the decision as giving him complete control of the customs duties, and proceeded to readjust the schedule of rates according to his own needs. The result was to intensify the quarrel with parliament, whose dearest right had been violated.

Tunnage and poundage.

"Impositions" of James I.

"Bate's case."

290. George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. The matter of the "impositions" was of chief interest to the commons; but King James also managed to incur the active hostility of the lords. The English peers have an ancient right to act as the king's advisers, and in the seventeenth century this privilege was still taken seriously. But to their disgust and indignation the great nobles discovered that the royal ear was in the keeping of men of low birth. Royal favorites have existed in almost every reign; James' mistake was in allowing them too much influence in the government. Of

Royal favorites.

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[1] Review sec. 144; Innes, II, 4–6.

[2] Gardiner, 484.

these favorites the most important was George Villiers, a young squire from Leicestershire, who became prominent in 1616 when he was admitted to knighthood. The next year he sat in the house of lords, though only twenty-four years old; and a year later he was created marquis of Buckingham. Other offices and honors were showered upon him, and the young upstart apparently controlled the policies of James and his son Charles till his death by assassination in 1628. Buckingham possessed abilities, but he was rash, headstrong, and excessively vain. His swift elevation was keenly felt and resented by all the peerage.

George Villiers.

291. King James and the Thirty Years' War. The year when James I threw away the support of the aristocracy by making his favorite a marquis saw the beginning of a tremendous conflict on the Continent in which the Stuarts had a personal interest and the course of which exerted great influence on the career of the dynasty. In 1618 the Bohemian nobility deposed King Ferdinand and called Frederick, the elector of the Palatinate, to the vacant throne. The elector was the son-in-law of James and an ancestor of the present king of England. James was placed in an awkward position: the English nation sympathized with Frederick, as he was the head of a Protestant German Union that was organized in anticipation of war with the Catholic states in the Empire. But for several reasons the English king could not think of going to war in behalf of his rash son-in-law: his timid soul shrank from conflicts of every sort; his great faith in his own shrewdness had led him to believe that he could accomplish the same results by diplomatic efforts; his finances were in their usual disordered condition; moreover, his son-in-law had surely sinned by accepting a throne that Ferdinand held by divine right; but not the least difficulty was the king's ambition to marry his son Charles to a kinswoman of this same injured King Ferdinand, a princess of the Hapsburg family in Spain.

King James' interest in the Thirty Years' War.

Embarrassment of the English king.

When parliament met three years later (1521) Frederick was in sore straits, and the representatives of the English nation were ready to vote funds for a war against the enemies of German Protestantism; but King James preferred to continue his futile negotiations. In this parliament the quarrel between the king and the commons reached its culmination. The matter of monopolies [1] had again become a crying evil and so violent were the protests in parliament against the royal practice of getting additional funds by forbidding competition with certain firms that dealt in soap, gold thread, and other important articles of commerce, that the king found it wise to recall some of the grants.[2] It was believed that the lord chancellor, the noted philosopher Francis Bacon, had favored the cause of monopoly and had profited thereby; the commons accordingly impeached him for bribery. Though Bacon had been an upright judge, he was technically guilty of accepting gifts. He was dismissed from his office and for a time deprived of his freedom. The remaining five years of his life he gave to the advancement of science.[3]

Quarrel with parliament.

Impeachment of Lord Chancellor Bacon.

292. The Plans for a Spanish Marriage. The commons also looked with disfavor on the projected matrimonial alliance with Spain.[4] A petition was sent to the king asking him to find a Protestant bride for the future king. The king was irritated and lectured the house for presuming to discuss matters that had not been referred to its membership, whereupon the house drew up the "Great Protestation" in which it asserted the right of parliament to discuss any matter that concerned the state. James sent for the journal of the house and tore out the sheet that contained the Protestation. Parliament was dismissed and some of its leaders sent to prison.

"The Great Protestation."

Two years later (1623) Prince Charles and Buckingham made a journey to Madrid to woo a granddaughter of Philip II.[5] The Spanish authorities had never seriously considered a marriage alliance with Protestant Eng-

Prince Charles in Madrid.

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[1] See sec. 272.

[2] Gardiner, 494–495.

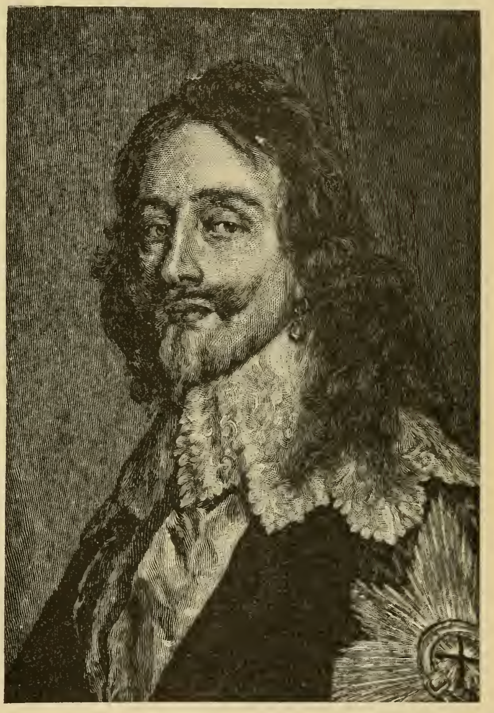
[3] Cheyney, No. 259.

[4] Gardiner, 497–500.

[5] Cheyney, Nos. 255–257.

land; and at this time, when the Hapsburgs were driving Protestantism to the wall in Germany, such a union could only give the greatest offense to the bigoted churchmen of Spain. Charles soon discovered that he was being played with; so he and Buckingham hastened back to England and urged the king to make war on Spain. Parliament met again the following year and shared the eagerness of the prince and Buckingham for the attack on Spain; but it also showed its distrust of the king by making money grants for specific purposes only and by attacking the lord treasurer.

Failure of the marriage plans.



Charles I
From a portrait by Van Dyck.

293. The Death of James; the Accession of Charles I. The war with Spain did not materialize; instead an effort was made to succor the elector Frederick. The Protestant forces were now gathering under the leadership of King James' brother-in-law, King Christian IV of Denmark. Twelve thousand Englishmen were gathered together and sent up the Rhine to fight for Frederick. The affair was badly managed; the men started for Germany during the winter

Disastrous expedition into Germany. 1625.

months; they were unprovided with money and supplies; soon they were dying by hundreds of hunger and disease. While the expedition was perishing in Germany their incapable sovereign lay dying in England.

Charles I.

The accession of Charles I did but little to change the situation. The discontented parties still existed; the old grievances were as annoying as ever; Buckingham's influence was still the controlling force in the government. But the new king, instead of being old, timid, and weak, was young, stubborn, and full of vigor. Energy was thrown into the government, but energy, unless it is wisely directed, may work much injury; and the result in England was that the breach between the king and his subjects widened.

Queen Henrietta Maria. 1625.

294. The French Marriage: Henrietta Maria. Soon after his accession, Charles I married a French princess, Henrietta Maria, the sister of Louis XIII. The alliance was an unfortunate one: the English still hated the French and distrusted the Catholic church. As the new queen was only a girl of fifteen summers when she arrived in England, her influence on the course of English politics cannot have been great for some years; but after a time she gained the king's confidence and sometimes determined his actions at critical moments; at such times her advice was usually unwise. It is not strange that the queen should not understand the English constitution, or why the power of the Stuarts should be less complete than that of her kinsmen the Bourbons in France. Before the marriage King Charles pledged himself to secure toleration for the English Catholics. This promise cost him the favor of his first parliament, which voted little money and sullenly insisted on the enforcement of the anti-Catholic laws.

The expedition to Cadiz. 1625.

295. Military Ventures. The king hoped to regain his popularity by a fortunate stroke of policy in foreign affairs, and, a few months after he had become king, he equipped a fleet for an attack on Spain. The expedition sailed to Cadiz, but accomplished nothing: the great captains of Elizabeth's day were gone and none had risen to take their places.[1] Two years later (1627), King Charles found himself at war with his French brother-in-law. The fortunes of Protestantism were low in Germany; Christian IV had been defeated and Gustavus Adolphus, the great king of Sweden, had not yet arrived. King Charles now determined to become the champion of Protestantism and to bring aid to the Huguenots in France. An expedition was prepared and sent to La Rochelle, the stronghold of Protestantism in France, under the command of the duke of Buckingham. It landed on the island of Ré, where the soldiers remained for several months with no result but disaster and dishonor to the English arms. Out of nearly 7,000 men scarcely more than one-half returned to England.[2]

The attempt to aid the Huguenots. 1627.

In less than four years three important military ventures had failed with great losses to England. The first had melted away in the Rhine country; the second had suffered dishonor at Cadiz; the third had been driven from Ré. Three reasons may be assigned for these disasters: poor generalship, mismanagement, and lack of funds. Count Mansfeld who led the expedition into Germany was a soldier of fortune and nothing more; Cecil who commanded the expedition to Spain was nicknamed "sit-still" by his men; Buckingham was a courtier. Charles' first parliament would not vote sufficient funds unless assurance was given that Buckingham was not to dispose of them. The second parliament found no time to vote any funds whatever, as its time was occupied chiefly with efforts to drive Buckingham from power by means of impeachment. To defeat this purpose Charles ended the session and sent the members home.

Causes of the English failures.

Trouble with parliament.

296. The Quarrel with Parliament. Among the more prominent members of the parliamentary opposition to Charles I were several men of unusual force and abilities. Their chief was the great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, who had long opposed all attempts to extend the royal

Edward Coke.

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[1] Gardiner, 503.

[2] *Ibid.*, 506; Innes, II, 8–13.

authority at the expense of personal freedom and the rights of parliament. As a consequence he was dismissed from his office as chief justice of the king's bench and at one time was given a term of a few months in the Tower. With Coke stood another famous lawyer, John Selden, who was also eminent as a theologian and was counted the most thorough scholar of the age. A third member of the group was Thomas Wentworth, better known as Lord Strafford, the chief supporter of the king in the next decade, but a leader of the opposition in the early stages of the trouble. Of a more strictly Puritan type was John Pym, whose career began with the Great Protestation and closed at the beginning of the civil war twenty years later. Oliver Cromwell was also an influential member of parliament and active in opposition, but he cannot be counted among the leaders. Actual leadership belonged in these early years to an enthusiastic Puritan from southwestern England, Sir John Eliot, a kinsman of John Pym. Coke, Selden, and Wentworth opposed the king chiefly because they believed he was violating the English constitution; while Pym, Cromwell, and Eliot also fought against the innovations that the king's party, under the leadership of William Laud, was trying to introduce into the church.

John Selden.

Thomas Wentworth.

John Pym.

John Eliot.

297. The Use of Illegal Financial Methods. After the failure of the second parliament to provide the funds, the king and his privy council began to use illegal methods to provide an increased revenue: the funds for Buckingham's expedition to Ré were raised by forced loans: wealthy men were asked to lend money to the king, and if any one showed a disposition to refuse, compulsion was used. Five knights, who had resisted the exaction, appealed to the court of king's bench: their claim was that they were being held in prison without legal warrant; and that they were entitled to be tried without delay, or to be released on bail. The king's attorneys argued that the king had certain large discretionary powers with which the courts could not

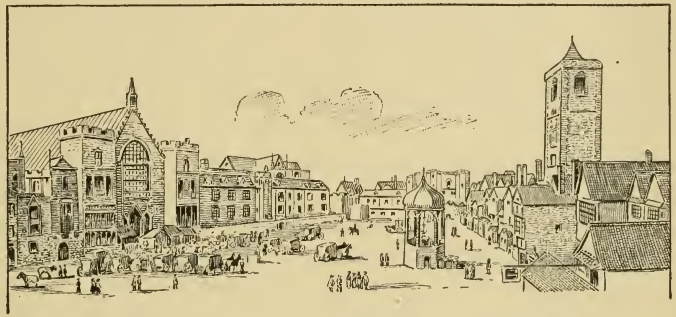
Forced loans.

The five knights' case.

interfere, and that this was a case in point. The judges sent the knights back to prison, thereby apparently sustaining the king's contention.

Billeting.

The king had also begun the practice of billeting his soldiers, that is, forcing the citizens of any particular locality to house and feed his troops without pay. The presence of soldiers under such circumstances was not relished. Trouble frequently arose between the soldiers and their citizen hosts; but as these were usually settled by courts martial, justice was not always done according to the ideas of the citizens.



Westminster in the Seventeenth Century

298. The Petition of Right. 1628.[1] It was while the English mind was deeply stirred by forced loans, by troubles with uninvited military guests, and by news of repeated disasters abroad, that writs went forth for the election of Charles' third parliament. The voters returned a set of members who were determined to bring the Stuart king to terms. Sir John Eliot, who had led the fight against Buckingham in the previous parliament, again took charge of the forces that were hostile to the measures of Charles and his mighty favorite. He was ably assisted by Wentworth and Coke. It was in this fight that the learned but aged lawyer called attention to the promises of the Great Charter, a document that English lawyers and statesmen had well nigh forgotten.[1] In the Charter Coke thought he found the practice of the Stuarts expressly forbidden. The Great Charter guarantees every freeman a trial by his "peers" and Coke interpreted this to mean that no Englishman could be deprived of his right to be tried by a jury. He overlooked the fact, however, that the term "freemen" of King John's time did not refer to the masses, who were villeins, not freemen.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 272–275; Gardiner, 508–509; Robinson, No. 157; Tuell and Hatch, No. 44.

Magna Carta revived.

The chief result of the first session of this parliament was an important constitutional document, the Petition of Right,[2] of which Coke seems to have been the chief author. In this the king was made to confess that wrong had been done and to promise amendment. The Petition covers four points, each relating to a recent and specific grievance. (1) Forced loans and benevolences were declared illegal; (2) billeting was forbidden; there was to be no more quartering of soldiers on English householders without their consent; (3) the common law was declared to be above martial law, and recent practices in violation of this principle were forbidden; (4) arbitrary imprisonment was declared illegal and forbidden, a prohibition which was particularly distasteful to the king, who thus lost the power to coerce his subjects. But Coke and his followers insisted, and Charles was forced to yield.

Petition of Right: the four points.

The petition was sent up to the king with the promise of a large grant of money on the understanding that he could not have the money unless he signed the Petition. The money was largely used to fit out a new expedition to Ré. Buckingham was to lead once more, but before the ships had sailed he was assassinated by a personal enemy. The fleet proceeded to the French coast, but the venture failed as usual.

Assassination of Buckingham.

The Petition of Right and the death of Buckingham did not close the quarrel between the king and parliament. There still remained the question of tunnage and poundage which

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[1] Review sec. 89.

[2] Cheyney, No. 274; Robinson, No. 137.

Charles had regularly collected since his accession, though it had never been legally granted by parliament. Parliament was willing to make an annual grant of these revenues, but Charles was unwillling to accept such an arrangement, as it would make it necessary for him to have a meeting of parliament every year.

The problem of tunnage and poundage.

299. The Quarrel over Religion.[1] **1629.** This dispute soon became entangled with another about religious matters. William Laud, who was now bishop of London, had begun to discard the opinions of Calvin and to favor those of a Dutch theologian, Arminius, who a generation earlier had taught that man was not totally depraved as Calvin believed, but could assist somewhat in winning salvation for himself. Laud had a considerable following among the high churchmen, and even the king himself was suspected of leaning toward the Arminian belief. In addition, Laud was strong for the strict enforcement of conformity in worship. It was inevitable that a prelate who taught such doctrines as the divine right of bishops, the power of man to do something toward earning his own salvation, and the desirability of much ceremonial in the public worship, should meet determined hostility from the Puritan party. In its second session parliament, under the lead of Eliot, attacked the clergy for deviating from the old doctrinal standards and for reviving obsolete ceremonies. While these matters were still under discussion the king ordered parliament to be dismissed. When the speaker attempted to announce the royal will in this matter, two stalwart Puritans held that officer in his chair until Eliot could finish reading a set of resolutions against the illegal collection of tunnage and poundage, the favor shown to Arminianism, and the introduction of Romish ceremonies.[2] After the reading the members dispersed.

Laud and Arminianism.

Conformity in worship.

Eliot's resolutions. 1629.

King Charles did not neglect to take his revenge. Eliot,

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[1] Gardiner, 511–513; Masterman, 119–120.

[2] Cheyney, Nos 276–277; Innes, II, 22–27; Kendall, No. 72.

Selden, and several other parliamentary leaders were imprisoned and heavily fined. In time all were restored to freedom, however, except Eliot, who refused to show proper sorrow for his deeds. After two years his health broke down completely and death removed him. Eliot was a high-minded, enthusiastic Puritan and endowed with all the abilities necessary to a partisan leader; but he was not far-seeing and had little appreciation of statesmanship.[1] So great was the king's hatred for this chief of the opposition that he refused the request of the family to bury Sir John with his ancestors in the tomb of the Eliots.

The king's revenge.

300. Reorganization in Virginia. 1624. The quarrel between the king and the Puritans also extended to the American colonies. The settlement at Jamestown was owned by the Virginia (later the London) Company, which also exercised the right of government. The company had hoped for large returns from its venture, perhaps as large as those from the East India Company, but in this it was disappointed. The colony, however, was not abandoned; but after some years the membership of the London Company was changed and a group of Puritan merchants came into control of affairs, while the settlement itself remained as before quite strongly Anglican. When King James discovered that the hated Puritanism controlled the councils of the London Company, he determined to end its power. The title of the proprietors was called into question; the court decided as the king wished; the company lost its charter, and Virginia came directly under royal control. His new authority the king exercised through the privy council. It is likely that King James also planned to abolish the legislature that had been granted to the colony five years earlier through this same Puritan influence; but he died only a few months later and before the necessary measures had been taken. His successor Charles, who hoped to eke out his revenues by getting a monopoly of the Virginia

Jamestown.

Virginia placed under royal control. 1624.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 43.

tobacco trade, permitted the colony to retain its assembly, though the authority of the company was never restored.

301. Summary. The Puritan movement began in the earlier years of the English reformation in a feeling that the ritual of the church ought to be simplified. In the reign of Elizabeth the Puritans came to believe that the government of the church was also in need of reconstruction: on this point there was no general agreement, though it is likely that a Presbyterian form was widely favored. In the Stuart period they came to stand for Calvinistic doctrine in opposition to the Arminian views of Laud and the high churchmen who followed his lead. As the Stuart kings allied themselves with the enemies of Puritanism, the Puritan movement also came to stand for parliamentary government and taxation as against absolute monarchy and arbitrary taxation. While James was king, there was no serious clash between the king and the Puritan party, for King James lacked the courage to force the fight; but when Charles became king, the lines were drawn for battle on both sides, and for four years the king had to deal with hostile Puritan parliaments. The incapacity of the king, the favors that he showed to Buckingham, and the dismal failure of his military ventures did much to strengthen the Puritan opposition. In 1629 King Charles had almost no choice but to surrender to the Puritans or to govern without a parliament. He chose the latter alternative.

Platform of the Puritan party.

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CHAPTER XV

THE FAILURE OF PERSONAL GOVERNMENT

302. Government by Privy Council. The Petition of Right is one of the great landmarks in the history of England. The document has great constitutional and historical significance; but more important is the fact that its adoption virtually forced Charles I farther along the road toward practical absolutism. Parliament had proved refractory: instead of assisting the king and providing the needed funds, it had tried to restrain the monarch and control his government. Charles accordingly determined to make an experiment in government without a legislature, and for eleven years the representatives of the nation were not consulted in any matter of governmental action or policy.

Eleven years of arbitrary rule.

It was the king's purpose to carry on the administration through the privy council and its courts or committees.[1] This agency, which the Tudors had found so useful and efficient, saw the highest development of its power in the first half of the seventeenth century, and since the early Stuart period its decline has been swift; at present it has a membership of nearly three hundred highly honored and very able men, but it is rarely called upon to transact governmental business. In Stuart times it was a comparatively small body of about forty members or a few more, all appointed by the king himself. The weakness of such a system is apparent, however; as royal appointees, the privy councillors might be expected to represent only one party or faction in the state. It is, indeed, true that Charles did not shut the opposition out altogether: such active Puritans as the elder

The privy council in Stuart times.

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[1] Review sec. 194.

Sir Henry Vane and the cunning Lord Saye (who is also remembered for promoting a settlement in Connecticut) were councillors during these years. There were also many moderate royalists and churchmen in the privy council; but the majority and the most influential members were men after the king's own heart and mind.

Opposition members in the council.

303. The Two Problems: Finance and Religion. There was no law to compel the king to summon a parliament, and the people had not always felt the necessity or even the desirability of frequent or regular parliamentary sessions, as such meetings were expensive and usually meant new or increased taxes. If Charles could have carried on the government without violating English laws, no great complaint would have been heard. But this was impossible. As king he had certain ancient revenues, largely feudal survivals, which he could lawfully collect and which centuries before had been fairly adequate.[1] Times had changed, however, and Charles' predecessors had found it necessary to ask for frequent money grants from parliament.

The problem of finance.

The chief question that the king had to face was, therefore, a financial one: where was he to find revenues to carry on an expensive government and to support an extravagant court? The situation forced him to adopt unusual and questionable methods of taxation. It was these that most aroused the indignation of his subjects. Many Englishmen who sympathized with the king's religious policy regarded his financial exactions as a violation of the constitution which called for resistance.

Arbitrary methods of taxation.

Second in importance was the religious issue. Up to this time the Puritans had been the more aggressive party; now the conservative Anglican, who loved the stately ceremonial of the Prayer Book, had found a mighty leader in William Laud, Bishop of London, who combined a veneration for the historic church with a vigorous dislike for all forms of pruning. Bishop Laud possessed considerable

The religious issue.

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[1] Review sec. 146.

abilities: his will was iron; his energy inexhaustible. It seemed clear that both Laud and the non-conforming Puritans violated the statutes governing the church: the Puritans by omitting significant matters in the ceremonial; Laud and the high churchmen by making unwarranted additions, either by reviving discarded forms or by borrowing from the storehouse of the Catholic church. On the whole, however, it seems that Bishop Laud kept closer to the law; the Puritans, in trying to evade what the statutes specifically commanded, were greater offenders than he, who merely revived what was not expressly forbidden. But Laud was tactless and obstinate, and his exasperating methods drove moderate Englishmen in large numbers into the ranks of the Puritan opposition.

304. Bishop Laud and the Puritans. The Puritans were especially numerous in eastern England from the Thames northward to the Humber. It was from this section that the great migration to New England came during the reign of Charles I. The intellectual center of Puritanism was the University of Cambridge. The region about Cambridge had long been responsive to the newer ideas in religion: a century earlier Cranmer and his associates in the Protestant revolt had gone forth from this university; later Cambridge sent forth Burleigh and Parker, but its colleges also produced Thomas Cartwright and Robert Browne.[1] The tendency toward radicalism in this region was in part due to the fact that it was the wool district of England, and consequently was in close touch with the Continent, especially with the United Netherlands which were one of the strongholds of Calvinism. The English Pilgrims who migrated early in the century went to Holland; on the other hand Flemish and Walloon weavers in considerable numbers had settled in the wool district and were sowing seeds of hostility to Anglicanism. In many parishes the entire congregation had become Puritan under the influence of priests educated at Cambridge. This condition

Strongholds of Puritanism.

Cambridge.

The wool district.

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[1] Review secs. 206, 247, 279–280.

Laud was determined to rectify. As bishop of the great diocese of London, he was the ruler in church affairs of the Puritans of Essex; as privy councillor and strong friend of the king, he had much influence in the government of the kingdom. This influence became authority in 1633, when Laud became archbishop of Canterbury and primate of the national church.[1]

Laud's "visitations."

A bishop is primarily a superintendent; and as such Archbishop Laud proceeded to investigate the situation in the English church. The years 1634–1637 were the period of Laud's "visitations," which carried the Archbishop's deputies into all parts of England to determine, among other things, whether the priests carried out the law as Laud understood it. Priests who were not found obedient or repentant were disciplined. The engine that was used to enforce obedience upon clergymen and others who violated religious statutes was the Court of High Commission.[2] This was a committee of the privy council which, as will be recalled, was created in the reign of Elizabeth, chiefly to deal with the Romanist recusants. Though the high commission took no life, its punishments were still very severe. Of this court Archbishop Laud was a leading member.

Court of High Commission.

305. Financial Exactions.[3] During these same years, 1634–1637, the period of Laud's warfare on the Puritan clergy, there arose a stern opposition to the king's financial tyranny. The royal strong-box was sadly in need of replenishing, and to provide funds additional customs duties were levied; monopolies were created; and old long-forgotten laws were revived for the purpose of levying fines for their violation or forcing monetary settlements. Even such a necessary article as soap was made the subject of monopoly, and Englishmen were forbidden to use any other brand than the one that the privy council had approved. It was once the rule that all men who possessed a certain amount of wealth should apply to the king for knighthood, which would be granted in consideration of a fee. This custom had become

Financial methods of Charles I.

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[1] Innes, II, 31–35.

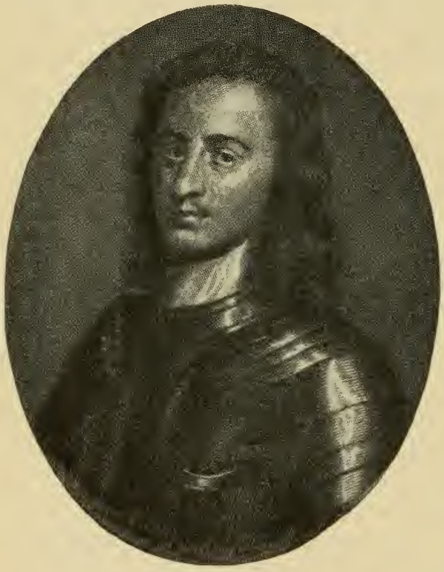
[2] Review sec. 282.

[3] Review sec. 195.

obsolete; but Charles, seeing another source of revenue, tried to revive the practice. At one time he even bought a ship load of pepper on credit and sold it at a low price to secure a little ready cash.

Ship money.

The most famous expedient employed was the exaction of ship money from the inland counties. Since the time of the Danish invasions it had been customary for the shore towns to provide ships for the royal navy or to furnish an equivalent in money. Charles preferred the latter. With the ships and the money he built a fine and efficient fleet; but he failed to provide adequate food and wages for the sailors, and a few years later, when the civil war broke out, the dissatisfied crews saw the opportunity for revenge and deserted to the Puritans, who probably would have lost the fight but for the fleet that Charles I built with the hated ship money.



John Hampden
From an engraving by Goldar.

John Hampden.

King Charles also tried to collect ship money from the interior counties. Whether it could be legally collected in times of peace even from the seaports was doubtful; for such levies elsewhere in England there was no precedent. The levy met much opposition; and John Hampden,[1] a squire from Buckingham, supported by Lord Saye and perhaps by other lords, determined to take the matter into the courts. The case was heard before twelve of the king's judges, a majority of whom finally (1638) rendered a decision favorable to the king. Hampden's case aroused great interest throughout the nation and was largely instrumental in forming a compact opposition which became determined to deprive monarchy of the sovereign power.

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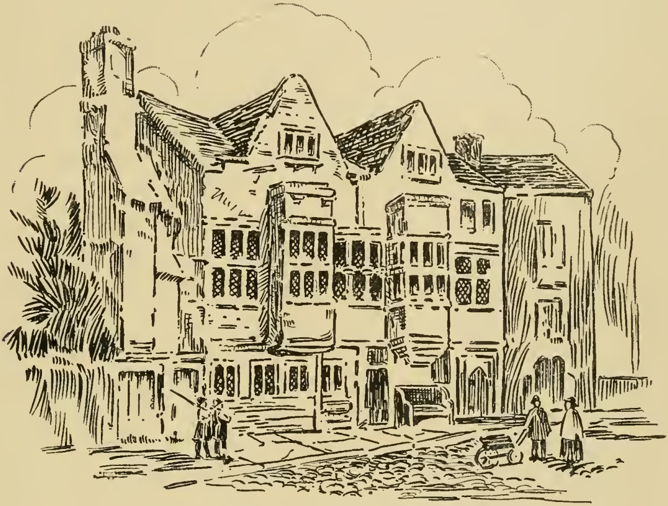
[1] Gardiner, 523–524; Tuell and Hatch, No. 46 (Firth).



THE OLD STAR CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER
In this building the Star Chamber Court held its sessions.

306. The Star Chamber[1] and the Court of High Commission. At the time, however, open opposition to the king's demands was fraught with considerable danger. Comparable to the court of high commission on the secular side was the famous Star Chamber court, which dealt with refractory nobles and gentlemen. During the century of the Tudors the star chamber had often proved useful in stamping out lawlessness; but under the Stuarts it degenerated into an engine of tyranny. Like the high commission, it was a committee of the privy

The Star Chamber in the Stuart period.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 278; Gardiner, 519–520; review sec. 193.

council; and many of the councillors, Archbishop Laud for one, sat in both courts. It had lost whatever reputation it had ever had for justice and mercy; one of its favorite forms of punishment was mutilation, especially the cutting of ears; but long imprisonment, heavy fines, and exposure in the pillory were also employed.

307. Colonial Growth. The king's persistence in employing methods of doubtful legality and more especially the insistence of the bishops on ceremonial uniformity were indirectly of vast importance and benefit to the world: they led to the Puritan migration to New England. These eleven years of Stuart tyranny (1629–1640) were of immense importance to American history. If a ship had sailed northward from the West Indies to Canada in 1628, only four settlements of any consequence could have been found on the long stretch of nearly two thousand miles of coast land. At St. Augustine in Florida, the Spaniards had a settlement which was a military post rather than a colony. On the James River in Virginia was a group of English settlements which were rapidly developing in extent and stability. A few Dutch traders had settled on Manhattan Island, the site of the future New York. On the Massachusetts coast was a weak settlement at Plymouth. Of these four, only the colony of Virginia then showed any great promise.

America in 1628.

In the founding of the colony at Plymouth[1] eight years before, the English government had no direct part. The English Pilgrims in Holland,[2] fearing that they would lose their character as Englishmen if they remained indefinitely among the Dutch, determined to settle in the New World on the lands of the London Company. They asked the government for toleration in their new home, but received no direct reply. King James, however, promised informally to "connive" at their religious practices, and on this assurance they undertook the venture. Instead of reaching the shores that had been selected, they landed on the coast of Cape Cod.

The Pilgrims at Plymouth.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 265–266; Tuell and Hatch, No. 42.

[2] See sec. 286.

The importance of the Plymouth colony was never great; but it served as a suggestion and example to the dissatisfied Puritans who were planning colonies in the next reign.

308. The Puritan Migration to New England.[1] **1628–1640.** In 1628 while parliament was debating the Petition of Right, certain wealthy and influential Puritans in eastern England were preparing to found a settlement on the Massachusetts coast; and in the autumn of the same year a beginning was made at Salem on the ruins of an earlier colony that had disbanded shortly before. During the following decade some 20,000 of England's strongest, most serious, and most intelligent citizens left the fatherland for the New England. Their settlements were scattered along the coast and some distance inland from what is now Maine to the limits of New Netherland. The settlers came chiefly from the great Puritan section in the east and south, as can be readily seen in the reproduction of English geographical names in the new colonies.

Settlements on Massachusetts Bay.

The spread of settlements follows closely the development of royal absolutism in England. During the years of Laud's visitation and the trouble over ship money (1634–1638) settlements were formed at Hartford, Saybrook, Providence, and New Haven. When the Long Parliament was called in 1640, the tide of migration at once began to wane.

Spread of settlement in New England.

Many of the New England leaders were Cambridge men. The first American college (Harvard, 1636) was founded on the model of a Cambridge college and was named after a young Puritan minister from Cambridge. In the west the leaders realized their ideals of Puritanism: they organized their churches on a congregational basis, but they did not draw any firm line between church and state: on the contrary, they associated the functions of the state and the church very closely. The Massachusetts Puritans enforced their ideas of conduct as rigidly as Laud ever

The Cambridge influence.

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[1] Kendall, No. 73.

pursued the ideal of uniformity in worship. Some of the leaders in the opposition movement in Old England also had an important part in the building of New England. Sir Henry Vane was for a year governor of Massachusetts. Two of the leading nobles of the kingdom, Lord Saye and Lord Brooke, were instrumental in the settlement of Connecticut. They were both counted as opponents of the Stuart policy.

Laud's plan to extend his authority to New England.

The year after Laud's appointment to the primacy (1634), suspicion arose that he was planning to extend his operations to the new colonies in New England. There was no good reason why he should not extend his visitations to America, if he desired to do so; but his deputies did not arrive. The same year, however, the privy council created a commission to oversee colonial affairs, and of this body Laud was made a member. Massachusetts was ordered to lay its charter before the privy council, but the young colony refused. The refusal had been determined upon after prayerful consideration which was accompanied by more worldly activities in the way of efforts to fortify Boston harbor. The defiant attitude of the American Puritans was permitted to go unpunished, however, as troubles were beginning to multiply in Britain, and the king thought it inexpedient to divide his energies.

Defiant attitude of Massachusetts.

309. The Catholics in Maryland. During the same decade the Calvert family planted the colony of Maryland, a settlement of Roman Catholics who were afflicted by occasional enforcement of anti-Catholic laws. Thus England had two blocks of settlement on the American mainland, the New England towns in the north and Virginia and Maryland in the south. Further expansion was inevitable as a matter of colonial defense, if for no other reason.

Maryland. 1634

310. The War in Europe and its Effect on Colonization. England's success as a colonizing nation in this decade was due chiefly to two causes: the unsatisfactory condition in the kingdom, which induced thousands to seek new homes in the West;

and the general situation in Europe, which prevented the other maritime nations from interfering with the English colonial ventures. In the days of Eliot and Laud the Thirty Years' War had reached its culmination. In the summer when the Puritans were founding the city of Boston, Gustavus Adolphus landed in Germany. The war now involved almost every nation in Europe except those of the British Isles. The influence of the great conflict on English history is traceable at many points. It was no doubt the fear of Roman Catholic success, which in the early years of Charles' reign seemed assured, that intensified Puritan opposition to the supposedly Roman inclinations of William Laud. The war also gave England free hands in the New World: neither Spain nor France nor Holland, all of which nations had colonial interests in North America, could spare any energies from the battlefields of the great conflict in Germany. Nor did the colonies of the other European nations that had settled the mainland north of the Gulf of Mexico show much thrift and vigor: in the motherlands neither men nor money could be spared from the great war. There was, therefore, little mentionable progress in Canada, the New Netherlands, New Sweden, or Florida.

The Thirty Years' War.

Influence of the war on American colonization.

311. Opposition to Charles in Scotland;[1] the Covenant. What saved the Puritan colonies from interference by Charles and Laud was not the resolute spirit of Massachusetts, but a far more defiant opposition of the king's northern kingdom. In England there was hopeless division on the question of religion; in Scotland there was unity to the point of fanaticism: the Scotch population was overwhelmingly Presbyterian. Charles, encouraged by his hard-fought success in dealing with the Puritans, unwisely determined to interfere with the Scotch church. Laud was anxious to give the Scotchmen an orderly form of worship: it was accordingly planned to force episcopal government and the Anglican ceremonial on an unwilling people. For more

The religious question in Scotland.

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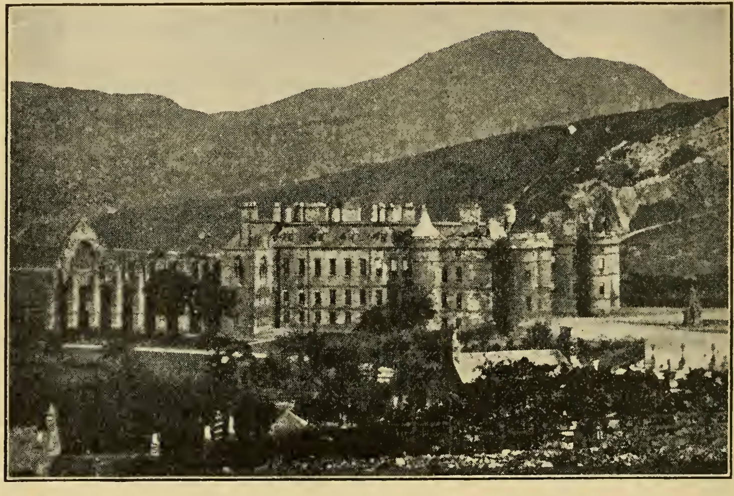
[1] Gardiner, 524–526.

than half a century there had been bishops in Scotland; but their authority had never been extensive. The people ignored them and their offices were of little importance except to the nobles who secured their appointment and in return shared the revenues that they collected. Charles hoped to strengthen the position of his Scotch bishops; but trouble came in 1637 when he ordered these bishops to formulate a prayer book for the Scotch worshipers after the Anglican pattern. An attempt to use the new service book in the Scotch churches during the summer met with determined opposition which in places amounted to riots. The Scotchmen determined to resist the king's plans, and thousands signed a pledge called the National Covenant, by which they agreed to use every lawful effort to restore the Presbyterian system.



Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh

Holyrood was built about 1500 and became the chief residence of the Scotch kings.

A prayer book for Scotland. 1637.

The National Covenant. 1638.

This was the year of Hampden's trial; that victory was the king's last. He retreated from the position taken and called a General Assembly of Presbyterian churchmen and prominent laymen which was to determine the future of the Scotch church. But as the assembly insisted on taking up important subjects that were forbidden, the royal representative dissolved the body. The assembly, however, refused to be dissolved and continued its sessions. Thus the Scotch nation in 1638 was in virtual rebellion against its king.

Defiance of the General Assembly.

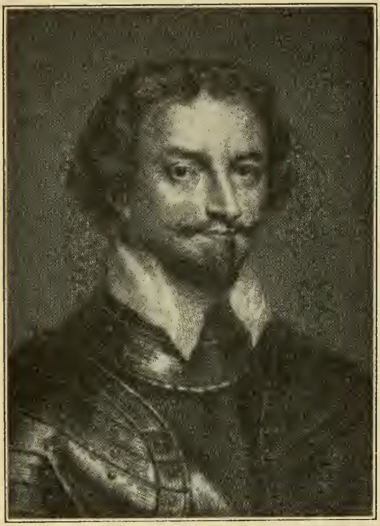
312. The First Bishops' War. 1639. The result illustrates the inherent weakness and danger of a union of kingdoms in the person of the king: an aggrieved monarch is likely to bring against his subjects the military power of his other kingdom. Charles resolved upon war; he promptly raised an English force and marched towards the border. Here he was met by a smaller Scotch army under the command of General Leslie, who had learned warfare in the camps of Gustavus Adolphus. It seems that Charles had every advantage; but dissatisfaction ruled among his soldiers and incompetence among his officers; and the First Bishops' War came to an end without a single battle. In the treaty that was agreed to in Berwick, King Charles acceded to the Scotch demands that the affairs of the kingdom should be settled by an assembly and a parliament chosen freely by the nation. But Charles soon repented of his weakness: the agreement was not carried out and preparations were made for a new war.

War with the Scotch.

313. Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. Charles I was usually unfortunate in the choice of his advisers: most of them were weak, impolitic men, who initiated no policies, but merely tried to execute the sovereign's will. But in 1639 a strong man appeared at the king's side at Westminster. Thomas Wentworth, who was soon to become earl of Strafford, had opposed the king in the early years of his reign, and had followed the lead of Coke and Selden in insisting upon the Petition of Right. But when the opposition identified itself with Puritanism and followed Eliot in an attack on the episcopacy and the Laudian beliefs, Wentworth deserted its ranks and became a member of the king's party. Wentworth

Strafford.

was a man of energy and foresight; next to the great Cromwell he was probably the strongest English statesman of his age. He had developed a political theory according to which monarchy was to be the central fact in the state. Wentworth believed in good government and in an honest and equitable administration; and he believed that an unfettered kingship could achieve these results better and more readily than a parliament that was split into hostile factions.



THOMAS WENTWORTH, EARL OF STRAFFORD

After a painting by Van Dyck.

There can be no doubt that Wentworth was entirely in sympathy with the purposes of Charles and Laud; but he was not present at court and can have had little to do with actual administrative details. For some years after 1629 he ruled the northern counties as president of the Council of the North, a local division of the privy council.

Strafford in Ireland.

Later he was sent to Ireland as lord deputy or viceroy, and for six years he governed the island with a strong hand, though in many respects his rule was intelligent and beneficial. He ruined the Irish wool trade to remove a competitor from the foreign markets; but in return he built up the linen industry, which has since been an important occupation among the Irish, especially in Ulster. He kept peace and promoted prosperity among the less wealthy classes, but his methods were arbitrary and severe.[1]

In 1639 Wentworth's career in Ireland closed; he was recalled to England and for a year he was the controlling force in the councils of Charles I. Plans were now being made for a new war with Scotland, but funds were wanting. Wentworth, who was now Earl Strafford, believed that the English people were favorable to the project and anxious to wipe out the disgrace of the First Bishops' War. Furthermore, a Scotch army on the border was a continuous menace to the peace of England. He, therefore, with all the other members of the privy council, urged the king to call a parliament that funds might be provided for use against the northern enemy. Thus after eleven years, on the unanimous advice of the privy council, the king gave up the attempt to govern without consulting the nation; the Stuart experiment of government by council had failed.

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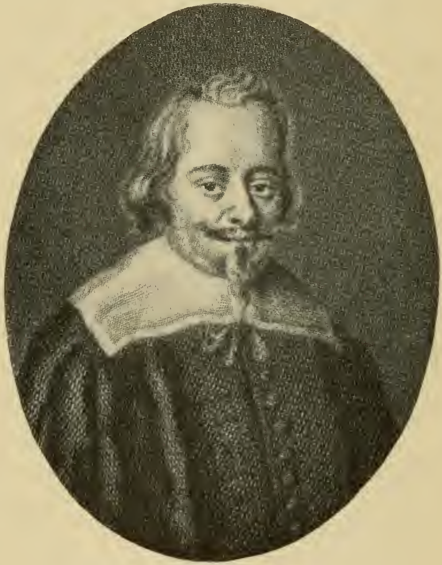
[1] Innes, II, 27–31.

The situation in 1639.



John Pym

After a portrait by Cornelius Janssen.

314. The Short Parliament. John Pym. The Short Parliament that met in the spring of 1640 did not prove so loyal as had been hoped; it insisted on redress of the many grievances from which the nation had suffered for a decade and instead of voting money counseled peace with the Scotch. After a session of about three weeks, the Short Parliament was dissolved without having taken any action worth mentioning. The session was chiefly remarkable for the appearance on the Puritan side of a shrewd and capable leader

The Short Parliament. 1640.

of Wentworth's type in the person of a wealthy country gentleman from Somersetshire, John Pym.

John Pym.

John Pym was one of the few chiefs among the Puritans who had worked out a fairly consistent scheme of government. According to his ideas, sovereignty rested with parliament, to which the king's ministers should be responsible. Apparently he favored a scheme somewhat like the present system of cabinet rule. His political theory was therefore fundamentally different from that of Strafford. So long as the king raised revenues in an equitable manner, taxing the citizens strictly according to their ability to pay, it made little difference according to Strafford's views, by what authority the taxes were imposed. With Pym the supremely important consideration was to have revenues raised by the proper authority, which he held was parliament and parliament alone.

315. The Second Bishops' War and the Treaty of Ripon. 1640.

Second war with the Scotch.

The Second Bishops' War was even more disastrous than the first. Charles' army was ill provided, dissatisfied, and disloyal to the point of mutiny. Strafford was finally placed in command; but his efforts to introduce discipline merely fanned the flame of rebellion. A treaty was negotiated at Ripon which insured to the Scotch all the advantages that they had thus far gained. King Charles even agreed to pay an indemnity, and until the money should be paid the Scotch were to keep two of the northern counties as a pledge.

Treaty of Ripon.

Collapse of personal government.

The treaty of Ripon marks the close of Stuart absolutism. Charles I could no longer govern by the aid of his privy council alone, for that body had exhausted all the sources of revenue at its command; and now that the king had promised to pay a Scotch army for rising in rebellion against him, he was in greater need of money than ever before. There was nothing to do but to lay the whole miserable matter before parliament. Elections were ordered once more, and on November 3 the houses met. This was the famous Long Parliament which with long interruptions legislated for England until it finally dissolved itself nearly twenty years later.

316. The Long Parliament. 1640.[1] It was a determined body of men that made up the last parliament of Charles I. The electors had gone to the polls in an angry frame of mind; and, while many moderate members were chosen, the majority favored changes as "thorough" as any that Strafford had ever proposed. On the subject of reform in the government the house was practically a unit, though there was considerable disagreement as to measures. But on the matter of changes in the church there was no such unanimity; and it was the effort of a weak majority to change the constitution of the Anglican church that finally disrupted the government and drove the nation to civil war.

Temper of the Long Parliament.

John Pym was again the leader of the opposition. He was seconded by Hampden, Selden, the younger Vane, and Oliver Cromwell, who had sat in silence through the Short Parliament.[2] Among the more moderate reformers were Edward Hyde, a young lawyer of considerable ability, and Lord Falkland, who is remembered chiefly for his unselfish devotion to what he believed was right, and for his vain efforts to secure honorable peace between the contending factions. But of all the leaders of the Long Parliament, Edward Hyde and Oliver Cromwell were the best equipped, though the talents of neither had been discovered in 1640.

Leaders of the opposition to the king.

317. Execution of Strafford.[3] **1641.** Eight days after the sessions had begun, the house of commons voted almost unanimously to impeach Strafford, and a month later ordered Archbishop Laud to be confined in the Tower, where he remained three weary years, which closed with his execution. Strafford was in Yorkshire

Arrest of Strafford and Laud.

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[1] Masterman, 123.

[2] Innes, II, 38–42.

[3] Cheyney, No. 280; Gardiner, 530–531; Innes, II, 50–57; Kendall, No. 76; Tuell and Hatch, No. 47.

with the army, but came to Westminster on the king's command. It was difficult to prove that Strafford had violated the treason laws, and to make sure that the strong earl should not escape, parliament passed a bill of attainder instead of completing the impeachment proceedings. A little earlier the parliamentary leaders had learned that the king was planning to liberate Strafford and that the queen was plotting with the officers of the army in Yorkshire. So great was the excitement when these matters were revealed, that the king felt compelled to break his pledge to Strafford and sign the bill of attainder for fear that a refusal would result in serious riot and endanger the life of the queen.[1]

Execution of Strafford.

318. Reforms of the Long Parliament.[2] For nearly a year the opposition held together and passed a number of highly important acts. The various courts that had grown out of the privy council, such as the star chamber and the court of high commission, were abolished. Ship money as collected by Charles was declared illegal. The king was also deprived of his other irregular sources of revenue: he was forbidden to fine his subjects for violating obsolete forest laws or for neglecting to seek the honor of knighthood. It was definitely enacted that tunnage and poundage could be collected only when granted by parliament. To prevent a repetition of personal monarchy it was enacted that there should not be a longer period than three years between parliaments; and to be sure that it would be able to carry out its program, the Long Parliament resolved that it should not be dissolved without its own consent. All these measures received the royal assent. They had met scarcely any opposition in parliament, and the king had no choice but to accept the bills that came up to him though their purpose was to destroy the Stuart system of government and to chain the king's hands.

A series of important reforms.

319. The Grand Remonstrance. 1641. All these reforms were carried out during the first session. When the second session opened in the fall of the same year (1641), it was found that unanimity was gone. The two great problems now before parliament were the army and the church. In the same autumn a revolt broke out in Ireland. To suppress this an army would be necessary, which, according to law, would be under the king's orders. It was feared, however, and with the best of reasons, that the king, who had such an elastic public conscience in contrast to his very rigid private one, could not be trusted with an army: it might be used against parliament instead of against the Irish. In their anger and perplexity the majority determined to appeal to the English nation which they did in a curious document called the "Grand Remonstrance,"[1] which in form was an address to the king. The Remonstrance is composed of three chief parts: a statement of the king's errors as a ruler; a list of important reforms already enacted; and a project for further changes, especially in the church. It was over the last part of the Remonstrance that the disagreement appeared. A royalist party of considerable strength now came to be formed under the leadership of Hyde and Falkland.[2]

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 281–283; Kendall, No. 77.

[2] Gardiner, 531; Masterman, 124–127.

Divisions in parliament.

The "Grand Remonstrance."

A royalist party.

320. Charles and the Five Members. It had been a terrible year for the king and the queen, but, with the clash in parliament over church legislation and the formation of a moderate group, Charles and his partisans found new hope and courage. When the new year came he was ready to take the offensive. The latter half of the year the king had spent in Scotland making efforts to compose affairs among his rebellious subjects there. It had come to his knowledge that Pym and certain other Puritan leaders had been in communication with the Scotch prior to the Second Bishops' War, and he believed they had invited the invasion. If this were true, they were guilty of treason. On January 3 he brought charges in the house of lords against one peer and five members of the house of commons. Impeachment by the king

Charles takes the offensive.

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[1] Innes, II, 62–64.

[2] *Ibid*, II, 65–68.

was a new procedure and of doubtful legality; and the demand for the arrest of the five members was clearly unprecedented and illegal. As the house of commons refused to heed his orders, Charles after some wavering determined to go in person to make the arrest. It was the queen's influence that finally decided Charles; Henrietta Maria feared that her own impeachment for efforts to secure aid from the pope and the Catholic powers was imminent, and she hoped to remove the danger by a bold counter-stroke. So overjoyed was the queen at the tardy show of courage on the king's part that she shared the secret with one of her ladies, who promptly notified Pym and his associates of their danger. The attempt to arrest the five members failed; but Charles, by appearing to interfere with the privilege of parliament, had ruined his cause forever.[1]

Attempt to arrest five members of the house of commons.

321. Preparations for Civil War. 1642. A week later Charles had left London not to return till nearly six years later when he came as the prisoner of parliament. In February he went to Dover to see Queen Henrietta safely on board a ship for Holland,[2] whither she went ostensibly to give her daughter in marriage to William (II) of Orange, though really to secure help from the Continental powers. This, however, was a difficult task, inasmuch as the weary nations of Europe had just begun to look forward to the close of the Thirty Years' War. A few weeks later King Charles took up his abode in York. Meanwhile the quarrel continued at Westminster and parliament passed several important bills; but only one, a bill to exclude the bishops from the house of lords, received the royal assent and became a law. Soon the king's partisans began to leave parliament and gather in York. By midsummer both sides were collecting forces for the conflict that was sure to come. On August 22, the royal standard was set up at Nottingham

Charles I leaves London.

Civil war.

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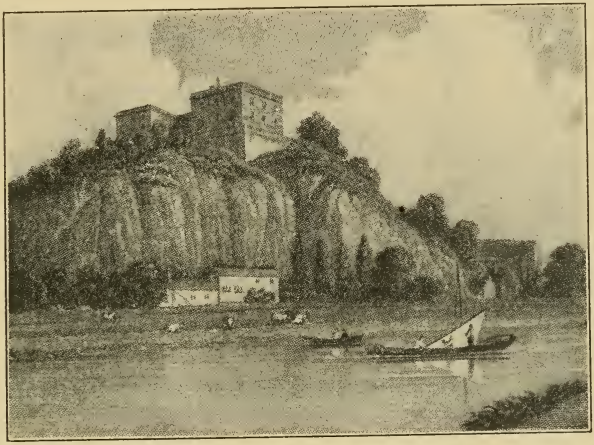
[1] Cheyney, No. 285; Kendall, No. 78; Tuell and Hatch, No. 45 (Gardiner); Gardiner, 535–536.

[2] Cheyney, Nos. 291–294.

in Puritan territory: all men were summoned to the king's aid, and the civil war was formally opened.

Responsibility of parliament for the civil war.

For this outcome parliament was not wholly blameless: by depriving the king of his ancient power to dissolve the houses it virtually declared itself independent of the royal will and wrought a complete change in the constitution of the kingdom; it now threatened to transform the government of the national church by making its officials subordinate to parliament. But the chief part of the blame must be charged to the king and his counselors, especially Archbishop Laud and Attorney General Noy, who strengthened him in his purposes to do what the law clearly forbade. King Charles possessed an unusually attractive personality: he was a handsome man and had all the dignity of a king. He had also certain private virtues that are not always found in kings: he was kind and devoted to his family; in personal matters he was honest and upright; and



Nottingham Castle (restored)

In front of Nottingham Castle Charles I raised his standard in 1642 and gave the signal for civil war. From a drawing by W. Westall.

Responsibility of Charles and his counselors.

he strove to be loyal to his friends. But he also possessed in full measure the stubborn tenacity of the Stuarts and their inordinate appreciation of the kingly character and office.

Character of Charles I.

Too long had King Charles listened to those who had taught that in matters of government the only test of right and wrong, of legality and illegality, was the sovereign's own intentions. There were certain hindrances in the way of a complete realization of the Stuart theories, and to overcome these the king made use of expedients that were not honest. He was constantly asking his subjects to accept his "royal word;" but the royal word of Charles Stuart was utterly worthless.

322. Stuart Absolutism: Summary. The period from 1629 to 1642 falls into four divisions. (1) During the first four years, the king was organizing the machinery of government, looking for men upon whom he could depend, punishing the leaders of the opposition, and experimenting with new forms of taxation. This was also the period of extensive colonization in New England. (2) In 1633 Laud was placed at the head of the English church, and the king was ready to establish absolutism in every field of government. This was the period of persecution of Puritan clergymen and of the agitation over ship money. But "personal government" had an active period of a little more than three years only (1633–1637). (3) In 1637 began the trouble with Scotland over episcopal offices and a new ritual, and the Stuart system broke down when Charles failed to overcome the Scotch in the two Bishops' Wars. (4) In 1640 parliament was again summoned. The Long Parliament enacted a number of very important constitutional reforms; but when the parliamentarians began to attack the English church, the party split, and a strong royalist faction was formed under the leadership of Hyde and Falkland. A few months later, King Charles proclaimed civil war (1642).

Development of absolutism.

Failure of personal government.

It is not to be forgotten that the effort to establish absolute monarchy in England was not an isolated instance of such a movement: it was a part of a great movement in that direction that covered the entire Continent. When the seventeenth century closed, absolutism had conquered in nearly all the more important states in Europe, the notable exceptions being the Dutch republic and the British kingdom. The failure of personal monarchy in England is, therefore, a matter of European importance.

Absolutism on the Continent.

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CHAPTER XVI

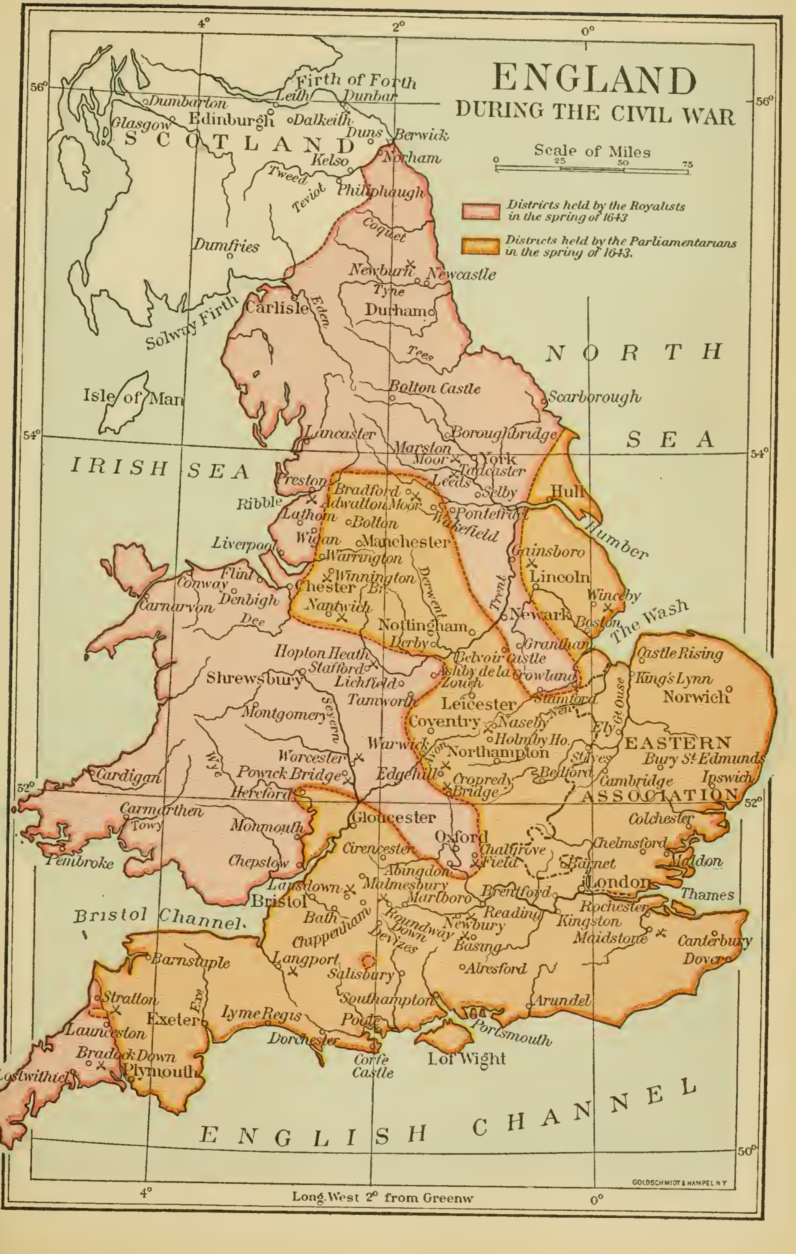
THE AGE OF CROMWELL

323. Parties of the Civil War. The civil war that broke out in the summer of 1642 continued for a little more than three years till the autumn of 1645, when the royalist forces began to disintegrate; when the following spring came, the cause of the Stuarts was definitely lost. It is called the First Civil War to distinguish it from the brief period of hostilities in 1648 which is known as the Second Civil War. In this great conflict England was divided socially, politically, and geographically, though clear lines of division existed nowhere. On the one side were the partisans of parliament, by which is meant the majority of the house of commons; on the opposite side were gathered the followers of the king, men with a profound respect for the historic rights of monarchy, who were unwilling to see the royal prerogative diminished in favor of the upstarts in the house of commons. The Anglican naturally drifted into the royal following, while the Puritan stood with parliament; still, there were many Puritans who finally chose to support the king. The peers with their tenants and retainers were commonly found in the royalist ranks; at the same time there were many men of substance on the side of the revolutionists: the parliamentarian armies were commanded by Puritan lords. In general, the north and the west rallied to the support of the dynasty, while the east and the south sympathized with the parliamentarians.

The First Civil War.

Parties in the conflict.

324. Advantages and Disadvantages of the Parties. When the war broke out, each side had certain decided advantages, though at first conditions appeared to favor the king. The nobles and the gentlemen who volunteered for his service



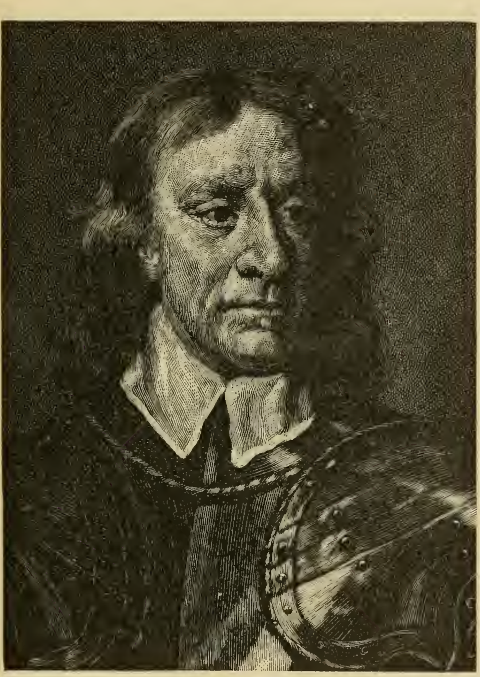
ENGLAND
DURING THE CIVIL WAR

Scale of Miles
0 25 50 75
Districts held by the Royalists in the spring of 1643
Districts held by the Parliamentarians in the spring of 1643.
4°
2°
0°
56°
54°
52°
50°
SCOTLAND
Firth of Forth
Leith
Dunbar
Dumbarton
Edinburgh
Dalkeith
Glasgow
Duns
Berwick
Norham
Kelso
Tweed
Teviot
Philiphaugh
Coquet
Dumfries
Newburn
Newcastle
Tyne
Durham
Carlisle
Eden
Solway Firth
Tees
Isle of Man
Bolton Castle
Scarborough
NORTH SEA
Lancaster
Boroughbridge
Marston Moor
York
Tadcaster
Leeds
Selby
Hull
IRISH SEA
Preston
Bradford
Adwalton Moor
Ribble
Lathom
Bolton
Pontefract
Wakefield
Humber
Liverpool
Wigan
Manchester
Warrington
Gainsboro
Lincoln
Flint
Conway
Winnington Br.
Chester
Derwent
Trent
Winceby
Carnarvon
Denbigh
Nantwich
Newark
Boston
The Wash
Dee
Nottingham
Derby
Grantham
Hopton Heath
Stafford
Belvoir Castle
Ashby de la Zouch
Crowland
Castle Rising
King's Lynn
Shrewsbury
Lichfield
Norwich
Tamworth
Leicester
Stamford
Gt. Ouse
Montgomery
Severn
Nen
Coventry
Naseby
Ely
Holmby Ho.
EASTERN ASSOCIATION
Worcester
Warwick
Avon
Northampton
St. Ives
Bury St. Edmunds
Wye
Cardigan
Powick Bridge
Edgehill
Cropredy Bridge
Bedford
Cambridge
Ipswich
Hereford
Carmarthen
Towy
Gloucester
Colchester
Monmouth
Oxford
Chelmsford
Pembroke
Cirencester
Chalgrove Field
Chepstow
Barnet
Maldon
Abingdon
Lansdown
Malmesbury
London
Thames
Bristol
Marlboro
Brentford
Rochester
Bristol Channel.
Bath
Reading
Kingston
Chippenham
Roundway Down
Newbury
Maidstone
Canterbury
Devizes
Basing
Dover
Barnstaple
Langport
Salisbury
Alresford
Stratton
Exe
Southampton
Arundel
Exeter
Lyme Regis
Poole
Launceston
Dorchester
Portsmouth
Bradock Down
Corfe Castle
I. of Wight
Lostwithiel
Plymouth
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Long. West 2° from Greenw
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

The Cavaliers.

were men who spent much time in the saddle and were trained to the use of arms; consequently, the king had a reliable army from the very beginning. There were also some excellent officers among these royalist "cavaliers," the most noted, though not the ablest, of whom was Prince Rupert of the Palatinate,[1] the king's nephew, who won fame as a brilliant, though somewhat reckless, cavalry leader. Many of the cavaliers were very wealthy and contributed liberally to the royal war chest; but the supply was not inexhaustible and the king was often in sore straits for funds.

Prince Rupert.



Oliver Cromwell

From an engraving by O. Faber.

Advantages of the Parliamentarians.

On the other hand, parliament had three distinct advantages which eventually led to victory: the parliamentarians controlled the wealthiest and most populous section of the kingdom; they had the support of the fleet that King Charles had built and equipped a few years before, with its crews which had been starved in the interest of personal monarchy; and they had possession of the ports on the eastern and southern coasts where their customs officers collected the tunnage and poundage that parliament had denied the king. And on the Puritan side was Oliver Cromwell, the most capable leader of the age. Cromwell was a country gentleman who had known service in parliament[1] but was entirely without experience in warfare. He had, however, military as well as political talents, and under his leadership the Puritans developed an army that the cavaliers found almost invincible.

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[1] See sec. 291.

Oliver Cromwell.

325. Charles' Plan of Campaign. The king established his headquarters at Oxford; and here were gathered a majority of the house of lords and a strong minority of the house of commons whom the king recognized as forming the parliament of the kingdom. England thus had two capitals and two governments. The parliament at Oxford proved, however, of little service in the conduct of war, as the king retained his aversion to parliamentary bodies and was suspicious even of a legislature composed of his own partisans. It was the king's plan to advance to London with three armies:[2] one was collected in the Cornish peninsula, another in Yorkshire, and a third was gathered on the upper Thames. During the opening year of the war, the successes were chiefly on the royalist side; but the king's generals were nevertheless unable to carry out the plan agreed upon, because of the obstinate resistance of the parliamentarians at Plymouth and Hull, which prevented the southwestern and the northern armies from marching upon the capital. Charles' own force, the army on the Thames, actually did advance to within a few miles of London, but his forces were insufficient to seize and hold the hostile city and he marched his troops back to Oxford (November, 1642).

The king's government.

Military plans of the royalists.

Failure of the king's plan.

326. Parliament and the Scotch: Solemn League and Covenant. 1644. In the summer of 1644, the parliamentarians were facing a dangerous situation. Not only had the royalist forces been generally victorious, but the Irish rebellion[3] had spread to the entire island, and it was conceivable that the king might make terms with the Irish rebels in return for assistance against his English enemies. Accordingly, Pym and his associates began to look for help among the Scotch. A commission headed by the younger Vane was sent to Edinburgh to negotiate an alliance. The Scots, having a natural fear that the king after crushing out Puritanism would renew the warfare on Scotland, were not averse to joining the English parliamentarians; but they insisted that there could be no alliance unless England should accept the Presbyterian system. Sir Henry Vane was a Puritan and a republican; but he disliked the intolerant attitude of the Presbyterians, and was unwilling to grant the Scotch demand. He agreed, however, that the English church should be reorganized "according to the best example of the reformed churches and the word of God." To this the Scotchmen could not object, and an agreement known as the Solemn League and Covenant was entered into by the two parties. Soon after the new year had begun, a Scotch army entered England.

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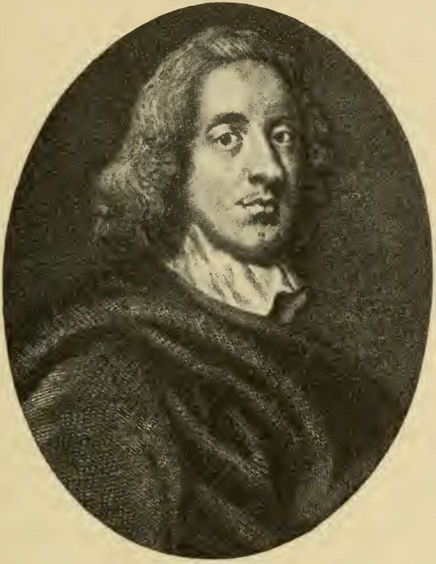
[1] See sec. 296.

[2] Gardiner, 537–538.

[3] *Ibid.*, 541.

Henry Vane in Scotland.

The alliance with the Scots.



Sir Henry Vane the Younger

After a portrait by Sir Peter Lely

327. The Westminster Assembly. 1643-1649. While Vane was negotiating with the Scots, an assembly of theologians was in session at Westminster wrestling with the problem of church reform. It was intended that this

English Presbyterianism.

body should represent all the religious parties in England, but all that were appointed were not willing to attend the sessions, and the assembly proved to be dominated by the Presbyterians.[1] A few of the members, however, opposed extensive departures from the Anglican system; among these was the famous lawyer John Selden. For nearly six years the "Westminster Divines" continued their labors; they finally drew up a new order of worship and a creed, the well-known Westminster Confession, which is still the standard of Presbyterian beliefs, though some of its doctrines are now held more loosely than formerly.

John Selden.

328. The Puritan Sects. Presbyterianism was, nevertheless, not to become the ruling system in England. When time came for Puritanism to be expressed in a definite platform, it was found that the emphasis that had been placed on the rights of the individual to shape his beliefs according to his own judgment and conscience had split the party into a number of fragments, of which the Presbyterian was no doubt the largest.[2] But during the civil war and the following years, a number of religious movements developed and received recognition as "sects." George Fox, the originator of the Quaker movement, began his activities shortly before the Westminster Assembly finished its work. A little earlier (1644) the Baptist movement took definite form by the adoption of a creed to which several London churches subscribed. What is now known as Congregationalism took on more definite form during the same years. These and other related sects agreed in claiming self-government in religious matters for each local group of believers: hence the Puritans who had accepted the Presbyterian standards spoke of them as "Independents." Among the more prominent leaders who accepted "Independency" were Sir Henry Vane, John Milton, and Oliver Cromwell.

Break-up of Puritanism.

George Fox and the Quakers.

Baptists and Congregationalists.

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[1] Bates and Coman, 308–309 (Butler, *Hudibras*).

[2] Gardiner, 543–544.

329. Oliver Cromwell and his Ironsides. 1643. Meanwhile the Puritan forces maintained a united front against the royalists. In the year of the Scotch alliance (1643), five Puritan counties north and northeast of London formed a union known as the Eastern Association for the purpose of raising and providing for soldiers. Of this union Cromwell was the guiding spirit. He was given a colonel's commission and at once proceeded to raise and organize a regiment of cavalry that proved so efficient in battle as to be nicknamed the "Ironsides." In the seventeenth century and even later, the armies and navies were often recruited by "press-gang methods," that is, men were forced into the service, even kidnapped at times. In this way many vagabonds, men without employment, or friendless unfortunates, came into the ranks, and military efficiency was not much profited. It was Cromwell's plan to enlist men of stability, character, and substance, and to pay them for their services. Two years later when the New Model army was organized, Cromwell's ideas were applied as far as possible to the entire parliamentarian host.

The Eastern Association. 1643.

Cromwell's "Ironsides."

330. Battle of Marston Moor. 1644. A few months after its organization, Cromwell's "lovely company" had an opportunity to match its training and efficiency against the valor and discipline of the best soldiers in the cavalier armies. The Scotch and the parliamentarians were besieging a royalist force in York. Prince Rupert hurried northward with an army to relieve his fellow cavaliers and succeeded in raising the siege. He could, however, scarcely return to Oxford without giving battle to the enemy who were still threatening York; and at Marston Moor, six miles west of the city, the forces met in what was perhaps the bloodiest battle of the war. Here the Roundhead force of horsemen attacked the splendid calvary of the gay prince and swept them off the battle field. "God made them as stubble to our swords," wrote Cromwell with true Puritan enthusiasm.[1] Northern

Marston Moor. 1644.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 289.

England was now completely lost to the Stuart cause, but the king's forces held out for another year in the west and about Oxford.

331. The New Model Army and the Battle of Naseby. 1645. The next year parliament proceeded to organize the entire army along lines advocated by Cromwell. Inefficient soldiers were discharged; new men, chiefly of the Puritan type, were enlisted or forced into the service; the recruits were largely sought in the counties of the Eastern Association and were consequently the kinsmen and former neighbors of the men who had settled New England a decade earlier. This new army was also to a large extent officered by a new set of men, of whom many happened to be Independents. The New Model, as it was called, was made up largely, though not exclusively, of men whose religious enthusiasm was deep and enduring. They sang psalms, spoke at prayer meetings, observed the Sunday religiously, and respected the rights of peaceful Englishmen with respect to their persons and property.[1] But they were also most excellent soldiers. Sir Thomas Fairfax was nominally in command with Oliver Cromwell as lieutenant general. The army was maintained for nearly twenty years, until it was disbanded in the beginning of the reign of Charles II.

The New Model.

The New Model was ready in April and in June (1645) it completely crushed a royalist army at Naseby,[2] where Cromwell's cavalry again was the deciding factor. King Charles lost more than half of his forces and his partisans realized, though the king himself did not, that the Stuart cause was lost. After Naseby there were no more real battles: the task was now to disperse the royalist forces that were still under arms and to seize the strongholds that were held by royalist garrisons. When the following spring opened, King Charles had no longer any forces in England.

The battle of Naseby.

332. Charles Surrenders to the Scotch. 1646. For about a year after the battle of Naseby the luckless king wandered about in the vain hope that help would come from somewhere; but none came and one day in 1646 he left Oxford and rode to the Scotch army. He was with the Scotch for less than a year. As he appeared to show no great interest in the Scotch purpose of forcing Presbyterianism upon the English, the disgusted leaders began to prepare for a return to the north. Parliament had finally come forward with the money that had been promised in return for military assistance when the Solemn League and Covenant was entered into, and the Scotch had no longer any reason for remaining in England. But before returning to Scotland, they handed the king over to parliament.

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[1] Innes, II, 68–70; Kendall, No. 79.

[2] Bates and Coman, 321–325 (Macaulay, *Naseby*); Gardiner, 547–549.

Surrender of Charles I. 1646.

The king is handed over to parliament.

333. Fruitless Negotiations. 1646-1648. Now that the English had the king at their mercy, the problem was what to do with him. The vast majority of all parties were anxious to have Charles I resume the kingship; but few were willing to risk an unconditional restoration. For two years the greatest confusion reigned in England. Parliament was Presbyterian and was unwilling to agree to religious toleration. The army was strongly Independent and asked freedom for all manner of worship, though many objected to "popery and prelacy." Parliament was in great fear of the New Model and was anxious to see it disband; but no provision was made for the payment of the wages that were in arrears. The soldiers mutinied and the army remained intact.

Parliament and the army in disagreement.

For some time both the army and parliament carried on negotiations with the king; but to no purpose, as Charles found it impossible to be truthful in dealing with his subjects.[1] The officers of the army drew up a scheme of limited monarchy which they called the Heads of the Proposals, but these heads were not satisfactory either to the king or to parliament. Charles was now the prisoner of the army; for Cromwell, fearing that the king and parlia-

Negotiations with the king.

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[1] Gardiner, 551-552.

ment might come to an agreement, had sent one of his officers to take charge of him. While Charles was actually a prisoner, he was deprived of nothing but his liberty: he enjoyed all possible comforts and was treated with all due deference. He even found opportunity to continue his intrigues with English factions and with foreign powers.

334. The Second Civil War. 1648. The king was finally forced to choose between parliament and the army; and in 1648 he appeared to favor the former: he agreed to establish Presbyterianism for three years and to help suppress Independency. In support of this plan Englishmen began to take up arms in various parts of the kingdom; the Scotch army invaded the north country, and the royalists rose in Wales. But the second Civil War was not of long duration: Fairfax put down the rising in the southeast, while Cromwell crushed the Welsh revolt and drove the Scotch out of the kingdom. The New Model was now supreme in England, but Oliver Cromwell controlled the New Model.

Civil war between Presbyterians and Independents.

335. Pride's Purge. 1648. Voices within the army now began to demand the life of the king. Cromwell was anxious to save Charles, but he was determined that parliament should become Independent. With his army he took possession of the capital. On December 6, 1648, Colonel Pride, acting on orders from Cromwell, stationed himself outside the door of the house of commons to "purge" parliament of Presbyterianism. One hundred and forty-one members were refused admission, forty-five of whom were placed under arrest. Fewer than a hundred members, all Independents, remained; this was the famous "Rump," that carried on the government for four years longer.

The Presbyterians removed from parliament.

The Independent Rump.

336. Trial and Execution of Charles I. 1649. Cromwell still hoped to restore Charles, but the king refused to accept his conditions. Just before the close of the year, the Rump brought charges against the king for treason. A court was formed and all the forms of a trial were gone through.[1] After a session of nearly three weeks, the court found Charles Stuart guilty and sentenced him to death. On January 30, he was beheaded. On the day of his death the handsome, dignified, kinglike man looked more handsome and dignified than ever before. Charles I, like his famous grandmother, Mary Stuart, died like a monarch.[2]

Execution of Charles I.

The crowned heads of Europe heard the news of the long trial with amazement and horror; but no one dared to interfere. To invade England was a difficult task, and the efficiency of Cromwell's army was no secret. However, had it not been that Europe had just gone through a terrible war of thirty years, there might have been efforts to save Charles. But it was only three months since the treaty had been signed at Westphalia, and the English Independents were allowed to deal with monarchy as they chose.

The situation on the Continent.

337. The Commonwealth: Cromwell. 1649. A week after the king's execution, the Rump abolished the house of lords, which for some time had not been taken seriously, however, as it contained only thirteen peers. . A month earlier monarchy had been abolished,[3] and the establishment of the Commonwealth was now complete. In place of the king a new executive was established in the form of a council of state composed of forty-one members, of which Oliver Cromwell,[4] who still retained his command in the army, was a prominent member. This body is also memorable for employing John Milton as one of its secretaries. It was while the great poet was working with the Latin documents of this council that he lost his sight.

The commonwealth.

The council of state.

As many members of the council of state were also members of parliament, that body was in one sense only a parliamentary committee; but so large was the membership of the council and so few were the men who attended the sessions of the Rump, frequently fewer than fifty, that the council really controlled the parliament. Oliver Cromwell, as member of both council and parliament and commander of the victorious New Model, soon came to dominate the situation. Cromwell was a masterful man, strong, energetic, and resourceful; he could take in a situation at a glance and was never in doubt as to what to do next. It is probable that he at no time desired to become the ruler of England, but when circumstances forced him to undertake the task he did not shrink from it. Cromwell was a Puritan, but he was not a fanatic; he was stern and unrelenting, but he was also tolerant of the views of others and made no attempt to force his own religious opinions on those who disagreed with him.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 295; Gardiner, 557–560; Innes, II, 80–86.

[2] Bates and Coman, 327; Cheyney, Nos. 298–300; Kendall, Nos. 82–83; Tuell and Hatch, No. 49.

[3] Cheyney, No. 302.

[4] Cheyney, No. 306; Kendall, No. 84; Tuell and Hatch, Nos. 50–52.

The dominant position of Cromwell.

Character of Cromwell.

338. Cromwell in Ireland and Scotland.[1] A sham republic like the Commonwealth of 1649–1653 could satisfy only the merest fragment of the English nation; but behind it stood the terrible army, and England was weary of warfare; there were, therefore, no uprisings. But outside the kingdom the dangers were many and serious: especially threatening was the situation in Ireland and Scotland and the attitude of the Dutch. On the death of Charles I, the crown, according to royalist ideas, went to the Prince of Wales, who was now spoken of as Charles II. The young prince was in exile among the Dutch when he began his "reign," but he had partisans in Ireland and was actually accepted by the Scotch as king the next year. If he were allowed to establish himself as king of Ireland and Scotland, it would be only a question of time as to when he would come with armies behind him to claim the English crown.

Dangers to the republic.

Charles II.

To prevent this Cromwell was sent to Ireland with a strong force, and by the terrible massacres of Drogheda[2] and Wexford and by the devastation of Munster he struck terror into the hearts of the Irish and crushed the revolt which had now lasted for eight years. Leaving the pacification of the country to his lieutenants, he returned to England and prepared to begin operations against the Scotch (1650). At Dunbar[1] he met his old comrade David Leslie who had commanded the Scotch auxiliaries at Marston Moor. Leslie did not wish to fight Cromwell, but the preachers of the kirk forced a battle. The Scotch army was carefully purged of all who were suspected of being lukewarm in religious matters, until "only ministers' sons, clerks, and such other sanctified creatures, who hardly ever saw or heard of any sword but that of the spirit" remained to fight. In the battle the next morning the English saints completely defeated the sanctified Scotchmen. Leslie lost half of his army.

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[1] Gardiner, 562–563.

[2] Innes, II, 86–93.

Cromwell in Ireland.

The battle of Dunbar.

The spirit of the Scotch was not crushed. They crowned the profligate Charles, raised another army, and in the campaign that followed carried the war into England. Down the west coast of England the royalist army marched with Cromwell in hot pursuit. At Worcester the Scotch forces were completely destroyed. Leslie was taken prisoner, but Charles escaped and wandered off to France. Worcester was Cromwell's last and greatest victory, his "crowning mercy," as he called it. The independence of Scotland was lost: for nine years it was ruled by England.

Cromwell's victory at Worcester, 1651.

339. War with the Dutch. 1652–1653. The following year war broke out with the Dutch. This was a war for commercial supremacy. The Dutch had built up a commerce of vast dimensions and of this the English insisted on having a large share. The Dutch were not eager to accept the English terms, and in a moment of irritation the Rump parliament passed a Navigation Act which came to be important for more than a century. This act provided (1) that European goods should be brought to England in English

Quarrel with the Dutch.

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[1] Innes, II, 101–106.

(or English colonial) ships, or in ships of the country producing the goods: that is, Spanish goods should be brought to London or Bristol in English or Spanish ships; only Dutch goods could be brought in Dutch ships; (2) goods from America, Asia, and Africa could come in English ships only; (3) the English fisheries were to be reserved to English ships. This cut deeply into Dutch commerce, as the act applied to the English colonies as well as to Britain. And the inevitable result was war.

Navigation Acts.

Parliament had no naval commander worthy of the name, but one was discovered in Robert Blake, who had been appointed general of the sea in 1649. Admiral Blake probably did more than any other man in history to make England supreme on the ocean. Like Oliver Cromwell he had no experience in the particular line of warfare in which he was to excel; but he possessed genius for naval warfare and ranks with the greatest captains of English history. The war was fought chiefly in the Channel and continued for a little more than a year. It will be seen that Dutch vessels coming from the south or west are compelled to sail up the Channel or make the long and dangerous journey around Britain. The Dutch fought to keep the Channel open, the English to keep it closed. After a series of engagements the Dutch navy was almost entirely ruined and when peace came the Dutch agreed to recognize the supremacy of England in British waters by saluting the English flag. But what was more important, after June, 1653, England was the mistress of the seas.

Admiral Robert Blake.

Defeat of the Dutch.

340. The Rump Parliament Dissolved. 1653. While Blake was destroying the commercial supremacy of the Dutch, Cromwell was carrying on a conflict with the Rump. This peculiar group had become more and more ridiculous in the eyes of Englishmen. It was only the merest fragment of a parliament chosen thirteen years before under vastly different conditions; and the feeling was general that it ought to yield to a new parliament. Among those who

The Rump dissolved.

insisted that the Rump should retire was Cromwell. Vane favored holding elections in the counties and boroughs that were not represented; but he wished the members already holding seats to continue indefinitely as members. The idea of a parliament having life members did not appeal to Cromwell. On April 20, 1653, while parliament was considering Vane's plan, Cromwell, who was present, suddenly arose, scolded the house in somewhat undignified language, and ordered the members out of the room. "Come, come, sir; I will put an end to your prating." His soldiers began to file in and the members departed.[1] The Independent army had thus put an end to the Independent parliament that it had created by Pride's purge. The council of state had also been dissolved, and for some months England did not even have the pretense of constitutional government.

341. The Little Parliament; the Instrument of Government. 1653. The Protectorate. Cromwell was now the self-appointed dictator of the commonwealth, his power resting on the army. He felt, however, the need of some sort of a parliament, but did not dare to trust the English electorate. Finally a sham parliament was formed consisting of one hundred and forty members appointed by Cromwell himself from lists of nominees made out by the Independent clergymen of the commonwealth.[2] A small council of state made up chiefly of army officers was chosen to assist the dictator. But the government of soldiers and saints also failed. In December this Little Parliament was induced to surrender its authority into the hands of the dictator and adjourn. One of the officers of the army, General Lambert, now came forward with a written constitution, the Instrument of Government, which Cromwell accepted and tried to put into effect without consulting the English people. The instrument consolidated all the three British kingdoms and established a

Cromwell as dictator. 1653.

The Little Parliament.

The Instrument of Government.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 305; Kendall, No. 85; Robinson, No. 143.

[2] Gardiner, 566–568.

republic with a parliament of one house and a president called the Protector of the Commonwealth.[1] Between protectorate and kingship the difference was very slight. Cromwell held this presidency for life; he lived in Whitehall palace and also had the use of the other royal palaces; his household was elaborate and extensive; he had a large and splendid guard. It was Cromwell's hope and purpose to establish the government of the commonwealth on a secure and satisfactory basis; but in this he failed. Parliament met twice during the period of the Protectorate; but the members very soon quarreled with the Protector and Cromwell dismissed them.

342. Cromwell's Religious Policy. Oliver Cromwell insisted on two things that parliament was loath to grant: control of the army and a large measure of toleration in religious matters. The Instrument granted freedom of worship to all forms of Puritanism, but not to Anglicans or Catholics. Except that they were regularly fined as of old for refusing to attend Protestant worship, the Catholics found little to complain of while Cromwell ruled. The Jews, too, were now openly tolerated: they were even allowed to build synagogues. In the English church an extraordinary situation ruled. The houses of worship were still standing, and it was the will of the government that these should be used. Many pulpits were vacant, however, and to get these supplied with preachers of the proper sort, Cromwell's government appointed a commission of "triers" who were to examine candidates. The triers were not to investigate into the beliefs of the future pastors any further than to determine whether they were of the Puritan type; the important thing was to make sure that they were godly men and able to preach. Men of all shades of belief came to be preaching in the churches that Laud had guarded so jealously: Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and men of other sects, — even Anglicans were left undisturbed in their pulpits for a time. But in 1655

The English church under the commonwealth.

The "sects" in control of the pulpits.

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[1] Gardiner, 568–570.

it was ordained that no Anglican clergyman was to continue preaching in an English church. For three years the sectarians were in complete possession; all general church government virtually disappeared.

343. War with Spain: the French Alliance. 1655–1656. Though Oliver Cromwell's domestic policy may be regarded as a failure, in his dealings with foreign nations he was eminently successful. He sent Admiral Blake into the Mediterranean waters to teach the Barbary pirates of Tunis and Algiers a long needed lesson, a task that the Admiral carried out in his usual thorough fashion. For the Dutch as commercial rivals and recent enemies, Cromwell could have no particular friendship; but he managed to maintain peaceful relations with the Dutch Republic throughout his administration. At first he was inclined to seek an alliance with the Spaniards; but his terms included freedom for the English merchants to trade in Spanish America and freedom of worship for all Englishmen in Spanish dominions. However, as the Spaniards objected to having "their master's two eyes put out," the negotiations led to open war. Cromwell now transferred his attentions to France, the government of which was less intolerant. For a generation longer the foreign policy of England meant what it did in Cromwell's day: an alliance

Blake in the Mediterranean.

Cromwell and the Dutch.

Admiral Robert Blake

with France but strained relations with Spain and the Dutch Republic.

In the war with Spain Blake won great victories; at one time he captured the Spanish treasure fleet with gold and silver from the American Indies, and brought the great hoard to England where it was greatly needed. He also discovered the importance of Gibraltar, which the English seized half a century later. But the most important event of the war was an expedition to the West Indies sent for the purpose of seizing the rich island of San Domingo. The fleet was commanded by Admiral Penn, the father of the founder of Pennsylvania. In its main purpose the venture failed; but the admiral succeeded in taking Jamaica, an island which at the time was considered as of doubtful value, but after some years of development became an important part of the British Empire and the center of a lucrative sugar industry.

Admiral Penn seizes Jamaica. 1655.

344. Cromwell and the Colonies. With respect to the colonies Cromwell believed in as little interference as possible; but this does not mean that the empire was neglected. In Cromwell's day there were a few English stations in India and on the Guinea coast in western Africa, which were important centers for the trade in tropical products. In the development of the East Indian trade and stations Cromwell showed considerable interest. But actual colonies existed in North America only. In the West Indies, besides Jamaica, England had Barbados and several other islands in the Antilles group; on the mainland she had Virginia and Maryland and the five colonies of New England. There was also a settlement on the Bermudas. In 1652 during the war with the Dutch, the commonwealth parliament appointed a board of commissioners to control these new settlements. As New England was intensely Puritan, this board saw no reason for much interference there, though it did make an unsuccessful effort to deprive Massachusetts of its royal charter. To the

English colonial possessions.

Parliamentary interference in colonial affairs.

two southern colonies a frigate was sent, and the governments of both Virginia and Maryland were placed in the hands of Puritan officials.

The material growth of the English colonies during the Cromwellian period was very great. Cavaliers who found the Puritan régime distasteful emigrated to Virginia by thousands. In the twenty years following the execution of King Charles, the population of Virginia increased from 15,000 to 40,000. After the second civil war large numbers of the prisoners of war were shipped to Barbados. The battle of Worcester added about a thousand to the population of New England. Jamaica grew very slowly at first; but Cromwell took a great interest in the island, and the rapidly growing population of the Antilles gave a surplus that could be used in its development.

Colonial growth.

345. The Rule of Cromwell.[1] Cromwell gave England a strong and efficient government; but it was not according to the taste of his subjects. He had violated too many English traditions to gain popularity for himself and his rule, and his government grew more hated every day. The royalists looked upon him as a mere upstart and usurper. The republicans regarded him as a monarch in disguise, as a traitor to the principles of Puritanism. The peers were eager to resume their place in the government. Scotland and Ireland disliked being incorporated with England. Out of these discordant elements nothing permanent and satisfactory could be shaped; and the scheme that was to have been only temporary seemed about to become permanent. In February, 1658, Cromwell dismissed his last parliament, the session of which had degenerated into a quarrel. Seven months later the great Protector died.[2]

Cromwell and the nation.

346. Summary. The first civil war was a long conflict between the royalists and the parliamentarians, and for a time it looked as if the king would win. Then came the league with Scotland and the organization of the New Model army with Oliver Cromwell as chief; and on the fields of Marston Moor and Naseby the cause of personal monarchy was decisively defeated. The second civil war was fought within the parliamentarian party as a conflict between the Presbyterians and the Independents. The Presbyterians wished to restore monarchy and reorganize the Church on a Presbyterian basis, as had been promised in the Solemn League and Covenant; the Independents, on the other hand, wanted no state church and were coming to hold republican ideas in government. A commonwealth was established after the execution of the king, and all the British Isles were united into one state; but these changes proved temporary only. There were, however, certain permanent results. Puritanism broke up into sects, nearly all of which have been permanent and have grown strong in the New World. English Presbyterianism built a platform for itself in the Westminster Confession. England humbled the naval power of the Netherlands as it once had ruined that of Spain, and from the time of Cromwell Britain has been the mistress of the seas. And finally, the British empire was strengthened by the acquisition of Jamaica and by renewed emigration to the American colonies.

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[1] Bates and Coman, 337–339 (Thornbury).

[2] Kendall, No. 89; Gardiner, 574.

The civil wars.

The commonwealth.

Development of churches.

Growth of empire.

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OLIVER CROMWELL. — Firth, c. xxii; Morley, 426–435.

CHAPTER XVII

THE STUART RESTORATION

347. The End of the Commonwealth. 1658-1659.[1] With the death of Cromwell the republic perished. The rule of the great Oliver had, indeed, been that of a monarch; but he seems honestly to have sought some form of a commonwealth that would secure political rights and civil liberties, and at the same time prove strong and efficient. At his death he designated his son Richard as his successor; but the new protector was weak and incompetent; after a few months of trouble with the army and the extreme republicans, he was forced to resign (May, 1659).

Richard Cromwell.

348. The Restoration of the Stuart Dynasty.[2] For nearly a year the political condition in England was scarcely better than anarchy. Fragments of the Long Parliament tried at intervals to carry on the government, but suffered constant interference from the officers of Cromwell's New Model army. The army, however, was divided: General Lambert in England still believed in the possibility of republican rule; while General Monk, to whom Cromwell had given the command of the forces in Scotland, had become convinced that his interference was necessary to end the anarchy. Whether he had already concluded in the autumn of 1659 that the Stuart dynasty must be restored may be doubted; but he soon realized that no other course was possible. In December he began to move his army southward; in January he crossed the border and proceeded toward London. For a time civil war seemed probable, but Lambert's resistance melted away. At Westminster Monk found

The anarchy. 1559.

General Monk.

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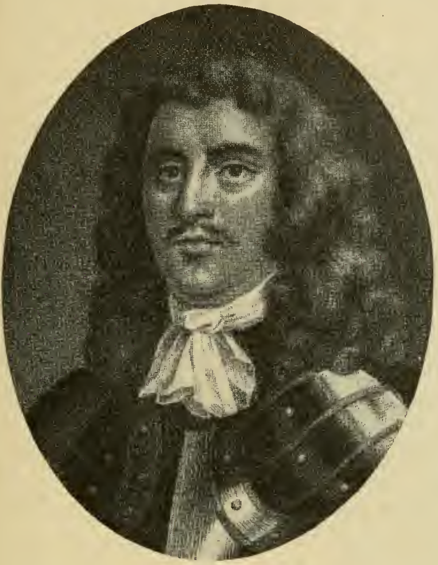
[1] Robinson, No. 144.

[2] Cheyney, No. 307.

the Rump Parliament in session; he gave it recognition but forced it to readmit the Presbyterian members who had been excluded by Pride's purge. Soon afterward the Long Parliament came to an end.



General Monk

The Convention Parliament.

Before disbanding, the Long Parliament ordered the election of a new body, which is known as the Convention Parliament, from the fact that it was not summoned by the king. A few days after the meeting of this body, it received a message from Charles Stuart known as the Declaration of Breda; in this he promised to forgive the past, to overlook religious differences, to pay Cromwell's soldiers in full, and to leave all in peaceful enjoyment of their property. These promises were, however, to be subject to the pleasure of parliament and were carried out in part only. The Convention received the Declaration with enthusiasm and on the same day resolved that "according to the ancient and fundamental laws of this kingdom the government is and ought to be by King, Lords, and Commons." On the 25th of May Charles landed at Dover; four days later he was in London.[1]

The Declaration of Breda.

349. Charles II.[2] Charles entered London on his thirtieth birthday. For nearly ten years he had traveled abroad, dependent on his friends in France or on his relatives in Holland for shelter and subsistence. He had, therefore, learned a lesson which his father had never learned: that a king, if he wishes to live in comfort, must regard, to some extent at least, the wishes of his subjects. Therefore there was no danger of an immediate repetition of the difficulties of his father's reign; for no matter what happened, the second Charles was determined not to resume his "travels." But England soon learned that good government was not to be expected from a man like Charles II: the dark, handsome man who landed in the spring of 1660 was able and intelligent; but he was also lazy, extravagant, and pleasure-loving. To a large section of the English people the new king was a bitter disappointment.

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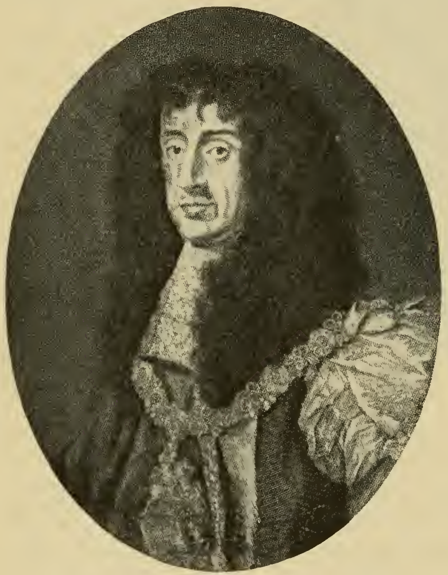
[1] Cheyney, No. 310; Innes, II, 113–115; Kendall, No. 90.

[2] Robinson, No. 145; Tuell and Hatch, No. 53 (Green); Cheyney, No. 311.

Charles II.



Charles II

After a portrait by Sir Peter Lely.

350. Clarendon. Charles' first confidential minister was Clarendon, his lord chancellor, who for seven years directed the policies of England. Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon not long after the restoration, was a lawyer of considerable abilities, and a man of sterling character.[1] He was devoted to Charles, whom he had followed into exile. But he possessed no real genius for statesmanship; no marked originality appears in his policies. His purpose was to restore not only the dynasty but the entire historic constitution

Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon.

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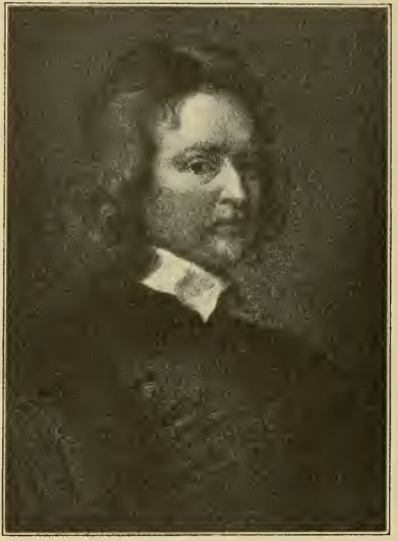
[1] Review secs. 316, 319.

including the church. As the innovations of Charles I and Laud were not parts of the traditional scheme of government, they were given no consideration. Unfortunately, Clarendon was unable to realize the vast changes that had come over England during the generation that had just passed. In his devotion to the past he was also blind to the value of some of Cromwell's constitutional changes, such as the union of the islands into one state, the reform of the franchise, and the improvements in parliamentary representation: Clarendon wanted everything to be just as it had been before the civil war.



Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon

After a painting by Gerard Soest.

351. The Restoration Settlement. Meanwhile, the Convention proceeded to carry out the provisions of Charles' Declaration. It was a moderate body, largely composed of Presbyterians, and in many respects it legislated wisely. The army, with the exception of two regiments, was paid and disbanded. An Act of Indemnity was passed extending pardon to all the political offenders of the past; but to this a long list of exceptions was added comprising the judges who had tried and condemned Charles I and a few others. Some of these suffered death;[1] some were imprisoned; and others sought refuge beyond the seas. The question of the forfeited lands was a difficult one; but the actual possessor was usually

The Act of Indemnity.

Problem of forfeited lands.

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[1] Innes, II, 115–116; Robinson, No. 146.

left in possession, and a few only of the dispossessed royalists regained control of the estates that they had lost during the revolution. The Convention also abolished feudalism by doing away with the old feudal rights and dues. As in this way the king lost a considerable amount of revenue, the Convention granted him an additional income in the form of a tax on beer. It was believed that from the sources available the royal income would amount to about £1,200,000; but this amount the king was never able to collect. To obtain additional revenues Charles II would be compelled to call parliament.[1]

352. The Restoration of the Church: the Clarendon Code.[2] On the church question the Convention reached no conclusion. In December Charles dissolved the Convention and ordered new elections. The electors in their eagerness to show their loyalty chose new members of an extreme loyalistic type. Few Presbyterians kept their seats. The new so-called Cavalier Parliament[3] was intensely Anglican. During the previous twenty years there had been much confusion in the English church; its organization had fallen to pieces; its membership had largely passed over to the "sects." As these bodies all dissented from Anglican practices and beliefs, their followers came to be known as Dissenters; as they refused to conform to the Prayer Book in church worship, they were also called Non-conformists.

The Cavalier Parliament.

By a series of acts called the Clarendon Code, though Clarendon probably did not wholly approve of the measures, the Cavalier Parliament restored the Anglican church to power and deprived the dissenters of the freedom of worship that Charles had promised and also to a large extent of political rights. The restoration had in large measure been accomplished by the Presbyterians; but now these very men were made ineligible to the municipal offices, for by the Corporation Act only such persons as partook of the communion in the Anglican church were allowed to share in municipal

The Corporation Act. 1661.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 191.

[2] Gardiner, 583–586, 588, 590.

[3] Masterman, 134–136.

government. It was also found that among the priests who officiated in the churches there were many who deviated in preaching and ceremonial from the Anglican standards. By an Act of Uniformity these were given the choice between conforming and resigning. About 2000 resigned their livings rather than conform. But these non-conformists continued to preach in homes and elsewhere. Parliament, therefore, passed the Conventicle Act which limited the attendance at such services to five in addition to the members of the household where the meetings were held. The strength of the dissenters lay in the towns, and there this act was enforced with difficulty. A law called the Five Mile Act was accordingly passed which forbade a nonconformist preacher to settle nearer than five miles to any corporate town; he was also forbidden to make teaching or preaching his profession.[1] It was hoped that the lack of teachers and spiritual advisers would in time drive all the dissenters back into the Anglican churches.

The Act of Uniformity. 1662.

The Conventicle Act. 1664.

The Five Mile Act. 1665.

353. The Restoration in the Colonies. One result of the Clarendon Code was to furnish large additions to the colonial population. Persecution was endured for some years;[2] but it soon became wearisome, and an exodus of dissatisfied Englishmen, in some respects comparable to the great Puritan migration, began, this time chiefly to new settlements. It will be remembered that during the commonwealth period England's possessions in the New World consisted of three groups: islands in the West Indies, the southern colonies of Maryland and Virginia, and New England.[3] Of these New England alone had shown much sympathy with the Revolution. In the other colonies the restoration merely meant a speedy return to the old régime.

Migration of the dissenters.

During the twenty years of the rebellion and the republic, New England had displayed a spirit of independence that the government could not overlook. A confederation had been formed (1643); money had been coined; laws had been made and enforced against certain forms of dissent that were unknown to English legislation. Cromwell had interfered very little in the affairs of New England; consequently, these colonies had come to look on the tie that bound them to the mother country as an exceedingly frail one. But as soon as the news of the restoration reached the New World, the American Puritans began to consider the question of recognizing the new monarch. In time all the colonies professed their loyalty, though Massachusetts showed some reluctance. In return for their obedience Charles granted liberal charters to Connecticut and Rhode Island; but the colony of New Haven, as a punishment for harboring regicides, lost its identity and was merged with Connecticut.

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[1] Kendall, No. 92.

[2] Cheyney, No. 313.

[3] Review sec. 344.

New England during the common-wealth period.

354. Colonial Expansion. New settlements were also formed. To a group of his friends, the chief of whom were Clarendon, Albemarle (Monk), Shaftesbury, and Governor Berkeley of Virginia, the king gave a large tract of land south of Virginia, which in the king's honor was called Carolina. More important territorial additions were made in the north. Between New England and the South lay the Dutch colony of New Netherland; it was necessary for the safety of the English settlements that this territory should be acquired. Accordingly, while England and the Netherlands were still nominally at peace, Charles sent Colonel Nicholls with a fleet to seize the region (1664).[1] The proprietorship was given to the king's brother, James, duke of York, in whose honor the colony was named New York. Later a part of the duke's grant lying between the Hudson and the Delaware River was formed into the colony of New Jersey. Toward the close of the reign the king's great friend William Penn received a large grant on the west side of the Delaware, which was erected into the colony of Pennsylvania (1681). By the close of the reign

The Carolinas.

New York. 1664.

New Jersey. Pennsylvania, 1681.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 315.

of Charles II, all the original Thirteen Colonies had been founded with the single exception of Georgia.

It is to be noted that the great period of interest in the colonies is contemporary with the legislation against dissent. It is an interesting fact that the proprietary charter of Carolina (which was given by a government that supported the Clarendon Code) provided for religious toleration. In a few years dissenters came in large numbers to Carolina, to New York, and to the new settlements in New Jersey. The Quaker exodus to the banks of the Delaware is well known. The governmental policy of enforcing uniformity in England while allowing toleration in the colonies proved to be a short-sighted one: it not only drove a dissatisfied element to America, but it also conveyed the idea that English laws were for England only. Thus this policy came to be one of the leading causes of the American revolt a century later.

Dissent in the new colonies.

355. Commercial Expansion. The interest that the Stuart government showed in the colonies was closely allied with an interest in commerce An increased trade would bring in a larger customs revenue and consequently increase the income of the crown and reduce the king's dependence on parliament. The field of English commerce was extended by the new colonial foundations and by the acquisition of Tangier and the island of Bombay which came to England as the dowry of the Portuguese princess Catherine of Braganza, who became queen of England in 1662. The government also strove to bring the English trade into English hands. At this time the commercial rivals of the English were the Dutch: Dutch merchant vessels sailed all the seas and carried merchandise to and from all the world's great ports.

Interest in trade and commerce.

To deprive Holland of her monopoly so far as the English trade was concerned, Cromwell's government had secured the passage of a Navigation Act, which provided that merchandise coming to England must be brought in English ships or in the ships of the country that pro-

Navigation Acts.

duced the merchandise. There were some exceptions to this, but in general it resulted in limiting the Dutch trade with England. This law was re-enacted in the beginning of the new reign, and another was added requiring certain colonial products to be taken to England before they might be shipped to a foreign country.[1]

Effect of these acts on English commerce.

These acts, for which Clarendon was largely responsible, were of great importance to the English merchants and ship owners. The English shippers were now reasonably sure of a certain amount of trade, as the Dutch could no longer underbid them. There came thus a demand for ships, a demand which was felt in the various lines of industry that provided the necessary materials and equipment. As England came to have a practical monopoly of the colonial trade, English manufactures grew, since the colonial produce consisted largely of raw materials. Later England was tempted to make this condition permanent by placing unreasonable restrictions on colonial manufactures.

356. Foreign Policy of Charles and Clarendon. Two facts determined the foreign policy of the reign: the ambition for a larger commerce and the hostility toward Roman Catholicism. During the first half of the reign the former principle was the controlling one; not till the court began to show a suspicious inclination to favor Catholicism did the subject of religion become of importance in the framing of foreign policies. In his attitude toward foreign powers Clarendon mainly followed up the ideas of Cromwell, — hostility to the Dutch as commercial rivals, and friendship for France. This policy was agreeable to Charles, who disliked the Dutch for keeping his relatives of the Orange family out of power, and looked with especial favor on the ideas and methods of Louis XIV of France.

Hostility toward the Dutch.

357. The Cabal; the Triple Alliance. This policy brought on a war with the Dutch in which England was only moderately successful.[1] The disasters of this war added to Clarendon's growing unpopularity proved too much for the chancellor, and the faithful minister was forced to surrender his office and go into exile.[2] Three years later we find the king consulting not one chief counselor but a group of five called the Cabal, of which Anthony Ashley Cooper, the earl of Shaftesbury, was the most conspicuous member. With the Cabal the religious question becomes the important factor in foreign policy. Charles was favorable to the cause of toleration which he wished to extend to his Roman Catholic subjects; his queen was a Catholic; his brother James professed Catholicism and later married as his second wife an Italian princess, who came to England with the hope of doing something for those of her own faith. The Anglicans of the Cavalier Parliament began to suspect the court of treachery toward the English church. At the same time the English nation was transferring its friendship from Catholic France to Protestant Holland. Europe was beginning to realize that its greatest enemy was Louis XIV, whose ambitions involved the extension of French authority over all the territory west of the Rhine. During the Dutch war France had not shown the expected friendship; and the treaty with the Dutch was followed by the Triple Alliance of England, Sweden, and Holland against Louis XIV (1668).

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 170–174; review sec. 339.

Fall of Clarendon.

The Cabal.

Rising hostility toward France.

The Triple Alliance.

358. The Secret Treaty of Dover. 1670. The Triple Alliance was not according to Charles' ideas. He was at this time planning to transform the kingdom into an absolute monarchy and to introduce a modified form of the Catholic church. To accomplish this purpose he needed the assistance of Louis and made an agreement with him, the Secret Treaty of Dover, according to which, in return for French money and soldiers, he was to assist in the partition of the Netherlands. Two years later Louis invaded the Netherlands; but the Dutch flooded their

The treaty of Dover with France. 1670.

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[1] Kendall, No. 94; Innes, II, 126–129.

[2] Gardiner, 593–594.

country and checked his advance. William of Orange, Charles' own nephew, was placed in charge of the government. A little later the new Dutch leader succeeded in detaching England from the French alliance.

William of Orange.

359. Anti-Catholic Movements: the Test Act. 1673. In breaking up this alliance, William of Orange was assisted by a strong anti-Catholic movement that had arisen in England. The same year that saw the beginning of the last Dutch war also saw an effort on the king's part to suspend the Clarendon Code by a royal Declaration of Indulgence. Early in the next year parliament met and forced him to withdraw the declaration. This was followed by the famous Test Act which applied the principle of the Corporation Act to the offices of the state. It provided that no person should hold office under the crown who did not partake of the communion according to the rites of the English church. This forced the Catholics out of the high offices, which was the intent of the act.[1] James resigned his position as high admiral; two members of the Cabal were forced to surrender their ministerial offices. For a century and a half this peculiar law remained on the statute books of England.

The Declaration of Indulgence.

The Test Act.

360. Danby's Administration. 1673–1678. Whigs and Tories.[2] The Test Act broke up the Cabal. For the next five years the earl of Danby held the reins of government. Danby was a politician of low principles, always servile to the king. In his domestic policies he adopted the ideas of Clarendon: a strong kingship and church uniformity; but in foreign affairs he preferred the friendship of Holland to that of France.

Danby.

During the years of Danby's administration, the great historic parties of modern England saw their origin. The Cabal had stood with Charles for toleration; Danby enforced the ideas of the Clarendon Code. Accordingly, the Anglicans of the Laudian type gathered around the chief minister; while the more liberal Anglicans, the so-called low churchmen, who did not insist so strongly on uniformity of worship, followed the lead of Shaftesbury, who had been one of Charles II's chief advisers during the period of the Cabal. To this group the dissenters naturally attached themselves. As an opposition party, Shaftesbury's followers soon came into collision with the royal prerogative, and consequently attracted a powerful element in the house of lords who desired to transfer the political power from the crown to the aristocracy. In time this group came to be known as Whigs, while those who accepted the ideas of Clarendon and Danby were nicknamed Tories. The Whigs favored the dissenters, the mercantile interests, and the pretentions of the nobility in opposition to the royal prerogative. The Tories, on the other hand, insisted on the rights of the crown and of the Anglican church; they had little interest in commerce but guarded jealously all the rights and privileges of the landlord class.

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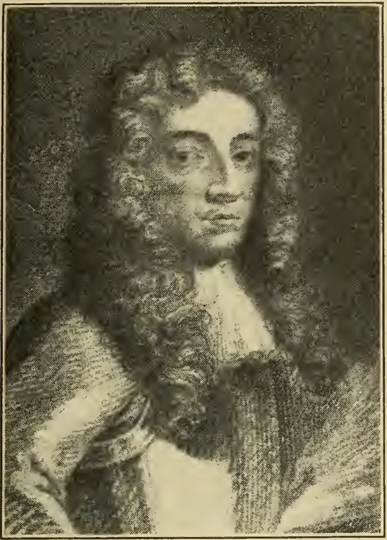
[1] Bates and Coman, 341–344 (Doyle).

[2] Masterman, 139–144.

Shaftesbury.

The Whigs.

The Tories.



ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

After a painting by Sir Peter Lely.

Soon the matter of foreign policy came to be confused with the religious issue. Secretly Charles continued to favor France. But Danby leaned toward a Dutch alliance and arranged the marriage of the princess Mary of York, who after her father James was next in succession to the English throne, to William of Orange, Louis' great enemy. Disgusted with the new situation, Louis revealed his secret intrigues with the English government. As the king can do no wrong, the chief minister was made to suffer. Danby was driven from power and threatened with impeachment. To save his minister Charles dissolved parliament; after having enjoyed legislative power for a period of seventeen years, the Cavalier Parliament, once so intensely loyal to the king, found itself dismissed because of opposition to the crown and the government.

End of the Cavalier Parliament.

361. The Popish Plot; the Exclusion Bill. 1678.[1] The situation was further intensified by the revelation of an alleged plot on the part of the Jesuits to assassinate Charles and place the Catholic James on the throne. During the winter months of 1678 and 1679 a number of innocent Catholics were tried for complicity in imaginary plots and convicted. Charles, who knew the actual plans of the Catholics, might have saved the victims by speaking the proper word; but to do so would have amounted to a confession of conspiring against the Anglican church. While the panic and the persecution were still on, a new parliament was elected. Shaftesbury and the Whigs with an excellent organization and large campaign funds easily carried the day. When parliament met, two leading measures were presented: a habeas corpus bill[2] and an exclusion bill. The former made it possible for every one charged with a crime to obtain a speedy trial, and was intended to make it more difficult for the crown to keep its political enemies in prison; it became a law and is one of the most important safeguards of personal liberty. The exclusion bill was aimed at the Duke of York. As James was an avowed Catholic, the bill was intended to deprive him of his right to the English throne. To save the crown to his brother, Charles dissolved parliament.

The "Popish Plot."

The Habeas Corpus Act.

The Exclusion Bill.

The following two years saw two successive parliaments in both of which the commons were dominated by Shaftesbury and loudly demanded "exclusion." The lords, however, followed the lead of the moderate Lord Halifax who stood for hereditary rights. The nation soon began to feel that Shaftesbury's party had gone too far in its opposition to the king and Prince James. The Whigs had not only wished to exclude James but some of them would also have excluded James' daughter Mary. After he had dissolved the legislature in 1681, Charles was done with parliaments and parliamentary elections. The remaining four years of his reign he devoted to a deliberate attempt to build up a despotism, a system in which constitutional organs could be made to carry out the commands of the absolute monarch.

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[1] Gardiner, 615–618, 620.

[2] Masterman, 137–138.

Second period of Stuart absolutism. 1681–1688.

362. The Drift toward Absolutism in Europe. During the restoration period the most important person in Europe was Louis XIV, the king of France. Louis governed his kingdom by means of a vast organization of officials appointed by and responsible to himself or his administrative chiefs; and this bureaucratic absolutism was the cherished ideal of the European monarchs. As we have seen, Charles II had hopes of being able to develop a similar system in England. Events in northern Europe encouraged this hope. In 1661, Charles' cousin, the king of Denmark, became an absolute monarch; and twenty years later, during the second period of Stuart despotism in England, a similar revolution established despotism in Sweden. In the Swedish movement especially, the influence of the French example is evident. But the sway of Louis and France extended to social relations as well as to governmental affairs. His wonderful court at Versailles was the capital of the social world. European monarchs imitated not only its magnificence but its immorality. Charles II was a worthy imitator of the Grand Monarch, and for frivolity and low ideals the English court of this period probably had no equal in Europe. The influence of the court naturally spread to the aristocratic classes, among whom indifference to religion and morality seems to have been the rule. At the same time it must not be supposed that

The government of Louis XIV.

Absolutism in Europe.

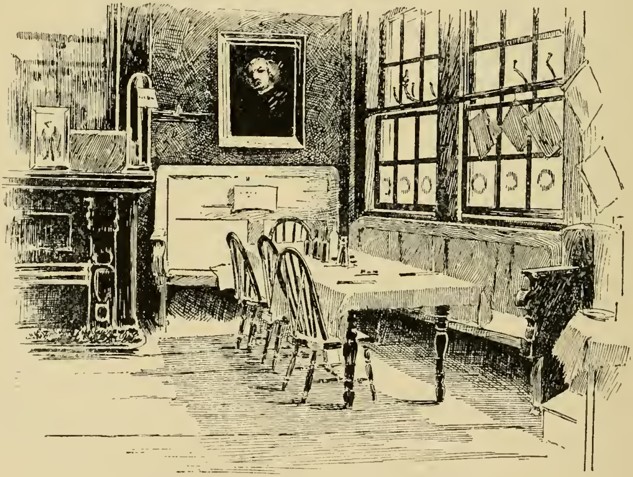
Influence of the French court.

this state of mind was general throughout English society. The middle classes retained much of their old time moral vigor; Puritanism, though no longer a controlling factor, was still a powerful leaven.

363. Social Changes. Certain fundamental changes were passing over English society in the second half of the seventeenth century which tended to foster a healthier view of life.

Changes in habits of life.

Comforts were becoming more general; the habits of life were undergoing important changes, especially in the matter of food and drink; information as to the rest of the world was becoming more general and more accessible. Chocolate was coming into the country from Mexico by way of southern Europe. The increased trade with Asia resulted in the importation of coffee and tea. These beverages, especially coffee, soon came to be popularly used in place of the more highly stimulating drinks of the earlier centuries, ale and wine. As the result of the use of these new beverages, an institution known as the coffee house[1] appeared.



Coffee-Room in Cheshire Cheese Inn

Coffee houses.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 319–320; Gardiner, 630.

This was a place where men could meet to drink coffee and talk over the affairs of the day, — politics, literature, or whatever the chief matter of interest might be. The first coffee house was opened in the year 1652, and the institution soon multiplied rapidly. Its importance to English life lies in the fact that it facilitated the forming of public opinion.

364. Newspapers. Another institution akin to this was the newspaper. A newspaper in the modern sense did not exist; but there were certain publications that did attempt to relate some of the news of the day. This was done under great difficulties, as the government did not favor these ventures. Newspapers were first published in the reign of James I, at least as early as 1621. In the early period of the civil war, they became more numerous and appeared with greater regularity; but government opposition was soon awakened, and in 1662 stringent license laws were passed to regulate the new institution and prevent the publication of certain classes of political news. For some time the *London Gazette* was the only approved newspaper; but the political excitement occasioned by the rise of the Whig and Tory parties produced a demand for such organs and the number of newspapers increased.

Newspapers.

The London Gazette.

365. Literature of the Restoration.[1] In literature, too, we have an illustration of the two-fold character of the time. The court delighted in comedy and literature of the lighter forms. In the same spirit Butler wrote his famous satire on the Puritans, the poem *Hudibras*. But the time also saw the great work of Milton, the famous allegory of Bunyan, and the strongest verse of Dryden. Milton was a writer of the older Puritan type, but Bunyan belonged to his own time; in his work we have the expression of the new nonconformist spirit, a spirit that has never departed from English society.

Butler's Hudibras.

John Milton reached manhood about the time of the outbreak of the Puritan revolt; but he took no part in its earlier phase. During the years of the Puritan migration to New England, he was passing the time quietly at his father's home; these years saw the production of some of his best poetry, such as *Comus* and *Lycidas*. During the civil war he was largely engaged in controversial writing. After the execution of the king he was appointed Latin secretary to the newly organized council of state; but after five years of service he became totally blind. Milton also served the Puritan cause and the commonwealth as a pamphleteer, especially in a series of brief writings in which he defended the principles of republicanism in church and state. He opposed the restoration of the Stuarts, believing that a republic was still possible; it is said that he barely escaped prosecution when the restoration had become a fact. The earlier years of the new reign saw John Milton deep in thought on theological questions, the result of which was *Paradise Lost*, perhaps the most stately literary product of the English language. Toward the close of his life he wrote the story of the blind Hebrew giant in *Samson Agonistes*. He died in 1674, at a time when the forces hostile to Puritanism seemed to be victorious all along the line.

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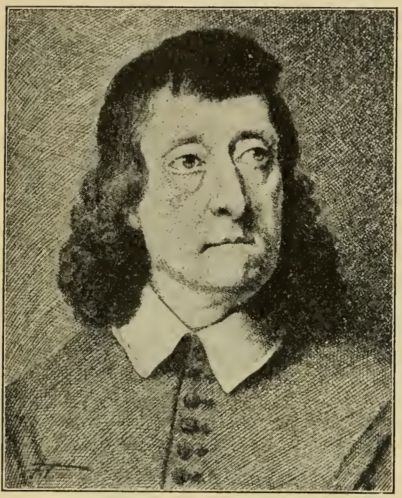
[1] Gardiner, 596–598.

Milton.



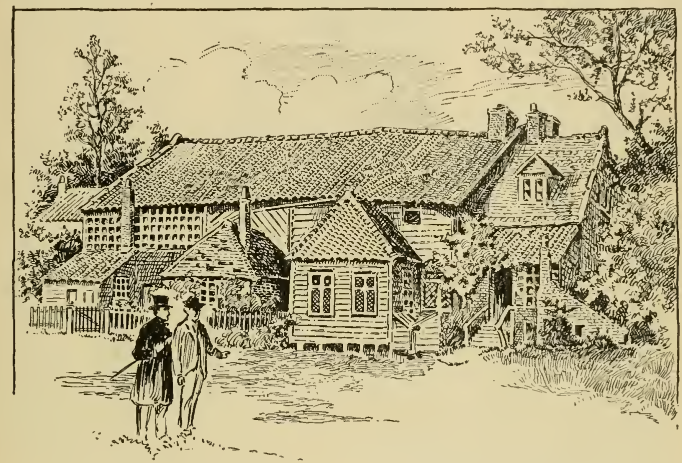
John Milton

Paradise Lost.

While Milton was composing his great epic, John Bunyan was putting in order the materials for his great allegory, *Pilgrim's Progress*. Bunyan was a tinker by profession; for a time he had been a soldier in the parliamentary army; during the last years of Cromwell's

Bunyan: Pilgrim's Progress.

rule he had been identified with the Baptist congregation at Bedford which he finally served as minister. But the Clarendon Code, particularly the Conventicle Act, interfered with his activities as a preacher, and he was committed to prison where he spent twelve years. Bunyan's work differed from Milton's in every way. His theme is the religious experience of the non-conformist; his story is told in the simplest English prose. But it is to be remembered that the author saw the world through the bars of the prison and that what he saw particularly was the sinfulness of restoration society. From one point of view *Pilgrim's Progress* is an illustration of life in the later Stuart period; but Bunyan's picture is incomplete in that it fails to show the better and more agreeable side.



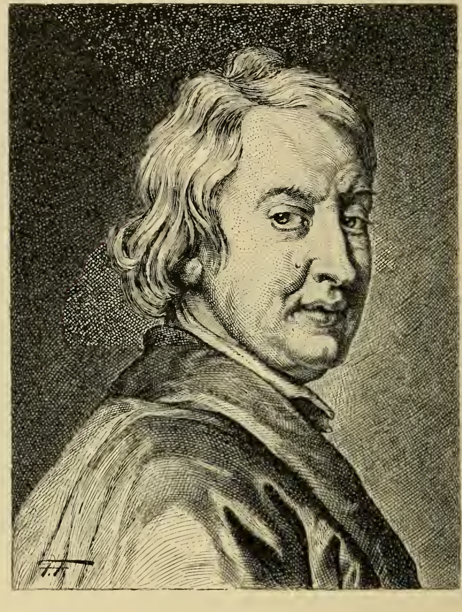
John Bunyan's Meeting House, South London

Bunyan's view of life.

Another phase of the Restoration mind is illustrated in the career of the poet Dryden. John Dryden was originally a Puritan and an admirer of Cromwell. He joined, however, in the enthusiasm of the restoration and became in time the great literary exponent of the Tory party.

Dryden

His poem *Absalom and Achitophel* [1] is an attack on the purposes and methods of Shaftesbury and the Whigs. In the next reign Dryden became a convert to the Roman Catholic faith.



John Dryden
After a portrait by Kneller.

366. The Fine Arts.[2] In the fine arts England made little progress during the seventeenth century. The paintings that we have from this period are chiefly the works of foreign artists, notably Van Dyck, whose paintings of Charles I and the various members of his family are widely known. Architecture may be counted an exception: Sir Christopher Wren was an accomplished builder, though not an original designer, his style being copied from the Italian. The most notable product of his art is the Cathedral of Saint Paul's, which he rebuilt. The style is of the Renaissance order which prevailed in the public edifices of the age.

Van Dyck.

Christopher Wren.

367. Scientific Progress: the Royal Society.[3] Somewhat greater progress was made in science. The century opens with Sir Francis Bacon, the jurist and philosopher, and closes with the work of Sir Isaac Newton. Contemporary with Bacon was the eminent physician William Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood. About the middle of the century a few devotees of science began to hold occasional meetings to view and hear the results of scientific investigations. This body grew into the Royal Society, the purpose of which was to study the laws of mathematics, the physical forces of the universe, and the laws and forms of the visible world. The society was christened in 1662 and three years later began to publish its transactions, which extend in continuous series to the present day.

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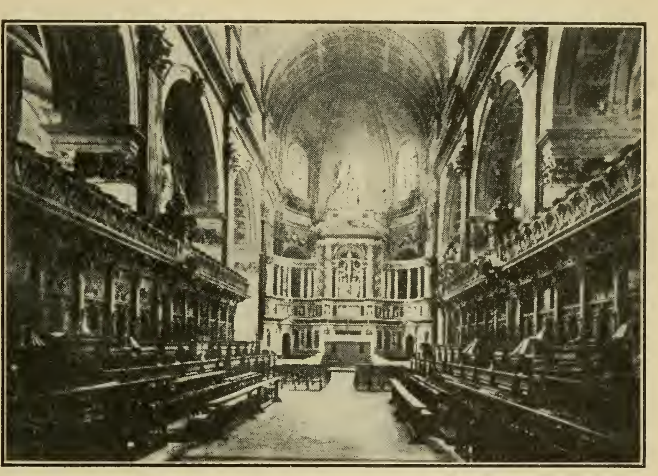
[1] Kendall, No. 96; Innes, II, 151–153

[2] Gardiner, 631–632.

[3] *Ibid.*, 598.

The Royal Society.



Choir of St. Paul's, London

From a photograph by W. H. Dudley.

The most famous of all the members of the Royal Society was Isaac Newton, who was admitted to membership in 1671. Six years before, it is said, he had observed the fall of an apple and had been started on a line of thought that led to the statement of the law of gravitation; but it was other discoveries in mathematics and physics that gained him a place in the Royal Society. It was during the reign of Charles II that Isaac Newton did his most enduring work in the sciences; in the next reign he was drawn into the

Isaac Newton.

stream of politics and for some time proved very useful as a member of parliament and as a government official.

Progress along intellectual lines was scarcely possible during the war of religious and political opinions that consumed so much energy during the first half of the seventeenth century. In this respect, too, the return of the Stuarts brought a restoration. The reign of Charles II was one of great intellectual activity, and the king by his patronage did much to give it wider and freer fields.

368. Summary. The men who were in control during the Restoration period impress us as being, for the most part, a merry, somewhat dissipated, and not very serious company; still, they achieved much that has been of lasting importance.

Restoration.

The English monarchy and the Stuart dynasty were restored; the reigning king, George V, is a descendant of a sister of Charles I. The English constitution, was restored; but the great reforms of the Long Parliament before 1642 were accepted and made a part of the constitution. The Anglican church was restored and the dissenters were largely deprived of political rights by the Corporation and Test Acts, which remained on the statute books for about one hundred and fifty years.

Scientific progress.

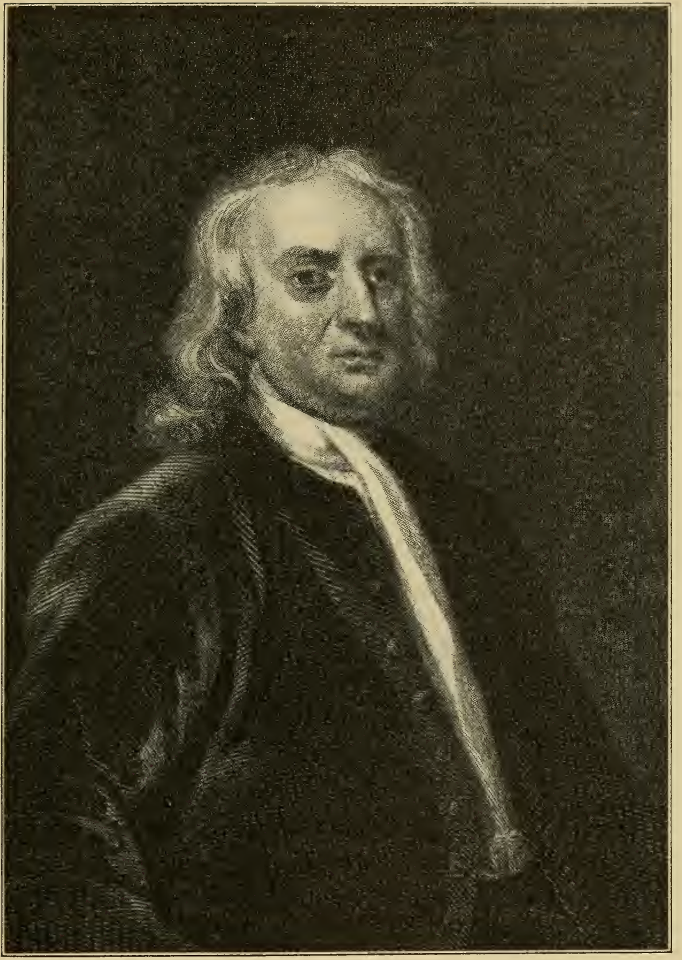
There was a revival of interest in scientific problems, and research was encouraged and stimulated. The British empire took on new growth:

Territorial expansion.

new settlements were formed in America and the English gained their first territorial foothold in India. The reign also determined an important matter of foreign policy: England tore away from France and was drawn toward its old commercial rival, the Netherlands. And out of the strife over matters of religion

Political parties.

and foreign policy, there arose two great political parties, the Whigs and the Tories, the descendants of which are still in opposition to each other: the Whigs as the Liberals; and the Tories as the Conservatives, or, as they are called just now, the Unionists.



Isaac Newton

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE WHIG REVOLUTION

369. The Earl of Shaftesbury. The troubles of Charles II during the last ten years of his reign were largely due to the activities of the earl of Shaftesbury. Anthony Ashley Cooper had begun his career as a royalist but soon turned parliamentarian and remained loyal to the republic until he saw that the restoration of the Stuarts was inevitable. For twelve years he was the king's friend and trusted adviser. In 1673, however, he joined the opposition and founded the Whig party. This was Shaftesbury's greatest achievement. He tried to use this new party to pass the Exclusion Bill and to secure the throne to James Crofts, better known as Monmouth, the alleged illegitimate son of Charles II. For his activities in this direction he incurred the wrath of the king and was made the subject of Dryden's famous satire, *Absalom and Achitophel*,[1] in which Monmouth plays the part of the rebellious son and Shaftesbury that of the wicked counselor.

Founder of the Whig party.

Charles attempted to have action brought against Shaftesbury in the courts; but in this he failed, for London, where the earl resided, was strongly Whig, and no grand jury could be found that would bring charges against the Whig chief.[2] Charles then proceeded to transform the government of the City; but this move led to no better results, for the wily intriguer managed to escape to Holland where he died a few months later (1683). Shaftesbury was a man of unquestioned abilities; on the subject of religious and personal freedom he held broad views and doubtless held them honestly; but his actions were too often dictated by ambition and his methods frequently had a suspicious look.

Character of Shaftesbury.

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[1] See II Samuel, cc. xvi–xvii; see sec. 365.

[2] Gardiner, 622–624.

370. Execution of the Whig Leaders.[1] **1683.** Charles was now thoroughly aroused and it became evident that the lazy monarch was possessed of remarkable abilities as a politician. In the year of Shaftesbury's flight some of the Whig leaders were found to be plotting against the king's life; while a number of important lords, among whom were Monmouth, Lord Russell, and Algernon Sidney, were conspiring to create a situation that would force the king to call a parliament. Monmouth was forgiven, several of the other leaders were executed. Lord Russell had been a consistent opponent of the king's brother James, having fought him because of his Catholic faith; such a man was not to be permitted to escape. A packed jury found him guilty of treason. Algernon Sidney had always been an opponent of monarchy; so intense were his beliefs that he could not even approve the rule of Cromwell. He was convicted because of his republican opinions. As only one witness could be produced against him, an unpublished manuscript in which the accused defended his republican faith was permitted to serve as the second witness.

Whig conspiracies.

Algernon Sidney.

371. The Despotism of Charles II.[2] The despotism of Charles I had been founded on the authority of the privy council; that of Cromwell found its support in the Protector's control of a friendly army. Charles II had no army worth mentioning, nor had his privy council any effective power, since the Long Parliament had abolished its courts. But Charles discovered an effective instrument in the regular courts of the kingdom, the judges of which were appointed by himself and carefully selected from among lawyers who were willing to stretch the law in the king's favor. The best known of these was the notorious Jeffreys, who knew no law but the royal will and punished offenses against the government with great brutality. It was Jeffreys who presided over the court that

Charles II and the courts.

Jeffreys.

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[1] Gardiner, 625–626.

[2] Review secs. 193–194, 302, 341.

tried Algernon Sidney; on many other occasions, too, did he earn the gratitude of the tyrannical king.

372. The Remodeling of the Borough Corporations. 1682–1684. To punish London for supporting Shaftesbury a suit was brought against the corporation of the City ordering it to show by what right (*quo warranto*) it was exercising the right of municipal government. Jeffreys and his associates on the king's bench did what was expected of them: they found a pretext for depriving the City of its charter, and the right of self-government was lost. Similar suits were soon brought against a number of boroughs with royal charters where Whiggism was in control. As the courts were then constituted, it was not difficult to convict the corporations of illegal acts; the charters were accordingly declared forfeited; new ones were drawn up; and new corporations were organized with Tories in control of the membership. As the municipal corporations ordinarily elected members of parliament from the boroughs, the king hoped in this way to secure a Tory parliament, if he should ever be compelled to summon one.

Quo warranto proceedings.

373. The New Colonial Policy. 1683–1688. It was in the year 1683 that the hand of Stuart despotism lay most heavily upon the English people: this was the year of the execution of the Whig leaders and the remodeling of most of the borough corporations. In the following years the new political methods were extended to the colonies. The New England colonies were practically self-governing republics; and the control of the king over the proprietary colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the Carolinas was not great. From the view-point of the king and his council the system was not an ideal one: Charles II was doubtless right in holding that the colonies could be rendered more profitable to the royal treasury and could be more easily defended against the Indians, if they were under the control of one governor instead of a dozen. The king determined that New England at least should be subjected to a more effective royal control. In 1684 a *quo warranto* suit was brought against Massachusetts. A colony that had coined its own money, organized a colonial federation, and had even declared war could scarcely plead that it had been constantly loyal and obedient; the result was that Massachusetts lost her charter. Two years later King James sent Sir Edmund Andros to Boston as governor of all the New England colonies and New York and New Jersey. It seems to have been the king's plan also to attack the rights of the proprietors Penn and Baltimore and to unite all the American colonies into a great vice-royalty under a single governor who was to carry out the king's ideas without the aid of an assembly chosen by the colonists. But this plan was never realized, for in 1688 the revolution came and the Stuarts were deposed.

Sir Edmund Andros.

374. The Death of Charles. During the last year of his life, Charles II seriously considered calling another parliament. There was a law that not more than three years should pass between parliaments; but Charles felt strong enough to ignore it. The matter of finance, however, was a pressing one. The king had a regular income, but it was too small for a spendthrift like the "merry monarch." Louis XIV sent remittances from time to time, but the amount was insufficient. Charles, however, did not live to call another parliament: in February, 1685, he fell ill and died. He had then governed England nearly twenty-five years, and most of the time he had ruled intelligently. On his deathbed he was reconciled to the Roman Catholic church, which he had secretly favored all through his reign. A priest was summoned; the king confessed his sins, of which he had many, and received the sacrament. When this was done and the attendants readmitted, his humor returned to the dying man; "he had been a most unconscionable time a-dying, but he hoped they would excuse it." [1]

Charles as a pensioner of Louis XIV.

Death of Charles II. 1685.

375. James II. 1685–1688. The king's brother, the duke of York, now ascended the throne as James II.[2] Of all the

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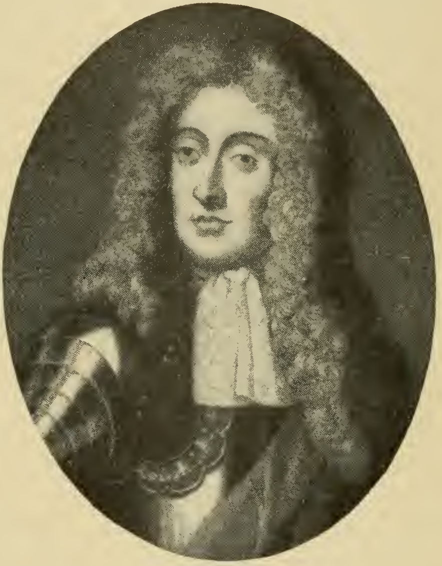
[1] Bates and Coman, 344; Cheyney, Nos. 321–322; Gardiner, 627; Innes, II, 145–146 (character of Charles II).

[2] Cheyney, No. 323; Gardiner, 634–635.

Personality of James II.

Stuarts, James II is the least attractive. He is described as a tall, angular prince with a pockmarked face that also showed traces of a dissolute life. Most of the Stuarts were handsome, clever, and stiff-necked; of these characteristics James had inherited only the last, but this in a measure greater than was due him. Many of his dynasty had also been afflicted with impossible purposes, the attainment of which they made a matter of conscience; that of James was to restore Roman Catholicism in England, and in the effort he ruined the Stuart dynasty for all time.



JAMES II

After the original picture painted for Secretary Pepys by O. Kneller.

Anne Hyde.

A few months before the Restoration while he was still in exile, James had secretly married Anne Hyde, the daughter of Clarendon. Anne Hyde became the mother of several children, two of whom, Mary and Anne, lived to become queens of England. In 1673, two years after the death of Anne Hyde, Prince James, who had become a Romanist not long before, married Mary Beatrice, a young Italian princess, whose ruling passion was an enthusiasm for the Roman faith. To bring a princess of this type to England in the year of the Test Act was indiscreet to say the least; but James was not famous for discretion. On the death of Charles, King James and Queen Mary were accepted by the

Mary Beatrice.

English people with a great show of loyalty, though not with enthusiasm. Soon after the accession two revolts broke out, one in Scotland and the other in southwestern England in favor of the impossible Monmouth. Both were promptly crushed and punished with unusual severity.[1] Jeffreys was sent into the southwest to bring Monmouth's partisans to trial, and so ruthlessly did he punish the misguided peasants that the sessions of his court have become known as the "Bloody Assizes."[2] On the whole, however, these rebellions intensified the loyalty of the English people and even brought some popularity to the throne. If King James had not undertaken to undermine the Anglican church, he doubtless would have been permitted to rule England in peace till the end of his days.

Revolts in favor of Monmouth.

376. The Appointment of Catholic Officials.[3] King James made the usual promises to rule according to law and to maintain the church of England; but after a few months his real purpose began to become evident. The uprising of 1685 gave him a pretext for enlarging the army and an opportunity to appoint several officers who were Catholics. This was in direct violation of the Test Act, which still had the force of law. James informed parliament of what he had done, and expressed his determination to keep these officers; when the commons protested against such disregard for the law, the king adjourned parliament.

Violation of the Test Act.

The king's quarrel with the commons over the annulment of the Test Act came only a few weeks after Louis XIV had revoked the Edict of Nantes and withdrawn all protection from the French Protestants. Soon reports came to England of how the Huguenots were made to suffer for their faith, and English Protestants of every party and faction began to fear that a king like James, who deliberately ignored the law, might place their own faith in similar danger. James II paid little heed to public sentiment, but began nevertheless to feel the desirability of giving his appoint-

Persecution of the Huguenots in France.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 326–327.

[2] Gardiner, 637–638.

[3] Masterman, 145–146.

ments a legal sanction. He held that, as the statutes were made in the king's name, he was above the laws and could "dispense" with them in individual instances. He sounded the judges of the king's bench on this doctrine and finding four of them hostile to his views, he deprived these of their offices and appointed new judges on whom he could depend for a favorable decision. Before this packed bench a case was brought charging one Hales, a Romanist, with holding an office under the crown in violation of the Test Act. Hales pleaded that he had a dispensation from the king, and the court held that this was legal and sufficient.

The king "dispenses" with the law.

377. Appointment of Catholics to Offices in the Church. If the king could appoint Catholic officers in the army, he could also, as head of the Anglican church, place Catholics in important church offices. That this would be a violation of propriety and good faith meant nothing to James II. A secret Romanist was made bishop of Oxford. The master of University College at Oxford became a convert to Catholicism and was soon actively engaged in making converts of others; but he was allowed to retain his position. When the deanship of Christ Church College fell vacant, the office was given to a Romanist. The following year the twenty-five fellows of Magdalen College were deprived of their fellowships and expelled for refusing to elect a Catholic to the presidentship of their college. Romanists were appointed to their places. Thus three important Oxford colleges were on the way to become Romanized.

Catholics appointed to church offices.

378. The Ecclesiastical Commission.[1] **1686.** These were days of great sorrow and perplexity for the Anglicans. During the period of Puritan rule, churchmen had come to believe strongly in the divine right of kings and they had long taught that the deeds of the Lord's anointed should be above criticism. Still, there were some who protested against the appointment of Catholics to office in a Prot-

1686.

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[1] Gardiner, 639.

estant church. These objectors the king determined to silence.

A new high commission court.

He accordingly organized an Ecclesiastical Commission, much like the high commission court[1] that had been abolished by the Long Parliament, only its authority was not to extend to laymen. Jeffreys, who had once boasted that he could "smell a Presbyterian forty miles," was one of its leading spirits. The first case to come before the commission was that of Compton, the bishop of London, who had refused to punish a priest for criticising the king's appointments. Bishop Compton was suspended. It was this same commission that expelled the fellows of Magdalen College. The commission also had occasion to discipline the authorities of the University of Cambridge for refusing to give a degree to a Benedictine monk. Among those who appeared before Jeffreys and his associates on that occasion was Isaac Newton, who was professor of mathematics. "Sin no more," was the warning of the notorious judge, "lest a worse thing happen unto you."

379. The First Declaration of Indulgence.[2] 1687. Realizing that he had made enemies of the Tory churchmen, James now turned for moral support to the dissenters who were largely Whigs. In April, 1687, he issued his first Declaration of Indulgence by which he suspended all the laws against Catholicism and dissent and granted freedom of worship to all. The old recusancy laws dating from Elizabeth's time and the Conventicle Act with the other laws of the Clarendon Code were thus swept away. There was much iniquity in these laws; but if the king could set aside bad laws, he could also annul any other law. Moreover, his hands were not clean and his purposes scarcely honest. As the declaration was issued only a few days before the king's interference at Magdalen College, it soon became clear to most men that his professions of tolerance had a purpose behind them. The Anglicans, at least, were not to share in this new freedom. There were many strong partisans of the Stuarts among the

Declaration of Indulgence.

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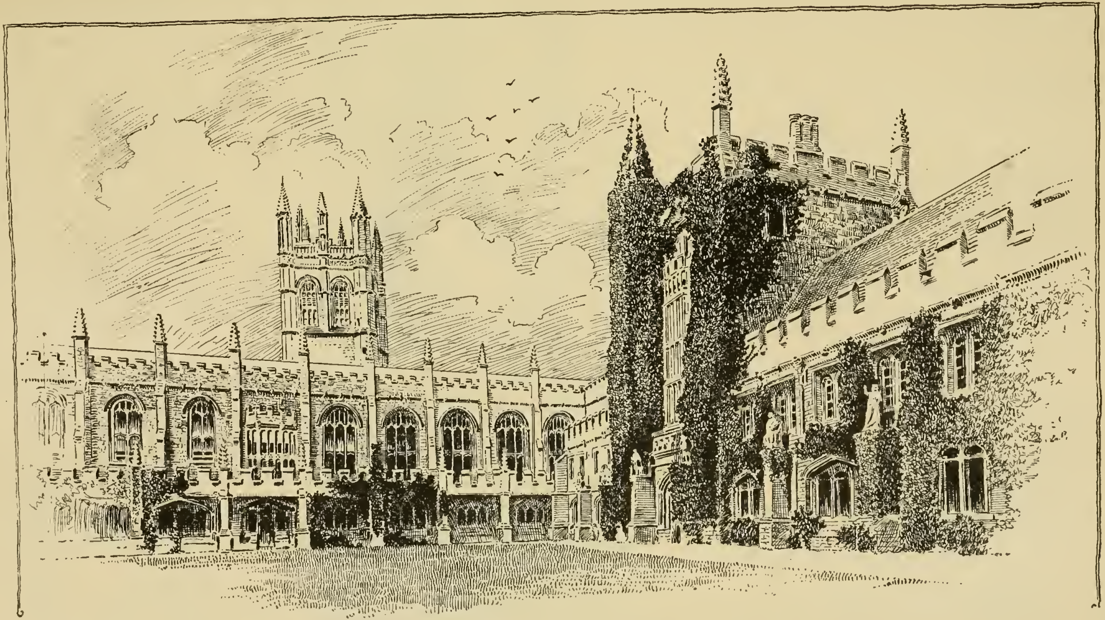
[1] Review secs. 282, 306.

[2] Gardiner, 640–641.

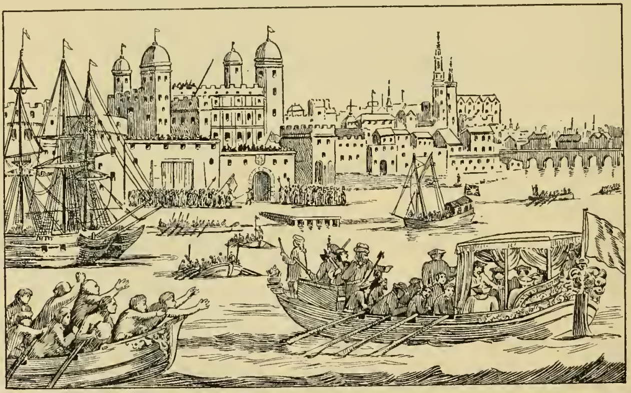


Magdalen Tower and Quadrangle, Oxford

Stuart partisans among the Dissenters.

dissenters, the most notable of whom was the famous Quaker chief, William Penn. These were in favor of accepting the royal gift, and their influence was strong with many, especially with Quakers and Baptists. But the great majority, the Presbyterians in particular, refused to accept a privilege that was denied them by the laws of the land.

380. The Second Declaration: the Protest of the Seven Bishops. 1688. A year later (April, 1688), James II issued a second Declaration of Indulgence in which he reaffirmed the earlier grant; he also ordered that this document should be read in all the Anglican churches. The church rebelled; only a very few priests obeyed the mandate. Seven bishops led by the archbishop of Canterbury drew up a petition to the king requesting him to excuse the priests from reading the declaration.[1] Startled and angry the king replied: "This is rebellion. . . . I will have my declaration published." Legal action was brought against the



The Seven Bishops on Their Way to the Tower

From a Dutch print dated 1689.

Trial of the seven bishops.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 330; Gardiner, 642–643; Kendall, No. 98.

bishops, the charge being that they had libeled the king; but the jury refused to convict.[1]

381. Stuart Tyranny in Scotland. By midsummer, 1688, James II had alienated almost the entire English nation; even the Catholics, most of whom longed for peace rather than for power, hesitated to follow a king who showed so little discretion. In Scotland the situation was, if possible, even worse. Like the English the Scots had rejoiced in the restoration of the Stuart dynasty; but when the new government insisted on ruling the national church through bishops, the Presbyterians resisted. In 1638 they had signed a pledge, the National Covenant, to maintain Presbyterianism, and on this act, which they regarded as a part of the national constitution, they based their right to resist. In 1679, when England was in a ferment over the exclusion bill, actual civil war broke out between the extreme Covenanters of the southwest, to whom bishops were an abomination, and the supporters of the king, who found bishops acceptable. James, then duke of York, came to Scotland to put down the uprising. With the assistance of "Bloody" Claverhouse, a famous and capable soldier who led the royalist forces, and "Bloody" Mackenzie, a learned and active lawyer, who prosecuted the rebels in the courts, he made considerable headway. Torture and the gallows were freely employed. The Covenanters replied with a threat to assassinate any one who should interfere with their rights or their persons. Such was the situation early in 1685 when Charles died. When James became king the work of repression was carried on even more vigorously. A few months after his accession the Scotch parliament enacted that persons who attended conventicles "were to be henceforth punished by death." The first two years of James' reign are known in Scotland as the "killing time."

The situation in Scotland.

Civil war. 1679.

1685.

The "killing time."

In 1687, soon after he had entered upon his new policy of toleration in England, James II asked the Scotch parliament for an act of toleration in favor of his "innocent subjects, those of the Roman Catholic religion." When this was refused, he dismissed parliament and published a Declaration of Indulgence for Scotland, which extended freedom of worship to all but the extreme Covenanters. Otherwise, too, the king showed that he was determined to promote his own faith: as in England, he was purging the privy council of Protestant members and appointing Catholics in their stead. Mass was said in Holyrood chapel. The result was a truce between the Covenanters and the Episcopalians: they had now the common problem of how best to meet the aggressions of Romanism, which they feared and hated even more than they hated each other.

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[1] Bates and Coman, 345; Innes, II, 158–162; Kendall, No. 99.

Efforts to promote Catholicism.

382. The Succession: the Birth of a Prince. 1688. The hopes of the English and Scotch Protestants were centered about the king's oldest daughter, Mary, who was heiress presumptive to the crowns of Britain. Mary had been educated as a Protestant and had remained true to her faith. At the age of fifteen she had been given in marriage to her cousin, William of Orange, the chief executive of the Dutch Republic. Mary had all the virtues that belonged to the higher type of womanhood, all except strength and independent spirit: she was completely under the domination of her strong-souled husband. The leaders of the opposition to James II did not enjoy the thought of having the stern and silent Dutchman as their regent; but the king was becoming impossible, and they were not sure that they could allow him to reign in peace very many years longer.

William of Orange.

In the spring of 1688, the fear spread that Mary might never become the queen of England. It was reported that the king had visited a holy well in Wales and had been assured that a son would be born to him and that the child would live. On June 10, the boy was born, to the great joy of King James, who had now an heir whom he could bring up in the Catholic faith, but to the great disgust of the English people, who had been "waiting for better days," but

The birth of a prince.

now saw that their next ruler, too, was likely to be of the religion that England had repudiated. It was also rumored that the little prince had died, and that a spurious infant had been provided by the Jesuits to take his place. The story found wide credence: even the Princess Anne had her doubts. To her sister Mary in Holland, who was also interested, she wrote: "I shall never now be satisfied whether the child be true or false, maybe 'tis our brother . . . where one believes it a crowd do not."

383. The Invasion of William of Orange.[1] **November, 1688.** Before the close of the month came the trial of the seven bishops, and a few hours after their acquittal, a messenger set out secretly for Holland with an invitation to William of Orange to "Come as the husband of the heiress of Great Britain. Come and demand a free Parliament and security for Protestantism." The invitation was signed by six men of prominence, all of whom had personal grievances against the Stuarts. Russell and Sidney had kinsmen to avenge; Bishop Compton had been deprived of his see. Most of the men who signed were Whigs, but Danby and Compton were Tories.

An invitation sent to William.

William of Orange had long been deep in the secrets of the dissatisfied Englishmen; still, he responded to the invitation with some reluctance. James II was his uncle and father-in-law; the situation was indeed embarrassing. But danger was threatening from France, and while William cared little for the English crown, he was anxious to have the wealth, the army, and the navy of England at his disposal in the war that the ambitious and restless Louis XIV was sure to bring upon Europe. He spent the summer and autumn in preparing a great fleet for a pretended invasion of Denmark which was just then under French influence, but in reality for an invasion of England. Louis XIV warned James of his son-in-law's intentions and offered him the use of his fleet; but the dense monarch was sure that his daughter would forbid the

William's fear of France.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 331; Gardiner, 643–646.

invasion and declined the assistance. In disgust Louis turned his attentions once more to the Rhine frontier, and soon the war of the Palatinate was in full blast. The European fear of Louis XIV was an important asset in William's diplomacy: it was chiefly this that secured for him the friendly neutrality of the leading Catholic powers, Austria and Spain, and even the papacy, while he left his own land to dethrone a Catholic monarch.

Louis XIV attacks the Rhine country.

In November the Prince of Orange finally set sail. So large was his fleet that it required seven hours to pass a given point. Easterly winds drove the armament down the Channel, and the landing was made at Torbay. Slowly the Dutch army proceeded toward London. On Salisbury Plain King James had a large force, but it lacked in loyalty: the soldiers who had cheered the acquittal of the seven bishops now deserted to the enemy.[1] Even the Princess Anne fled to the camp of the invader. The government was panic-stricken. King James deserted the nation: just before Christmas he succeeded, to William's great relief, in making his escape to France, whither the queen and the little prince had preceded him a few days earlier.

Invasion of England.

The English desert James.

384. The Revolution Settlement.[2] When the new year arrived, England was facing a strange situation politically: there was no parliament in existence and the king had left the land. The problem was how to provide a government that would have at least the appearance of legality. After consulting the chief men of the nation, William decided to refer the matter to the electorate, and ordered an election for members of a convention parliament. This body, which contained men of the most diverse opinions from extreme republicans to Stuart partisans, finally passed four great measures which together constitute the Revolution Settlement.

The second Convention Parliament. 1689.

1. After long discussion as to how James II could best be

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[1] Kendall, No. 100.

[2] Masterman, 148–151.

disposed of, it was agreed that when he fled from the land he virtually abdicated the throne, and that the kingship was accordingly vacant. William and Mary were then declared to be the joint sovereigns of the nation.[1] This was a most unusual arrangement, but it seemed the only way out of a complex situation. William refused to act as regent for his wife as queen, and Mary was too dutiful a wife to accept a title that she could not share with her husband. It was agreed that the executive authority should be laid in William's hands; but till her death five years later, Queen Mary directed the government of the kingdom the greater part of the time, as King William was frequently absent from England, usually in the Netherlands of which he continued as chief executive.

William and Mary joint rulers.

2. Before William and Mary were formally tendered the sovereignty, parliament adopted a Declaration of Right, in which an attempt was made to justify the revolution. Later this Declaration with certain additions relating to the succession was reënacted as the Bill of Rights.[2] This famous and important document is made up of three chief parts. In the first place it contains a list of the principal sins that James II had committed against the nation. This is followed by a statement of the "ancient rights and liberties" of England, among which are mentioned the right of parliament to control taxation, the army, and its own proceedings, and the right of Protestant subjects to bear arms. Excessive bail, excessive fines, and cruel punishments are forbidden. Finally the Bill of Rights provides for the succession and enacts that no Roman Catholic shall ever inherit the throne of England. It also enacts that any person who shall become a Catholic or marry a Catholic, "shall be excluded and be forever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown and government of" England and Ireland. The English king must remain a Protestant or lose his throne. A century later, when the Americans

The Bill of Rights.

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[1] Gardiner, 646–647.

[2] Cheyney, No. 332; Robinson, No. 149; Tuell and Hatch, No. 57.

were forming new governments for the states and the nation, the form and the phraseology of the Bill of Rights came to have great importance, and "bills of rights" are still prefixed to most American constitutions.

The Mutiny Act.

3. In March, 1689, there was a mutiny in the army, which called attention to the fact that the paragraph in the Petition of Right (1628) relating to martial law made it difficult to maintain discipline in the army. A Mutiny Act was therefore passed which authorized the enforcement of martial law in the army. To make sure that there would be a session of parliament the following winter, the duration of this act was limited to six months. Since then it has been reënacted annually and for a time it proved an effective means of compelling the government to have parliamentary sessions every year.

The Toleration Act. 1689.

4. When the temptation came to the dissenters in the form of the Declaration of Indulgence published by James II, their leaders received assurance from prominent Anglican churchmen that if they refused to yield, relief should come in due time through an act of parliament. In 1689 this promise was redeemed by the passage of the Toleration Act which granted freedom of worship to all Christians except Catholics and Unitarians.[1] The act, however, did not excuse the dissenters from the obligation of paying the usual church dues to the Anglican church; nor did it convey any political rights: the Corporation Act and the Test Act remained in force, and public offices were legally open to such persons only as partook of the communion in Anglican churches.

385. The Revolution in Scotland. The English revolution had a close parallel in Scotland. On the request of more than a hundred prominent Scotchmen, William called a convention parliament for the northern kingdom. This body met in March, 1689, adopted a Claim of Right in imitation of the English Declaration, and offered

The Scotch "Claim of Right."

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 333, 340.

the sovereignty to William and Mary. Episcopacy was abolished, and the following year Presbyterian church government was reëstablished, but in a moderate form. For more than a century the church had fought for the control of the state, and the state for the control of the church; this warfare was now past. Many Scotchmen refused to accept William and clung to the fugitive James. Claverhouse raised the standard of the Stuart dynasty in the Highlands, but at Killikrankie, in the first battle with the Whig soldiers, the great leader fell.[1] As no new chief came forward to lead the movement, the Highlanders lost interest and the revolt melted away.

Stuart uprisings in the Highlands.

386. The Rebellion in Ireland.[2] 1689–1692. It was only natural that troubles in Great Britain should call forth rebellion in Ireland. Less than three months after his precipitate flight from England, King James appeared in Ireland, where he was loyally received by the native Irishmen. In Ulster, however, the Scotch-Irishmen[3] prepared to resist him: they stood for William of Orange, and have since been known as Orangemen. At Londonderry they endured a long and terrible siege that told heavily on the resources and patience of the Stuart king. William III sent an army into Ireland in 1689 and the next year he took the field himself, to the great anxiety of gentle Queen Mary, who thought with horror on the possibility that her husband might meet her father on the field of battle. Her fears were groundless. On the banks of the Boyne, not far from Drogheda, the Irish suffered a crushing defeat. It is told that when the disappointed king reached Dublin the same evening he remarked to an Irish lady: "Your countrymen run well, Madam." To which the lady replied: "I congratulate your Majesty on having won the race."

King James in Ireland.

Battle of the Boyne. 1690.

James II scarcely paused until he was once more on French soil. The Irish continued the struggle and it took two years of fighting to put down the uprising. Peace was finally secured by the treaty of Limerick, which promised the Irish Catholics the same freedom in religious matters that they had enjoyed in the time of Charles II, when the recusancy laws were not enforced. But the treaty was never carried out. The Protestants in the Irish parliament annulled its provisions, and to the peasants of Ireland the "Glorious Revolution" brought nothing but misery.

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[1] Bates and Coman, 346–350 (Aytoun, *Killikrankie*).

[2] Cheyney, No. 335; Gardiner, 654–657.

[3] Review sec. 273.

Treaty of Limerick. 1692.

387. The Revolution in the Colonies. The revolutionary movement also extended to the American colonies. When the news came of the change of rulers in the mother country, the colonists promptly took action and deposed the governors that James II had given them. The men of Boston seized their viceroy, Sir Edmund Andros, and threw him into prison. William Penn, as a Stuart partisan, had some difficulties with the new rulers, but he was ultimately restored to his rights. Although the new government favored a closer union and a more effective royal control of the colonies, it was thought best to reëstablish conditions as they were just before Charles II had begun his attack on the colonial charters. William III decided, however, that inasmuch as Massachusetts had lost her charter by due process of law, it should not be restored. A new document was drawn up in 1691, which was less liberal in its provisions than the earlier one, as it reserved to the English government the right to appoint the governor and to veto legislation by the colonial assembly.

The rising in Boston.

A new charter for Massachusetts.

388. The Results of the Revolution. The Revolution of 1688 was one of the most important events in English history. It closed two mighty conflicts that for several generations had hindered the English nation from developing into a first-class power: the struggle over religion and the fight for political freedom. The Puritan did not win supremacy, but he found toleration and with this he was reasonably satisfied. The theory of divine right disappeared from English politics, for the facts were against

Toleration.

End of theory of divine right.

it: it was impossible to hold that William III ruled by any other title than that given by parliament, and the same was true of the Hanoverian dynasty that ascended the throne some years later in accordance with the Act of Settlement. While parliament thus became the supreme power in the state, the king remained a mighty factor in the government, for as yet parliament had no effective organs through which to control the administration: but such an organ was developed in the next century, when circumstances threw the executive power into the hands of the king's cabinet.

Supremacy of parliament.

Further expansion of the British Empire was also made possible by the consequences of the revolution. The foreign policy of Cromwell and the Stuarts was now definitely reversed; a close alliance was entered into with the Dutch Republic against Louis XIV and France. So long as there had been alliance or friendly understanding between England and France, the British Empire was hindered in its growth in the two most promising regions of the colonial world: India and America. In America the French claims north and west of the Alleghany Mountains limited English settlements to a narrow strip along the Atlantic between Canada and Florida. But after 1688 the West was no longer the territory of a friendly power, and in due time the English crossed the mountain barriers and carried their flag to the Mississippi River.

New foreign policy.

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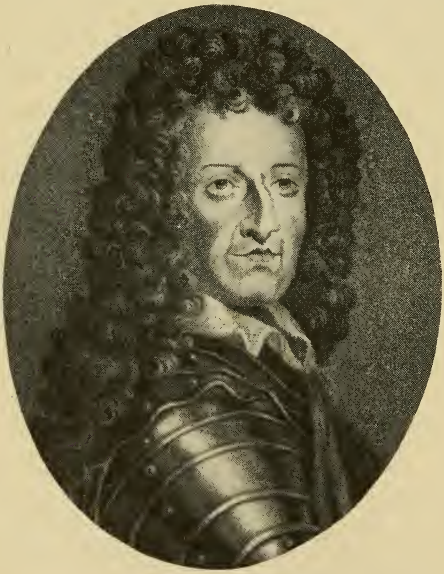
CHAPTER XIX

THE LONG DUEL WITH FRANCE

389. William III.[1] William III was the last great king of England. Since his day England has had rulers of moderate ability only; in one or two instances the royal capacity for government has been of a very limited nature. William of Orange was a dark, sad-faced man with striking though not handsome features: "his eyes are fire; his nose aquiline, his cheeks hollow, the mouth large with irregular and extraordinarily long teeth and a pointed chin . . . the length of the face is out of proportion with his stature." His personality suggested the eagle and there was much of the eagle's nature in his make-up. Physically he was weak — he was almost an invalid; but he possessed a powerful intellect and a strong, stern, and patient will. He was a fair general and a remarkable diplomat: all the forces that were opposed to the ambitions of France looked to William III as their leader.

Personality of William III.


William III

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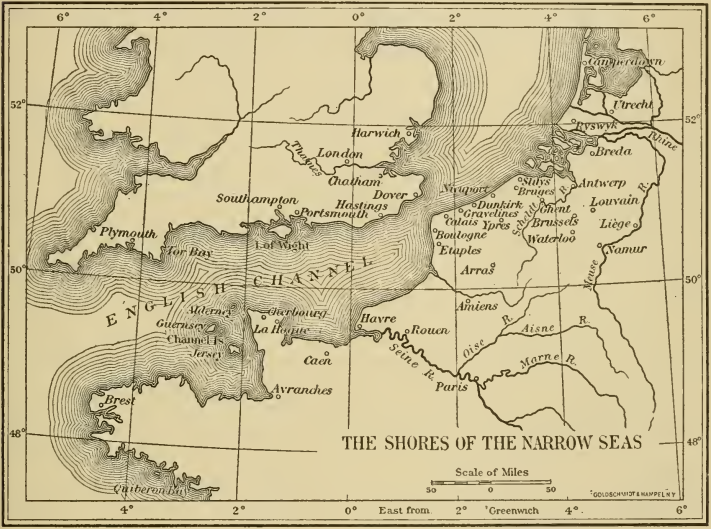
[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 58 (Macaulay).

390. The Jacobites. A ruler of such a type could not be popular with Englishmen. That he was lacking in flesh and blood was bad enough; what was worse, he was a foreigner who looked at the world from the Dutch point of view; he brought Dutchmen to England and placed them in desirable offices; and his policy of foreign warfare was very expensive. Very soon a party grew up that favored a restoration of the Stuarts, James II if that was unavoidable, but preferably the young prince James of whom excellent reports were being circulated. The Stuart following was known as the Jacobite party and was quite strong, especially among the Scotch Highlanders, who looked upon William as the representative of the English influence which was very hateful to them. For a time Jacobitism was a real danger, though in the end it accomplished nothing. The difficulty was that while the Stuart partisans in England were willing to send money to the exiled family and to drink

Unpopularity of the new régime.


THE SHORES OF THE NARROW SEAS
Scale of Miles
50 0 50
East from Greenwich
6° 4° 2° 0° 2° 4° 6°
52° 50° 48°
Camperdown
Utrecht
Ryswyk
Rhine
Breda
Harwich
London
Thames
Chatham
Dover
Hastings
Southampton
Portsmouth
I. of Wight
Plymouth
Tor Bay
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Nieuport
Sluys
Bruges
Dunkirk
Gravelines
Calais
Ypres
Ghent
Brussels
Antwerp
Louvain
Liège
Waterloo
Namur
Meuse
Boulogne
Etaples
Arras
Amiens
Alderney
Guernsey
Channel Is.
Jersey
Cherbourg
La Hogue
Havre
Rouen
Seine R.
Oise R.
Aisne R.
Marne R.
Caen
Avranches
Paris
Brest
Quiberon Bay
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

Jacobitism.

toasts to the "King over the Water," they were chiefly country gentlemen who shrank from the thought of rebellion and contented themselves with passive resistance. Many of the leading men of the time, even high government officials, were in correspondence with James and his son, but very few cared to come out openly for another Stuart restoration.

The "King over the Water."

391. The War of the Palatinate. 1689–1697. King William lived for a single purpose, to secure the independence of his native Netherlands by crippling France. For thirty years he served as the head of the Dutch Republic, and these years were almost one continuous conflict with Louis XIV, now on the battle field, now on the field of diplomacy. It was the ambition of Louis to extend France eastward, at least as far as the Rhine, which the French were in the habit of regarding as their "natural boundary." Along the upper course of the Rhine, King Louis was making considerable progress; and if the plan were to be completely realized, it would deprive the Dutch of much territory, as the Rhine ran through the United Netherlands.

Policy of William III.

French aggressions.

In opposition to Louis William organized a great league comprising England, Holland, Spain, the Empire, and several lesser powers. The war of the Palatinate, or of the league of Augsburg, as it is sometimes called, began in 1689 and continued eight years. There was fighting all along the eastern border of France; but England was chiefly interested in the warfare in the Channel and in the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium). Louis had built up a strong navy, stronger than the combined fleets of England and Holland. The French were planning to invade England; but in 1692 Admiral Russell met the French in the Bay of La Hogue and won a decisive victory. For six days the English fought or pursued the French, taking many ships and destroying them. This was the greatest naval victory that England had won since the destruction of the Invincible

The league against Louis XIV.

The War of the Palatinate.

1692.

Armada. Great Britain was saved from invasion. Louis now lost interest in his fleet and pursued the war on land, where his victories, though frequent, were barren of results.

392. The National Debt; the Bank of England.[1] When the war closed in 1697, neither side could boast any advantage. There were, however, certain lasting consequences. For one thing the cause of James II, who was active on the French side, became more desperate than ever. England could not take a king from a family that was living on the bounty of Louis XIV. The war also produced a national debt. Earlier all wars had been fought and financed by the king; if his regular income was not sufficient to meet the expense, he got subsidies from parliament, or he borrowed money from the goldsmiths and other money lenders. But in 1692 parliament began to borrow money. Two years later, parliament chartered the Bank of England. This institution was first suggested by William Paterson, a canny Scotchman with a taste for ventures in finance. It was Paterson's idea that it would be more convenient to borrow money in large sums from a bank than in small sums from a large number of lenders. A bank would also be a safer place in which to deposit cash than the shops of the goldsmiths. In return for its service to the government, the Bank of England was permitted to issue bank notes which passed as currency. Paterson's bank grew to be the most important bank in the world.

Decline of the Stuart cause.

The national debt. 1692.

The Bank of England. 1694.

393. Reform of the Coinage. A serious financial problem of the time was how to strike a coin that would retain its nominal value. In those days the edges of all coins were smooth and "clipping," that is paring the coin down, was a common offense. After a shilling had been clipped a few times, it no longer passed for full value. In 1696, two years after the Bank of England was chartered, Isaac Newton was given an office in the mint, and he remained connected with that service till his death thirty years later.

Isaac Newton as official in the mint.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 194–198.

Newton hit upon the simple expedient of striking coins with a milled edge. When it was found that a clipped coin would no longer be accepted, the practice ceased.

394. Wealth and Industry. The medieval belief that gold and silver are the only real wealth was still held in England when the eighteenth century began. It was commonly known as the "mercantile theory." The mercantilists taught that England should try to sell as much as possible abroad and buy very little in return; the difference would then come into the country in cash and the "balance of trade" would be favorable. It was thought that this could be accomplished by legislation and other efforts along four separate lines.

Principles of mercantilism.

1. All English goods should be carried in English ships manned by English crews. There would then be employment for the native sailors and the money paid out for transportation would remain in England. The navigation acts were planned to develop the English merchant marine. A new instalment of the navigation acts came in 1696. The victory at La Hogue was also an important event in the history of the merchant marine, as it crippled the only power that could prey effectively on English commerce.

The English merchant marine.

2. Enough grain must be raised so that it would become unnecessary to buy abroad. This meant that agriculture must be given special attention. In the second half of the seventeenth century much farm land was reclaimed by extensive draining in the Fenlands near the Wash; in this work Dutch engineers were employed. Later in English history agriculture was "protected" by the so-called corn laws, which forbade the importation of grain until English grain should have reached a fixed price.

Development of agriculture.

3. Exports should be encouraged and imports discouraged. There was therefore much opposition to such trading companies as the East India Company which dealt in imports only, as the Orientals bought almost no English products. But as a large part of these imports were

Emphasis on export trade.

again sold to other European countries, the company was able to meet the criticism successfully.

4. It was necessary to provide work for all, especially in the industries. Parliament had from time to time passed laws to encourage trade; but the great industrial growth in the days of William and Anne was a natural one. After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685), nearly half a million Huguenots emigrated from France to Protestant lands, a large number settling in England. Many of the Huguenots were men of wealth; others were skilled artisans in some of the finer trades; they brought capital, business ability, skilled workmanship, and new methods and industries into English commercial and industrial life. The Huguenots were hatters and weavers; they were expert jewelers and clock makers; they were skilled in the manufacture of fine glass. On the whole they were well received in England, for they did not, as a rule, come into competition with the native manufacturers: the Huguenot weavers were interested in silk, linen, and cotton rather than wool. In a comparatively short time the output of English manufactures increased twenty-fold.

Encouragement of industry.

Huguenot merchants and artisans.

395. The Spanish Succession.[1] When peace was made at Ryswick in 1697, it was not so much to close the war that was going on, as to get some time to prepare for another war that seemed sure to come. Charles II, the degenerate king of Spain, whose death had seemed imminent for a number of years, was nearing the close of life. He had no children and the question was what would become of the Spanish inheritance. This was indeed vast: it comprised the kingdom of Spain with the Balearic Islands; the kingdom of Naples and Sicily and the duchy of Milan in Italy; the Spanish Netherlands; Cuba, Mexico, Central and South America; and the Philippine Islands. There were two claimants finally: Louis XIV claimed the entire inheritance for the Dauphin, whose mother was a sister of Charles II;

The Spanish inheritance.

The claimants.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 338.

Leopold of Austria, the emperor, whose mother was an aunt of the Spanish king, claimed the monarchy for his son, the Archduke Charles. William III had no interest in the Spanish lands, but he was anxious to prevent the union of the French and Spanish crowns. He also wished to avoid another war, for which he was at the moment ill prepared: the Tories, who now were a peace party, had come into power and were actively cutting down the expenses of the nation by reducing the English army.

The partition treaties.

William then proposed to Louis that they should settle the matter for the Spaniards, and the two monarchs calmly proceeded to dispose of territories to which neither had any right. Two "partition treaties" were secretly drawn up, but both failed. Shortly before his death, Charles II disposed of his many crowns by a will, according to which Philip of Anjou, a grandson of Louis XIV, was appointed heir to the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies, on the condition, however, that the kingdoms of France and Spain should never have a common ruler.[1] If Philip should ever accept the French crown, he would have to abdicate the Spanish kingship. Louis accepted the terms of the will and promptly proceeded to act as if he and not his grandson were the heir: to secure their frontier, the Dutch had been allowed by the treaty of Ryswick to hold certain fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands; these Louis now seized and the Dutch were driven out.

The will of Charles II.

396. The Act of Settlement.[2] 1701. The second partition treaty was signed in February, 1700, and in June the question of the British succession began to take on a lively interest. William and Mary had no children; according to the Bill of Rights the crown was therefore to go to the Princess Anne, and it was generally expected that William, the young son of this princess, and the only one of her many children who survived infancy, would eventually ascend the English throne. But in 1700 Prince William died,

The succession in England.

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[1] Robinson, No. 156.

[2] Gardiner, 672–674; Masterman, 152–153.

and it seemed likely to many that young Prince James Stuart, who was now thirteeen years old, would some day prove a powerful candidate for the crowns of Britain. But the "Old Pretender," as he came to be called, was the guest of Louis XIV, with whom England was likely soon to be at war, and he seemed as firm a Catholic as his father. To prevent his accession, a Tory parliament in 1701 passed the Act of Settlement, which provided that, in case both Anne and William III should die without heirs, the crowns of England and Ireland should pass to the Electress Sophia of Hanover and to her heirs "being Protestant." The electress was the granddaughter of James I, and sister of Prince Rupert who fought so gallantly for Charles I. There were more than fifty men and women of Stuart blood who stood nearer the throne than did Sophia; but they were all professed Roman Catholics, and parliament was determined that England should have a Protestant ruler; there was, however, no enthusiasm for the stately electress who was finally chosen. All sovereigns of England since Queen Anne have held their crowns by virtue of this Act of Settlement.

The Act of Settlement. 1701.

The Electress Sophia of Hanover.

397. Preparations for War. England saw with fear the vast increase of power that had come to the Bourbon dynasty; but the Tories were reluctant to go to war. William, however, saw that a conflict was unavoidable, and proceeded to organize another "grand alliance," this time in support of the Austrian candidate. In September, three months after the Act of Settlement had become a law, James II died; an entirely new situation was now created, for Louis XIV promptly proclaimed Prince James king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Thus began the reign of James III, a pretense that he kept up for sixty-four years. The proclamation was deeply resented in England; and the nation rallied to William's support.

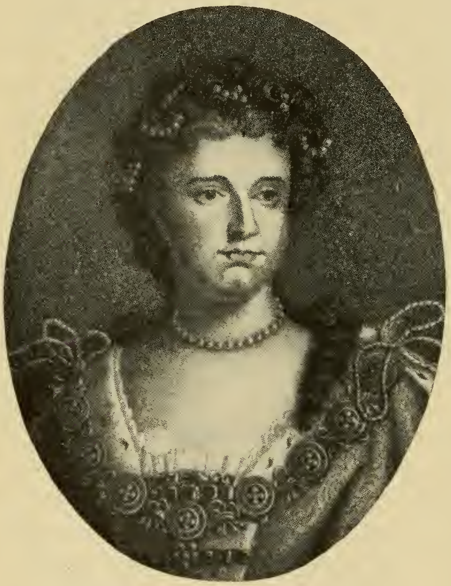
The "Grand Alliance."

James III.

398. Queen Anne. 1702–1714. A few months later William was thrown from a horse and suffered such severe injuries that after an illness of two weeks he died (March, 1702). He was succeeded by the Princess Anne,[1] who bore the crown for twelve years. Queen Anne was almost wholly wanting in the qualities that distinguish a ruler: she had no personal charms and no talents of any sort, least of all those that are necessary to the diplomat or the politician. England in her day was governed by favorite ministers. From her husband she could expect no assistance: Prince George realized that he had no abilities of the sort required, and he had a well founded suspicion that the nation was also aware of it. Queen Anne was devoted to the English church; and as the churchmen were chiefly Tories, her leanings were in the same direction, and whenever possible she selected Tories as her chief advisers.[2]

Death of William III.

Queen Anne.



Queen Anne

From an engraving published 1815.

399. The Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. William's death on the eve of a tremendous war, the greatest that Europe had known for centuries, was a great loss to the enemies of France. But William's preparations were complete; he had even selected the general who was to lead the forces of the allies: John Churchill[3] was the greatest military

The Duke of Marlborough.

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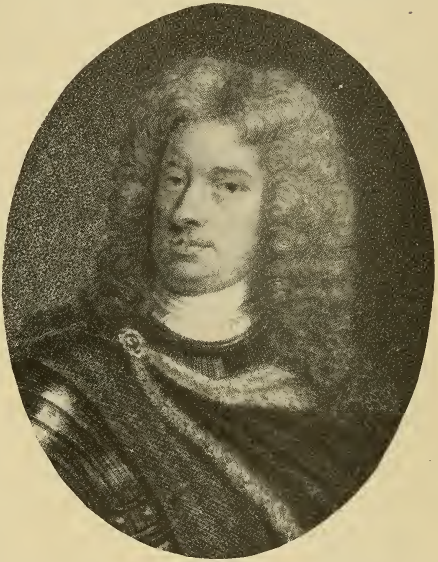
[1] Bates and Coman, 352 (Pope).

[2] Cheyney, No. 337.

[3] Tuell and Hatch, No. 59.

genius of his age; he was also a statesman of the higher class. Churchill had been high in the favor of James II; but in 1688 he had deserted to William, who had rewarded him with the title of earl. He was not always faithful to the Dutch king, but William realized his usefulness and forgave him. To Anne he was always loyal, and soon after the opening of her reign she created him duke of Marlborough. During the first half of the new reign he was virtually the ruler of England: the management of the great war and the control of foreign affairs were in his hands. Marlborough was necessarily absent with the army most of the time; but he had two efficient agents in London, his friend Sidney Godolphin, the lord treasurer, and his wife, Sarah Jennings Churchill.



John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough
From a portrait by Sir G. Kneller.

The Duchess of Marlborough.

The Duchess Sarah was a talented woman of great beauty with a domineering disposition and an ungovernable temper. She had been a childhood companion of the queen, and while Anne was still a princess her influence with her royal mistress was unbounded. When Anne became queen, Sarah's power began to wane; but her influence remained great for some years yet. In her earlier years Anne had needed a guide; now she needed a sympathetic friend and comforter: she was in constant ill health; her domestic bereavements had been many; her dull but good-natured

Mrs. Masham.

husband died in 1708; and the claims of her brother gave her an uneasy conscience. Such a friend she found in Abigail Hill, later Mrs. Masham, a cousin of the imperious Sarah, but of a totally different character. Mrs. Masham shared the sorrows of the tearful queen, and incidentally shared her political secrets and helped her to make up her mind in important state affairs, especially in making appointments to office.

Queen Anne's War.

400. The War of the Spanish Succession. 1702–1713. The war of the Spanish succession began almost immediately after Queen Anne's accession and continued almost to the close of the reign. The English forces fought chiefly in the Spanish Netherlands, where Marlborough won a series of brilliant though not very decisive victories. Only once did he fight a campaign elsewhere: in 1704 he made a dash up the Rhine into Bavaria and annihilated a French army at Blenheim.[1] A few days earlier an English fleet seized the rock of Gibraltar, which England still retains. A feeble attempt was made to fight the French in America; and Acadia, renamed Nova Scotia, was added to the British possessions.

Losses of the Spanish crown.

Territorial gains of England.

401. The Treaty of Utrecht.[2] 1713. The long war closed with the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. On the whole the allies were victorious. Philip, the Bourbon prince, retained the Spanish throne, but was forced to surrender some of the more unimportant possessions of his crown, those in the Netherlands and in Italy, most of which were transferred to his rival Charles, who was now emperor. England received territorial and commercial compensation. Spain surrendered Gibraltar and Minorca, and England has from that time been a power in the Mediterranean. France acknowledged the English rights to Acadia, Newfoundland, and the great fur-bearing regions about Hudson Bay. Spain further allowed England a monopoly of the slave importation into America for a period of thirty years: this was the famous *Assiento.* A company was organized to carry on the slave trade, in which many prominent Englishmen, including the queen, became stockholders. Spain also agreed to allow a single ship to trade each year at the Isthmus of Panama. This provision the English evaded by dispatching a whole fleet to the Isthmus but sending only one ship into port: this ship would make a series of trips between the fleet and the harbor, until all the cargoes were disposed of. The treaty also permitted the Dutch to close the river Scheldt. Higher up this stream in the Spanish Netherlands was the great city of Antwerp which in those days threatened to rival London as a commercial center. The closing of the Scheldt ruined Antwerp, and London rapidly advanced toward the commercial supremacy that she still holds.

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[1] Bates and Coman, 353–355 (Southey, *Blenheim*).

[2] Gardiner, 696–698; Innes, II, 179–184 (Swift's view of the war).

The Assiento.

Closing of the Scheldt.

402. The Union of England and Scotland.[1] **1707.** A most important event in the reign of Anne was the union of England and Scotland into a single kingdom of Great Britain. Since the accession of James I in 1603, the two countries had been governed by a common king but were otherwise distinct monarchies. A "personal union" is, however, usually an unsatisfactory arrangement. The king's foreign policy is dictated chiefly by the interests of the stronger kingdom; and in the eyes of the nations the weaker state sinks in importance. The Stuarts resided at Westminster and governed Scotland through a deputy called a royal commissioner. This was a form of absentee rule that the Scotch did not enjoy.

The "personal union" of England and Scotland.

Scotland had never been a wealthy country. Only the riches of the soil had been developed, and the soil was poor. The civil wars that had raged in the seventeenth century had ruined agriculture in many of the valleys, and poverty was everywhere. In 1689 the religious conflict ceased, and the energy that had been given over to strife now sought employment in commerce. But the laws of

Economic situation in Scotland.

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[1] Gardiner, 685; Innes, II, 171–175.

England stood in the way. English merchants had a monopoly of the colonial trade. In the Orient the East India Company was well established. Nor could Scotch merchants trade to advantage in England because of English tariff systems. But, on the other hand, when the larger kingdom went to war, Scotland was forced to assist.

The Darien venture.

In 1696 a number of merchants under the lead of William Paterson organized a Scotch East India Company. It was a part of their plan to locate a Scotch colony at Darien on the Isthmus of Panama. In 1698 a colony was sent out, but the tropical climate and Spanish arms proved too much for the northerners and the venture was a failure. As the colony was unauthorized and located on Spanish territory, William III and the English government could render no assistance. The colony was ruined, the nation was discouraged, and William III (Wilful Willie), who had never been popular in Scotland, was now disliked more than ever.

The Scotch Act of Security. 1704.

When the English parliament passed the Act of Settlement (1701) and fixed the succession on Sophia, no effort was made to secure joint action by the northern kingdom. Scotch pride felt the slight very keenly. The parliament in Edinburgh accepted Anne as queen; but soon after passed an Act of Security which provided that on the queen's death the Scotch parliament should elect as her successor a Protestant member of the Stuart dynasty, but that this should not be the heir to the English crown, unless England should have already guaranteed the independence of Scotland and her parliament and the security of her colonies, trade, and religion. The war compelled Queen Anne to accept this act, and in 1704, just before the great victory at Blenheim, it became a law.

English retaliation.

England replied with an act that forbade the sale of Scotch cattle and other products in England, unless the northern kingdom should accept the Act of Settlement; but this law was not to go into force before Christmas, 1705. Meanwhile, both nations appointed commissioners to discuss plans for the union of the kingdoms. An agreement was finally reached, and in 1707 the kingdom of Great Britain came into legal existence.

The legislative union. 1707.

The English commissioners insisted on a "legislative union," a single parliament for the two kingdoms. The Scotch were forced to yield but in return they were given all the rights of trade enjoyed by Englishmen anywhere in the world; trade between the two countries was also made free. Each of the kingdoms retained its own church and its own system of law; also its own set of officials to carry out the laws. In these respects the union was incomplete; but in this way the separate nationalities were preserved; the Scotchman did not become an Englishman.

The "end of an auld sang."

It was hard for Scotland to accept the union. Andrew Fletcher, the author of the Act of Security, a Scotch republican and an intense patriot, fought the proposal with all his eloquence. Most of the nobility, however, supported the union, and it was accepted by fair majorities. Outside parliament the feeling was intensely hostile. The English parliament passed the act with little debate. When the document was ratified and the union complete, the chancellor of Scotland is said to have remarked that here was the "end of an auld sang."

The situation in Ireland.

403. The Penal Laws in Ireland.[1] The same year that brought peace and union to Great Britain, added strength to England, and economic freedom and prosperity to Scotland, marks the beginnings of a condition in Ireland that was but slightly better than slavery. The treaty of Limerick was never carried out. The Anglican Protestants in Ireland were determined to stamp out rebellion and planned to do it by repression. This was attempted in a series of acts passed by the Dublin parliament and agreed to by the privy council in London. For some of these laws the great war was responsible, since it had been the experience of Britain that whenever England had serious difficulties the Irish would be sure to rise in rebellion.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 343–344; Gardiner, 686–687; Kendall, 111.

The Catholics are deprived of political rights.

1. The Catholics were deprived of all political rights. First of all an oath of allegiance was prescribed for all office holders which no Catholic could take, as it contained a denial of Catholic doctrine. The Irish parliament thus became an exclusively Protestant body. Eleven years later (1704), a similar oath was framed for those who wished to vote at parliamentary elections; and after that year no Catholic Irishman could vote: five-sixths of the populace was disfranchised. It was also enacted that only those could hold office who took the sacrament in the Anglican church. This closed all the offices to the dissenters as well.

Confiscation of land.

2. More Catholic land was confiscated. Although the Irish leaders believed that their lands were secured by the treaty of Limerick, the government proceeded to the third great confiscation.[1] More than a million acres were seized. Only one-seventh of the land remained to the Catholics, though they constituted more than three-fourths of the entire population.

The loss of civil rights.

3. The Irish Catholics were deprived of the ordinary civil rights. A series of laws called the Penal Laws were enacted, some of which were in force for nearly a century. These made it extremely difficult for any Roman Catholic to acquire and hold land; he could not lease it for more than thirty-one years, and if a Protestant could prove that his profits exceeded one-third of the rent he could take it from him. The eldest son of a Catholic could get possession of his father's land by becoming a Protestant; and in the same way a dissatisfied wife could get one-third of her husband's property and separate maintenance. No Catholic might teach in any school or act as the guardian of a child; and if a child professed Protestantism it had to be surrendered immediately to a Protestant guardian. Fire-arms no Catholic

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[1] Review sec. 273; the second confiscation was in Cromwell's time.

was permitted to have; and if a Protestant offered him five pounds for his horse he was forced to sell it.

Emigration.

The penal laws were never strictly enforced; the Protestants were too few and the native Irish too numerous. But they did not fail to emphasize the misery of a people that had been robbed of its land. Many of the Irish sought new homes in the colonies and thus began the stream of migration that has given so many millions of Irish and Scotch-Irish to the American republic.

404. The Age of Anne in Literature.[1] The "Age of Anne" is a famous period in the history of English Literature. The early years of the eighteenth century produced no great dramas like those of the Elizabethan Age[2] and no epic poems like those of the Restoration.[3] It was, indeed, not wholly wanting in poetry, for Addison wrote readable poems and Pope's *Rape of the Lock* was written during Anne's reign. But the "Age of Anne" was emphatically an age of prose, not deep or thoughtful but delightfully clear and clever, and full of human interest. The period also had its more profound thinkers, but they were not numerous. Four men stand out prominently among the writers of this age: Swift, Defoe, Addison, and Berkeley the philosopher.

An age of prose in literature.

Political pamphleteers.

The literary interest of the period centers in London. Here was the seat of government; and in this period politics and literature were closely associated. Nearly all the writers of the time were fierce partisans and were often employed as political pamphleteers. Addison, Swift, and Defoe all served in this capacity. A successful political pamphleteer must have wide knowledge of current events, a thorough knowledge of human nature, especially of its weaknesses, critical insight, and a lucid style. These writers possessed all these qualities, Swift in greater measure than Addison and Defoe. Jonathan Swift was an Anglican priest born in Dublin but of English parentage. He was a strange, eccentric man, whose life was a bitter disappointment

Swift.

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[1] Gardiner, 692–695.
[2] Review sec. 270.
[3] Review sec. 365.

and closed in tragedy. For a time Swift was a Whig; but in 1710 he entered the service of the Tories who had just come to power. He had hoped that his efforts would be rewarded with a bishopric but he received only a deanery in Dublin.

Defoe.

Daniel Defoe[1] was a dissenter and consequently a Whig. His productivity was enormous. During Anne's reign he was chiefly interested in politics. After the Whigs had come into undisputed control with George I, he found time for other work and produced *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), a story that is often regarded as the first English novel. *Robinson Crusoe* is, however, not exactly of that type; the real novel came about twenty years later with the writings of Richardson and Fielding.

Addison and Steele.

Another type of literature that belongs to the age is the periodical essay. This is remembered in connection with the *Tattler* and the *Spectator* of Addison and Steele. The *Tattler* began in 1709 and the *Spectator* two years later. They may have been suggested by Defoe's *Review*, a periodical that this versatile writer planned while in prison in 1704. Joseph Addison rose higher than his contemporaries: he was secretary to the regency that governed England between Anne's death and the coming of George I. Later he served as secretary of state, and thus filled one of the highest offices in the government.

Isaac Newton.

George Berkeley.

Of the men who were busied with the deeper problems of the world, Sir Isaac Newton and George Berkeley were the most prominent. Most of Newton's scientific work has already been referred to.[2] During the reigns of William and Anne he was largely engaged in public duties as member of parliament and master of the mint. Berkeley, like Dean Swift, was an Irish clergyman; but he was more successful in life and finally got the reward that Swift longed for. Berkeley was early attracted to scientific and philosophic problems and wrote a number of important works. He is also to be remembered for his interest in the American colonies. He planned to found an Anglican university in the New World, an institution that was also to look after the spiritual welfare of the Indians. With the aid of Dean Swift he secured promises of financial assistance from the government. He emigrated to New England and spent six years at Newport, Rhode Island. The promised assistance failed to come and the broken-hearted philosopher returned to England. His farm and his library he left to Yale College (1734).

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[1] Cheyney, No. 341.

[2] Review sec. 367.

405. The Last Years of Anne.[1] **Harley and Bolingbroke.** In the spring of 1714 the queen's health failed rapidly, and the problem of the succession took on renewed interest. The Tories were in power; but many of their leaders were Jacobites, and it was doubted whether they would try to carry out the Act of Settlement which their own party had passed. In 1710 the Whigs had been definitely defeated at the elections: two new men, both moderate Tories, now came into control of the government: Robert Harley and Henry St. John, better known as Lord Bolingbroke. Harley was a cousin of Mrs. Masham, whose influence he used to undermine the power of Marlborough and Godolphin. After Godolphin's dismissal, Harley became chief of Queen Anne's government, and remained as such for four years, till within a few days of the queen's death. Most of this time he held the important office of lord treasurer. Bolingbroke was a younger, more brilliant, and more energetic man; he was an effective orator and an astute politician; but he was restless, unreliable, and treacherous. It was he who negotiated the treaty of Utrecht. Bolingbroke was Harley's chief lieutenant, but he was also his chief rival.

Robert Harley.

Lord Bolingbroke.

Though in a minority in the commons, the Whigs still controlled the house of lords. To secure a majority of his party in this body, Harley and his aids induced the queen to create twelve new peers. In December, 1711, these new lords, one of whom was the insignificant Mr. Masham, took their seats, and Tory control was

Packing the house of lords with Tories.

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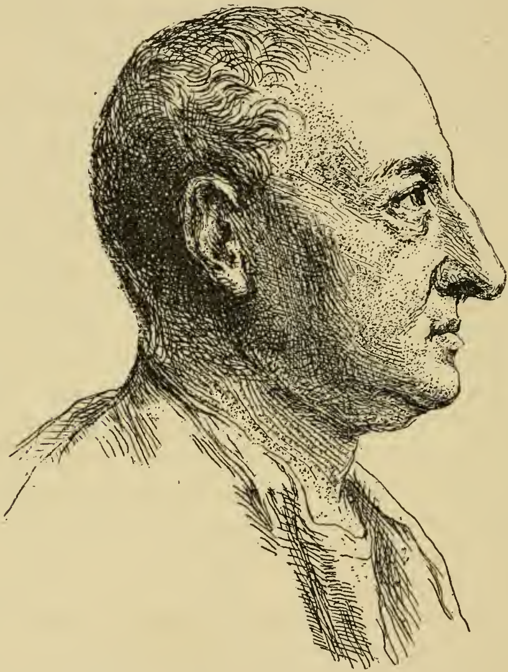
[1] Masterman, 157–158.

complete in all the departments of the government. It is worth remembering that this precedent for packing the house of lords was set by the Tories. In 1832 and again in 1911 they had occasion to regret it; for their opponents were able to force legislation through a hostile house of lords by threatening to do what Harley and Bolingbroke had taught them to do.



Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke

It was quite generally known that the elector George suspected the Tories of Jacobite sympathies and that he was already in alliance with the Whigs. The death of Anne would then mean the downfall of Harley's ministry. Harley was perplexed, for he did not know whether the Catholic James would be acceptable to the nation. Bolingbroke was for immediate action and forced the dismissal of his hesitating chief. For a few days he was at the head of the government and probably intended to restore the Stuarts; but the queen died before his plan was completed, and four days later, the electress Sophia having departed life a few weeks earlier, the privy council proclaimed her son, George I, king of Great Britain (August 5, 1714).

Jacobite schemes.

406. Summary. The period from the revolution of 1688 to the treaty of Utrecht was one of almost continuous warfare between England and France. In the great international problems of the time England had no direct interest; still, the outcome of the two wars had important results for the English nation and the British Empire. England maintained her position as the greatest naval power. Important additions were made to her empire both in America and in Europe. The war also emphasized the need of a closer union on the island of Great Britain and indirectly led to the union of 1707. It ruined the cause of the Stuart dynasty, for King James was a pensioner of the great enemy, Louis XIV. For the same reason the Tories felt compelled to pass the Act of Settlement, which provides that Protestant kings only shall rule in England. The Tory leaders were, however, not entirely faithful to this Act and the result was that on the death of Queen Anne power passed into the hands of the Whigs. The age was also a notable one in the economic and in the literary history of England: it was the age of Paterson and the Bank of England; of reforms in the coinage; of new forms of industry brought in by the fugitive Huguenots; and it was the age of Addison, Defoe, Swift, and Steele.

Results of the war with Louis XIV.

Progress of the age.

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CHAPTER XX

THE RULE OF THE WHIGS

407. The Early Hanoverians.[1] George I waited more than a month before he set out for England. When he finally did arrive in his new kingdom, there was much display and much official rejoicing: the masses, however, showed little enthusiasm for the new king. George I, the "wee German lairdie" that the Scotch Jacobites sang about, was a middle-aged prince of moderate abilities and few personal attractions, who brought little to England but a set of Hanoverian favorites, uncouth personal manners, and a dense ignorance of British affairs. He came to enjoy the new kingship, and apparently he succeeded in his purpose. As government is at best a bothersome affair, George I determined to have as little to do with it as possible. George II, who succeeded his father in 1727, was a slight improvement as a ruler, but scarcely as a human being. The two Georges disliked each other most cordially and with good reason. In order to appear as unlike his sluggish father as possible, the younger George strove to become English and made constant, though not always discriminating, use of the English language. But he, too, was coarse, vulgar, rude in manners, and uneducated. Believing himself something of a military genius, he showed great interest in the army; he was also anxious to have a larger share in the government of the kingdom; but here his ministers balked him, and he was compelled to be satisfied with remaining a showy figurehead.

George I.

George II.

408. The Jacobite Rising. 1715. It was not many months before the Hanoverians had become extremely unpopular. It

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 345–346.

The rising in the Highlands.

Sheriffmuir.

The Pretender.

seemed to many of the Jacobites that the time was surely ripe for a revolt in favor of the Pretender James. King George had been in England only a year when Jacobite partisans raised the standard of the Stuarts in the Highlands; a little later there was a rising in the northern counties of England. The Jacobite forces in Scotland were at first reasonably successful; in November they fought an indecisive battle with the forces of the government at Sheriffmuir, where one half of each army defeated the opposing half of the enemy's forces. But the next day the Jacobites in England were crushed at Preston not far from the border. Early in January the Pretender landed in Scotland, but he was too late in coming. Winter made operations difficult, and the religious questions came up continuously. The somewhat shy, silent man was not the sort of a leader that the Highlanders had expected; James soon realized that his cause was lost. In February he secretly left his Highland army and embarked for France. The rising melted away.

The Whig doctrine.

The Whig leaders.

409. Whigs and Whiggism.[1] For half a century the first two Georges bore the English crown. During this period the actual rulers of the kingdom were the chiefs of the Whig party, of whom Sir Robert Walpole was the most notable. The cardinal doctrine of Whiggism was that parliament and not the king should be the controlling force and ultimate ruler of the nation. With the earlier Hanoverians on the throne, this doctrine came to be a political fact: George I and his son made no attempt to oppose the will of parliament. The Whig leaders were chiefly peers or members of noble families; their aim seems to have been to center as much power and influence as possible in the house of lords. The peers were great landowners and were influential with their tenants, some of whom had a right to vote; they also controlled a large number of English boroughs; consequently they were able to get their younger sons, their friends, or their faithful henchmen elected to membership in the house of commons. Practically, therefore, Whiggism in the eighteenth century meant the rule of the nation by a limited number of aristocratic families.

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[1] Masterman, 159–160.

410. Cabinet Government.[1] It was while monarchy was weak and the Whig leaders all powerful that England developed her modern system of government, which is called the cabinet system. This form of government is one of the most important contributions that England has made to the science of politics; it has been widely copied and in some form has been accepted by nearly all the states of Europe. Under cabinet rule the actual control of the governmental policies is in the hands of a group of the more important ministers (now about twenty in number), who act as a unit on all matters of real importance. The chief of the cabinet is the prime minister. The king appoints the prime minister, but in this he exercises little choice; for custom demands that he shall select the recognized leader (if such there be) of the party that has the majority in the house of commons. The prime minister selects his colleagues; he chooses them from among the chiefs of his own party; and to each one he assigns some important office or department, such as the exchequer (finance), the admiralty (navy), the foreign office, or some other department. All the members of the cabinet must be members of parliament, in the deliberations of which they take a leading part. They are also members of the privy council, and every formal meeting of the cabinet at which any action is taken is regarded as a meeting of the privy council.

The cabinet.

The prime minister.

The cabinet system was of long and slow growth. During the early years of the Restoration period, a small group of officials under the leadership of Clarendon acted in a measure as a cabinet council: the king consulted them as a group. After the fall of Clarendon the five members of the Cabal formed a similar body, though it

Development of the cabinet council.

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[1] Masterman, 161–167, 227–229; Tuell and Hatch, Nos. 71–72.

Charles F. Flower

No. 10 Downing Street

The official residence of the prime minister. The English cabinet meets in this building.

had no recognized head. The king was still in control; he could ask the advice of these ministers singly or as a body, or he might refuse to consult them. After the rise of parties the kings very soon found it necessary to select all their more important ministers from the same party: the Whig Junto was such a group of four able and influential ministers on whom William III for some time depended for assistance and counsel (1693–1694). This was, therefore, a nearer approach to a modern cabinet; but William III was his own prime minister.

As he was a foreigner and wholly unacquainted with English methods and politics, George I was compelled to leave all the affairs of government to his ministers. These were all Whigs and the more prominent of them formed a cabinet council in which the business of the state was discussed and outlined. In this council the king should have presided; but he knew no English and there seems to have been only one prominent Whig politician in England at the time who was able to converse with the king in German. It was, therefore, only natural that he should prefer to remain absent. For some years there was no recognized chief in the cabinet; but finally, in 1721, Robert Walpole assumed the leadership and retained it for twenty-one years. Walpole was the first English prime minister: he directed the general course of government, presided in the cabinet, secured the appointment or dismissal of his colleagues, and presented and defended the measures of the government in the house of commons. He distinctly disclaimed the title of prime minister, doubtless because the term was already in current use and meant the chief adviser of the French king, who was an absolute monarch, which George I was not.

Robert Walpole, the first English prime minister.

411. Robert Walpole.[1] Robert Walpole was a country gentleman from Norfolk. This county was one of the more strenuously Puritan districts in the century before, but the Walpoles do not appear to have inherited the Puritan spirit. Robert Walpole was good natured and amiable; but like his king he was coarse and rude in speech and manners. His most important characteristic was common sense; he had no ideals and no dreams; he was never stubborn and always knew when it was advisable to yield to the opposition. When he became prime minister he had already served

Character of Walpole.

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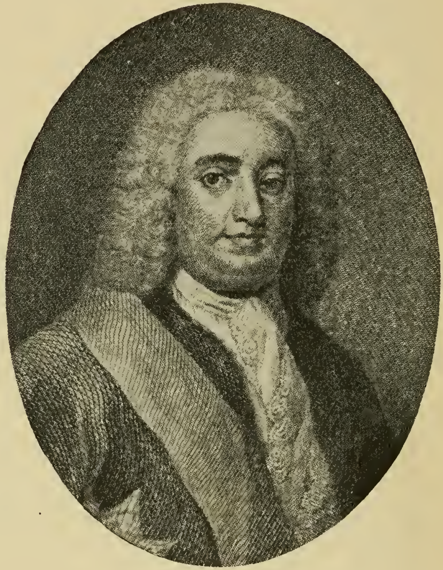
[1] Cheyney, No. 352.

a long apprenticeship in public life; for nearly twenty years he had spent most of his time in public office.

412. The "South Sea Bubble."[1] Walpole's opportunity came with the failure of the South Sea Company in 1721. It will be remembered that by the treaty of Utrecht England was allowed certain commercial privileges in Spanish America. The South Sea Company was organized to carry on trade in these new fields. It was believed that the venture would be very profitable, and the stock of the company was soon in great demand. The price per share rose to many times the original value. The company also arranged with the government to look after the details of the national debt: it was to pay all the claims against the national exchequer and would settle with the government later. When a debtor came to the South Sea offices with a bill against the state, the company tried to induce him, and often successfully, to accept payment in the stock of the enterprise instead of in cash. In this way a large amount of stock was disposed of.

The South Sea Company.



Sir Robert Walpole
From an engraving by Trotter.

Collapse of the bubble.

In 1721 the scheme suddenly collapsed. The king's ministry fell with it, for it was responsible for the deal by which so many of the national debtors had been induced to invest in worthless stock and thus had been defrauded of their dues. Many of the ministers had also speculated heavily in the stocks of the company. Walpole had publicly opposed the company, though he, too, had bought heavily while the prices were low and sold when the price was high. He had a well deserved reputation as a financier and was accordingly called in to save what was possible from the wreckage. In this he was fairly successful; something, at least, he was able to save for the shareholders. At the same time he made secure his own position and that of his party.

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[1] Gardiner, 711–713.

413. Walpole's Political Methods.[1] Walpole was an able though not a remarkable statesman; he possessed the sort of abilities that the time required, and he was careful not to antagonize the king. In his dealings with parliament he employed bribery to an astonishing extent. Political morals in the eighteenth century were low; there was much corruption in public office; honesty seems to have been exceptional.[2] Members of parliament received no salaries; but there were many members, often younger sons of noble families, whose income was slight or insufficient for their supposed needs, and these found it difficult to resist the tempter who offered money or favors for a vote or influence. Walpole reduced bribery to a system: he knew whom it was necessary to buy and how much to offer; when his administration was investigated soon after his fall from power, the officers who controlled the secret service funds of the government refused to testify. At one time he is said to have pointed out a group of members in parliament with the remark that "all these men have their price."

Political morals in the eighteenth century.

Bribery in Walpole's day.

In Walpole's general policy there were two chief purposes: to secure and strengthen the position of the new dynasty and to promote economic prosperity in the nation. This was a policy that also promised the greatest profit to the Whigs. It was commerce that Walpole was most anxious to promote, and commerce would be of direct benefit

Policies of Walpole.

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[1] Gardiner, 713–716; Innes, II, 199–201.

[2] Kendall, No. 103.

to the mercantile classes in the cities, who were strongly Whig. On the Hanoverian dynasty the Whigs depended for their control of politics; should the dynasty fall and the Stuarts return, the Tories would return to power.

414. Walpole's Foreign Policy. The prime minister saw clearly that what England needed most of all was a long period of peace, both at home and with her neighbors. During the one hundred and eleven years of Stuart rule, the nation had enjoyed almost no real rest: it was a period of much foreign warfare and still more discontent and turmoil at home, even civil war and revolution. After the coming of the Hanoverians, England had nearly thirty years of comparative peace. Many of the Whig leaders wished to continue the policy of William III, which meant constant interference in European affairs. But Walpole, whose motto was "let sleeping dogs lie,"[1] successfully resisted them until 1739. He devoted all his energies to the maintenance of the treaty of Utrecht and the promotion of peace in Europe. In these efforts he had the assistance of the chief minister in France, the aged Cardinal Fleury, who also believed in European peace. Louis XIV had died in 1715; his successor Louis XV was a child, and the new king's uncle, Philip of Orleans, the Regent of France, was induced to join England, the Netherlands, and Austria in an alliance to maintain the settlement at Utrecht. For some time after the great war, Spain was the disturbing element in Europe: in the treaty she had lost some of her most valued possessions, which she was eager to win back; and her king, Philip V, though he had agreed that Spain and France should not be united, could not forget that he was a grandson of the great Louis, while the little Louis XV was a great-grandson. An aggressive English prime minister could easily have brought on another great war. Walpole kept up a small standing army, though not a very efficient one; to the navy he paid so little attention that the ships soon became unseaworthy. Wal-

Foreign policy.

Cardinal Fleury.

Ambitions of Spain.

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[1] Innes, II, 194–199.

pole kept the dogs of war quiet a long time, but when trouble with Spain finally became unavoidable, the nation was utterly unprepared to meet the enemy.

415. Walpole's Domestic Policy. There were two dangerous elements in England that the prime minister was also anxious not to stir up: the Anglican churchmen and the dissenters. Lord Shaftesbury, the founder of the Whig party, was a believer in toleration, and the Whigs in the main continued faithful to this principle. Some of the leaders were even willing to repeal the laws, the Test Act and the rest, that kept the dissenters from holding office.[1] Many dissenters, whose principles were somewhat elastic, had tried to avoid these laws by an occasional visit to an Anglican church, where they heard the service through and partook of the communion: this was called "occasional conformity." This practice exasperated the Tories, and toward the close of Queen Anne's reign they succeeded in passing a measure to forbid it. Eight years later (1719) the Whigs repealed the Occasional Conformity Act, and dissenters could now enter office by occasionally taking the "test." But the Test Act was still law, and a large section of the Whig party refused to allow its repeal. At the same time it was impossible to close the offices entirely to the dissenters. In 1727 Walpole induced parliament to pass the Indemnity Act by which dissenters who had held office in defiance of law were granted a full pardon. This strange law was reënacted annually for one hundred years.

Walpole and the dissenters.

"Occasional conformity."

Indemnity acts.

The churchmen hated and feared the dissenters; and the favors that the Whigs showed to their opponents drove the Anglican clergy almost to a man into the Tory party. Many of the priests even became Jacobites. The government consequently found considerable difficulty in filling the higher offices in the church, especially the bishoprics, with suitable men, that is churchmen with Whig principles. The Whigs believed firmly in the spoils system;

Jacobitism among the churchmen.

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[1] Review secs. 352, 359.

and furthermore, a Tory bishop meant another Tory member of the house of lords. Occasionally Walpole was able to find candidates of unquestioned excellence, such as the philosopher George Berkeley; but on the whole the Whig bishops of the eighteenth century were a real grievance to the church: many of them were incapable and lacking in spiritual interest. With the Tory priests, whose spiritual shepherds they were supposed to be, they were frequently on hostile terms. It is not strange that the English church in the eighteenth century suffered a marked decline.

"Political bishops."

416. Scotland. Toward Scotland Walpole pursued a policy of conciliation. The union was extremely unpopular north of the border, especially was there great dissatisfaction with the new forms of taxation, which to the Scotch appeared like the impositions of a foreign government. Scotland had, indeed, forty-five members in the house of commons; but these were all in the pay of the government, or rather of Walpole, and felt compelled to consent to Walpole's financial measures. The government of Great Britain derived most of its revenues from three forms of taxes: customs, excise, and stamped paper. The customs taxes were old and well established and levied chiefly on imported goods. The excise was introduced at the Restoration, and was a tax levied on certain articles manufactured in the country. Then as now alcoholic liquors were a favorite subject of this tax. Stamped paper had to be used for nearly every form of legal document and could be purchased from government officials only. The chief grievance was a tax on malt, which in 1723 was rendered still more odious by a tax of sixpence on every barrel of ale. The new levy produced a terrific outcry in the Lowland cities; in Edinburgh the feeling rose to the point of rioting.[1] The brewers of Edinburgh agreed to brew no more ale, and they kept up the strike for a week; they resumed brewing only when ordered to do so by the courts. The tax remained, but it did

The grievances of the Scotch.

Taxation.

The excise.

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[1] Innes, II, 201–206.

not prove very profitable north of the border, for the Scotch discovered that whisky made an effective substitute for beer and ale, and the producing of malt liquors decreased.

After the Jacobite rising of 1715, the Whigs took up the problem of how to prevent future troubles in the Highlands.[1]

A Highland Cottage

Difficulties in the Highlands.

The many revolts in that restless region had been due, not so much to the Stuart partisanship, as to rivalries and jealousies among the various tribes and clans. In the southwestern Highlands, occupying the isles and peninsulas of Argyle, lived the powerful clan Campbell. Between the Campbells and the neighboring clans to the north and northeast there were feuds and enmities centuries old. The Campbells were uncompromising Presbyterians and Whigs like their Lowland neighbors to the south; consequently, they were firm partisans of the Hanoverian dynasty. The hostility of the other clans naturally drove these into the Jacobite camp. The important thing was to allay this feeling of hostility. Walpole sent a force of Eng-

The Campbells.

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[1] Kendall, No. 112.

Internal improvements.

lish soldiers into the Highlands to build roads, bridges, and forts. The work began in 1725 and continued for eleven years; in all forty bridges were built. The purpose of these roads was to make it possible for the king's armies to move more swiftly through this rugged country in times of rebellion. They served, however, a higher purpose: the roads made it easier for the Highlanders to reach the Lowlands and dispose of their surplus products. Improved facilities for travel helped to develop new interests and brought a wider knowledge of the world. As a result the intensity of clan feeling began to subside, and the Highlands in time became as peaceful as any other part of Britain.

Britain in the New World.

417. Colonial Growth. The treaty of Utrecht had added large areas to the British Empire: Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay country were the regions acquired in the New World. Each of these had its peculiar value: Newfoundland in its fisheries; the Hudson Bay country in its furs; Nova Scotia chiefly as a protection for New England. The truly valuable parts of the British Empire in North America were, however, the twelve colonies along the Atlantic coast. The first half of the eighteenth century was a period of great importance in the history of these colonies. Before 1700 they were still almost exclusively English; after that year two new nationalities came in great numbers: the Germans and the Irish.

German immigration.

The coming of the Germans can be traced to the devastation of the Rhenish Palatinate by the armies of Louis XIV in 1689; thousands of homeless Germans drifted down the Rhine and across to England, whence the greater number were sent on to the colonies. But the movement did not cease with the war. The migration continued, and by 1727 the stream had grown to great strength; it continued for several decades. Many of these Germans settled among the foothills and in the valleys of the Appalachian range, especially in Pennsylvania, though they were also numerous in New York, Maryland, and Virginia.

Scotch-Irish immigration.

Some years after the beginning of the German migration, about 1715, the Scotch-Irish began to leave Ulster for the American colonies. The toleration that the Protestant dissenters enjoyed in England was not extended to Ireland; and the Ulstermen were also annoyed by the restrictions on the Irish trade.[1] During the reign of George II the Scotch-Irish immigration was keeping pace with the German. Like the Germans the Ulstermen settled in the mountain valleys, only farther inland and with a tendency to drift farther southward. In the years 1727–1728 there were failures of crops in Ireland with famine as the result. Thousands of Catholic Irish now joined their Presbyterian neighbors in the New World.[2]

Founding of Georgia. 1733.

The last of the thirteen seaboard colonies was founded during the age of Walpole. An English officer, James Oglethorpe, had become interested in the English debtor class and proposed to settle a colony of them in America. The government received the proposal favorably. Between the Carolinas and Florida there was a wide stretch of unoccupied territory which the English claimed and wished to have settled; farther inland lived the great Cherokee Indian nation, and the English government was interested in efforts to divert the Cherokee trade from Spanish to English merchants. The government of Robert Walpole helped to finance the new colony, which was named Georgia in honor of George II. Early in 1733 the founder appeared in America with his colonists and founded the settlement of Savannah.

The growth in colonial population.

The movement across the ocean to the new lands was especially strong during the third and fourth decades of the century, the period of Walpole's ministry. In less than half a century (1700–1740), the population of the colonies increased from 250,000 to 1,000,000. It is to be remembered that a large part of this population was not enthusiastic for English law or the Hanoverian kings. It is also to be noted that the movement forced the frontier farther west and southwest toward the settlements of France and

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[1] Innes, II, 190–194.

[2] Review sec. 403.

Spain. It seemed to many Englishmen that the colonists ought to be taxed as were all the other subjects of the king. Walpole, however, thought differently; his experience with the Scotch had probably taught him that taxation by distant authority was difficult to enforce.

418. Opposition to Walpole.[1] **Bolingbroke.** Walpole had not been long in control before a group began to form in parliament in opposition to his régime. This opposition was wholly factious; it stood for no principle of government: opposition to the prime minister was the only bond that united the members of the group, and they opposed almost every measure that he proposed, whether good or bad. Walpole had no desire for strong men in his cabinet; if an able and independent man by accident got into a ministerial office, he was sure to be dismissed before many years. The parliamentary opposition was made up to some extent of Tories, but chiefly of Whig politicians whom Walpole had forced out of office, and of young ambitious members, who yearned for official appointments, but felt that the door of opportunity was closed as long as the prime minister was in charge. The leader of the opposing Whigs was William Pulteney, a brilliant orator whom Walpole had compelled to leave the ministry. But the intellectual chief of these "Patriots," as they called themselves, was Lord Bolingbroke.

Pulteney and Bolingbroke.

After the accession of the Hanoverians, Bolingbroke found it unsafe to remain in England, and early in 1715 he fled to the Continent and joined the Pretender, whom he served for a few months as secretary of state.[2] Realizing that the cause of the Stuarts was not likely to succeed, he lost interest in his new sovereign and made plans to return to England. Soon after his flight he had been attainted by parliament; but in 1723, two years after the beginning of Walpole's rule, he was pardoned, though not restored to his seat in the house of lords. Two years later he joined with Pulteney in the publication of *The Craftsman*, a comic newspaper, the purpose of which was to fight Walpole and hold him up to ridicule.

"The Craftsman."

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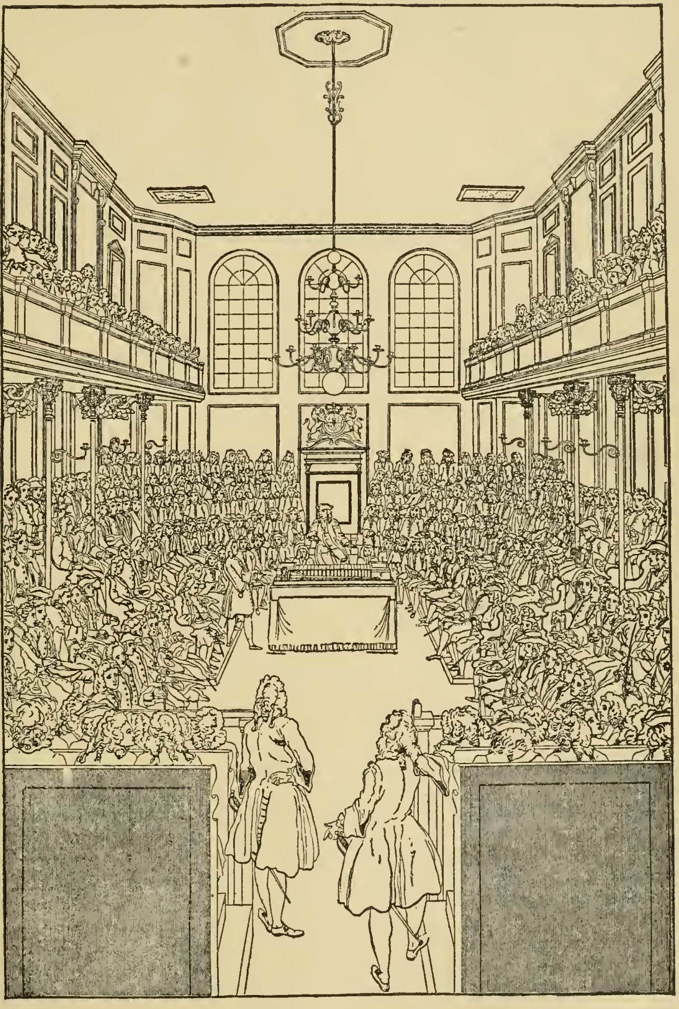
[1] Gardiner, 720–722, 728–729.

[2] Review sec. 405.



THE HOUSE OF COMMONS IN 1742

Robert Walpole is addressing the house. From a contemporary drawing by Gravelot.

419. Walpole and George II. Two years later George I died (1727). Since any one who enjoyed the confidence of the father would necessarily incur the hostility of the son, it was believed that Walpole's power had come to a close. Steps had actually been taken to displace him; but George II soon found that Walpole was indispensable and restored him almost immediately to his office. At court the most influential person was Queen Caroline, a woman of great tact and excellent sense in practical affairs. Little King George, who expressed the greatest contempt for any man who was ruled by his wife, was completely under the queen's control. Queen Caroline was a firm friend and supporter of Walpole. After her death (1737) his position at once became less stable. Two years earlier, the opposition to the prime minister had received a notable addition in William Pitt, a young man of twenty-six, who sat as the representative of Old Sarum, a borough that was no longer inhabited. Pitt with five or six others of about the same age formed a group that Walpole called the "Boys;" all these joined Pulteney and his "Patriots."

Queen Caroline.

William Pitt joins the opposition. 1735.

420. The Fall of Walpole. The Spanish War. In the year of the queen's death, London merchants complained to parliament that the coast guards of Spain were unduly officious in their search for smugglers in the waters of the West Indies. According to the treaty of Utrecht England could send a single ship to Panama every year; but the Spanish colonists were eager for English goods, and the British merchants paid little attention to the treaty. Walpole realized that English smugglers had no rights in foreign waters and hoped to satisfy Spain; but the British nation was tired of monotonous peace and called for revenge. There was at the time an English sea captain by the name of Jenkins who asserted that some years earlier, when returning from the English colony of Jamaica, he had been caught by a Spanish coast guard and had suffered the loss of an ear. This ear he carried about wrapped in cotton. Whether

Trouble with Spanish coast guards.

Captain Jenkins' ear.

Captain Jenkins ever lost his ear or not is uncertain; but when he told his story in the house of commons, English passions were roused and Walpole was compelled to declare war against Spain.

The War of the Austrian succession.

The War of Jenkins' Ear began in 1739; it soon became confused with a greater conflict, the War of the Austrian Succession, and is almost lost sight of as a separate war. England had a few successes but none of decided importance. When peace was finally made, England failed to get what she went to war for. The enemies of Walpole, who had forced him to undertake a war that he did not believe in, now blamed him for the failure to crush Spain in a few naval expeditions. In 1742 Walpole finally resigned and the leadership of the cabinet passed into the hands of the learned Lord Carteret, who had been able to speak German with George I.

Fall of Walpole. 1742.

421. The Age of Walpole. While Walpole ruled in England, the nation fought no great war: no new territories were added to the Empire; the British parliament passed no great statutes; and nothing was accomplished along the line of social improvement. The period is none the less of great importance; it was an age of constant growth in many fields of life. The American colonies increased immensely in population and one new colony was founded. The idea that the union was desirable penetrated the Highlands. Wealth was accumulating in the English towns. Perhaps the most important development was the formation of the modern cabinet. The power of the sovereign passed to the prime minister and his colleagues in the cabinet; but Walpole realized that no cabinet could exist without the support of the commons and he resigned when he had lost that support. The power was, therefore, virtually transferred to the house of commons. This transfer of power to the representatives of the nation was Robert Walpole's great achievement.

Progress in the age of Walpole.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE AGE OF PITT

422. The New Age. About 1740 a new age began in the history of England and of Europe. The men of peace were passing from power: Robert Walpole fell in 1742; Cardinal Fleury the following year. The devotees of warfare were coming into control of important governments: Frederick the Great became king of Prussia in 1740; Maria Theresa inherited the Austrian lands the same year; while by nature the great Hapsburg queen did not love war as Frederick did, circumstances made her a constant disturber of European peace. In England William Pitt was rising to influence. Pitt never went out with an army; but in the management of a great war he has, perhaps, had no superior. In 1740 a great series of wars began which with intermissions of unstable peace continued till 1815.

Passing of the men of peace.

Frederick II and Maria Theresa.

423. The Austrian Succession. The problem in 1740 was whether a woman could inherit the possessions of the Hapsburg dynasty. These possessions were a group of states, kingdoms, and duchies, of each of which the Austrian monarch was the direct ruler. He was also emperor. Maria Theresa was the heiress of Charles VI. It was clear that she could not hold the German imperial title (she desired that for her husband); but the rulers of Europe had agreed to support her claim to all the various states controlled by the Austrian dynasty.

The Austrian inheritance.

This arrangement was upset by Frederick of Prussia who seized Silesia, one of the Hapsburg possessions to which the Prussian kings had an old but somewhat doubtful claim. Soon France joined Prussia in the war against her old Austrian enemy. George II was a parti-

Frederick's seizure of Silesia.

san of the Austrian queen; and after France attacked her, George had the English nation with him: it was Maria Theresa's father whom William III and Marlborough had planned to place on the Spanish throne forty years before. Another factor in the situation was Spain, with which England at the time was fighting the tedious and uninteresting war of Jenkins' Ear. Since the peace of Utrecht the rulers of Spain and France were both of the Bourbon family. In 1733 the two kings entered into what was called the Bourbon family compact, a secret treaty of alliance which in some degree bound the two nations to united action in case of a European war. The compact was renewed after ten years, and again in 1759. The great powers of western Europe were thus grouped into two hostile camps: Spain, France, and Prussia against England, Austria, and the Netherlands.

The Bourbon family compact.

424. England and the War of the Austrian Succession. George II had at last an opportunity to distinguish himself in warfare. Some personal bravery "dapper King George" actually possessed; but of generalship he was absolutely innocent. England did not enter the war at its beginning: but Hanover was fighting on the side of Maria Theresa, and George hastened to the electorate. At Dettingen he was present in a battle against the French, and his soldiers won the day. The war continued to 1748 when it was ended by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle. English armies fought chiefly in the Netherlands but had little success; on the sea, however, England was still winning victories. Admiral Anson repeated the great exploit of Francis Drake in the days of Elizabeth:[1] with a small fleet of seven badly equipped and poorly manned vessels he rounded Cape Horn, took some valuable Spanish prizes in the Pacific Ocean and returned to England by way of the Cape of Good Hope in 1744, after an absence of nearly four years. Admiral Vernon had some slight successes nearer home: in his fleet served Lawrence Washington, the older

George II in Hanover.

Admiral Anson circumnavigates the globe.

1744.

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[1] Review sec. 265.

brother of George Washington, and in honor of his commander he named his residence Mt. Vernon.

When the war closed Maria Theresa was allowed to keep most of her possessions; but the loss of Silesia to "that wicked man" Frederick and of certain Italian districts to Spain gave Austria a pretext for another war which came eight years later. England received nothing for her outlay and her troubles.

425. The Rising of '45.[1] Soon after England had officially entered the war, the exiled Stuarts began to plan for a rising in their favor. "King" James III, whose capital was now in Rome, had little faith in the venture and did not sanction the activities of his son Charles Edward, the "Young Pretender." With a few followers Prince Charles landed in the western Highlands and called upon the clans to rally about the old standard. The chiefs responded with some reluctance; but a considerable force was collected nevertheless.[2] Prince Charles proclaimed his father king and marched upon the old capital. Edinburgh had gained much in an economic sense by the union with England; but this did not compensate for the loss of prestige that it had once enjoyed as a national capital; and the old city rejoiced in the presence of the prince. The government sent a small army against the Pretender which he met and crushed at Prestonpans not far from Edinburgh. With a considerable force the prince now proceeded to invade England and came as far as Derby in the center of the kingdom. But here he found large forces to meet him and a retreat became necessary. This continued into the northern part of Scotland and closed with the defeat of Culloden Moor (1746).[3] The Pretender, after wandering about in the Highlands for some time, finally escaped to the Continent. No later effort was made to revive the Stuart cause;

The "Young Pretender" in Scotland.

Prestonpans.

The defeat at Culloden Moor. 1746.

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[1] Review sec. 408.

[2] Bates and Coman, 358–360 (Lady Nairn); Innes, II, 208–210.

[3] Bates and Coman, 360–361 (Burns, *Culloden*).

the son of James III, Cardinal York, or Henry IX, as he claimed to be, was glad in the last years of his life to accept a pension from George III.

The last of the Stuarts.

426. The Rule of the Pelhams. After the fall of Walpole, Lord Carteret conducted the government for two years; but he was forced to retire and the English administration fell into the control of the Pelhams. Henry Pelham became prime minister in 1744 and served as such till his death ten years later. He was a minister of the Walpole type;[1] like his great predecessor he was an advocate of peace and struggled hard against renewal of warfare after the treaty of 1748. Like Walpole, too, he understood and practiced the art of corrupting members of parliament. In this work he had able assistance from his more famous brother Thomas, duke of Newcastle. Newcastle had served in Walpole's cabinet and was prominent in the English ministry for more than forty years. He was an able and crafty politician, but as a statesman he was a failure. He is said to have been suprised to learn that New England was not an island. Newcastle was always running about, but he accomplished very little. His wealth was large, and he spent it freely to maintain his position in the government and to secure favorable action on the measures of the cabinet in parliament.

Pelham as prime minister.

The Duke of Newcastle.

427. The "Diplomatic Revolution." Scarcely had the War of the Austrian Succession closed before the rulers of Europe began to prepare for a new war. The eight years that followed the treaty of Aix la Chapelle witnessed a "diplomatic revolution:" the two rival dynasties, the Hapsburg and the Bourbon, those of Austria and France, which had fought each other for generations, now unexpectedly formed an alliance. This was the work of Maria Theresa, who was anxious to detach France and Spain from her enemy, Frederick II of Prussia, and in this way to form a new combination of European powers. France, on her side, real-

The French-Austrian alliance.

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[1] Innes, II, 215–219

ized that the time was near when she would have to try conclusions with England in the colonial field. In North America, in the West Indies, and in India the possessions of England and France lay almost side by side. The Austrian proposals were accepted and the alliance was sealed by the marriage of the Dauphin Louis to Maria Theresa's daughter, Marie Antoinette.

Europeans in India.

428. **War in India.** In India the early power of Portugal had been destroyed; but neither the Dutch, the English, nor the French, who competed for commercial supremacy in the Orient, had been able to make much headway. In 1720, however, there came to India a man whose mind was constantly developing large plans and who possessed unusual abilities as a leader and organizer, the Frenchman Joseph Dupleix. Dupleix was sent out as an official of the French East India Company and in time rose to become governor-general of the company's possessions in India. He was in the East for thirty-four years and with the feeble resources that a niggardly administration in Paris placed at his disposal he brought the power of France in India to a point where it completely overshadowed that of the English rivals.

Dupleix.

The English East India Company.

The English East India Company was operating chiefly at three points: Bombay high up on the western coast of Hindustan; Madras on the southeastern coast in a region called the Carnatic; and at the mouth of the Ganges in the Bengal country. The region of greatest activity was the Coromandel coast about Madras. Pondicherri, the capital of the French empire in India, is only about ninety miles distant from Madras. But the influence of Pondicherri extended farther inland than that of Madras, for the French understood the art of conciliating and interesting the natives as the English did not.

French successes in India.

During the War of the Austrian Succession the French seized Madras (1746) and English power in southern India seemed doomed; but in the treaty of Aix la Chapelle Madras was restored to the English in return for Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, which had been taken by the New England colonists in 1745. The treaty was followed by some years of peace in Europe but none in India. Dupleix employed these years in strengthening his alliance with the native princes; and in 1751 it looked as if European influence in the Orient was to center at Pondicherri.

Clive.

But in that year a man came into prominence in southern India who in many respects was greater than Dupleix. Robert Clive had this advantage over his rival: he was a great soldier, which Dupleix was not. Dupleix's father had sent him to sea to cure him of his lazy and dreamy habits: Clive was sent to India because in his youthful waywardness he made life a misery for his neighbors in England. He held an important clerkship at Madras but soon found his way into the East India Company's army. In 1751 the English took the offensive: Clive seized the important city of Arcot which lies between Madras and Pondicherri and held it against a large native army assisted by the French. From that day French prestige in the East began to wane. Three years later Dupleix was recalled: the French company was anxious for peace so that trade might revive, while Dupleix was using the company's energies in the extension of French influence. After his departure Clive was easily the most important European in the Orient.

Clive seizes Arcot. 1751.

429. The "French and Indian War" in America. In America as in India the rival nations were preparing for new troubles. The Alleghany valleys were filling up;[1] pioneer settlers always feel the need of much room; and the tide of settlement would soon be forced across the mountains to the valleys and prairies beyond. The strong Iroquois confederation in central New York stopped the westward movement at that point and the seat of the earliest trouble was therefore to the south, where the headwaters of the Potomac and Monongahela Rivers interlace. Both the English and the French claimed the upper Ohio valley. The French, however, were the first to take military possession of the region;

The American problem.

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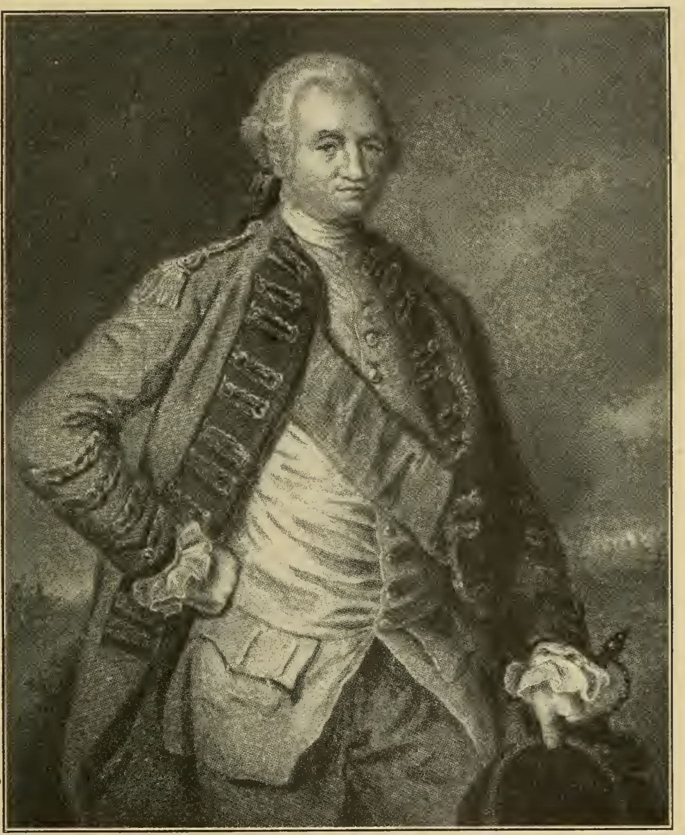
[1] Review sec. 417.

in 1753 they built a chain of forts from Lake Erie to the forks of the Ohio, the present site of Pittsburg. Washington's famous journey to the French commander of these forts was in the autumn of that year. He was sent out by the governor of Virginia to demand that the French withdraw, a demand that was naturally refused. The next year war broke out between Virginia and Canada.



ROBERT, LORD CLIVE
After a painting by N. Dance.

Washington's journey to the Ohio.

The Americans were defeated. In 1755 Newcastle, who was now at the head of the English administration, sent out General Braddock with two regiments to drive out the French and incidentally to teach the American frontiersmen how to fight. Braddock was ambushed and his army destroyed.

Braddock's defeat.

Several other expeditions were planned for the same summer, but all failed except one against the French forts on the border of Nova Scotia. This colony had been an English possession since the treaty of Utrecht: but its inhabitants were principally French, and England feared that the colony might be lost again. To secure the possession brutal measures were taken. A few weeks after Braddock's defeat the French inhabitants were gathered together, placed on board English ships and scattered through the Atlantic settlements and Louisiana. The deportation of the Acadians is the subject of Longfellow's celebrated poem *Evangeline*. English settlers took the places of the exiled French, and Nova Scotia became a thoroughly English colony.

Acadia.

430. England and the Seven Years' War. A year after the English disaster in western Pennsylvania, Frederick II broke the peace in Germany and was soon engaged in a desperate conflict with the Austrian queen and her French ally. England became involved in this war on the side of the Prussian king. She was now engaged in three separate wars against France: in India the English and French East India Companies had been fighting for supremacy since 1751; in America the English colonists were striving to conquer Canada and secure the West; in Europe the rulers of Prussia and Austria were fighting over German territory. These wars called into prominence three great builders of empire: Robert Clive, George Washington, and William Pitt.

Three wars with France.

In Europe as in America the war began with disaster for the English. In 1756 the French seized the island of Minorca, which England had held since the treaty of Utrecht. The English power in the Mediterranean

Disasters in Europe.

was thus destroyed. The nation was aroused. It was a time when England needed real statesmanship in the government; but the administration was in the hands of the impossible Newcastle, whose mouthpiece and chief reliance in the house of commons was a brilliant but corrupt politician, Henry Fox. But after the loss of Minorca the protest of the English people grew so loud and threatening that Newcastle was terrified. Fox deserted him, and the ministry resigned.

431. William Pitt.[1] England called for William Pitt, and George II found it necessary to heed the call. William Pitt was the greatest parliamentary orator of the age. He was known to be absolutely honest and incorruptible and was almost the only public man of real prominence who had such a reputation. The king, however, had long refused to admit Pitt to the cabinet. As one of the leaders of the opposition in parliament, Pitt had occasionally fought measures that were dear to the king's heart; and there had been times when George II felt (and perhaps with reason) that the keen sarcasm of the mighty orator was intended for himself and not for his ministers. Pitt's great administrative abilities were known to himself only: "I know that I can save this nation and that nobody else can" is a remark credited to Pitt in 1756. But the king could not feel friendly toward Pitt, and dismissed him.

Character of William Pitt.

It was not long, however, before George II was compelled to recall Pitt to the cabinet. An alliance was formed between Pitt and Newcastle and the two entered the government together. To this combination William Pitt contributed his splendid abilities; Newcastle, his control of the Whigs in parliament. Pitt's mind produced plans and measures; Newcastle secured their adoption by parliament. The two men hated and despised each other, but neither could do without the other. Newcastle was to be the nominal chief; Pitt, one of the secretaries of state. As such he had control of foreign affairs to a large extent and was given a free hand in the management of the war.

Pitt and Newcastle in the government.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 368–369; Tuell and Hatch, No. 62.

432. Pitt's Measures and Appointments. The English government now began to show unusual energy. Pitt was domineering and hard to please; he could not work well with other men and he was much afflicted with gout; but he was confident and vigorous and knew how to inspire the nation with his own assurance that victory would come. He planned campaigns and sought out the best possible men to carry them through. It had been Whig custom to give offices as rewards to favorites and followers; this custom ceased when Pitt came into power: his appointments were made on the basis of merit. He held a large view of the field of war; while King George looked on the warfare chiefly as an effort to defend and secure his beloved Hanover, Pitt regarded the struggle as one for supremacy in North America, the Orient, and on the Ocean. He sent soldiers and money into Germany that France might be kept busy in those quarters; and Frederick the Great kept the French forces exceedingly busy, while Clive, Amherst, Wolfe, Hawke, Rodney, and Boscawen seized the French colonies and destroyed the French fleet.

Pitt's plans and measures.

Military and naval leaders.

After a few months the results of Pitt's labors began to appear. The years 1758 and 1759 are the most glorious in the history of English warfare. The series of English victories had really begun the year before (June 23, 1757), when Clive gained the fateful battle of Plassey just a week before Pitt took charge of the war; but the news of this did not reach England for many months. Pitt's victories were gained chiefly in America and on the ocean.

Victories of 1758 and 1759.

433. "The Year of Victories." Pitt's plans were especially busied with Canada. He planned four campaigns: one against Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, a French stronghold which was a constant menace to the colonies of Nova Scotia and New England; another against the French forts on Lake Champlain that closed the route northward from New York to Montreal along the valley of the Hudson River and Lake Champlain; a third in the direction of Fort Duquesne to secure

The war in America.

control of the upper Ohio valley; finally an attack on Quebec. By adopting a conciliatory attitude toward the colonial authorities, he secured their coöperation in all these movements.

Victories in America.

Battle of Lagos.

Quebec and Canada.

Louisbourg fell in July before a combined land and naval attack directed by General Amherst and Admiral Boscawen. The following month Fort Frontenac was seized and the English gained control of Lake Ontario. In November George Washington raised the British flag over the ruins of Fort Duquesne and the gate of the West swung open; the place was named Pittsburg in honor of the great minister. New victories came with the following spring. Guadeloupe, an important island in the West Indies, was seized in May. Two months later, Fort Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point fell into English hands and the way was open to Montreal and Quebec. In August Admiral Boscawen encountered the French Mediterranean fleet which was on its way northward to join the Atlantic fleet at Brest in an attack on England. The battle was fought at Lagos near the southern extremity of Portugal: the French fleet was almost ruined. In September, James Wolfe, who had spent the summer in trying to reduce the fortress of Quebec, succeeded in forcing his able opponent, the Marquis Montcalm, to come out and fight him on the Plains of Abraham. Both generals fell, but the English were victorious. The next year General Amherst completed the conquest of Canada (1760).[1]

Quiberon Bay.

The "year of victories" closed with Admiral Hawke's defeat of the French fleet at Quiberon Bay. The French maintained two great naval stations, one at Toulon on the Mediterranean and one at Brest on the Atlantic. The Toulon fleet was ruined at Lagos Bay; the Brest fleet was blockaded by an English fleet under Admiral Hawke, the greatest naval commander of the time. The autumn was stormy and Hawke had been compelled to return to England. The French admiral left the harbor but unexpectedly encountered

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[1] Cheyney, No. 363; Gardiner, 753–756; Kendall, No. 118.

Hawke's fleet which had just returned. In the battle that followed the French ships were scattered or destroyed. France still had powerful forces that she could use against Frederick of Prussia; but against the island kingdom she was helpless.

434. Victories in India.[1] The successes in America had their parallel in India. Clive followed up the victory at Arcot with further expeditions until English influence was dominant in southern India. His success became even more wonderful when it is recalled that his forces were composed largely of native Sepoys and a small number of Englishmen recruited chiefly from the lowest classes in London. Nominally India was an empire ruled by a Mohammedan dynasty of Turanian origin. The emperor, usually known as the Great Mogul, resided at Delhi. The various regions or provinces were governed by viceroys (subahdars) and governors (nawabs or nabobs) appointed by the emperor, or by native Hindu kings (rajahs). With the opening of the eighteenth century the Mogul empire began to decay,[2] and the various kings, viceroys, and governors ruled their separate states almost as sovereigns. It was this chaotic state of affairs that made it possible for the English and French to combine conquest with trade and commerce.

Decline of the Mogul Empire.

From the Carnatic Clive turned his attention to Bengal. The Englishmen had a trading post at Calcutta, and the French were at Chandernagore not far distant. Both paid tribute to the nabob of the region for the privilege of trade. The new viceroy was Surajah Dowlah who came into power in 1756. Surajah Dowlah hated the English and planned to oust the East India Company. Pretexts for an attack were soon formed. He seized the company's post and while graciously promising the prisoners their lives, had them confined, 146 in number, in a single room less than twenty feet square, since known as the Black Hole of Calcutta. When the door was opened the following morning, only twenty-three were still alive.[3]

Clive in Bengal.

The Black Hole.

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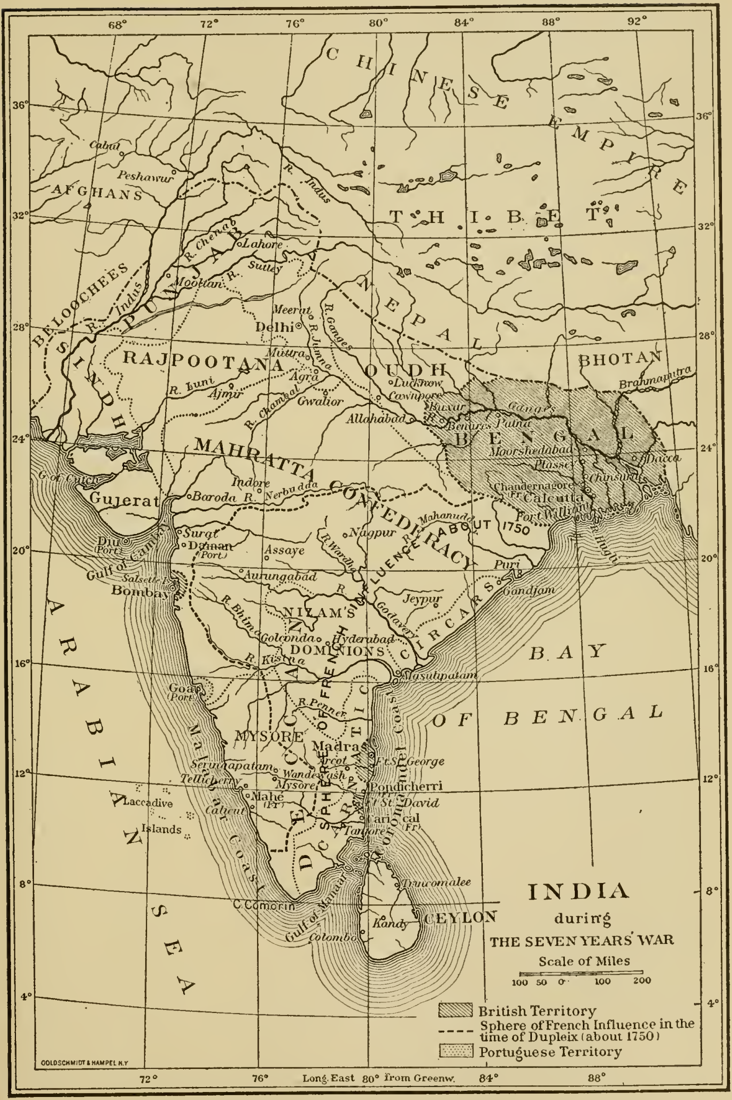
[1] Gardiner, 758–764.

[2] Robinson, No. 166.

[3] Cheyney, No. 357.



INDIA
during
THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

Scale of Miles
100 50 0 100 200
▨ British Territory
- - - - Sphere of French Influence in the time of Dupleix (about 1750)
▤ Portuguese Territory
CHINESE EMPIRE
THIBET
AFGHANS
Cabul
Peshawur
BELOOCHEES
SINDH
PUNJAB
R. Indus
R. Chenab
Lahore
Sutlej
Mooltan
NEPAL
BHOTAN
Brahmaputra
Meerut
Delhi
R. Ganges
R. Jumna
Muttra
Agra
RAJPOOTANA
R. Luni
Ajmir
R. Chambal
Gwalior
OUDH
Lucknow
Cawnpore
Buxar
Allahabad
Benares
Patna
Ganges
BENGAL
Moorshedabad
Plassey
Dacca
Chinsurah
Chandernagore (Fr.)
Calcutta
Fort William
R. Hugli
MAHRATTA CONFEDERACY
Indore
Nerbudda R.
Baroda
Gujerat
G. of Cutch
Diu (Port.)
Gulf of Cambay
Surat
Daman (Port.)
Salsette I.
Bombay
Assaye
Nagpur
R. Wardha
Mahanuddi R.
FRENCH INFLUENCE ABOUT 1750
Puri
Gandjam
Aurungabad
R. Bhima
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
Golconda
Hyderabad
R. Godavery
R. Kistna
CIRCARS
Jeypur
Masulipatam
BAY OF BENGAL
Goa (Port.)
R. Penner
MYSORE
Madras
Ft. St. George
Arcot
Wandewash
Seringapatam
Mysore
Tellicherry
Mahé (Fr.)
Calicut
Pondicherri
Ft. St. David
Caricál (Fr.)
Tanjore
CARNATIC
DECCAN
SPHERE OF FRENCH
Coromandel Coast
Malabar Coast
Laccadive Islands
ARABIAN SEA
C. Comorin
Gulf of Manaar
Trincomalee
Kandy
CEYLON
Colombo
68° 72° 76° 80° 84° 88° 92°
36° 32° 28° 24° 20° 16° 12° 8° 4°
Long. East 80° from Greenw.
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

When the news came to Madras, Clive at once determined to lead an expedition against the cruel viceroy. With 900 British soldiers and 1500 Sepoys he landed in Bengal just before the close of the year, reëstablished the factory of the company, and a little later drove the French out of Chandernagore. In June, almost a year after the tragedy of the Black Hole, Clive's little army met a native host of more than 50,000 at Plassey and put the Bengalese to flight.[1] A native prince who was willing to serve as the company's tool was made nabob of Bengal. The influence of the East India Company spread rapidly up the great valley of the Ganges, and Calcutta became the center of British power in India.

The battle of Plassey. 1757.

The French made an effort to recover the Carnatic but without success. In 1760 they were completely defeated at Wandewash. A few months later Pondicherri surrendered. French power in India was a thing of the past. In 1761 the East India Company had no serious rival in the great Hindu peninsula. When peace was made, England restored Pondicherri, Chandernagore, and various other points, and these have since belonged to France. But the French possessions in India are mere trading posts; in area they comprise less than 200 square miles.

Wandewash. 1760.

435. War with Spain. Meanwhile a new war had broken out. In 1759 Charles III ascended the throne of Spain: he was more energetic and aggressive than his predecessor and promptly renewed the Bourbon compact with France. William Pitt realized that war with Spain was coming and was eager to strike the first blow. But in England, too, there was a new king: George II died in 1760, and his successor, George III, was anxious to secure a general peace. For a year Pitt labored vainly with the king urging him to secure the advantages of an early declaration of war; but George refused. In 1761 Pitt suddenly resigned;[2] his office was given to Lord Bute, a Scotchman who had long been a

Resignation of Pitt.

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[1] Robinson, No. 166; Kendall, No. 177.

[2] Cheyney, No. 367; Innes, 231–233.

close friend of George III. Three months later (January, 1762) the war broke out. In this war which continued to the close of the year, the English were uniformly successful. Two expeditions were at once sent out: one against Havana and the other against Manila in the Philippine Islands. Havana fell during the summer; Manila was taken in the autumn. When peace was made, Havana was exchanged for Florida, while Manila was restored to Spain.

Havana and Manila.

436. The Peace of Paris. 1763. In the treaty of Paris, February, 1763, England received great additions to her empire. Her supremacy in India was secured, and her boundaries in America were advanced to the Mississippi River. The island of Minorca was restored to her, and thus England continued to be a power in the Mediterranean. England also received several small islands in the West Indies and a foothold in West Africa (Senegal). France withdrew entirely from the mainland of North America: Canada and nearly all of the territory east of the Mississippi River were added to England; Louisiana was transferred to Spain; France was allowed to keep the Miquelon Islands near the south coast of Newfoundland, and these are still a French possession. But great as the territorial acquisitions of England were, there were Englishmen who felt that too many of Pitt's conquests were being restored. William Pitt fought the treaty in the house of commons; and not until Newcastle, through his old accomplice Henry Fox, had made extensive purchases of parliamentary votes, was the treaty sure of ratification.

Territorial additions.

Unpopularity of the treaty of Paris.

437. Summary. After nearly thirty years of peace in the "age of Walpole" came a period of more than twenty years of almost continual warfare. During these years England fought six separate wars. 1. The first war with Spain was a failure: in the treaty nothing was said about the English grievances against the Spanish coast guards. 2. The War of the Austrian Succession was a draw: it brought no advantage either to England or to her old enemy France. 3. The

A period of six wars.

war in India between the French and the English East India Companies resulted in victory for the English flag: the king of England is to-day the emperor of India. 4. The French and Indian War in America was won by the colonials: England took possession of Canada and the West to the Missi sippi River. 5. The Seven Years' War brought no advantages to England, except such as came from the destruction of the rival French fleet. 6. The second war with Spain added Florida to the British Empire. Many great men contributed to the English successes: Clive, Washington, Wolfe, Hawke, and others; but more than to any one else the honors must be given to William Pitt, the "Great Commoner" who organized victory in the British foreign office.

Achievements of William Pitt.

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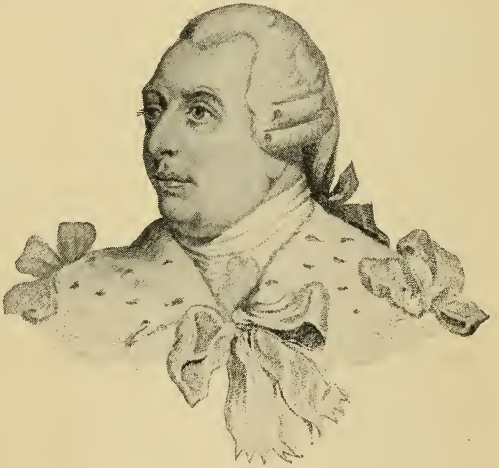
The English and the French in India. — Beard, 443–451 (Lyall); Gardiner, 758–762; Innes, 602–608, 629–635; Oman, 529–531; Ransome, 797–800; Tout, 561–564; Woodward, 196–203.

CHAPTER XXII

THE REVOLT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

438. George III. George III was the grandson of George II. At the time of his accession he was twenty-two years old and for nearly sixty years he bore the crown of England. Prince George was a most excellent and proper youth and was in this respect such a contrast to his royal ancestors that he promised to be a popular king. There was also the fact that he was born in England and took pride in his British nationality. The year after his accession he married a German princess, Charlotte, who had all the domestic virtues that her royal husband appreciated so highly but very few of the qualities needed in a queen. George III was a man of the best intentions: he strove manfully to be a model king; but the task was too much for him. Like his Hanoverian ancestors he was firm and resolute when he chose to be; but his resolution was not always founded on good sense. His intellect was not strong, his thoughts were often vague, his speech was rambling and stut-

Personal characteristics of George III.



George III

After a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

tering. Several times the strain of administration proved too great for his mind and attacks of insanity came upon him; during the last dozen years of his life he was hopelessly insane.

439. A "Patriot King."[1] His father Frederick, the Prince of Wales, had died nine years before, and George had received most of his education from his mother, who came from a little absolute monarchy in Germany. Her training of the young prince centered about the repeated admonition, "George, be a king." George took the advice to heart and resolved to be a real king, such a king as William III had been. Between his father and his grandfather there had been constant hostility. The opposition to Walpole had centered about the Prince of Wales: at his residence the followers of Bolingbroke and Pulteney had frequently gathered to plan measures and determine on action.[2] Bolingbroke's ideas were the accepted political philosophy of this group, and George III tried to realize it in his own government. The "patriot king" should be above party, he should be free to select his ministers, and they should be responsible to him. This was the idea of Bolingbroke and George III; the king should govern according to the constitution, but monarchy should have greater initiative and discretion. It was not the purpose of King George to establish an absolute régime like that of France or to imitate the personal monarchy of the Stuarts: he wished to regain the power that had passed from the king to the cabinet and especially to the prime minister.

His political training.

A follower of Bolingbroke.

Opposition to the cabinet system.

George III realized perfectly that no experiment with strong government according to Bolingbroke's ideas could be made while the nation was at war. Until peace was made he had to be satisfied to leave the actual power in the hands of William Pitt; the king therefore was anxious for peace. An early peace, however, was not a part of Pitt's plan. England was roused; her enemies were beaten; her navy was in an excellent condition; and William Pitt held

George III and William Pitt.

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[1] Masterman, 168–169; Innes, II, 239–244.

[2] Review sec. 418.

that peace should not be made until all the enemies of Britain were thoroughly defeated. King George was anxious to retain Pitt in his cabinet; Pitt had been a "Patriot" Whig and had expressed his belief in Bolingbroke's political theory; perhaps he could be useful in carrying out the new plans. But the great statesman opposed the plan to end the war and found it convenient to resign.

440. The Political Situation in 1763.[1] The year 1763 saw the king free to begin his experiment with a stronger kingship. In many respects the times were favorable for such a move. The king was popular. The cabinet was friendly. The party which had robbed the monarchy of its ancient rights and powers was split up into factions. One of these, a group led by the duke of Bedford, was always for sale as a group. Another faction was led by the marquis of Rockingham who, though a highly respected peer, lacked the qualities of statesmanship. A small number of members rallied around William Pitt who was temperamentally unable to work with strong minds and consequently could not build up a strong following. A fourth faction looked for leadership to Grenville, Pitt's brother-in-law, a narrow politician with good intentions but a sluggish and prosy mind.

Factional differences in the Whig party.

George III did not enter upon any opposition to the Whigs, nor did he try to reorganize the remnants of the old Tory party; he proceeded to build up a following of his own, the "King's Friends." The chief members of this party were Whigs; but circumstances forced them in the direction of Toryism, for it was impossible to accept the ideas of George III without taking Tory ground. In securing the support of these men, the most dubious methods were used; bribery in all its forms was resorted to: titles, honors, and decorations were awarded; offices were given when it was found necessary; and when these considerations were ineffective, the appeal was made in cold cash. In his political methods, George III, whose honor in private life

The "King's Friends."

Political methods of the king.

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[1] Gardiner, 767–768; Masterman, 169–170.

was unimpeachable, was a devoted follower of Walpole and Newcastle.

441. George Grenville: the Imperial Problem. After the treaty of Paris the ministry was reorganized with George Grenville as prime minister. Grenville had no abilities as a statesman, and for the task before him he was entirely incapable. This was nothing less than to form a new constitution for the British Empire. The British possessions were as diverse as they were extensive. Some of the colonies, like Virginia and Barbados, were a century and a half old; other settlements, like Nova Scotia, were comparatively new. New England was English; Canada was French; the West Indies were tropical; the colonies along the Atlantic coast were temperate in climate. The territories of the two great trading corporations, the Hudson Bay Company, which operated in regions bordering on the Arctic, and the East India Company which dealt in tropical products, were also under the English flag. The problem was how to find a form of organization or to create some organ of authority that would bring all these possessions into proper relations with the home government, one that would be efficient and satisfactory, and that would not prove too expensive. So far as history can determine, there was no statesman or politician in England in the earlier years of George III's reign who had the wisdom and the energy necessary to solve the problem.

George Grenville.

Problem of imperial organization and defense.

442. Grenville's American Policy. The Stamp Act.[1] Grenville's policy grew out of a conviction that the old duel with France would be resumed, that sooner or later the French king would attempt to regain his lost possessions. It was therefore necessary to strengthen the military forces in America, where France had lost the most, and if possible to win the old allies of the French, the Indians, to the English side. A line called the Proclamation Line was accordingly run along the Allegheny watershed and settlement

The Proclamation Line.

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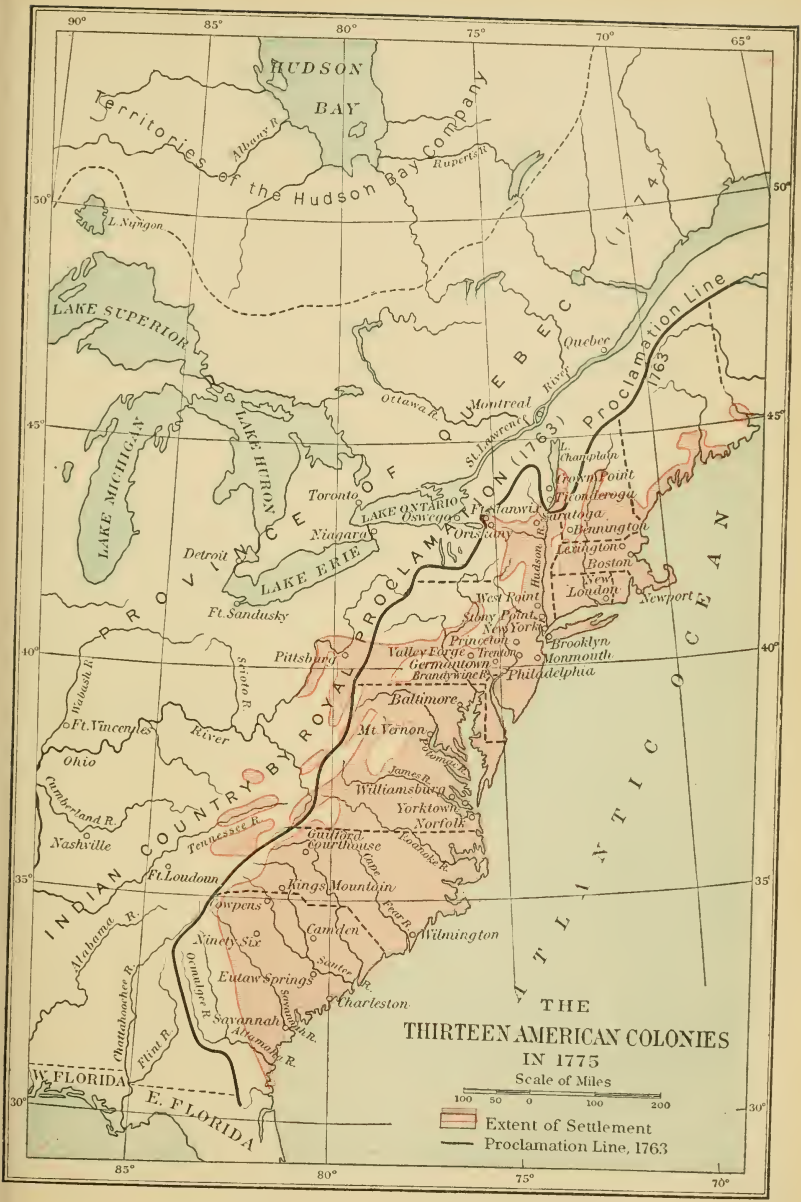
[1] Gardiner, 770–773.



THE

THIRTEEN AMERICAN COLONIES

IN 1775

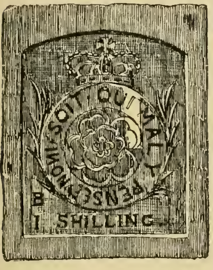
Scale of Miles
100 50 0 100 200
Extent of Settlement
Proclamation Line, 1763
90°
85°
80°
75°
70°
65°
50°
45°
40°
35°
30°
HUDSON BAY
Territories of the Hudson Bay Company
Albany R.
Rupert's R.
L. Nipigon
LAKE SUPERIOR
LAKE MICHIGAN
LAKE HURON
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC (1774)
Quebec
Montreal
Ottawa R.
St. Lawrence River
Proclamation Line 1763
PROCLAMATION (1763)
ROYAL PROCLAMATION
L. Champlain
Crown Point
Ticonderoga
Saratoga
Bennington
Ft. Stanwix
Oswego
Oriskany
Toronto
Niagara
Detroit
Ft. Sandusky
Lexington
Boston
New London
Newport
Hudson R.
West Point
Stony Point
New York
Brooklyn
Monmouth
Princeton
Trenton
Valley Forge
Germantown
Brandywine R.
Philadelphia
Pittsburg
Baltimore
Mt. Vernon
Potomac R.
James R.
Williamsburg
Yorktown
Norfolk
Roanoke R.
Guilford Courthouse
Cape Fear R.
Kings Mountain
Wilmington
Cowpens
Camden
Ninety Six
Santee R.
Eutaw Springs
Charleston
Savannah
Savannah R.
Altamaha R.
Ocmulgee R.
Wabash R.
Ft. Vincennes
Scioto R.
Ohio River
Cumberland R.
Nashville
Tennessee R.
Ft. Loudoun
INDIAN COUNTRY BY ROYAL PROCLAMATION
Alabama R.
Chattahoochee R.
Flint R.
W. FLORIDA
E. FLORIDA
ATLANTIC OCEAN

to the west of this line was forbidden. It seems not to have been Grenville's plan to close the West permanently, — only until satisfactory arrangements could be made with the neighboring Indian tribes for a part of their land in return for compensation. It was also thought undesirable to plant settlements very far into the interior, as the distance and the mountains would make protection difficult.

Colonial defense.

The act that drew the Proclamation Line was unpopular in America, but still more so was Grenville's belief that the colonies ought to share in the expense of maintaining an army in the West. It was estimated in London that twenty regiments would be necessary, for the frontier was long and the settled area extensive. But just after an expensive war this would occasion an outlay that would be keenly felt by the English taxpayers. It was therefore determined to force the Americans to share in the expense and the measure adopted was a tax on stamped paper. This form of tax was new in America and proved so unpopular and so utterly impossible of enforcement that Grenville and his cabinet felt compelled to resign. Rockingham succeeded Grenville as prime minister and the new cabinet induced parliament to repeal the act:[1] but of any constructive statesmanship Rockingham was incapable; and when the king dismissed him a few months later, the problem of how to maintain an army in America was as far from settlement as ever.

The Stamp Act. 1765–1766.


SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
1 SHILLING

An English Revenue Stamp

443. The Townshend Act. In his search for a prime minister who would form a ministry without reference to party, the king finally determined on William Pitt, who was created earl of Chatham and placed in charge. But Chatham, too, proved unequal to the occasion. His health was frail; the American question was beyond him;

The ministry of Lord Chatham.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 381.

he lost interest in the government; and the nation drifted along practically without a prime minister. Finally Charles Townshend,[1] who held the important office of chancellor of the exchequer, or minister of finance, brought out and succeeded in getting parliament to pass a series of measures for the taxation of America by means of a tariff or import duty on various articles that were in general use, such as glass, paper, tea, painter's colors, and red and white lead. The quarrel broke out afresh and led to much rioting in the colonies; but in their opposition to these measures the Americans were at a disadvantage, as they had earlier admitted the right of the English government to levy taxes on imports. The agitation gradually subsided, and in 1768 it seemed as if quiet might be restored.

Townshend's plan.

444. American Resistance. The "Boston Tea Party." Now followed a series of events that served to inflame the passions on both sides of the ocean and make war inevitable. In 1768, the English revenue officers seized a sloop bearing the good name of *Liberty* and belonging to the merchant John Hancock of Boston, which was strongly suspected of smuggling. The result was to revive the belligerent spirit in Boston. In 1770 the passions were further stirred by a riot in Boston usually known as the "Boston Massacre." The following month parliament repealed the Townshend Acts, but voted to retain a light tax on tea. It was probably not the protests of the Americans that led to the repeal, but the complaints of the English merchants who found that the Americans were importing very little British merchandise. As a revenue measure the tax had proved a failure. The retention of the tea tax produced much ill feeling in America. Important too, was the burning of an English revenue schooner, the *Gaspee*, by angry Rhode Islanders who felt that the craft had not been sufficiently lenient in its enforcement of the revenue laws. As

The sloop "Liberty" seized. 1768.

The "Boston Massacre." 1770.

Burning of the "Gaspee." 1772.

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[1] Innes, II, 248–252

in this case the English flag was violated, the effect on public opinion in England can be imagined. The next year an attack on the property of the East India Company by citizens of Boston practically ruined the cause of the colonies in England.

Americans assured of cheaper tea. 1773.

The victories of Plassey and Wandewash had been won by the East India Company, whose real function was commerce, not war and conquest. As war is expensive, the company was soon in a bad way financially, and it became necessary for the government to take a hand in the management of its affairs. In 1773 parliament passed an act which deprived the company in a measure of its authority in India but in return gave it a trading privilege which it was hoped would help to create profits and dividends. Formerly all the India tea that was shipped to America first had to be shipped to and pay import duty in England. Now it was provided that shipments to the colonies might be made direct. As the tax in England was thus avoided, the company could afford to cheapen its price to the Americans. But the colonists were suspicious and saw in this scheme only an attempt to induce them to buy taxed tea, for the tax of 1770 was still in force. When the tea ships came to Boston, a number of men in disguise boarded them and threw the tea to the amount of $90,000 in value into the bay.

The Boston "Tea Party."

445. The Coercive Acts. Lord North.

This was too much for the Whigs, whose belief in the sacred rights of property was a treasured principle. Even Chatham, who had disapproved of Townshend's plans, felt called upon to protest. "The violence committed upon the tea cargo is certainly criminal," he wrote when the news of the riot reached him. As the East India Company naturally wanted the damage repaired, parliament demanded that reparation should come from Massachusetts. A series of four measures were rushed through the houses: one was the Boston Port Bill, which closed the port of Boston and allowed no ship to load or

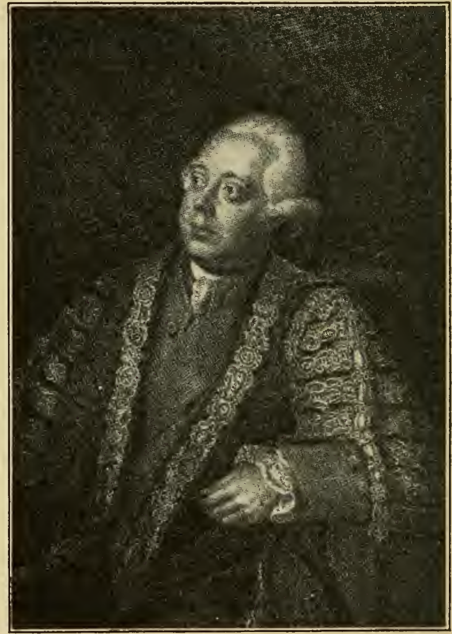
The Boston Port Bill.

unload in the harbor until satisfaction should be rendered for the tea; another in part revoked the charter of Massachusetts and gave extensive powers to the governor, who was appointed by the king; a third provided that English officials accused of crime committed in any colony while carrying out instructions from the English government should be tried in England; finally, by a fourth act the military authorities were empowered to seize and use public buildings for barrack purposes. A fifth measure, the Quebec Act, extended the boundaries of Quebec westward to the Ohio and the Mississippi; but this measure seems not to have been directed against the colonies. Its purpose was to bring all the French settlements into one province and place them under one governor.

The Massachusetts charter interfered with.

The Transportation Act and the Billeting Act.

The Quebec Act.



Lord North
From a portrait by N. Dance.

Lord North was prime minister and the chief sponsor for these coercive laws. He had entered the cabinet as premier in 1770 and remained in this position for eleven years. Lord North was a prime minister after the king's own heart: he made no pretense at controlling the government, but took the king's orders gracefully and obediently and tried

Lord North.

to carry them out as the king wished. He did not always find the king's ideas wise; but that was no reason for objecting and resigning, for, as long as the king wished him to head the government, he felt that it was his duty to remain at the helm. Lord North's plans to force America into obedience were not accepted without opposition; this opposition, however, did not necessarily grow out of sympathy for the colonists. The Old Whigs felt that the crown was too active in the government; and such leaders as Rockingham, Chatham, and Shelburne fought the coercive acts chiefly because they were in opposition to a government that was not truly Whig, and felt that they must object to every important proposal that came from Lord North and his royal master.

Opposition to the coercive acts.

446. The American Revolt. These five "intolerable acts" were passed in the early months of 1774. The twelve months that followed were a critical year for the colonial cause. The Americans had to advance or to retreat; no other choice was possible. The majority was unwilling to retreat. England proceeded to execute the coercive acts and sent soldiers to Boston, which was the center of the rebellion. The colonists on their side began to organize military companies and provide munitions of war. The result was the American Revolution.

British soldiers in Boston.

447. Causes of the American Revolution.[1] The causes that led to the secession of the American colonies from the British Empire have been variously stated: as a rule emphasis has been placed on the unwise policy of taxation that England adopted after the treaty of Paris and on the enforcement of old laws that governed and restricted colonial commerce and manufactures. Of these laws there were two chief classes: the Navigation Acts that appeared first in the time of Cromwell and practically forced all the colonial commerce into English channels;[2] and the Trade Acts which forbade the colonies to follow certain lines of manufacture that would bring them

Parliamentary taxation.

Navigation acts and trade acts.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 61.

[2] Review secs. 339, 394.

into competition with the mother country. No doubt these laws and especially the Navigation Acts had their importance; it seems, however, that the causes lay far deeper in English history and in the American mind.

1. *The Absence of Loyalty.* There was a lack of active loyalty to England. To many of the Americans England had been an arbitrary and unkind mother: to the greater number she had never been a mother. The majority of Americans of English blood were the descendants of ancestors who had left their homes because the conditions created by the English government had made life unbearable. It was the men whom James had threatened to harry out of the land, and whom Charles and Laud had tried to force into conformity with Anglican standards, who laid the foundations of New England.[1] Later the Puritans were reenforced by dissenters who fled from the requirements of the Clarendon Code in the reign of Charles II.[2] Massachusetts was never cheerfully obedient to the home government. The colony planned resistance in 1634; grudgingly accepted Charles II in 1660; fought Andros in 1688; and was never reconciled to the settlement dictated by William III in 1691.[3]

Circumstances of the Puritan migration.

Dissent in America.

In the middle and southern colonies the situation was different — here the difficulty lay in the fact that the population flowed from so many diverse sources. Many nations contributed to the population of these colonies: the Netherlands, the German Rhineland, Ireland, Sweden, and England.[4] What loyalty there was here was likely to be of a passive sort, for the German, the Dutchman, and the Swede could hardly have developed any strong love for England. Along the western frontier were the Germans and the Scotch-Irish who occupied the valleys that ran from southern New York to western Carolina; of these the latter, whom

Diversity of population in the middle and southern colonies.

The men of the frontier.

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[1] Review secs. 286, 307–308.

[2] Review secs. 353–354.

[3] Review secs. 308, 353, 387.

[4] Review secs. 354, 417.

English intolerance had forced to leave Ireland, could hardly have been grateful to the English crown.[1]

The fact, that so large a part of the colonial population was of non-English origin, is one of great importance. In 1700 the colonies had a population of about 250,000, with the English as the controlling race: in 1740 the number had grown to 1,000,000; when the revolution broke out in 1775, it was at least 3,000,000. It is clear that this tremendous increase must be explained largely by immigration, chiefly from Germany and Ireland.

English law not always enforced in the colonies.

2. *The Colonies and English Law.* There was a general lack of respect for English law. The laws against dissent were not enforced in America. James I did not excuse the Pilgrims from the demands of Anglicanism, but promised to "connive." After the Restoration violators of the Clarendon Code were welcomed in Clarendon's own colony, and Charles II showed an interest in the welfare of the Quakers in Massachusetts that he did not display in England. This situation led to a general disregard for English law in the colonies, and to a feeling that ordinarily such law did not apply in America. In part this may explain the easy way in which the Navigation Acts were violated and the apparent respectability of smuggling. At the same time, Britain was careless in the enforcement of the statutes in the colonies, and this led to a belief that they were not intended to be enforced.

The pioneer spirit.

3. *Individualism.* An important factor was the individualism of pioneer life. In the new settlements civilization had to be built from the bottom up. The colonists were thrown on their own resources; and as a result self-dependence and independence were developed to a high point in the pioneer spirit. This also led to the growth of a provincial feeling, to an emphasis on the locality. This development could not be modified to any great extent by any interest in the wider world, for not much European news came to the

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[1] Review sec. 417.

colonial farmstead, and the larger movements of which the Americans learned were very imperfectly understood. This set of facts applies particularly to the frontier. George Washington spent much of his time in the years before the Revolution as a surveyor on the frontier. Thomas Jefferson was a product of the Virginia frontier.

Changes in the English constitution not understood in America.

4. *Opposition to Parliamentary Authority.* Important, too, is the great change that came in the English constitution after 1689. We have seen that during the eighteenth century the powers of government passed to a large extent from the king and the privy council to the cabinet and parliament.[1] This process was imperfectly understood in America; hence, when parliament undertook to exercise its newer constitutional powers in the colonies, its acts were looked upon as usurpation. The colonies had their charters from the king and claimed to be subject to no other power. They had been accustomed to treat with the privy council and the secretaries of state; but these were the king's council and the king's officials. The right of parliament to legislate for the colonies is denied in the Declaration of Independence. "He [George III] has combined with others [parliament] to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation." It was generally agreed, however, that parliament could pass laws to regulate commerce; and such statutes had been enacted for more than a century.

The nationalizing process.

5. *Growth of American Nationalism.* It is scarcely correct to say that there was an American nation in 1760 or 1775; too much was wanting, — elements that time alone could provide. The passion of nationality, the consciousness of being a single people, memories of a glorious past, jealousy of and even hatred for neighboring peoples, the colonists could not yet have. The nationalizing process was, however, at work; a nation was forming. The colonies were distinct

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[1] Review sec. 410.

from their neighbors, and separated from Britain by the ocean. They had a common language, English, and their institutions were fundamentally English. Their political system was republican and unlike both the aristocratic régime in Britain and the absolutism of the Continent. They had common enemies: Frenchmen, Spaniards, and Indians. They had what is the most important element in nationalism, a common history, having fought together on the northern and western frontiers in the great wars that began with the accession of William III.

Common institutions.

In religious matters there was much freedom and variety; but the prevailing form of religion was Protestantism of the Reformed or Calvinistic type. And among the Protestants the Puritan sects, religious bodies of dissenters or non-conformists, as they would be called in England, were far stronger than the Anglicans. The dissenters were exceedingly active in colonial politics. The New England pastors were the leaders in their towns and communities. But where English bishops ruled the dissenters counted for nothing in political life. The rumor came to New England just before the Revolution that the Anglican church was planning to place bishops in America, and it caused no little uneasiness. Thus far there had been no bishops in America; the colonies were regarded as part of the diocese of London and the Anglican parishes were supervised by commissaries sent out by the bishop of London.

A Calvinistic type of religion.

Political activity of dissenters.

6. *Colonial Ambitions of Self-rule.* Ultimate separation from the mother country was inevitable: the only questions were the time and the manner. When the Revolution began England had a population of scarcely more than 6,000,000; Scotland had 1,000,000. America had about 3,000,000, or half as many people as England, with tremendous possibilities for increase. The colonial system of government was unsuited to the new conditions. The mercantile system of economics which insisted that England must sell more to the

Colonial population.

colonies than she bought from them had a cramping effect on colonial growth. Separation was openly advocated in the colonies long before it came. The Swedish botanist Kalm, who traveled in America in 1748 and the following years, predicted secession of the colonists before thirty years should pass. The prediction was fulfilled almost to the year.

Hampering effects of the colonial system.

448. Attempts at Conciliation. The coercive acts became effective in the summer of 1774. Delegates from the colonies met in Continental Congress in the following autumn. War came in the succeeding spring, though not before several attempts had been made at reconciliation. On February 1 Chatham came forward with a plan: he proposed that Parliament should repeal all laws that the colonies disliked, surrender the right of taxation, and withdraw the English troops from Boston. In return the colonies were to recognize definitely the supremacy of parliament and make voluntary contributions to the imperial treasury.[1] The lords rejected the plan. Three weeks later Lord North proposed a plan which was evidently the king's own. In this the theoretical right of parliament to levy taxes was insisted upon, but it was not to be exercised so long as the colonies made voluntary contributions. It was passed by parliament but was of no effect. The next month (March) Edmund Burke[2] delivered his famous conciliation speech and proposed a return to the laws and conditions in force in 1763.[3] The commons rejected his motion.

Chatham's plan.

Lord North's plan.

Burke's Conciliation Speech.

All these plans had their weaknesses, those of North and Chatham in that they ignored the deep-seated repugnance in the colonies to any external legislative authority. Burke's plan was weak in that it ignored certain vital facts: the British Empire was far larger and more complex than before 1763; it had to be organized and administered. Burke, however, had no plans of government to

Failure of plans for conciliation.

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[1] Kendall, No. 119; Robinson, No. 168.

[2] Bates and Coman, 365 (Goldsmith, *Burke*).

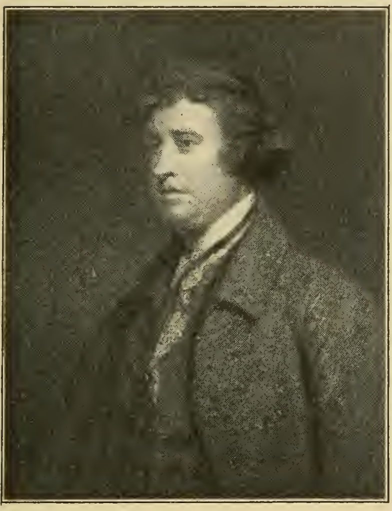
[3] Cheyney, No. 384

offer. But before the news of Burke's interest in the colonial problem had reached America, a battle had been fought and blood had been shed at Lexington.

Lexington.

449. The Declaration of Independence. After a year of fighting and maneuvering confined chiefly to New England and neighboring parts, the English were compelled to evacuate Boston, and for a few months, the colonies were wholly free from British soldiery and British rulers. During these months the sentiment for separation developed rapidly: the experience of freedom, the fears for the future, the need of foreign assistance were considerations that determined the Americans to declare their independence. It was thoroughly understood that England would not withdraw without a struggle; and while the Declaration of Independence was being debated in Philadelphia, an English fleet appeared in New York harbor.

Sentiment for independence.



EDMUND BURKE

After a painting by Joshua Reynolds.

450. Burgoyne's Surrender. For the next few years the conflict raged principally in the Middle Colonies, in the vicinities of New York and Philadelphia and in the territory between these cities. It was a part of the British plan to cut the colonies in twain along the Hudson River route, and General Burgoyne was sent to invade New York by way of Lake Champlain. But the expedition was singularly mismanaged at all points and resulted in

Burgoyne's expedition. 1777.

the surrender at Saratoga (1777).[1] General Burgoyne returned to England and became a vigorous opponent of King George.

451. War with France, Spain, and the Netherlands. Burgoyne's surrender gave a new turn to the conflict: it now blazed up into a general European war. France had shown an interest in the quarrel a decade earlier when the strife over taxation was on: and when the war broke out the French government had secretly assisted the revolutionists with money and with arms.[2] It was generally understood, however, that France would not openly assist the Americans unless they should first declare their purpose to be independence and not merely relief from obnoxious legislation. The Declaration of Independence and the victory over Burgoyne a year later decided France, which now entered the war as an active ally of the United States.[3]

The war with France. 1778.

The following year (1779), Spain, which was still bound to France by the Bourbon family compact, declared war on England, though no alliance was entered into with America. Jamaica, Minorca, Gibraltar, and Florida represented successive losses to England which Spain was anxious to retrieve.[4] She may also have had designs on the Illinois country which lay conveniently across the Mississippi from her new colony, Louisiana. The next year, (1780), Holland was also drawn into the fight against England. In the same year the Baltic states under the leadership of Frederick II and Catherine II formed the League of Armed Neutrality, the object of which was to destroy the commercial supremacy of England. Thus in 1780 England had to face the active hostility or passive unfriendliness of practically the entire continent of Europe.

The war with Spain. 1779.

War with the Dutch.

League of Armed Neutrality. 1780.

452. English Reverses. For such a war England was poorly prepared. The navy was not in the best condition and there was no William Pitt in the cabinet. Most of the English commanders were mediocre men; only two showed real merit: George Eliott, a Scotchman who commanded at Gibraltar, and Admiral Rodney, who was reluctantly given command in the navy. The year 1780 was a dark year in England; but it was still darker in America, where patriotism was growing weary of the interminable war. This was the year of Gates' defeat at Camden and of the treason of Arnold. The next year brought the surrender of Yorktown and the end of the American phase of the war;[1] but in Europe the conflict raged as before. Soon after the fall of Yorktown, the Spaniards took Minorca, while a French fleet in the West Indies seized all the British islands there except Jamaica and Barbados. In India, too, there were troubles: Hyder Ali, an able native warrior, was attacking the British posts in southern India from the interior, while a French fleet was threatening the coast. When 1781 closed, it looked as if the British Empire was doomed.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 63.

[2] Robinson, No. 173.

[3] Gardiner, 787.

[4] Review secs. 400–401, 436.

Eliott and Rodney.

Reverses of the year 1780

453. The Movement for Self-government in Ireland.[2] At the same time, serious danger threatened in Ireland. For some time there had been much agitation in Ireland for the repeal of all laws that made Ireland dependent on England. In 1778, when France declared war against England, the Protestants of the Irish parliament found it advisable to repeal the Irish Test Act and some of the more iniquitous of the Penal Laws.[3] Later in the same year, the Irish leaders began to organize military bands, "the volunteers," ostensibly for the defense of the island. Before the close of the next year the volunteers numbered nearly 50,000; by the close of 1781 the number had risen to 80,000. During the same years, a strong party in the Irish parliament, led by the eloquent Henry Grattan, clamored for legislative independence. England dared not refuse; and in May, 1782, the English parliament passed the Act of Repeal by which Poynings' Law[4] and the Sixth of George I, an act affirming

Agitation in Ireland.

The "Volunteers."

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[1] Gardiner, 792–793.

[2] *Ibid.*, 795–796.

[3] Review sec. 403.

[4] Review sec. 226.

the right of the English parliament to legislate in Irish affairs, were both repealed. Ireland was now free to legislate without interference from Westminster.

454. English Victories. The Battle of "The Saints." The Act of Repeal was passed in the gloomiest hour of the war. Not long afterwards came the cheering news that Rodney had dealt the allied enemies a stunning blow in the West Indies. De Grasse, the French admiral whose fleet had assisted at the investment of Yorktown, was now planning to seize Jamaica. But Rodney's fleet was in the West Indies, and in April the two forces met at "The Saints" a group of little islands near Guadaloupe. Rodney won the victory; he crippled the French fleet and took De Grasse prisoner. Jamaica was saved to Britain. In the autumn the English were still more cheered to learn that the attack of the allies on Gibraltar had been a complete failure. During the same year (1782), Warren Hastings, the governor general of India, succeeded in pacifying the interior tribes that were on the war-path. Hyder Ali died and his successor made peace with the English.

Battle of The Saints. 1782.

Hastings in India.

455. Results of the American War. The American War was formally closed by the treaties of Paris and Versailles in September, 1783. The English successes of the year before and the disposition of the Americans to make a separate peace convinced the Bourbon allies that it was not expedient to continue the war. The results of the American Revolution were far-reaching both for Europe and for America.

Peace of Paris. 1783.

1. It ruined the party of "King's Friends" and discredited the political purposes of George III. During the first ten years of his reign the king had tried six prime ministers. In 1770 he finally found the tool he sought for in Lord North whom he kept in nominal control for twelve years. George III now had an opportunity to try out his political plans. The result was the most disastrous war that England had ever fought.

George III's political plans discredited.

2. It practically ruined the Whig party. Lord North re-

signed in 1782, and the king had no choice but to recall the opposition Whigs to power with Lord Rockingham as prime minister. But the Whigs did not have the entire confidence of the nation. Their attitude during the war had not been wholly patriotic: they had tried to embarrass the government in every possible manner; one of their leaders, Charles James Fox, the son of Henry Fox who had served under Newcastle, even sat in the house of commons wearing the colors of the American uniform, buff and blue. There were two factions in the party, the followers of Rockingham, now known as the Old Whigs who still emphasized the authority of parliament, and the New Whigs, or Chathamites, who believed in strengthening the authority of the central government. The Whigs were very unfortunate in their leaders. Chatham died in 1778[1] and the leadership of his faction fell to Lord Shelburne, a capable but peculiar politician, who seemed to be suspicious of all with whom he came in contact and in return was regarded with universal distrust. Rockingham had not grown wiser with the years; and soon after he became prime minister for the second time he died (1782). Shelburne who succeeded him could not hold his party together. Edmund Burke was a great orator and thinker, but not a practical statesman. The most brilliant of all the Whigs was Charles James Fox, who had entered the house of commons at the age of nineteen, but had already acquired a reputation for irregular living that clung to him to the close of his career. Fox was hostile to Shelburne and formed an alliance with his old political enemy, Lord North, to overthrow Shelburne and force themselves into the ministry as secretaries of state. The move succeeded and for nearly a year the "infamous coalition" controlled the government. But the nation was disgusted at the sight of a ministry that stood for nothing but spoils, and applauded George when by distinctly unconstitutional methods he overthrew the Fox-North cabinet and gave the premiership to the younger William Pitt.

Whig party ruined.

Whig factions and leaders.

The "Infamous Coalition."

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[1] Gardiner, 787.

Legislative independence for Ireland.

3. It restored almost complete independence to the Irish Kingdom. The Act of Repeal was followed by the Act of Renunciation in 1783, by which England renounced all rights that she might still have to control Ireland. From that year to the close of the century, the bond uniting Ireland to Great Britain was a personal union only.

Losses to the British Empire.

4. It seriously impaired the British Empire. England lost her oldest and her most highly developed colonies, the "thirteen" in America. To Spain she was obliged to surrender Minorca and Florida. To France she ceded two important posts in West Africa; otherwise France derived nothing from the war but a bankrupt treasury.

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

456. The Age of Common Sense. The eighteenth century was an age of great changes in almost every field of English life. The change in the nature of the government that came with the cabinet system has already been noted; but vast forces of change were also at work in the fields of intellect, of religion, and of industrial life. In some fields the development was gradual and slow: its full significance was not realized until the following century was well under way. But even at the time it was realized, though not always clearly, that English society was being completely transformed.

Changes in English society.

The eighteenth century was preëminently an age of reason and common sense. The consuming religious strife that had endured for nearly two hundred years, first between Catholic and Protestant, then between Anglican and Puritan, finally ceased with the Toleration Act of 1689. This age of religious interest and conflict was followed by a long period of indifference to religious matters, which was particularly noticeable among the more cultivated classes. The details of religious belief were held to be unimportant. Revelation in the Scriptural sense was questioned. God had given mankind the gift of reason, and reason was a surer guide to truth than faith. The important thing was to test everything in the light of common sense. This emphasis on thought and reason was not peculiar to England: it was common to the intellectual classes of all western Europe; the eighteenth century was the "Age of Enlightenment." It was the period of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists in France, of the "Illumination" in Germany, and of the "enlightened

Rationalism.

Age of Enlightenment.

despots," who strove to reform governments and rule their people in a rational way.

The rationalistic temper.

The rational or sensible man, it was held, would not yield to impulse or feeling. The ideal life should be calm and never boisterous. Humanity had a right to enjoyment, but this should not be noisy. To be ill was accounted an unpardonable weakness, at least during Walpole's time. Queen Caroline,[1] the consort of George II, long bore a serious illness in secret; and when it was finally discovered, the unfortunate queen was already doomed. This may serve to illustrate the practical results of this glorification of common sense; but it had other results, serious as well as ridiculous.

Break-down of morals.

Both public and private morals broke down; bribery was a crying evil; among the so-called higher classes the Puritan view of the ten commandments as a code to be rigorously kept and enforced had almost entirely disappeared.

457. The Literature of the Eighteenth Century. This effort to be sensible and rational appears especially in the literature of the age. The masterpieces of the eighteenth century poetry were didactic: they aimed to give instruction, to give pleasure to reason, not to stir up the reader's emotions. Typical of the period is Pope's *Essay on Man* which was written in 1733. Of the same spirit, though somewhat less didactic, is *The Seasons* by James Thomson, who was Pope's contemporary. A decade later Edward Young was writing his *Night Thoughts*, and in 1749 Thomas Gray published his famous *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard*. There is much excellent poetry in all these poems; but for the most part they are thoughts cast in poetic forms. Sometimes the lines read like proverbs: it was Young who first told us that "Procrastination is the thief of time."

Pope.

Thomson, Young, and Gray.

The prose of the period is more important than the poetry. The eighteenth century produced two forms of literature both of which have become permanent: the magazine and the

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[1] Innes, II, 206–207.

The magazine and the novel.

Richardson and Fielding.

novel. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, the first really successful periodical, began in 1731. The novel came nine years later. The first novelist was Samuel Richardson, a London printer, who was a rather dull stylist, but a keen observer of human activities. A better writer was Henry Fielding, whose earliest novels were apparently suggested by those of Richardson. The novel proved to be immensely popular.

Dr. Johnson.

Cowper, Goldsmith, and Sheridan.

Robert Burns.

Thomson, Pope, Richardson, Young, Fielding, and Gray belong to the earlier half of the century, to the period of Walpole and Newcastle. The writers of the second half of the eighteenth century struck a truer note: their writings are less didactic and fall more completely within the province of literary art. This period forms the transition to the greater literary age of the nineteenth century which was ushered in by such writers as Wordsworth and Byron. The period began with Dr. Johnson, whose ideals do not differ much from those of the school of Pope. But he is followed by Cowper in whom the religious spirit was strong; by the genial Goldsmith, who is described as a literary vagabond; and by Sheridan, the famous dramatist and parliamentary orator. But its greatest representative was the peasant Robert Burns, who from his farmstead in southwestern Scotland sent forth a series of genial, realistic, and yet intensely lyrical poems, that remain to this day the joy and the pride of the Scotch people.

John Locke.

458. English Political Philosophy. The rule of common sense is also seen in the political thought of the period. Unlike the thinkers who laid the intellectual foundation of the French Revolution, the English political theorists were chiefly interested in justifying the changes that time had made necessary. At the end of the preceding century, the philosopher John Locke had justified the Revolution of 1688 by supposing that, when government originated, the king and the people entered into some kind of a contract; and that, since James II had failed to carry out his part of the contract, parliament, as the representative of the nation, was justified in giving the kingship to William and Mary. The explanation was simple and sensible; it was one that the mind grasped readily. The only difficulty is that no such contract was ever formed. The theory of contract was held very generally in the eighteenth century, and seems to have been the theory on which most Americans justified their repudiation of George III.

Three great ideas dominated English politics in the eighteenth century: (1) toleration, (2) the rights of personal liberty, and (3) the sacredness of property.[1] These were Whig ideas that took form during the conflict between the Stuarts and parliament in the seventeenth century. Charles I had levied unauthorized taxes and had imprisoned men who refused to pay them: these forms of tyranny had been resisted. John Locke found a justification for this resistance in his political philosophy. Mankind, he thought, had a right to personal freedom and the possession of property before governments were formed. Perhaps the best statement of the early Whig view is in the Declaration of Independence, where Thomas Jefferson enumerates "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as "unalienable rights," to secure which "governments are instituted among men."

Whig principles.

Personal liberty.

The leaders of the Whig party were wealthy men, lords who owned vast estates, and merchants who had large interests in the financial world. To such men property naturally had a sacred character. So much importance was attached to property rights, vested rights as they were called, that it was almost impossible to effect any necessary social reform. If a merchant was engaged in the slave trade, any interference with that traffic was likely to interfere with his income, his vested rights, and efforts in that direction were promptly blocked. When the horrors of the slave ships were brought to light, the house of commons passed a bill to make conditions more tolerable for the Negroes; but the house of lords ruined the bill by amending it. Prop-

Whig leaders.

Sacredness of property.

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[1] Kendall, No. 106.

erty, it was held, belonged absolutely to the owner: it could not even be taken in the form of taxes, unless the nation through its representatives consented. According to Whig ideas 'taxation without representation was tyranny.'

By personal liberty the Whigs did not mean political rights, such as the right to vote and hold office; these were reserved for the influential classes. They meant that the law should molest no one unless there was an apparent cause to justify it; and that when an Englishman was arrested he was entitled to a speedy trial. This was to prevent the men in power from keeping in prison political opponents, whose only crime was opposition to the policies of the government. The Habeas Corpus Act, which secures a prompt trial, the English nation owes chiefly to the work of Lord Shaftesbury, the founder of the Whig party. These ideas were certainly rational; but at times the emphasis that was placed on liberty and property made it difficult to give government the necessary strength.

Habeas Corpus Act.

459. Religious Thought: Deism and Rationalism. The English thinkers of the eighteenth century, though many of them were indifferent to the Anglican form of religion, were agreed that for the multitude the church was a useful institution which the state ought to maintain. But if honest men felt unable to conform to the established worship, they should be tolerated in their own worship. Toleration, however, was not regarded as a natural right, but as a privilege that it was expedient for the state to allow. The privilege took the form of a license which was issued to dissenting congregations that applied for it.[1] Religious bodies that the government regarded as dangerous to itself, such as Catholic organizations, were not tolerated.

Toleration.

The form of belief that was most common among the more advanced thinkers of the time was deism. The deist held that what was believed by the churches to be religious truth was probably error and, even if true, of

Deism.

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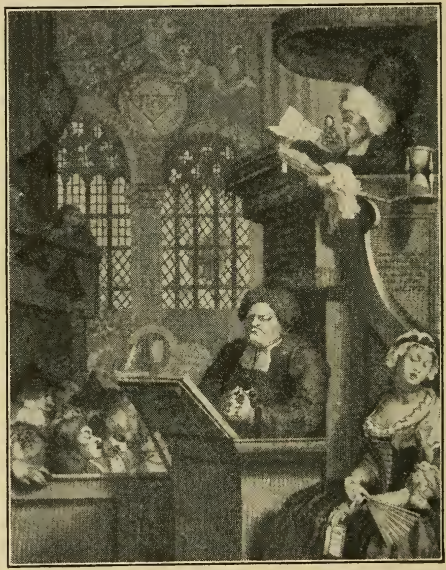
[1] Review sec. 384 (3).

very slight importance. Only a few large truths like the existence of God and the immortality of the soul were of any real consequence. There was another group of thinkers who did not reject revelation so completely as did the deists but still went far in their emphasis on reason: these were called rationalists. There were many rationalists in the English pulpits. They were zealous for the ceremonies of the church, but in their preaching there was very little religious fervor. As reason demanded that religion should be practical, the rationalistic pastors preached sermons that they thought might prove instructive for everyday life. But lectures on industry and proper tillage of the soil could do very little to improve the spiritual condition of the congregation; and the average Anglican church in the first half of the eighteenth century was dull, prosy, and unspiritual.

Rationalism.

Lack of spirituality in the Anglican church.



The Sleeping Congregation

From a painting by Hogarth, 1736.

460. John Wesley and Methodism; the Evangelicals. Anglicanism seems to have touched its lowest point during the decade 1730–1740. This was the period of Walpole and his assistant Newcastle, of bribery and corruption,[1] of coarse morals and artificial literature. But even at this time there was much spiritual energy in the nation. During this decade a young

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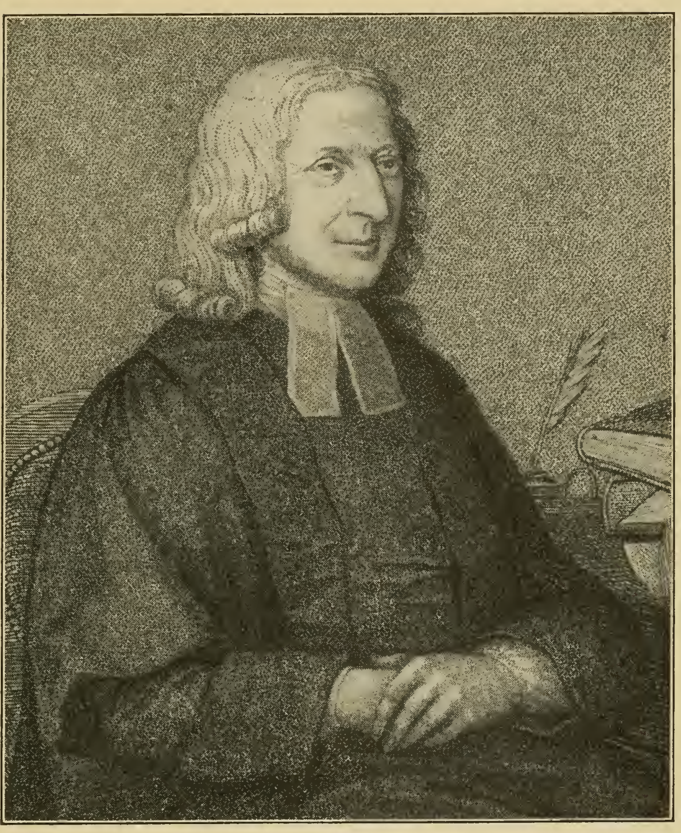
[1] Review sec. 413.



John Wesley
After a picture by S. Harding.

Oxford theologian was going through a remarkable religious development. When his ideas had matured he began to preach them, and the result was Methodism.[1]

Situation 1730–1740.

John Wesley was born at Epworth in the northern part of Lincolnshire, where his father was rector. As a young man he went to Oxford, where he studied theology and was ordained to the Anglican priesthood. He

John Wesley.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 355–356; Kendall, No. 113.

served for a brief period as missionary in the infant colony of Georgia, but was not successful; and in 1737 he returned to England. Two years later he took up the task of infusing new life into the Anglican church. This work he continued till his death fifty-one years later (1791). If greatness is to be measured by achievement, John Wesley ranks with the foremost men of his century.

Attitude of the Methodists toward the church.

It was not the purpose of Wesley and his associates to organize a new church; their intent was to create a society within the established church to supplement its work. They therefore held their services at such times as would not bring them into conflict with the Anglican services. But the church was unwilling to recognize such a society, and although Wesley himself never left the Anglican communion, his followers were finally forced to withdraw from the established church and organize under the provisions of the Toleration Act. So long as they remained within the established church, they were subject to discipline by its officials; but as dissenters they had certain rights and were more secure against persecution.

Opposition to Methodism.

The new movement was met with opposition and ridicule. In its insistence on conversion, in its enthusiastic and emotional meetings, and in its informal order of worship, Methodism differed radically from the Anglican church. Zealous bishops (of whom there were a few) fought the movement, while the skeptics ridiculed it. "I have been at one opera, Mr. Wesley's," wrote Horace Walpole in 1766. He describes Wesley as a "lean, elderly man, fresh colored, . . . wondrous clean, but as evidently an actor as Garrick." But in spite of the mobs and persecution the movement grew apace.

The Evangelical movement.

The advance of Methodism was checked somewhat by a kindred movement, the Evangelical, which succeeded in maintaining itself within the bounds of the Anglican church. This movement, which also strove after personal holiness, for some time ran parallel to the Wesleyan; but the

Evangelicals refused to follow the Methodists out of the established church.

461. Religious Poetry: Hymns. It is a noteworthy fact that the eighteenth century, the age of cultivated paganism, was also the great age of English hymnology. Toward the close of Queen Anne's reign George Frederick Handel came to England from Hanover and for nearly fifty years England was his home. He became the musical interpreter of the English religious spirit. In his days Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge, two dissenting clergymen, were writing hymns that are still widely used. Later in the century another non-conformist minister, Edward Perronet, wrote Old Coronation, one of the most famous of all English hymns. Charles Wesley became the poet of the movement of which his brother was the preacher. The Evangelicals produced the poet Cowper and his associate John Newton, who began his career as a sailor and slave trader and closed it as poet and minister in the Anglican church. Augustus Toplady was an Anglican of the older school. He hated Methodism and wrote fiercely against the Wesleys. His learned writings are forgotten, but his hymn, "Rock of Ages," is known wherever English is spoken and sung.

Handel.

Non-conformist writers of hymns.

Evangelical hymn writers.

462. The Industrial Revolution.[1] The eighteenth century further witnessed a profound change in the economic life of the nation. This first appeared in industry and is known as the industrial revolution: old methods of manufacture were discarded; the machine appeared in industry; and the word factory, which earlier had meant a trading post, assumed its modern meaning. The industrial revolution was promptly followed by a revolution in agriculture which completely transformed the appearance of rural England. These two movements began about the middle of the eighteenth century and were moving swiftly forward during the period of the American war. They continued till a third of the nineteenth century was past.

Economic changes.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 69.

England in 1700.

In 1700 England was still an agricultural nation. London was a comparatively large city, but it had no competitors.[1] About five millions made up the population of England and Wales, of whom only one-fifth lived in cities. A century later the population was nearly doubled, while the urban population had trebled. The increase was greatest during the second half of the century and followed closely the changes in industry and agriculture.

Domestic manufactures.

Between these two lines of activity, farming and handiwork, there had always been a close connection.[2] England had for centuries held an important position in the production of wool and woolen cloth.[3] In this production the farmers had some part: in their houses much of the wool was combed, spun, and woven. In this way the family was able to increase its income quite materially. There was also a class of laborers who gave most of their time and strength to the woolen trades; but these usually had a plot of land by the cultivation of which they were able to keep down expenses.

463. Spinning Machines and Power Looms.[4] The industrial revolution was the result of a series of inventions which completely destroyed the domestic form of manufacturing. As young and old were now busy spinning cotton as well as wool, more thread was produced than the weavers could use.

The fly-shuttle loom.

This was remedied in 1732 by Kay's invention of the fly-shuttle, a loom that greatly increased the capacity of the weaver. The demand was now for more thread. This was supplied by three new inventions that were perfected between 1764 and 1779.

Hargreaves' spinning jenny.

First came the spinning jenny, a machine invented by James Hargreaves, by which the operator was enabled to work eight spindles instead of one. The machine was still further improved and made ten times as efficient as when first put to use. The spindle was an ancient device, as old as civilization itself, so that Hargreaves did not discover any new principle of spinning.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 60.

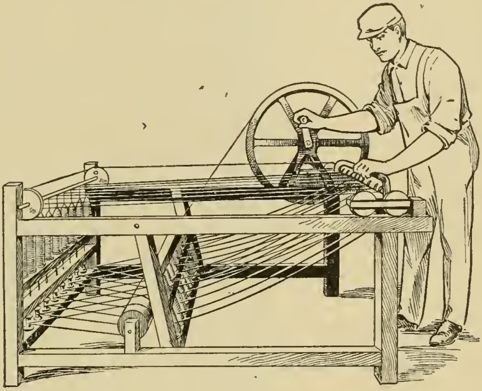
[2] Cheyney, No. 370.

[3] Kendall, No. 110.

[4] Gardiner, 811–816.

But Richard Arkwright found that better and stronger thread could be produced by passing the cotton fibers between rollers.[1] As Arkwright's spinning machine could be operated by water power, it soon came to be known as the "water frame." Ten years later, Samuel Crompton combined the methods of the spindle and the series of rollers in a contrivance that has since been called the "mule." Crompton's mule spun a finer thread than was possible with the spinning jenny or the water frame. These three inventors of spinning devices, Hargreaves, Arkwright, and Crompton, were all natives of Lancashire, which was and still remains the center of the cotton industry in England.

Arkwright's water frame.



THE SPINNING JENNY

Crompton's mule.

These inventions soon supplied more cotton thread than could be woven into cloth even after the fly-shuttle looms had become common. But in 1785 this difficulty was removed by the invention of the power loom by Edmund Cartwright, a Kentish clergyman with a genius for mechanics. As both spinning and weaving could now be done by machinery, the output of cotton cloth increased enormously.

Cartwright's power loom.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 373.

The only difficulty now was how to obtain a sufficient supply of cotton. Seven years after the appearance of the power loom, an American inventor, Eli Whitney, built the first cotton gin, a machine by which the growth of cotton was promoted in the American South, and the supply was soon equal to the demands of Lancashire.

Whitney's cotton gin.

464. The Factory System: the Steam Engine. The application of power to the textile industries had far-reaching results. The new machines were set up in factories, where a large number of people could labor under the same roof. Spinning and weaving ceased in the cottages of the laborers: the old domestic industry came to an end, and the poorer classes in the country lost an important part of their income. In the factories much of the work was such as did not require strength or skill, and the manufacturers very soon began to employ women and children in large numbers. The new factories were naturally built where water power was most available, along the swift streams which flowed down from the Pennine Range through Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire. Into these sections a constant stream of workingmen flowed, and soon these hitherto unpromising regions could boast large and growing cities. With this congestion of population came a new type of social problems: for factory labor meant low wages, long hours, extensive employment of children, and unsanitary homes.[1]

Factories.

The manufacturing centers.

Water power was after a time replaced by steam power; but the textile factories remained in the northern counties, for in these districts were extensive coal fields as well as rapid streams. Even before Hargreaves had invented his spinning jenny, James Watt, a Scotch mechanic, had succeeded in building a practical steam engine,[2] though it was some time before the new machine could be used for anything but pumping. During the last decade of the century, steam, as motive power to turn the factory wheels, was rapidly being introduced. Cartwright applied steam to his power loom in 1789.

Watt's steam engine.

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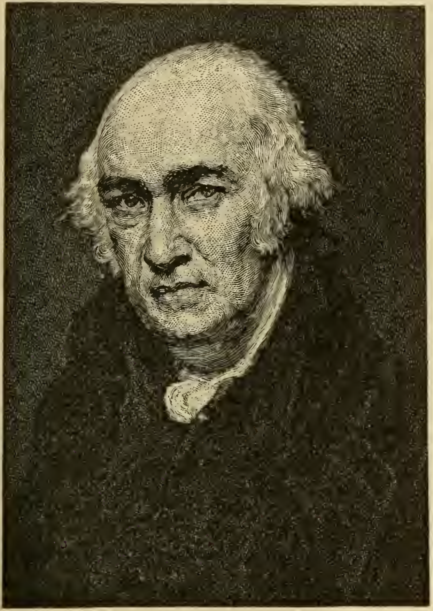
[1] Cheyney, No. 372.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 374; Gardiner, 816–817.

465. Coal and Iron. The coal fields of England lie in a broad belt extending diagonally across the country from South Wales to Durham and Northumberland. Along with the coal, iron is found in great quantities. Iron has been mined in England since the metal came into use on the island; but for a long time only such deposits as were found near forests could be mined with profit, as charcoal was the only fuel that would give sufficient heat for smelting. But when, about the middle of the eighteenth century, methods were perfected for using ordinary coal in the smelting furnaces, the mining industry began to develop rapidly, and iron manufactures came to be of great importance.

Mineral resources.



James Watt

466. Commerce and Transportation. Adam Smith. The new interest in cotton and wool, in coal and iron, in steam and water power, in mines and factories could not fail to stimulate commerce. As the producing centers were frequently distant from the sea, the problem of transportation was often a difficult one. This was solved in part by the earl of Bridgewater, who built a famous canal between his Lancashire coal fields and the sea. His engineer was James Brindley, who later constructed numerous canals in northwestern England.[1]

Canals and roads.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 371.

Roads were also built and improved, though it was not until after Macadam began to build "macadamized" roads of crushed rock in the first quarter of the nineteenth century that England really had good highways.

The increased volume of manufactured goods forced Englishmen to look for larger markets abroad. It was also found that the ideas of the mercantilists [1] no longer fitted the economic situation. The nation began to see that Europe would not continue to buy largely of English products unless England bought European goods in return. The old idea that a nation should fear the prosperity of its neighbors was also found to be wrong; for unless a country is prosperous it cannot afford to buy English products. Consequently, the old restrictions that hampered foreign trade were gradually removed. This movement for wider and freer trade found favor in the government itself, where the younger Pitt was the ruling force. A treaty was made with France, by which the two countries agreed to lower their tariff duties on each other's products. But the ideas that Pitt strove to enact into law were those of a great Scotch thinker, Adam Smith, who in 1776 published a famous work on the *Wealth of Nations*, which in time revolutionized English thought on economic subjects.

New economic theories.

Adam Smith.

467. The Agricultural Revolution. It will be remembered that in the medieval manor the plowland was divided into acre and half-acre strips, and that the strips allotted to each farmer were usually scattered over the fields.[2] During the Tudor period much of this land had been enclosed;[3] but in 1700 there still remained large areas of land that were laid out and farmed in the old way. Intelligent landowners were beginning to see, however, that the system was wasteful and unproductive; and several prominent leaders were preaching the merits of a "new agriculture." Among these was Charles Townshend, the grandfather of the author of the Townshend Acts, who was known as "Turnip Townshend," because of

The "new agriculture."

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[1] Review sec. 394. [2] Review sec. 13. [3] Review secs. 153, 232.

his successful experiments with turnip culture. The new agriculture implied new crops; more attention to grain, especially wheat; better implements; more thorough tillage; and a more careful selection of live stock.

Enclosures.

Before farming could be improved, however, the old system of strips and open fields would have to be swept away. The holdings could, as a rule, be distributed and enclosed only by consent of parliament; but that body believed in greater profits from land and readily granted permission. The process of enclosing followed closely the new development of industry: during the first half of the eighteenth century only about one hundred enclosure acts were passed; but during the second half, the period of the great inventions that revolutionized manufacturing, parliament passed nearly 3000 such acts. When the century closed, the larger part of rural England was laid off into compact farms and pastures surrounded by fences, hedges, and ditches.

Better farming.

The results of the agricultural revolution were great and far-reaching. Scientific methods could now be employed in farming; a greater variety of crops were raised; and the soil was made to yield larger returns. The wealth of England was increased and on the whole the entire nation was benefited. But there were also evil results: a large part of the rural population was forced off the land. The officials who laid out the new farms no doubt tried to do justice to all who had any legal right to any part of the land; but many had only a few acres and they had practically no choice but to sell to their wealthier neighbors; some were lease-holders, whose rights expired with the lease; many others had never had any right to the land which they tilled: they were "squatters" who had built huts somewhere on the commons where they could live until the community or the owner ordered them to leave. All these classes now had to seek new occupations. Many became hired laborers on the new farms; but the greater number packed up their belongings and traveled into the north where the new factories were calling for cheap labor.

Dispossession and distress.

468. General Results of the Revolutions in Agriculture and Industry. These two movements were well under way by 1750; but they were especially evident during the years of the great revolutions in America and France; the process continued for about half a century. When it was completed England was to a great extent transformed.

Larger farms.

1. There had been a great decrease in the number of farms and farmers; the farms were larger, some of them very large, and the small farmer had practically disappeared.

Factories.

2. There had appeared a new industrial institution, the factory; the old system of home manufacture, the combination of a little agriculture with a little weaving or spinning, had also disappeared.

Shifting of population.

3. Population had shifted from the country to the city, from the agricultural south to the industrial north, where there were cotton mills, woolen mills, and iron works.

Social problems.

4. Great social problems had appeared resulting from distress among the dispossessed farmers, the massing of cheap labor in the factory towns, and the employment of women and children in the textile mills.

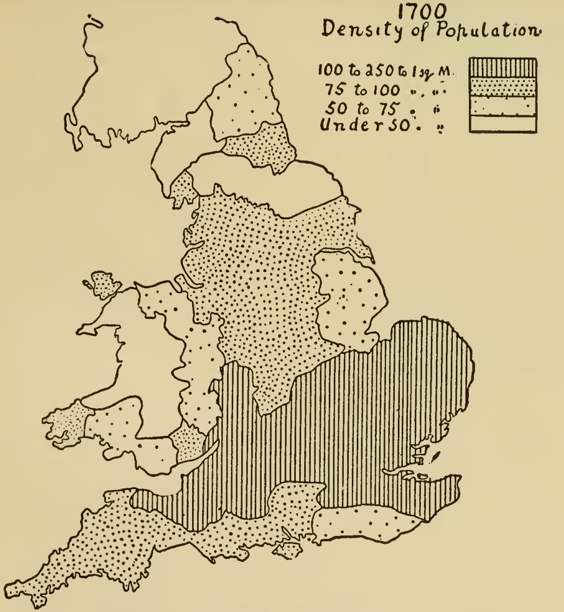
Increase in amount of products.

5. The products of England, both agricultural and industrial, were increasing at a rapid rate; commerce was forced to keep pace with this growth, and new economic methods and ideas became current; the prophet of the newer economic thought was Adam Smith.

469. Poor Laws and Pauperism. The enclosing of land was almost invariably followed by distress and greater poverty among the poor. The rise of the factory system had similar results. The wealth of the nation grew immensely, but the new profits went to a small class of wealthy farmers and rich employers. To relieve the distress caused by the Tudor enclosures,

Poor laws.

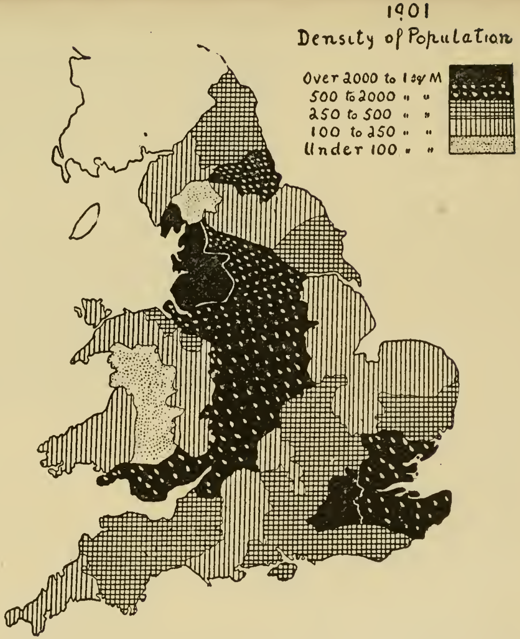
the government of Queen Elizabeth had devised a system of poor relief, which England followed for more than two centuries. The poor laws gave the justices of


1700
Density of Population
100 to 250 to 1 sq M.
75 to 100 " "
50 to 75 " "
Under 50 " "

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN SOUTH BRITAIN PRIOR TO THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

From the Census Report of 1831

Reproduced from Mackinder's *Britain and the British Seas*, by permission of D. Appleton and Company. Copyright, 1902, by D. Appleton and Company.


1901
Density of Population
Over 2000 to 1 sq M
500 to 2000 " "
250 to 500 " "
100 to 250 " "
Under 100 " "

THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN SOUTH BRITAIN AFTER THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Reproduced from Mackinder's *Britain and the British Seas*, by permission of D. Appleton and Company. Copyright, 1902, by D. Appleton and Company.

the peace authority to fix wages in their localities, to force the lazy to work, and to assist the sick and the aged. For a century or more these laws were effective and beneficial; but the changes in industry and agriculture that have been outlined above changed a benevolent scheme into a vicious system. Prices were rising, and the "high cost of living" became a stern fact. The justices of the peace were unwilling or unable to raise wages to a sufficiently high figure. In 1795 the justices of Berkshire, feeling that relief must be given, decided to give help to the healthy laborer as well as to the aged and infirm. The scheme was based on the cost of bread: if a man's wages were insufficient to buy the necessary food for his family, the officials of the parish were to provide the difference.

Extension of out-door relief.

The Berkshire plan was widely adopted and soon hundreds of thousands were deriving some support from the poor rates. The evils of the system promptly appeared. If the parish would provide the difference between his earnings and the cost of living, the laborer saw no reason why he should work more than was absolutely necessary. Similarly, the employer reasoned that there was no longer any need to pay high wages; he might as well contribute to the support of his workmen when he paid his taxes. The result was that England with all her wealth, "the workshop of the world," sank into pauperism: a generation after the kind-hearted justices of Berkshire had begun to extend such general relief, one-sixth of the population of England looked to the poor rates and the parish officials for daily bread.

Spread of pauperism.

470. Colonial Growth: India, Australia, and Canada.[1] The loss of the thirteen American colonies was keenly felt; but the greater part of the British Empire remained intact, and its area was constantly increasing. The expansion was most evident in northern India. In 1772, Warren Hastings was appointed governor of Bengal, and the next year he was made governor-general of all the East

Expansion in India.

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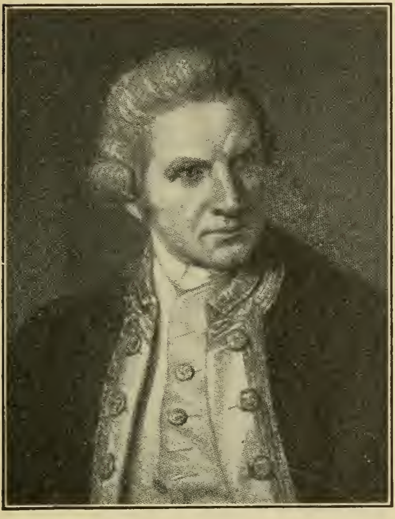
[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 201–202.

India Company's possessions. During his long administration of a dozen years, British authority was extended far up the Ganges valley and British influence spread into central India. Hastings' methods were harsh, at times almost criminal. On his return to England he was impeached but after a long trial acquitted.

Captain Cook: Australia.

It was during this same period that England came into possession of Australia.[1] In 1770 the great English navigator, Captain James Cook, explored the coasts of New Zealand and southeastern Australia. He took possession of the country for the British crown and named it New South Wales. No attempt was made to settle Australia before 1788, when a penal colony was established on Botany Bay. Convicts are poor colonists, and the development of Australia was slow at first; but after the discovery of gold the population began to increase rapidly, and Australia is to-day one of the great self-governing colonies of the empire.



Captain Cook

From a portrait by N. Dance.

The "Loyalists" in Canada.

The American Revolution had important results for the development of Canada. A large element in the thirteen colonies had remained loyal to the English king, and after the treaty of 1783 many of these "Tories" found it necessary to seek homes elsewhere. A large number migrated to Nova Scotia; others settled in New

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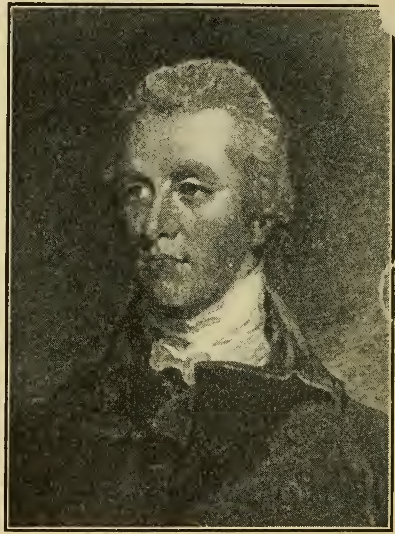
[1] Cheyney, No. 364.

Brunswick, which now became a separate colony; but the greater number crossed the Niagara River and founded the new colony of Ontario (1784). These settlements determined the future of Canada: they gave the country an element that was intensely English and loyal to the empire, and which in time was to wrest the control of Canada from the French in Quebec.

471. William Pitt and the New Tory Party. The decade that followed the close of the Revolution also witnessed a great change in the position of English political parties. In his earlier years William Pitt was a Whig; but his ideas as to the rights and powers of kingship and his conflict with the Whig leaders, notably with Fox, gradually forced him to take Tory ground. The Whigs believed that when the cabinet is no longer supported by a majority in the house of commons it should resign or call a new election. When Pitt became prime minister (1783) at the age of twenty-five, the house of commons was controlled by the "coalition," the followings of Fox and Lord North, who were acting together against the king. They expected to make short work of the youthful minister and voted down his measures time after time; but Pitt did not resign, nor did he call an election before three months were past. Meanwhile, he had gathered a strong following of his own during the conflict, and in the election the "coalition" was overwhelmed. Pitt's party developed into

The younger Pitt.



William Pitt, the Younger

From a portrait by J. Hoppner.

a new Tory party, though the name was not used for more than a decade. The new Tories kept control of the house of commons for about half a century. Pitt also transformed the house of lords into a Tory body; this he accomplished by inducing the king to grant a large number of peerages, care being taken to confer the honors on men who could be depended upon to support the plans of the prime minister.

The new Tory party.

William Pitt was not the sort of a Tory who believed that all changes are evil: he saw the need of reform in many lines and hoped to accomplish much for the betterment of English society. He wished to reform the representation in parliament;[1] to abolish the slave trade; to establish free trade between England and Ireland; and he had many other great causes at heart, but in the end he accomplished very little for domestic reform. Unlike his great father, he was a lover of peace and chiefly interested in the many domestic problems of the kingdom; but, like the elder Pitt, he was called upon to lead Europe in a great war, the greatest series of wars in all history: the wars against the French Republic and the Emperor Napoleon.

Reform policy of William Pitt.

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THE AGRICULTURAL REVOLUTION. — Innes, 695–697; Tout, 630–632.

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. — Beard, 505–519 (Cunningham); Brown, *Short History of Scotland*, 565–572; Cheyney, 578–582; Gardiner, *Student's History of England*, 813–818; Innes, 697–702; Ransome, 850–853; Tout, 626–630.

[1] Cheyney, Nos. 392–394; Kendall, No. 105; Tuell and Hatch, No. 64.

AUSTRALIA. — Woodward, *Expansion of the British Empire*, 262–266.

CANADA. — Woodward, 249–264.

REFORM PROJECTS OF WILLIAM PITT. — Cross, 813–819; Fletcher, *Introductory History of England*, II, i, c. ix; Gardiner, 806–812; Jenks, *Parliamentary England*, 274–304; Oman, 558–565; Rosebery, *Pitt;* Tout, 589–592.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE GREAT WAR WITH FRANCE

472. The French Revolution.[1] In the spring of 1789 a revolutionary movement broke out in France, which in a few years developed into a great international struggle involving nearly all the nations of Europe. The French Revolution had its center at the capital, but the movement was general all over the land, for local despots were to be found everywhere. The common man had good reason to complain: the French peasant was still in a measure afflicted with the burdens of villeinage which the English farmers had thrown off in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[2] The masses had to bear the expenses of an extravagant government, while a comparatively small number of nobles and high officials in the church enjoyed the official honors and privileges. The French thinkers of the age had long agitated for social reforms; yet it is not likely that their demands would have been heeded very soon; for Louis XVI, in whose hands the fullness of power was supposed to rest, was a helpless and incapable, though well-meaning king. But the last war with England, the War of American Independence, had pushed the royal treasury far in the direction of bankruptcy;[3] and the king was forced to call the Estates General, a body that roughly corresponded to the English parliament. This body had not met for one hundred and seventy-five years. In many ways the history of the sessions of the Estates General and the assemblies that succeeded it resembled that of the Long Parliament in England. In both cases many enduring reforms were enacted;

Causes of the French Revolution.

Louis XVI.

The Estates General.

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[1] Gardiner, 820–821.

[2] Robinson, Nos. 169–170.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. 178.

and in both cases the legislative body went farther than the times would permit. In France as in England the movement led to the trial and execution of the king and to the establishment of a republic. In both cases the revolution produced a dictator. And in both cases the movement ended with a restoration of the old dynasty and in part of the old system. There are, of course, also certain notable differences: the French had suffered longer and more keenly than the English and were more united in their demands. As England was an island kingdom and therefore almost inaccessible to foreign armies, and as the rest of Europe was at the time engaged in the Thirty Years' War, England was allowed to finish her civil conflict without interference from abroad; while in France the revolutionists had to face and fight the combined armies of the European despots, who trembled lest the French movement should extend to their own monarchies. And the leadership of this reactionary alliance was forced upon England and upon the reluctant prime minister, William Pitt.

Outcome of the Revolution.

473. England and the Revolution. The course of the Revolution in France at first produced much satisfaction in England. Cowper and Wordsworth watched the progress of events with much enthusiasm; Coleridge expressed the same feeling in fervid poetry:

Attitude of the English poets.

"When France in wrath her giant limbs upreared,
And with that oath, which smote air, earth, and sea,
Stamped her strong foot, and said she would be free,
Bear witness for me, how I hoped and feared."

But when news came of changes by violent instead of strictly legal means, the early enthusiasm began to cool. The first important political result of the Revolution in England appeared in the Whig party, which was split in twain and practically ruined. Fox was enthusiastic for the uprising of the French; and when he heard of the destruction of the Bastille he proclaimed it "the greatest event . . . that ever happened in the world;" and not only the greatest but the best.

Attitude of Fox.

But his old friend Edmund Burke was cool and suspicious from the first. Burke believed that institutions, whether social or political, that had grown up through a long period of time must have certain merits of their own and should not be tampered with. When he learned that the French were beginning to remodel their constitution, his coolness developed into deep resentment and anger. In 1790 he published his *Reflections on the French Revolution*,[1] which became the storehouse from which all who opposed the French movement drew their chief arguments. In the *Reflections* Burke condemned the new revolutionary principles of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, and showed how, in pretended obedience to these principles, the revolutionists had committed great wrongs and even crimes. The same year he broke with his old friend Fox; and under Burke's leadership the more conservative Whigs drifted into an alliance with Pitt's new Tory party into which they were after a time wholly absorbed. The Whigs were left in a sad plight: it was said that all the Whig members of parliament could find room in a single coach, though Fox insisted that they needed at least two.

Edmund Burke on the Revolution.

Split in the Whig party.

474. The Outbreak of War with France. 1793.[2] William Pitt had been mildly favorable to the Revolution in its earlier stages; but he, too, soon developed a strong aversion to the movement. His policy was, however, to maintain the peace and to leave the French to settle their affairs and difficulties without interference from England. But every day violence grew more common and pronounced across the Channel; and every day the hatred of conservative England for revolutionary methods grew more intense.[3] Still, the movement had gone on for nearly four years before actual war broke out between England and France. Three events forced this outcome: (1) in November, 1792, the French Convention, which had suc-

Policy of Pitt.

Causes of the war with France.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 395; Gardiner, 822–823; Kendall, No. 123.

[2] Gardiner, 824–825.

[3] Kendall, No. 124.

ceeded the Estates General, invited all Europe to join in the Revolution and offered to assist any people that wished to overthrow what the French called despotism; (2) French armies had seized the Austrian Netherlands (Belgium) and were threatening to invade and annex the Dutch Republic; (3) in January, 1793, the French government executed the king, Louis XVI; London put on mourning, while Paris rejoiced. Both sides realized that war between the two countries was unavoidable. England might not feel called upon to avenge the Bourbon dynasty, or even to punish the French for inciting dissatisfied Britons to revolt; but she could not allow France to annex her old commercial rival, the Dutch Republic. France realized the situation and on February 1, 1793, the new Republic declared war on England.

1793.

475. The Reign of Terror and the English Reaction.[1] Soon after midsummer of the same year, conditions at Paris drifted into what is known as the Reign of Terror: the men in control of the Republic strove to destroy the enemies of the new system by the use of the guillotine. For nearly a year this terrible period lasted. The same years, 1793–1794, a strange panic seized and held the governing classes in England. Burke's *Reflections* called forth a number of animated replies, some of which attained a wide circulation; an abusive pamphlet by Thomas Paine called the *Rights of Man* sold to the extent of more than a million copies in a short time. In 1792 the government issued a proclamation against such "seditious writings" and parliament was induced to pass several acts directed against harmless political clubs and even against men who agitated for reasonable and much needed reforms. In applying these and other laws that might cover the offenses, the British courts often went to an indefensible extreme. A Scotch lawyer, Thomas Muir, was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years for agitating in favor of universal suffrage and annual elections for members of parliament. There

The Reign of Terror in France.

The panic in England.

Political trials.

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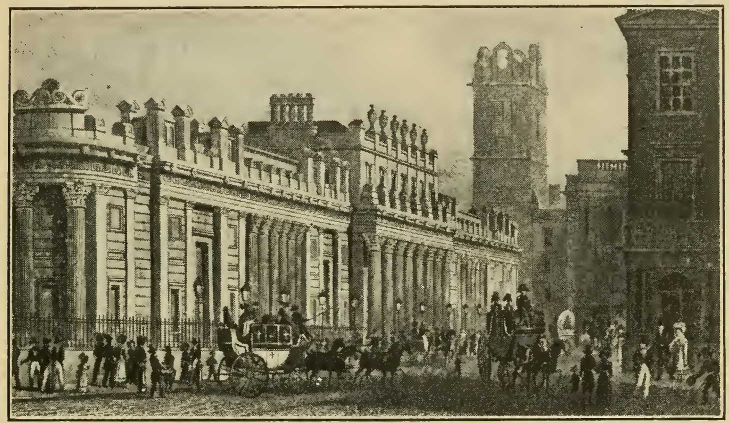
[1] Gardiner, 826–830.

were several other convictions for like offenses; but in 1794, when the Terror was past in France, the panic subsided in England and English juries began to refuse to convict political offenders.

476. William Pitt and the European Coalitions. In 1793 France was at war with Prussia, Austria, the Dutch Republic, and England. Other nations took up arms against the Revolution later on. It was Pitt's plan to organize the enemies of France into great alliances or coalitions, after the example of William III in his wars with Louis XIV.[1] England had no large standing army; and William Pitt therefore had to depend on the forces of the Continental states to fight the French on land. It was to be England's task to fight the Republic on the ocean, to destroy the French navy, and to ruin the enemy's trade. England also sent soldiers to the Continent, but for some years these expeditions were of lesser importance.



THE BANK OF ENGLAND

From an engraving of 1827 by Thomas H. Shepherd.

Pitt's system of coalitions.

England further agreed to furnish her allies with the necessary funds to equip their armies. For a number of years this practice of giving financial assistance to Prussia, Austria, and other states was continued; the war, as a result, came to be very expensive to the English. Pitt did not believe that France could keep up the fight very long, and proposed to carry on the war with borrowed money. But after the national debt had been enormously increased, England had to resort to new forms of taxation among which was a tax on incomes which was levied in 1798. The income tax was very unpopular and after a time was wholly dropped; later it was revived, however, and it is still an important source of national revenue.

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[1] Review sec. 391.

Subsidies.

New taxes.

Pitt's plans were not wholly successful. The British fleet won a series of brilliant victories, but in the fighting on land most of the battles were won by the French. The Republic crushed her enemies the one after the other. England alone refused to yield. Except for a brief year of peace, the war continued till France was overwhelmed on the field of Waterloo in 1815.

477. The Battles of St. Vincent and Camperdown.[1] **1797.** Early in 1795 the French conquered the Dutch and transformed their country into a dependent state to be called the Batavian Republic. The following year Spain renewed her old alliance with France. The French government thus had the command of three fleets: those of France, Spain, and the Netherlands. It was planned to use these in an attack on England and in an invasion of Ireland, where a strong revolutionary movement was being organized.[2] But the Spaniards never came into the Channel. Admiral Jarvis, who commanded the English navy in the Mediterranean, came upon the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent on the coast of Portugal and annihilated a large part of it. One of his captains was Commodore Nelson,[3] and in this battle the great admiral first showed his wonderful abilities in naval warfare. Later in the same year, the Dutch fleet was defeated at Camperdown on

France annexes the Netherlands.

Commodore Nelson.

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[1] Gardiner, 835–837.
[2] *Ibid.*, 831–834.
[3] Bates and Coman, 366–373.

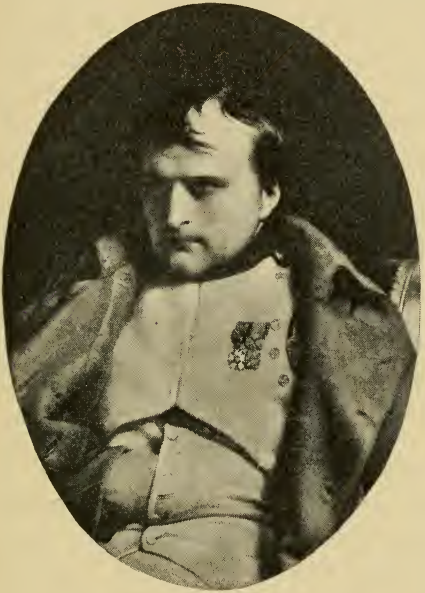
the coast of Holland. Nine of the fifteen ships engaged were taken by the English. The French had intended to use this fleet in their projected descent upon Ireland; that danger was now past. For the time being all plans looking toward the invasion of England also had to be given up.

478. The Battle of the Nile. 1798. In 1795, Napoleon Bonaparte first appears prominently in the history of France; and the next year he began his wonderful military career with his first campaign in Italy. After the defeat on the sea of the allies of France, Napoleon planned to strike England in the Orient.[1] Apparently he hoped to get a secure foothold in Egypt and Syria, and from these regions he may have planned to bring assistance to the rebels in India who were striving to oust the East India Company. With a large fleet he sailed to Egypt in the summer of 1798. But Nelson, who had been watching the French outside Toulon, sailed in search of Napoleon and found his fleet at anchor in a bay on the Egyptian coast not far from Alexandria. The battle began in the evening and was fought all night. The English fleet was badly damaged; but every one of the French ships was destroyed or finally taken by the

Napoleon's Oriental plans.

1798.

Battle of the Nile.



NAPOLEON

From the painting by Paul Delaroche.

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[1] Robinson, No. 199; Gardiner, 837–838.

English. With the loss of his fleet Napoleon was cut off from France; and his Oriental projects, whatever they may have been, became impossible.

479. The Battle of Copenhagen. 1801. Napoleon now decided to strike at England through her commerce. The English success at sea had ruined the carrying trade of France and her allies, and the commerce of the Continental states was carried on in the ships of a few neutral nations, chiefly Denmark, Sweden, and the United States. England had for a long time insisted, however, that goods destined for a hostile port could be seized even when carried by a neutral ship. She therefore claimed and exercised the right of searching neutral cargoes for goods intended for France or any of her allies. American ships were seized and searched even on the high seas. Still worse was the position of the Baltic states: to reach the ports of France and Spain their merchant vessels had to pass down the Channel where British war ships were constantly on guard.

Difficulties of neutral commerce.

A somewhat similar situation had existed twenty years earlier during the American Revolution, and the Baltic states had met it with an alliance called the "League of Armed Neutrality."[1] On the suggestion of Napoleon, Russia took steps to revive this alliance, and all British ships in Russian harbors were seized (1800). As the greater part of the supplies needed for the British navy came from the Baltic lands, England could not afford to lose the trade in those quarters. Early in 1801 an English fleet was sent into the Baltic to break up the "League." Admiral Parker was in charge of the expedition with Nelson as second in command. The fleet attacked and bombarded Copenhagen.[2] The Danes returned such an effective fire that Admiral Parker, who was several miles away, thought it best to retire. But when Nelson's attention was called to the admiral's signals, he placed the glass before his blind eye and assured his men that he saw

League of Armed Neutrality.

The bombardment of Copenhagen. 1801.

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[1] Review sec. 451.

[2] Gardiner, 844–845.

no signals. The Danes were finally forced to yield: Russia made peace with England, and the League disbanded.

Naval victories. 1797–1801.

By 1801, England had overcome and crippled the fleets of all the other maritime powers in Europe. The fleet of Spain had been defeated at St. Vincent; the Dutch navy had been cut to pieces at Camperdown. The French Mediterranean fleet had been ruined in the Nile. And finally the Danish navy had been crippled at Copenhagen. In three of these four battles it was the genius of Lord Nelson that won the victory.

Irish discontent.

Orangemen.

United Irishmen.

Pitt's Irish policy.

480. The Revolt of Ireland. While England was sweeping her enemies off the sea, her supremacy in the British Isles was being seriously endangered by a revolutionary movement in Ireland. In 1783, the Irish parliament had been given complete legislative independence; but the new freedom brought no profit to the island, for the Dublin parliament refused to pass certain very necessary reform laws. It was not a representative body and was deeply tainted with corruption. Many of the old notorious penal laws were still on the statute books, and neither Catholic nor Presbyterian was allowed to share in the government. An Anglican minority was in complete control. During the decade before the war with France a number of secret societies came into existence in Ireland, among which were the Orangemen of Ulster, who were anti-Catholic, and the United Irishmen,[1] an organization that hoped to unite the men of all churches in a fight for Irish freedom and an Irish republic. The French Revolution stimulated these movements. William Pitt believed in generous treatment of the Irish: he favored allowing free trade between the two islands and planned to give full political rights to the Irish Catholics.[2] But his plans were thwarted: the English parliament would not listen to the suggestion of free trade, and George III would not consider giving political rights to his Catholic subjects. Beginning with

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[1] Innes, II, 257–260.

[2] *Ibid.*, II, 261–266.

1795, there was much rioting in Ireland; and in 1798 active rebellion broke out. The government was well informed, however, as to the plans of the revolutionists; the uprising was soon crushed and the principal leaders were executed.

1798.

481. The Union of Great Britain and Ireland. 1801. William Pitt now determined to unite the British Isles into one kingdom. Great Britain and Ireland already had a common king; but Pitt also wanted a single parliament. His plan was to transform the parliament at Westminster into a British parliament by adding a certain number of Irish lords and representatives. In return for the surrender of Irish nationality he offered to give freedom of trade to the island and political rights to the Catholics; he was even willing to give his financial support to the Irish Catholic clergy. His scheme had to be carried through both parliaments. It was readily accepted at Westminster; but the Dublin parliament offered difficulties. A considerable number of Irish members had to be heavily bribed before they would consent to surrender Irish nationality.[1] The measure was finally passed, however, and the union became a fact on January 1, 1801. Ireland was given thirty-two seats in the English house of lords and one hundred and one in the house of commons.[2]

The plan for a legislative union.

How the union was carried.

Pitt's intentions were good, but his methods in this particular transaction were anything but clean. And after the union had been formed, the prime minister was unable to redeem his promise to the Catholics. George III remained obdurate: it had been represented to him, that whereas he had sworn to support the Anglican church, he would break his oath if he allowed the Catholics to share in the government, for this would reduce the power of the Anglican church; moreover the king could not think of giving financial aid to the Catholic clergy. Under the circumstances there was nothing for Pitt to do but to resign his office. When he returned

George III and the Catholics.

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[1] Gardiner, 842.

[2] Cheyney, No. 396; Masterman, 182–184.

to power three years later, King George first made him promise never again to bring up the matter of Catholic emancipation during the king's lifetime.

482. The Peace of Amiens and the Renewal of War. After Pitt had resigned, the English and French governments began to negotiate for peace and a treaty was signed at Amiens in 1802. In this treaty England surrendered practically everything that she had fought for so long. Napoleon was now in full control of the French Republic as First Consul; and England soon realized that the imperial ambitions of the mighty Corsican could not be bound by treaties. After a year of peace, fighting was renewed. The following year (1804) William Pitt once more became the chief of the English government. On the same day Napoleon Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor of the French.

Treaty of Amiens. 1802.

Pitt's second ministry.

483. The Battle of Trafalgar. 1805.[1] The Emperor Napoleon now began to plan an invasion of England and collected a large force in northern France apparently for such an undertaking. The fleets of France and Spain had been rebuilt; and Napoleon ordered them to proceed to the English Channel in united force. Accordingly the French Mediterranean fleet sailed for the Atlantic. Lord Nelson, who commanded the British naval forces in the Mediterranean, sailed in pursuit and once more ruined Napoleon's plans. Later in the year he fell in with the combined fleets at Cape Trafalgar on the southwestern coast of Spain. "England expects every man to do his duty" was the signal that he had flashed to his captains.[2] The signal was heeded. The enemies' ships were nearly all taken or destroyed. But when the battle was over the great admiral was no more. When the news of the victory reached England, there was little rejoicing; for the nation felt that Trafalgar had been dearly bought.[3]

Napoleon's plans to invade England.

Trafalgar.

Death of Lord Nelson.

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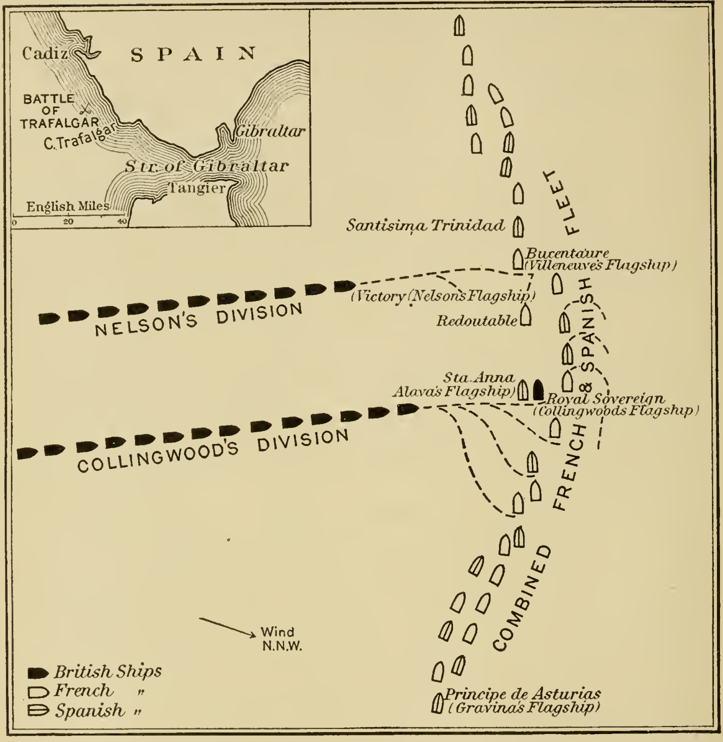
[1] Gardiner, 851–854.
[2] Cheyney, No. 400.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 401.


Cadiz
SPAIN
BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR
C. Trafalgar
Gibraltar
Str. of Gibraltar
Tangier
English Miles
0
20
40
Santisima Trinidad
Bucentaure (Villeneuve's Flagship)
Victory (Nelson's Flagship)
Redoutable
NELSON'S DIVISION
FRENCH & SPANISH FLEET
Sta. Anna Alava's Flagship
Royal Sovereign (Collingwood's Flagship)
COLLINGWOOD'S DIVISION
COMBINED
Wind N.N.W.
British Ships
French "
Spanish "
Principe de Asturias (Gravina's Flagship)

Battle of Trafalgar, 21 October, 1805

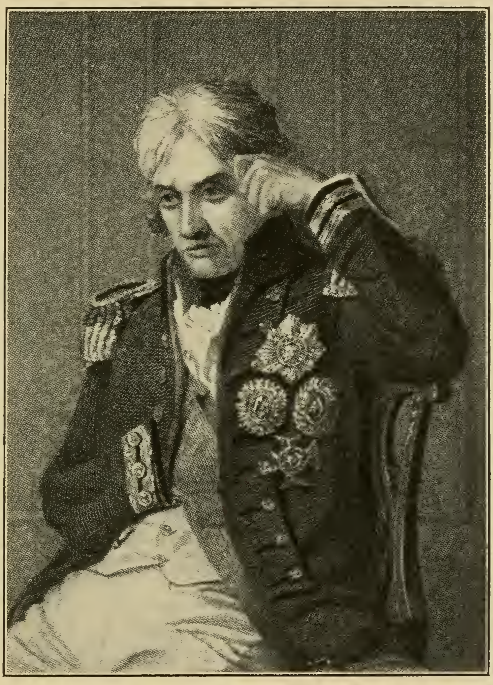
Lord Nelson's work was done. Neither France nor her allies were able to put another fleet upon the ocean. The few hostile ships that remained at Antwerp, Brest, and Cadiz were gradually gathered in by the English captains. With the battle of Trafalgar the naval phase of the great war practically came to a close.

484. Austerlitz. The Death of Pitt. Earlier in the year William Pitt had succeeded in organizing Austria, Russia, England, and other enemies of Napoleon into a new coalition against France. When Napoleon realized that his plans for an invasion of Great Britain could not be carried out, he marched his army swiftly

Napoleon in Germany and Austria.

through Germany into Austria where the coalition had massed its forces. Six weeks after the battle of Trafalgar, he crushed the combined armies of Russia and Austria on the field of Austerlitz. To the men of the time Austerlitz loomed much larger than Trafalgar. William Pitt had always been in frail health; the news of Austerlitz found him ill in body, and his spirit could not endure the blow. In January he died, despairing of the future of his country.[1] He did not understand that Nelson's last victory had secured the safety of England.

1805.



Lord Nelson

After the painting by Charles Lucy, "Nelson in the cabin of the *Victory*."

Death of Pitt.

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[1] Gardiner, 854–855; Kendall, No. 127 (Scott).

Canning and Castlereagh.

After his death the government of England came into the hands of a group of men most of whom were of mediocre abilities. The ablest were George Canning, a brilliant orator and writer, who was for some time the secretary for foreign affairs, and Lord Castlereagh, who served first in the war office and later in the foreign office. Both were uncompromising opponents of Napoleon and both were Tories, though on some questions it was believed that Canning held broader and more liberal views than Castlereagh.

The treaty of Tilsit.

485. The Continental System.[1] In the two years following his victory at Austerlitz, Napoleon overwhelmed the forces of Prussia and Russia. The Tsar thought it advisable to make peace with France and the two emperors met at Tilsit (1807) where they agreed to divide the world between them, Napoleon to take the West and Tsar Alexander to have free hands in the Orient. Once more France was at peace with all Europe except with England. But England could not be conquered and would not make peace.

Napoleon plans commercial warfare.

Second bombardment of Copenhagen. 1807.

England and Portugal.

Napoleon now reverted to his earlier plan of striking at England through her commerce. There were two neutral fleets in Europe that he intended to use in this attack: those of Denmark and Portugal. When England learned of Napoleon's plans, the government sent a fleet and an army to Denmark to seize the Danish navy. Copenhagen was once more bombarded and the Danes were compelled to surrender their ships. In the case of Portugal more peaceful methods were employed. Since the days of Charles II there had been a friendly understanding between England and Portugal. The prince regent was induced to leave Lisbon and take his fleet and his family to Brazil, which was a Portuguese colony.

Napoleon believed that if the Continent could be induced to discontinue all trade with Great Britain, starvation would force the island kingdom to accept his terms of peace. He therefore adopted a policy that is known as the Continental system. By a series of "Decrees" he practically forbade his allies to trade with England; what products they needed they should buy from other Continental states or produce within their own borders. All English or English colonial goods should be destroyed wherever they were found.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 204–205; Robinson, Nos. 207–208.

The Napoleonic "Decrees."

England replied to these decrees with a series of "Orders in Council," which virtually closed every European port from which the English merchant flag was excluded. No neutral ship could safely enter any such harbor unless it had first touched at a British port. And if a trading vessel did enter a British port, it was regarded by the French as a lawful prize which might be seized anywhere.

The English "Orders in Council."

The Continental system failed in its purpose to ruin English commerce, but it had other important results. (1) It caused much distress and dissatisfaction in the states allied to France. Tropical products like coffee, tea, and sugar had become necessities in the Continental households; and a system of government that deprived the people of these could not fail to become intensely unpopular. (2) It forced Napoleon into new wars of conquest; for unless every nation on the Continent could be made obedient to the "decrees," English wares would find their way into European ports, and Napoleon's commercial warfare would end in defeat. (3) It was one of the causes that brought on the War of 1812 with America.

Results of the commercial warfare.

486. The War with America.[1] The nation that suffered most from this commercial warfare was the United States. The Americans had no part in the Napoleonic wars and as a consequence a large share of the world's trade came into their hands. The contention of the English government that the English captains had a right to search neutral ships was a great irritation to the American

Causes of the American War of 1812.

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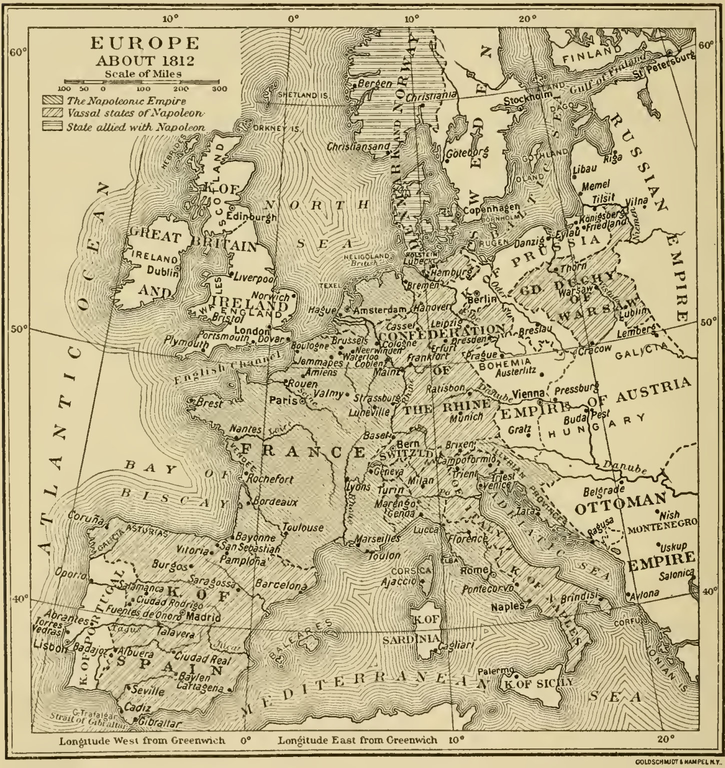
[1] Gardiner, 872–873.

traders; but when the Napoleonic "decrees" and the English "orders" were issued, serious trouble came to the American merchant marine. President Jefferson believed that Europe was so dependent on the American shipping that a suspension of trade would soon bring the contending parties to terms. He accordingly induced Congress to pass an Embargo Act which forbade American ships to leave American ports. The embargo was ruinous to American commerce; and, though it worked great hardship


EUROPE
ABOUT 1812
Scale of Miles
▨ The Napoleonic Empire
▨ Vassal states of Napoleon
☰ State allied with Napoleon
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
NORTH SEA
FRANCE
K. OF SPAIN
CONFEDERATION OF THE RHINE
EMPIRE OF AUSTRIA
RUSSIAN EMPIRE
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
GD. DUCHY OF WARSAW
PRUSSIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BAY OF BISCAY
Longitude West from Greenwich 0° Longitude East from Greenwich 10° 20°
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

The American embargo. 1807.

both in England and on the Continent, it made no impression on the European situation. After a year the embargo was lifted; but the repeal was followed by a Non-intercourse Act, by which trade with England and France was forbidden.

The Non-intercourse Act. 1809.

Another source of irritation was the English practice of searching American ships for English deserters. Service in the English navy was hard; the wages were low; the fare was bad; and the treatment of offenders was often cruel, flogging being a common form of punishment. Just after the battle of St. Vincent there were two serious mutinies in the navy.[1] Conditions were somewhat improved after 1797, but the naval service remained hard and burdensome. Consequently, there were frequent desertions. The constant increase in the British naval forces as the war progressed created a demand for sailors which was hard to supply. It was often difficult to tell an English deserter from an American sailor; and frequently American citizens were seized on the barest suspicion and forced into the British service. If the sailor was of British birth, American citizenship was no protection; for it was held in England that allegiance to the crown could not be legally renounced: "once an Englishman, always an Englishman."

Search and impressment.

The Continental system did not wholly stop European commerce. So great was the need of English and American products in France that Napoleon found it advisable to permit a licensed importation to a certain extent. There was also much unlicensed and irregular trade; this was hazardous, but where the venture succeeded it was also profitable. It is not likely that the interference with American trade and the impressment of American seamen would have brought on war: the New England shipowners, who suffered most from English aggression, were strongly opposed to war. The war of 1812 was brought on by a party in Congress led by Henry

Licensed and unlicensed commerce.

New England opposed to war.

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[1] Gardiner, 836.

Clay and composed chiefly of Southern and Western members, who thought the moment a favorable one for the annexation of Canada.

Orders in council withdrawn.

England did not desire war with America. When Castlereagh understood that the war party was in the saddle in Washington, he withdrew the orders in council and thus removed the chief grievance. But two days later (June 18) and before any news of England's intentions had reached America, Congress declared war against Great Britain.

American naval victories.

In the war of 1812, neither side gained any great credit. The United States was poorly prepared, and England had first of all to watch Napoleon, whose armies were now in Russia. On the sea the American navy won a series of brilliant victories in a number of duels between single ships; and in the battle of Lake Erie Commodore Perry took an entire squadron of British ships. On land, however, honors were more even. In 1813 the war degenerated into a series of raids. Gradually the Americans came to realize the folly of carrying on the contest, especially after the overthrow of Napoleon, and an effort was made to secure peace. After long negotiations a treaty was signed at Ghent in December, 1814. In the treaty no mention was made of search and impressment; but now that the Great War was over there was no need to discuss those questions: England was dismissing instead of impressing seamen. Since the treaty of Ghent there has been a century of unbroken peace between England and America.

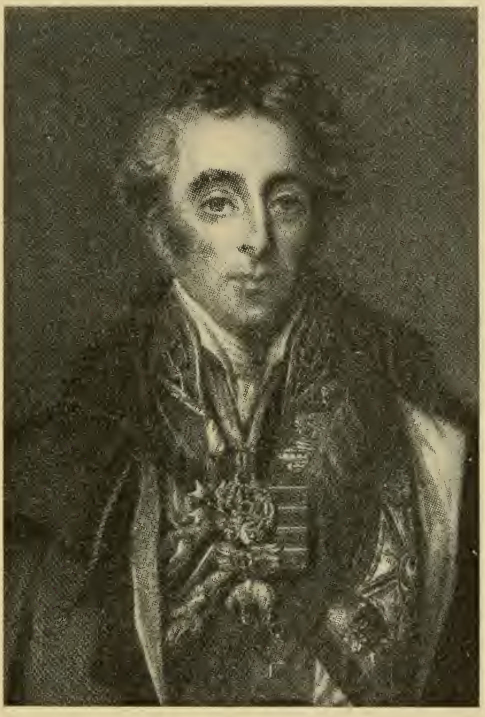
The treaty of Ghent. 1814.

487. The Downfall of Napoleon. The treaty of Tilsit marks the highest point of Napoleon's career; the following year (1808) the decline began. In that year he dethroned the incompetent Spanish king and gave the throne to his own brother Joseph. The Spaniards objected to the change of dynasty and rose in revolt everywhere. This uprising Napoleon was unable to quell. The English government sent prompt aid to the Spanish rebels,

The Spanish war of liberation.

and for five years English armies were operating in Spain.[1] Among the British generals were Sir John Moore[2] and Arthur Wellesley, better known as the Duke of Wellington, who finally succeeded in driving the French out of

Wellington.



Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington

From an engraving by R. Scanlan.

the Spanish peninsula. In 1810 Russia, wearied of the commercial warfare, opened her ports to the world's trade. Napoleon at once began to prepare for an invasion of Russia. In 1812 he advanced to Moscow and entered the

Napoleon in Russia. 1812.

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[1] Gardiner, 862–870.

[2] Bates and Coman, 377–378 (Wolfe, *Burial of Sir John Moore*).

city; but only a fragment of his vast army returned to the west. Bad food, illness, snow, and severe cold had done what Russian soldiers could not do.

Prussia now rose in revolt (1813). Austria declared war on Napoleon later in the year. The genius of the great Corsican and the valor of the French were as great as ever; but Napoleon's resources were now almost exhausted. At Leipsic, in the Battle of the Nations, his new army was crushed; his capital was seized; he was forced to abdicate and was allowed to retire to Elba,[1] a little island of less than one hundred square miles in area. It proved too small to interest the mighty Napoleon; in less than a year he was again in France. The European powers at once prepared to drive him from Europe. The final campaign was fought in Belgium where the allies had two armies, one commanded by Wellington and composed chiefly of English and Hanoverian troops, and a Prussian army under Blücher. The last battle was fought at Waterloo,[2] where Wellington was the victor. Napoleon was exiled to the rock of St. Helena.[3]

The Battle of the Nations. 1813.

The return from Elba.

Waterloo. June 18, 1815.

Meanwhile the rulers and diplomats of Europe had gathered at Vienna to reconstruct the map of Europe. In this so-called "congress" England was represented by Castlereagh; Wellington joined him later. It was the purpose of the congress to restore as far as possible the conditions that prevailed before 1789. In this, however, the reactionary diplomats were not wholly successful. The French Revolution had given the old absolutistic régime a blow from which it never recovered. The movement had swept away feudal privileges, inefficient institutions, and much worn-out governmental machinery, and these could not be restored. On the other hand, the Revolution had built up a new governmental régime for France based on popular consent; and to a large extent the new constitutional system and guarantees were

Results of the French Revolution.

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[1] Robinson, No. 218.

[2] Bates and Coman, 379–380 (Byron).

[3] Cheyney, No. 404.

allowed to remain. During the Great War the principles of the Revolution found their way into almost every part of western Europe, where they took root and produced a harvest of important changes in due time. Especially was this true of the countries that had for a time come under the direct or indirect control of Napoleon.[1]

Growth of the British Empire.

India.

488. Colonial Expansion.[2] One of the results of the Great War was the annexation of certain very important colonial possessions to the British Empire. From the French England took the island of Mauritius. Trinidad and Tobago, two islands in the West Indies, were taken from Spain. Cape Colony at the southern extremity of Africa and what is now called British Guiana in South America were taken from the Dutch. The large and valuable island of Ceylon became a British possession in 1795. Malta in the Mediterranean Sea was seized by Napoleon when on the way to Egypt; two years later it was occupied by the English and was never returned. During the war there had been much trouble in India; in the end, however, the English were victorious everywhere and large territories in Southern India and in the Ganges Valley were added to the dominions of the East India Company.[3]

489. Summary. The French Revolution began in 1789, but England was not drawn into the struggle before 1793. During the first four years of the war, England and the allied states had but slight success; but in 1797 began a series of naval victories that swept the power of France and her allies from the ocean. The series includes the battles of St. Vincent, Camperdown, the Nile, Copenhagen, Trafalgar, and many lesser engagements. Unable to overcome England in any other way, Napoleon sought to ruin the country by crushing its trade. The commercial warfare lasted for several years but failed in its purpose. In 1808 Spain rose against Napoleon and the

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[1] On the larger European aspects of the French Revolution see Robinson, *Western Europe*, cc. xxxv–xxxviii, especially 567–574, 599–600, 622.

[2] Gardiner, 844, 858–859.

[3] Cheyney, No. 450.

"Wars of Liberation" began. In these England had a large part; it was Wellington who drove the French out of Spain and it was Wellington who finally defeated Napoleon at Waterloo.

Results of the Great War.

The chief results of these wars for English history were three: (1) they left England without a rival on the ocean; (2) the British Empire was widely extended at the expense of the other colonizing powers; (3) the war consumed all the energies of the nation to the neglect of domestic matters, and when peace finally came, England had the problems of a generation to solve.

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CHAPTER XXV

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REFORMS

490. The Nineteenth Century. The nineteenth century was a period of vast changes in the social, political, and industrial arrangements of the United Kingdom. In general these changes have grown out of a purpose to give the masses a larger share in the government of the kingdom, in the rewards and wages of industry, and in the social benefits of the age. The keynote of the nineteenth century is democracy. The process of change has not been continuous, nor has it wholly been the work of the reforming elements of the nation. At times the interest in foreign affairs and in the problems of the empire has diverted the attention from domestic ills; but the agitation for reform has never been quieted, and the process still goes on.

The growth of democracy.

Of the many elements that have contributed to the reconstruction of English society, the industrial revolution was doubtless the greatest. The changes in the methods of manufacturing, the increase in production and commerce, and the shifting of the population to the northern counties of England have been sketched in an earlier chapter.[1] The revolution in industry and agriculture went on for half a century or more, but no legal adjustment came before the close of the period. The old laws were applied to the new conditions, and the result was that much hardship had to be endured. For this failure to recognize the new conditions in legislation, the French Revolution and the consequent wars were largely responsible: the excesses committed by the government of the new republic shocked the ruling classes in England and produced a

The revolution in industry and agriculture.

The French Revolution and the reaction.

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[1] Review secs. 462–468.

violent reaction even among men of liberal minds.[1] The Englishmen who were invested with authority steeled themselves against all changes that might seem to favor the laboring multitudes. The only important reform during the twenty-two years of war with the French was the abolition of the slave trade (1807).

491. Distress and Discontent.[2] But after the Congress of Vienna had brought peace and quiet to the distracted nations of Europe, the distressed condition of English society was brought home to English minds. The men who had been sure that peace would bring happiness and prosperity were keenly disappointed to find that misery seemed to be even more widely felt, and that in many quarters there was actual starvation. In country and in town the conditions were very much the same. Large meetings were held which sometimes ended in riots. Laborers who were out of work and could get no employment went about smashing machines. Loud protests came to the government from every part of the realm. The ministry, which was Tory of the sort that worships the past and all existing institutions, replied with repression.[3] Every movement that threatened the cozy quiet of the ruling classes was put down with unusual severity.

Peace followed by distress.

Governmental repression.

The causes of this general discontent were various, but they may be grouped under three heads. (1) The long war had on the whole been beneficial to agriculture and industry, for the government had spent a vast amount of money every year in purchasing provisions and other supplies for the army and the navy. When the war ended, there was no longer any demand from this direction, and many workmen suddenly found themselves out of employment. The soldiers and sailors who were now dismissed were another disturbing factor in the labor market. (2) The crop of 1816 was a failure, and in the summer of that year food products sold at a higher price than perhaps ever before in English history. (3) But the

Causes of the distress.

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[1] Review sec. 475.

[2] Gardiner, 876–879.

[3] Cheyney, No. 408.

greatest cause was the abuses that had grown up with the new factory system; these could be removed by legislation only.

492. The Problems of the Peace. In 1815 and the following decade, there were four well defined types of grievances that the government was called upon to correct.

1. *Religious Disabilities.* Of the population of the United Kingdom there were large classes that had not yet been given full political rights. The Anglican in England and Ireland and the Presbyterian in Scotland possessed the usual privileges of citizenship; but Catholic and Protestant dissenters could not sit in parliament or hold any office. The disability was caused by such early laws as the Test and Corporation Acts and by the requirement of oaths that had religious significance. This problem was largely an Irish one. Though Irish Catholics could vote, conditions forced them to choose Protestant representatives to parliament. English dissenters were allowed to hold office in violation of law; but the offense demanded forgiveness in the form of an annual indemity act.[1]

Catholics and Protestant dissenters.

2. *The Landlord Evil.* Most of the land had come into the possession of landlords to whom the tenants paid stipulated rent. In Ireland this created much trouble: the landlord as a rule did not live on his estates, but managed them through agents; and these were not always forgetful of their own advantage. In England the situation was more tolerable, for there absentee landlords were fewer and the English farmers had certain rights that the Irish tenants did not have.

Absentee landlords.

3. *Factory Conditions.* The new system of industry led to a multitude of evils. The workday was long, often fifteen hours, with the shortest possible intermission for meals; wages were low; conditions of employment were unsanitary. Women were hired to work long hours at difficult tasks. Children, usually orphans and other inmates of supposedly charitable institutions, worked from five or six in the morning till seven and sometimes

Hours of labor.

Child labor.

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[1] Review, sec. 415.

nine at night in the textile mills. The evil was a crying one, but twenty years passed before any serious attempt was made to remedy factory conditions by legislation. This problem was chiefly confined to England.

4. *The Parliamentary Situation.* So long as Parliament was controlled by the lords and men of wealth, there was small hope for improvement; and the reformers soon came to realize this fact. The lords to a large extent controlled both houses of parliament. They composed the membership of the upper house and were often able to dictate the election of members to the house of commons. As landlords they were influential with their tenants, who sometimes had the right to vote; but more effective was their control of "rotten boroughs" and "pocket boroughs."

The "unreformed parliament."

A rotten borough was one that had practically ceased to exist, though the old site, even if entirely uninhabited, had a right to be represented by two members in parliament as of old. Rich lords or wealthy business men were often eager to buy such deserted plots in order to secure a seat in parliament for themselves or their relatives. Most famous of all the rotten boroughs was Old Sarum, the site of which was owned by the Pitt family. There was not a single building in the borough; and the five voters, who elected the representatives to parliament, had to hold their elections in a tent.

"Rotten boroughs."

A pocket borough was an unimportant town that had in some way come into the control of a neighboring magnate whose nominees the voters would be sure to elect. Many of these had at one time been important boroughs; but they had declined in size and prosperity, and the inhabitants had found it profitable to let others exercise their parliamentary rights. Some of them, however, had been deliberately created as pocket boroughs. Queen Elizabeth was particularly free about creating such boroughs. In Cornwall, where the influence of the crown was great, she found a number of unimportant villages to which she gave the privilege of representation in parliament. A certain district in Cornwall, which now sends

"Pocket boroughs."

a single member to the house of commons, elected eighteen members before the reform of 1832.

The need of franchise reform.

The matter of the franchise was also in great need of readjustment. There was no common rule governing the right to vote for borough members. In some boroughs they were chosen by a small group of men called the borough corporation; this was a continuous body, as it filled its own vacancies. In other places the right to vote was associated with the possession of certain parcels of land. In one borough the voter had to prove his right to "a small quantity of salt water arising out of a pit." In 1832 this pit had long been dry, but the ancient right remained.

493. The Agitation for Reform. Even before 1815 reforms in all these directions had been urged, though without success. From the Tories, who had long been in control of the government, little could be expected. The Whigs were somewhat more responsive to popular demands; but their party was weak and divided. Some of the Whig chiefs had looked with favor on the French Revolution and had consequently lost their influence among the ruling classes. After the restoration of peace, the demand for changes grew more insistent. Earl Grey and Lord John Russell, two aristocratic Whig leaders, had long urged parliamentary reform. George Canning agitated for Catholic emancipation. Soon the ranks of the reformers were recruited from a rising generation of radicals of a more aggressive type. William Cobbett, an able though somewhat erratic journalist, stood for reforms of every sort, though he realized fully that all efforts were useless so long as parliament remained unreformed. Henry Brougham, who was probably the leading democrat of his day, urged reforms in education. James Mackintosh, a Scotch philosopher, who had once written a strong reply to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, argued for changes in the frightful criminal code, which decreed the death penalty for more than two hundred offenses, including such petty crimes as stealing a loaf of bread or shooting a hare in a private hunt-

The Whig reformers.

The Radicals.

ing park.[1] The poet Shelley stated the views of the extreme radicals in a sonnet, *England in 1819:*

> "An old, mad, blind, despised and dying king, —
> Princes, the dregs of their dull race, who flow
> Through public scorn, mud from a muddy spring, —
> Rulers who neither see nor feel nor know,
> But leechlike to their fainting country cling,
> Till they drop, blind in blood, without a blow, —
> A people starved and stabbed in the untilled field, —
>
> . . . .
>
> A Senate, — Time's worst statute unrepealed,
> Are graves from which a glorious phantom may
> Burst to illumine our tempestuous day."

494. Divisions in the Tory Party.[2] In 1820 George III died and was succeeded by his unworthy son George IV. But as the new king had already governed the country for nine years as regent for his insane father, and as he retained the earlier ministers, no change of policy could be looked for. The leading spirit in the government was neither the king nor the prime minister, but Lord Castlereagh, who was secretary for foreign affairs.[3] It was Castlereagh who had planned the military operation during the later years of the Napoleonic War. He had been an im-

George IV.

Castlereagh.

ROBERT STEWART, LORD CASTLEREAGH

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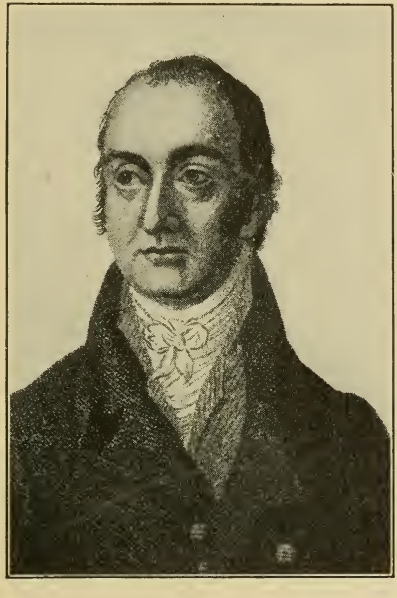
[1] Cheyney, No. 411; Gardiner, 885.

[2] Gardiner, 882–884.

[3] Review sec. 484.

portant figure in the Congress of Vienna and felt bound to support its principles of settlement. As the purpose of this Congress was to restore as far as possible the conditions that existed before the French Revolution, Castlereagh fell under a strong suspicion of being a reactionary. From a cabinet dominated by a man of this type, the reformers could expect no progressive measures.


George Canning

From an engraving, published 1816.

Canning.

Castlereagh's rival was George Canning, who headed the moderate wing of the Tory party. After Castlereagh's death in 1822, Canning succeeded him in the foreign office. From that moment the period of reform may be said to date; for Canning was pledged to at least one reform, the removal of Catholic disabilities. He accomplished nothing, however, except to keep the agitation alive.

Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.

Daniel O'Connell.

495. Catholic Emancipation.[1] Matters came to a climax in 1828, when the Duke of Wellington was prime minister. Early in that year the Test and Corporation Acts[2] were finally repealed and all citizens were made eligible to office. But the declaration against transubstantiation was still in the oath administered to members of parliament, so that no Catholic could take a seat in that body. Daniel O'Connell, an Irish orator of great fame and power, decided in spite of this fact to become a candidate for a seat in the house of commons. At a special election in southwestern Ireland he defeated one of the chiefs of the Tory party.[1] That a legally elected and fully qualified citizen should be denied his seat because he refused to violate his conscience by taking the prescribed oath, created much stir in the land. So determined were the Irish Catholics, that Wellington feared that civil war would be the outcome. The government agreed that the bar should be removed. A relief bill introduced by Robert Peel became a law in 1829. O'Connell sought a second election and was allowed to take his seat.

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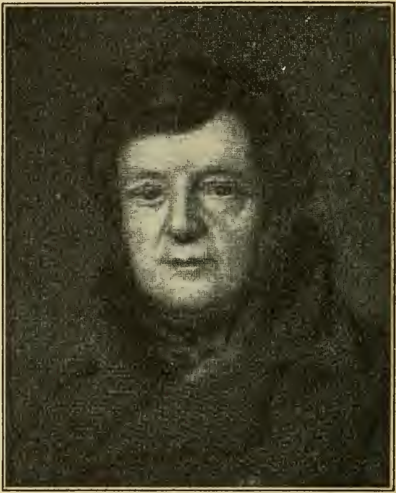
[1] Cheyney, Nos. 413–414; Gardiner, 895–898.

[2] Review secs. 352, 359.

Wellington yields on the Catholic question.



DANIEL O'CONNELL
From a painting by T. Carrick.

496. Parliamentary Reform. 1832.[2] The reformers next centered their attention upon parliamentary reform. A violent agitation arose which was doubtless given strength and momentum by movements on the Continent. In 1830 the "July Revolution" broke out in Paris and spread to the neighboring lands. The purpose of the revolutionists was to overthrow the absolutism that had been reëstablished by the Congress of Vienna, and in places they were successful. In England the movement took the form of an insistent demand for reform of the house of commons.[3] Toward the close of the year, Earl Grey, who had urged parlia-

The July Revolution in Paris.

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[1] Kendall, No. 128.

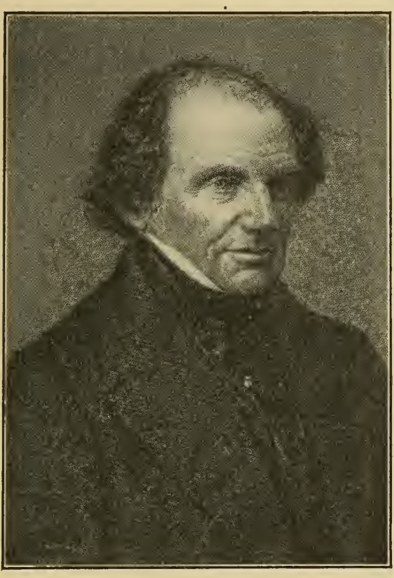
[2] Masterman, 196–200; Tuell and Hatch, No. 67.

[3] Gardiner, 894.

mentary reform for a quarter of a century, suggested that such a measure be passed. But Wellington refused to tamper with the historic constitution and was forced to resign.[1] William IV, who had succeeded his brother a few months before, called on Earl Grey to head a new ministry.[2] There were still four leading groups in the politics of Britain: extreme Tories, "Canningite" Tories, Whigs, and Radicals. Earl Grey selected his cabinet from among the Whigs and the Canningites; he also had the support of the Radicals. Out of this alliance grew the Liberal party which has controlled the nation and the empire most of the time since 1830.

Agitation for parliamentary reform.

The Grey ministry.



Lord John Russell
From a photograph by Mayall

A few months later the government had a bill ready for the reconstruction of parliament. It was introduced into the house of commons by Lord John Russell who had also been a persistent advocate of parliamentary reform.[3] But the first test vote showed that the house was almost evenly divided on the subject, and the bill was dropped.[4]

The First Reform Bill. 1831.

In the hope of securing a favorable house, the Grey ministry dissolved parliament and ordered new elections.[5] After an exciting campaign, in which the reform bill was the sole issue, the Whigs and their allies came back to Westminster in a strong majority. Another bill was prepared and passed through the house of commons but it was rejected by the lords.[1]

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[1] Cheyney, No. 416; Kendall, No. 129.
[2] Gardiner, 900–901.
[3] Cheyney, No. 417.
[4] Cheyney, Nos. 418, 421.
[5] Kendall, No. 130.

The Second Reform Bill.

The excitement in the country was intense and for some weeks riot and destruction of property prevailed. A third bill was rushed through the house, but once more the peers threatened to throw it out or to change it so as to make it harmless as a reform measure. When the attitude of the peers became evident, Grey and his colleagues resigned. The king asked Wellington to form another cabinet, but as he now proposed to grant a measure of reform, the Tory chiefs refused to serve under him. The king then recalled Earl Grey and promised to create a sufficient number of Whig lords to overcome the hostile majority. On learning this the upper house yielded, and the third bill became a law.[2]

The Third Reform Bill.

By the provisions of the act fifty-six English boroughs lost all their representation in parliament; thirty lost one member each; one lost two out of four members. The seats that the boroughs lost were distributed among the larger counties and the more important towns.[3] In the boroughs every man who occupied a house for which he paid £10 in yearly rent, or whose own house would rent for that sum, was allowed to vote. In the country the forty-shilling freeholders remained voters as before;[4] but the franchise was also given to certain classes of tenant farmers who paid rent of from £10 to £50. Those who rented for a short time were included in the £50 class. In general the right to vote was given to the business men of the cities and to the more important farmers. The workingmen were not given the ballot: very few of them paid as much as £10 in house rent. The measure was a moderate one and was soon found inadequate. Two later reforms have given the United Kingdom substantially equal electoral districts and what comes very near being universal male suffrage.

Provisions of the act.

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[1] Gardiner, 902–903.

[2] *Ibid.*, 903–905.

[3] Cheyney, No. 420.

[4] Review sec. 178.

497. The Reformed Parliament. In the election that followed the passage of the reform bill, the Liberal groups won an overwhelming victory, and the great majority of the new members were eager for social reforms. For some years the work went on. One of the first measures to pass was an act abolishing slavery in all the British dominions.[1] A large sum of money was set aside to compensate the owners for the loss of their property, and the freedmen were to continue working for their masters as apprentices for twelve years longer. An appropriation was made to promote education, the first grant of the kind in the history of parliament. Quakers were admitted to parliament on affirmation instead of oath. Of more immediate importance was a factory act,[2] which regulated the number of hours that children might labor in the mills: children under thirteen years were limited to nine hours; older children were allowed to work twelve hours. No child under the age of nine was to be employed in a factory. The poor law was changed in such a way as to encourage the paupers to work: relief was not wholly abolished, but workhouses were built, and assistance was to be given only to inmates of these establishments.[3] In many cases the new law worked much hardship, but it was probably an improvement on the older methods of dealing with poverty.[4]

Abolition of slavery.

Factory acts. 1833.

The new poor law.

498. Borough Government and Postal Reform. After two years of strenuous reforming the nation seemed to tire of the changes, and an effort was made to place the Conservatives in power under the leadership of the moderate and practical statesman, Robert Peel. The movement failed, however; the Liberals formed an alliance with O'Connell and his Irish following, and Peel was forced to resign. The reformers returned to their work and began by providing a more rational form of government for the boroughs. The old

Municipal government.

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[1] Gardiner, 910–911.

[2] Cheyney, Nos. 422–424; Innes, *Industrial Development*, 296–307.

[3] Gardiner, 911; Innes, *Industrial Development*, 262–264.

[4] Review sec. 469.

self-perpetuating corporations were abolished and a governing council was created which was to be chosen by the taxpayers.

Rowland Hill and the postal reform.

The same decade saw an important reform in the postal service.[1] The charge for carrying letters was high and varied with the distance. This proved a great hardship for the poor. The charge was paid by the one who received the letter: this led to constant efforts to evade the law by smuggling, placing private marks on the envelope, and the like. Rowland Hill, an officer in the postal service, showed that the rates were far above the cost of carrying the letters, and that the distance had little to do with the cost. He therefore urged the government to adopt a low rate and have the cost paid by the sender, which could be done by affixing a government stamp. After a few years of agitation the reform was carried through, and the United Kingdom had a uniform penny postage (1839). Since that time Rowland Hill's ideas have been accepted throughout the world.[2]

1839.

499. The Progress of the Industrial Revolution. During all these years the changes that are associated with the industrial revolution were going forward at a steadily increasing rate. It is estimated that there were about 3000 power looms in operation in Great Britain in 1815; twenty years later, during the decade of the factory acts and the new poor law, the number had risen to 100,000. A large number of these were used in the manufacture of cotton; during this same period the importation of cotton increased four fold. A number of new inventions were also put to use, but these were chiefly in the form of improvements on the great spinning and weaving machines of the eighteenth century.[3] Among the more important was an improvement on the power loom which made it possible to weave cloth of varied and often intricate designs.

Growth of manufacturing.

The agitation for laws to regulate factory labor and to improve the living conditions in the factory districts did not

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[1] Cheyney, No. 425.

[2] Gardiner, 918–920.

[3] Review sec. 463.

Industrial reforms.

cease with the passing of the factory act of 1833. It was urged by the reformers that the employment of children should be forbidden; that the hours for men and women should be made shorter; and that something should be done to provide the workingmen's families with better homes.[1]

Houses of Parliament, London

The building was begun in 1840 and completed in 1852. It covers eight acres and contains 1100 rooms.

Mrs. Browning and Lord Shaftesbury.

In 1842, when Robert Peel was prime minister, a commission was appointed to investigate labor conditions in the coal mines. The investigation revealed a state of affairs that was but little better than slavery: it was found that women and children bore heavy burdens deep under ground for twelve hours a day.[2] At the same time the attention of the public was once more directed to the question of child labor in the factories: in 1844 Mrs. Browning gave voice to the public feeling on this matter in her poem *The Cry of the Children.* The leader of the forces that fought for reforms along these lines was Lord Ashley, earl of Shaftesbury:

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 307–311.

[2] Kendall, No. 134.

his efforts were chiefly directed toward securing a ten-hour day in industry. The agitation bore fruit: during the forties a series of acts were passed which materially reduced the evils of labor in mines and factories. The employment of children was still more narrowly limited, and in 1847 the bill for a ten-hour day was passed.

The ten-hour day.

500. The Movement for Public Health.[1] One of the problems of the factory towns in northern England was how to provide homes for the rapidly growing laboring population. Many houses were built in these towns, but they were built with a view to secure a high rent at the lowest cost to the owner. They were often located in districts where there were no water-works, no sewers or drains, and no provision for the disposal of garbage. It was not long before the factory towns were reeking with filth. The effects of this condition appeared in an abnormally high death rate: in Glasgow forty out of every thousand died in 1843; at present the death rate in England is less than fifteen per thousand. In the older towns like London, the situation was better, but there was much room for improvement.

Sanitation.

In the campaign for public health the name of Edwin Chadwick is the most prominent. His service consisted in getting the facts of the situation in the cities before the English people. To lower the death rate he urged improved water-works and better drains. In his efforts to secure these improvements he was ably supported by Lord Shaftesbury. In 1844 a commission was appointed by parliament to study the question of the "health of towns." The report of this body confirmed the statements of Chadwick and Shaftesbury. The outcome was a measure providing a general board of health with powers to organize local boards of health. Later the cities took up the question and many English municipalities have undertaken to provide not only pure water and proper drainage, but also houses built with a view to preserve and promote health and rented to the poor at

Edwin Chadwick.

Boards of health.

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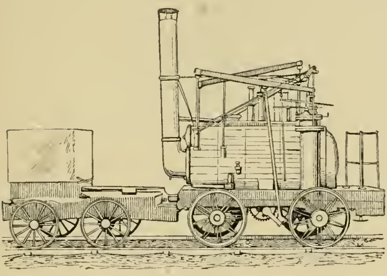
[1] Gardiner, 922–923.

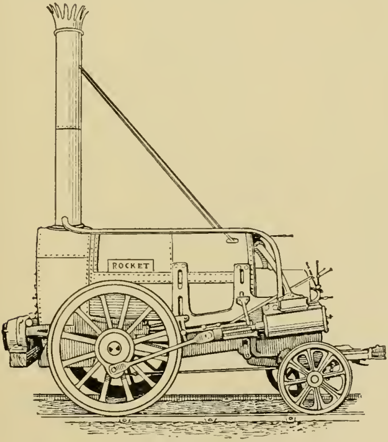
the lowest possible rate. The "housing question" still remains, however, one of the more important in British municipal life.



"PUFFING BILLY"
Stephenson's first locomotive.

501. The Steamship and the Railway.[1] The greatest achievements of the industrial revolution during the first half of the nineteenth century lay in the fields of transit and transportation. In 1812 the first English steamship was launched on the Clyde River; two years later George Stephenson built the first railway locomotive. Ocean traffic by steam dates from 1819, when an American steamship, the *Savannah*, came across the Atlantic to Liverpool. The *Savannah*, however, did not depend wholly on steam; not till 1838 did ocean travel by steam alone become a real fact: in that year the *Sirius* and the *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic in eighteen and fifteen days respectively.

The steamship.



"THE ROCKET"

George Stephenson's first locomotive, "Puffing Billy," as the noisy machine was called, did not prove a success; but in 1816 he succeeded in building an engine that was able to haul cars of coal. In 1825 the locomotive was first used in passenger traffic; but the speed attained, eight miles per hour, did not promise

George Stephenson.

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[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 239–243.

The locomotive.

much for the future of the steam railway. Soon after this a railway was built between Manchester and Liverpool, and Stephenson succeeded in inducing the promotors to arrange for a locomotive contest before finally determining what power should be used on the new road. He won the contest with the "Rocket," a locomotive that reached a speed of thirty-five miles in an hour (1829). The railway was opened the next year and many other important lines were built during the following decade.

Victoria.

502. Queen Victoria.[1] In 1837 William IV died and the crown passed to his niece, the Princess Victoria, a young girl of eighteen years.[2] Queen Victoria took her domestic and social duties very seriously; she had, therefore, not always the necessary time for governmental affairs, and as a result the office of the prime minister grew to great importance. Victoria's long reign of more than sixty-

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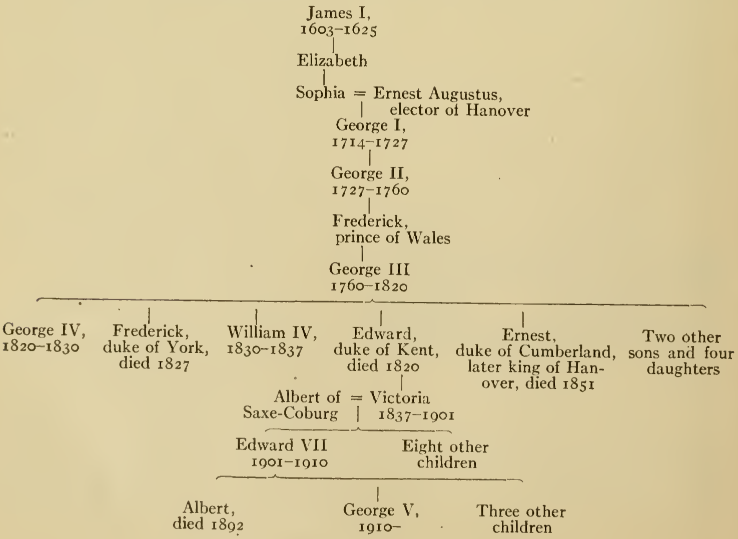
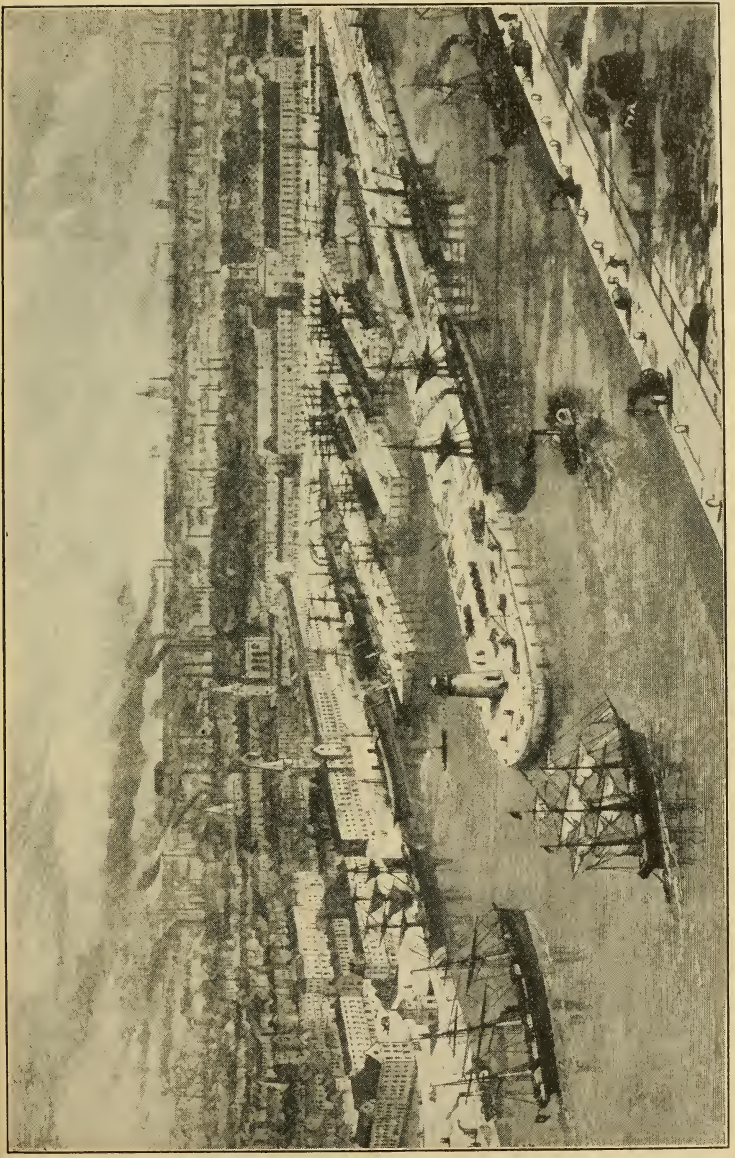
[1] Cheyney, No. 426.

[2] The genealogy of the Hanoverian dynasty.


James I,
1603–1625
Elizabeth
Sophia = Ernest Augustus,
elector of Hanover
George I,
1714–1727
George II,
1727–1760
Frederick,
prince of Wales
George III
1760–1820
George IV,
1820–1830
Frederick,
duke of York,
died 1827
William IV,
1830–1837
Edward,
duke of Kent,
died 1820
Ernest,
duke of Cumberland,
later king of Hanover, died 1851
Two other
sons and four
daughters
Albert of
Saxe-Coburg
= Victoria
1837–1901
Edward VII
1901–1910
Eight other
children
Albert,
died 1892
George V,
1910–
Three other
children



THE MANCHESTER SHIP CANAL

This canal connects Manchester with the estuary of the Mersey. "It is 35 miles in length, 26 feet deep, and has a bottom width of 120 feet."

three years, the longest in English history, saw a series of remarkable men in charge of the queen's government. Four of these played large and brilliant parts: Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, Benjamin Disraeli, and William Ewart Gladstone. The queen did not allow the cabinet to control the government absolutely: she tried to keep informed at all times and claimed a right to share in the adoption of governmental policies; however, in such matters she usually found it necessary to defer to the opinions of the ministers in charge.[1]

Victorian prime ministers.

Queen Victoria

Queen Victoria married Albert, a prince from one of the lesser German states.[2] Prince Albert was never popular with the English people: he was somewhat stiff and reserved and had none of those genial graces that Englishmen love to see in royalty. No place was made for him in the government, and for a long time he had no legal title; but the queen was finally able to persuade parliament to give him the title of Prince Consort. Though he was the queen's husband, the ruling powers in England did not intend that he should be anything more than mere consort. This, however, did not prevent him from becoming a real force

Prince Albert.

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[1] Masterman, 190–195.

[2] Bates and Coman, 388–392; Cheyney, No. 427.

in the government of the kingdom. He was naturally the queen's confidential adviser, and his counsel carried great weight with the cabinet as well as with the queen. After twenty years of married life the prince died,[1] and for forty years longer Queen Victoria struggled single-handed with parties and ministers.

Prince Albert's place in the government.

It was the peculiar duty and privilege of Albert and Victoria to reëstablish monarchy in the affections of the English people. The Hanoverian line of kings had not been famous either for intelligence or for virtue. The queen's grandfather, George III, had, indeed, lived a most proper private life; but his narrowness and stubbornness combined with a feeble intellect made him anything but an ideal ruler. Her uncle, George IV, had disgusted the nation; and her other uncle, William IV, while in many ways an improvement on his impossible brother, was erratic and was believed by many to be slightly unbalanced. But Queen Victoria, as wife and mother and mistress of a home, illustrated what was noblest and best in the English character.[2] Early in the queen's reign it was freely predicted that the British Isles would before long become a republic. To-day monarchy is firmly intrenched in the English political system. Even radicals admit the value of a dynasty in a nation like England and in a government like that of the United Kingdom. Albert and Victoria redeemed monarchy.

The Hanoverians.

Private life of Victoria.

503. The Victorian Age in Literature. The same generation that gave England her queen also produced a series of great literary artists and thinkers, whose writings have made the Victorian age a notable period in the literary history of the world. The decade from 1809 to 1819, the year of Victoria's birth, is honored by the birth of Alfred Tennyson, Robert Browning, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Charles Dickens, William Makepeace Thackeray, John Ruskin, and George Eliot. None of these writers was more than ten years older than the queen herself; George Eliot was a few months

Literature.

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[1] Bates and Coman, 392–394 (Tennyson).

[2] *Ibid.*, 395–396 (Tennyson).

younger. In other lines, too, this wonderful decade was productive of genius, for it counts the scientist Charles Darwin and the statesman William Ewart Gladstone. John Stuart Mill, the economist, and Thomas Carlyle, though a few years older, also belong to this group.

Literature and the movement for reform.

These men and women achieved greatness in their own various lines; but they also have their places in the social and political movements of the age. Most of them received their earlier impressions during the period of reform agitation that preceded the parliamentary reform act of 1832. In the subsequent struggle for social reconstruction, especially when the enthusiasm for reform rose once more during the forties, these men and women through their writings and otherwise proved a tremendous force in the shaping of public opinion. It cannot be estimated how much strength the democratic movement gained from Thackeray's powerful satires, the *Book of Snobs*, for instance. Mention has already been made of Mrs. Browning's *Cry of the Children*, which to this day has remained an effective argument for a certain type of industrial legislation. In the same way the demand for aid and justice to the poor found a literary voice in Charles Dickens, whose novels ring with protest against the many abuses in the social life of the time.[1] He exposed the miseries of the newly established workhouses and the degrading influence of the prison for debt; he attacked the antiquated system of education and the slow and stupid methods of the courts; he brought to light the dreadful poverty of the London slums. In most of the other writers of the age the same spirit is present, though the purpose is not so evident in their works.

Writers of the age of Wordsworth.

To the earlier generation of nineteenth century writers, whose work was done chiefly before 1832, the reform movement owes very little, though an exception may be made of Thomas Hood, whose *Song of the Shirt* doubtless was effective in creating sympathy for the women in the sweat shops. Scott died in 1832; Byron and Shelley had preceded him nearly ten years earlier; Southey and Wordsworth survived Scott, but their important work was done before 1832. At some period in life nearly all these men had been sympathetic toward revolution. But they were not reformers; their writings did not deal with the problems of their own time. Shelley may be regarded as an exception, but his work had little influence. Moreover, the reaction drove several of them into the conservative camp: Scott, Southey, and Wordsworth died as confirmed Tories of the older type.

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[1] *Oliver Twist, Little Dorrit, Nicholas Nickleby, Bleak House,* and other novels.

504. Summary. The "forty years of peace" that followed the treaties drawn up at Vienna in 1815 may be grouped into three periods. (1) The first dozen years (1815–1827) were a period of much discontent, great commercial and industrial development, and almost continuous agitation for domestic reforms. During these years the Tories were in power and were led successively by Castlereagh, Canning, and Wellington. In parliament the opposition to the Tories looked to Earl Grey, Lord John Russell, and Henry Brougham for leadership; while outside parliament the multitude listened chiefly to William Cobbett, who preached reform in his *Weekly Political Register*. (2) This period was followed by a decade of reform legislation: political rights were restored to the Catholics and the Protestant dissenters; parliament was reformed; factory laws were enacted; a new poor law was placed on the statute books; the boroughs were reorganized; slavery was abolished in the colonies; and other far-reaching changes were given legal sanction. This decade also saw the first practical steam railway and the first successful attempts to cross the ocean in ships that were propelled by steam power only. In politics the period saw the beginnings of the Liberal party which was being formed out of three separate political groups: the Whigs, the Radicals, and the Canningite Tories. (3) After 1838 the fervor of the reformers cooled somewhat. Many important laws affecting English social life were, indeed, enacted: something was done to improve the conditions in

Twelve years of agitation.

A decade of reforms.

The Liberal party.

Changing interests.

mines and factories, to shorten the hours of labor, and to promote the public health; but, on the whole, the statesmen who controlled the government during the earlier decades of Queen Victoria's reign were not intensely concerned with domestic problems.

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CHAPTER XXVI

PALMERSTON AND THE EMPIRE. 1837–1867

505. Problems of the Early Victorian Period. The first thirty years of Queen Victoria's reign were occupied chiefly with problems that concerned the United Kingdom in the larger sense, the British Empire, and the position of England among the nations of the world. After a few years of legislation for social betterment a reaction set in and the enthusiasm for reform yielded to a deepening interest in affairs abroad. The earlier decades of the Victorian era witnessed a series of vast movements in Europe and in the world at large: the revolutionary risings of 1848; the Crimean War; the Sepoy rebellion against the East India Company; the unification of Italy; the civil war in the United States; and the preliminary conflicts that led to the formation of the German Empire. In some of these movements England played a large and leading part; in every case she was an interested and attentive observer.

World problems.

506. Four Victorian Statesmen. Of the English statesmen of the period four were preëminent: Peel, Derby, Russell, and Palmerston. The first two represented the Tory tradition with the difference that Derby, who had come over from the Whigs, was developing toward Conservatism, while Peel, who had sprung from the middle class and was essentially a man of affairs, had no fear of changes that seemed to promote social justice, and was gradually advancing toward Liberalism. Russell, while a man of moderate abilities, had an excellent record and was one of the more important chiefs of the Whig element in the newly formed Liberal party.

Derby, Peel, and Russell.

The chief pilot of the period, however, was Lord Palmerston.

Lord Palmerston.

Palmerston was an Irish peer, though of English blood: he found a seat in the house of commons at an early age and remained in that body almost continuously for nearly sixty years. For the larger part of this period he also had a seat in the cabinet and was twice prime minister. He was originally a Tory of the Canningite faction; but during the agitation for parliamentary reform he deserted the Tory party and became identified with the Whigs. Palmerston's interest lay in foreign affairs, and in the conduct of the foreign office he showed such an aggressive and domineering spirit that the peace of Europe was often despaired of. His ideas of foreign policy were often totally different from those of the queen; but this did not disturb Palmerston: he went ahead with his plans and notified the sovereign after he had taken action. A minister who employed such high-handed methods and showed so little respect for the crowned heads of Europe could not fail to be a sore trial to the queen. But the interests of England were carefully watched when Palmerston was in the foreign office, and his methods and policy had the approval of the great majority of Englishmen.

Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston

From an engraving, after the original from life by C. Silvy.

Palmerston and the queen.

507. The Dominion of Canada.[1] During this period England entered into new relations with Canada. The two chief regions of this colony, Upper and Lower Canada, had

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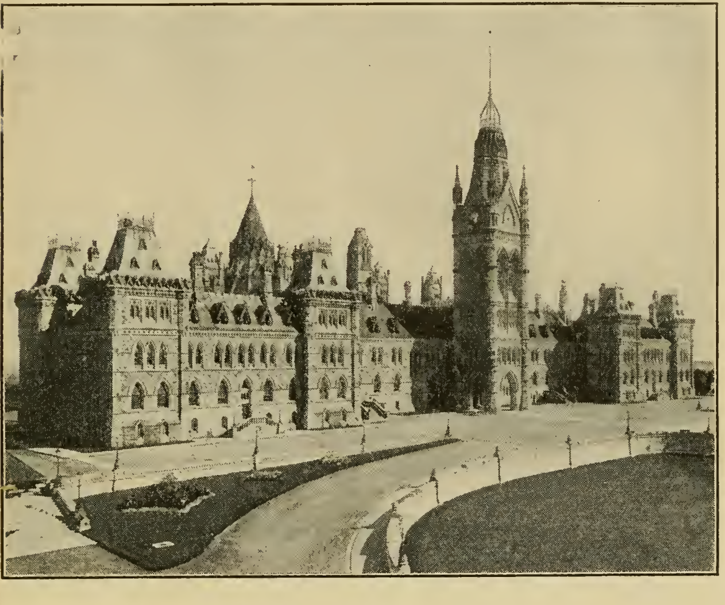
[1] Gardiner, 915–916; Innes, *Industrial Development*, 210–211; Masterman, 237–241.

Canadian difficulties.

long shown signs of unrest. The older colony, Lower Canada (Quebec), was French: the upper colony (Ontario) was English. Each viewed the other with distrust: both were dissatisfied with their own situation. The trouble finally came to the point of rebellion, and the government felt that the Canadian demands could no longer be ignored. Lord Melbourne, who had succeeded Earl Grey as prime minister in 1834, sent Lord Durham to Canada with large powers to rectify the situation. The commissioner was a man of exceptional abilities, though in his methods he was inclined to be arbitrary. Lord Durham was soon recalled, but his ideas as to Canadian affairs prevailed: the two Canadas were given a joint legislature with extensive control over the affairs of the colony. But the differences in race, religion, and language continued to make trouble, and the plan



Parliament Buildings, Ottawa

Lord Durham in Canada.

was not successful. In 1867 a new form of government was devised: the two maritime provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were joined to the colonies of Ontario and Quebec in a federation which was called the Dominion of Canada.[1]

The Canadian federation.

The Canadian system of government is a combination of English and American elements. The federal idea is American; but the executive with its cabinet or privy council responsible to the Dominion parliament is planned on English lines. In the distribution of powers between the provinces and the Dominion an important innovation was introduced: the powers granted to the provinces are enumerated and defined; all remaining powers belong to the Dominion government. The nominal executive is the English sovereign represented at Ottawa by a governor-general; but the actual ruler of the Dominion is the prime minister of Canada. The governor-general appoints the prime minister, but he is always careful to select the leader of the political party that is strongest in the Canadian house of commons.

508. Australia.[2] While Canada was being transformed into a self-governing dominion, an important group of colonies was developing on the edge of the Southern Ocean. The history of the Australian settlements begins with a penal colony at Botany Bay in 1788.[3] Other colonies of the same type were founded later.

New South Wales.

For several decades the settlement of New South Wales struggled along without making much progress. Very few emigrants came to settle on the island and the only colonists of a desirable sort were soldiers whose term of service had expired. But in the thirties a new type of settlers began to arrive, and colonies multiplied. Self-government of the usual British colonial type began to be extended to the Australian settlements in 1842. The development of this vast island is closely associated with the reign of Queen Victoria, as the names of the two colonies Victoria and Queensland sufficiently testify.

Other Australian colonies.

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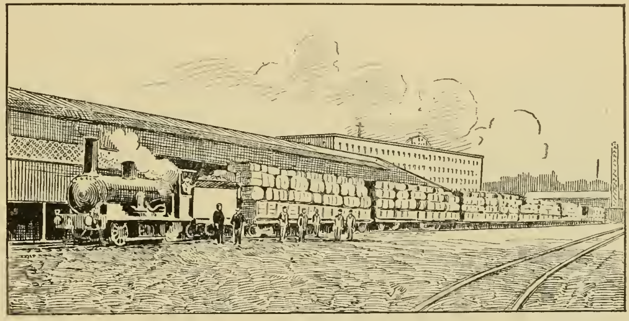
[1] See also sec. 551.

[2] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 211–212.

[3] Review sec. 470.

The principal industry of the Australian colonies in their earlier day was agriculture; but it was soon discovered that live stock and especially sheep could be raised to good advantage. Australia is still one of the great wool-producing regions of the world. But in 1849 the discovery of immense gold fields in the southeastern part of the island drew the attention of the entire world to this continent, and an era of rapid growth set in.

Wool and gold.



A Wool Train in Australia

509. The Agitation for Free Trade.[1] About the middle of the nineteenth century certain very important changes came into the agriculture, industry, and public finance of the kingdom by the adoption of "free trade." Since the early days of English commerce it had been the policy of the government to prevent foreign merchants from competing successfully with English merchants in the English markets by placing a tax on imported products. For some time, however, it had been held by many students of economic problems that such "protective" taxes were of little advantage to English commerce and that they probably were a hindrance. The movement for free trade dates from the last quarter of the eighteenth century. Adam Smith held that free trade was desirable, though perhaps not practical as conditions were in

The free trade movement.

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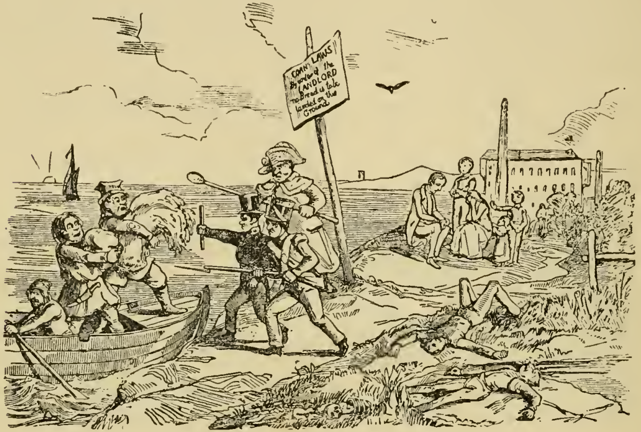
[1] Innes, *Industrial Development*, 274–293.

his day. William Pitt took a step in the direction of free trade when he made his commercial treaty with France and agreed to lower the tariff on French products.[1] Another step was taken about forty years later when William Huskisson was president of the board of trade (1822–1827): Huskisson secured a lower tariff on a number of imported articles. There was, however, no organized movement against protective tariffs before 1838, when certain manufacturers in Lancashire organized the Anti-Corn-Law League to secure the removal of the tax on imported wheat.



THACKERAY'S FREE-TRADE CARTOON

Drawn for "The Anti-Corn Law Circular" of July 23, 1839. The cartoon shows a soldier, a policeman, and a beadle repelling two foreigners who are bringing wheat to feed the starving families of the English workingmen.

The Anti-Corn-Law League. 1838.

510. The Corn Laws.[2] To protect the interests of the English farmer parliament had at various times passed laws forbidding the importation of foreign wheat until English wheat should reach a certain price. In 1815 the price limit was fixed at ten shillings (nearly $2.50)

The English corn laws.

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[1] Review sec. 466.

[2] Bates and Coman, 407–408; Cheyney, No. 430; Gardiner, 924, 930–931; Kendall, Nos. 135–136.

per bushel. Later the law was modified in the hope of keeping the price at about $1.80 per bushel. When crops were good these laws made little difference, as the large supply would force prices down; but when the harvest was light they worked hardship among the poor. As it would sometimes take from five to ten days' wages of a common laborer to pay for a bushel of wheat, the price of bread was relatively high.

Cobden and Bright.

The iniquity of this had long been seen. The leading spirits in the Anti-Corn-Law League were two prominent manufacturers in Lancashire, the economist Richard Cobden[1] and the noted orator John Bright. These men argued that without sufficient food the laborer could not be an efficient workman; and with prices as they were he could not afford to buy what he and his family really needed in the form of nourishment. They also argued that the corn laws interfered with the growth of commerce, as they prevented the foreign customers of England from exchanging their wheat for British goods.

Sir Robert Peel
After a portrait by John Linnel.

Peel becomes a free trader.

In 1841 the Tories defeated the Liberals in a general election and Robert Peel became prime minister. Robert Peel was born in Lancashire and was the son of a wealthy cotton spinner; it was therefore natural that the arguments of Cobden and his associates should appeal strongly to him. He became convinced that there ought to be freedom of trade in raw materials and manufactured articles as well as in wheat. Peel carried his first reductions of the tariff in 1842, when he succeeded in lowering the rates on a large number of articles. Further changes in the same direction were made three years later. Peel was also convinced that the corn laws ought to be repealed; but his party was dominated by the English landowners; and in his first attempt to remove the duty from wheat he failed, because neither his cabinet nor his party was willing to support him (1845).

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 70.

511. The Irish Famine. 1845–1849. It was a terrible calamity that befell Ireland the same year which converted Peel to the policy of free trade in farm products. The repeated confiscations of Irish land which had followed the rebellions and uprisings of the century from Elizabeth to William III had resulted in a system of landlordism with almost the entire nation reduced to a state of tenantry.[1] Most of the landlords lived in England. Ordinarily they cared for nothing but the profits from the soil and they rarely did anything to improve their farms; at the same time, whatever improvements the tenants made were claimed by the landlord as belonging to the land. There was nothing to induce the tenant to farm for results beyond a mere living: he might be evicted as soon as the farm was found in good condition, or the landlord might attempt to increase the rent, if by the tenant's care and effort the soil was found to yield larger and better crops.

The landlord evils in Ireland.

Naturally, therefore, the Irish farmer tried to find the crop that would produce the greatest return in food for the least amount of labor. This he found in the potato.[2] The soil of Ireland is well adapted to the growth of this plant, and a field of moderate size would ordinarily yield abundant food for the year to come. The necessary labor in the potato patch was slight; the farmer could leave the growing crop to the attention of his family, while he sought employment elsewhere. Some grain was also raised on the island, but most of this was sold in England.

The potato.

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[1] Review secs. 273, 403.

[2] Review sec. 263.

The potato rot. 1845.

In 1845 a disease came upon the potato and the food supply of the people failed. The "potato rot," as the blight was called, was general throughout western Europe;[1] but only in Ireland, where the population depended so much on the potato plant, did it cause much suffering. The disease reappeared the next year and the misery continued. Several years of famine caused inexpressible suffering; and with the famine came pestilence to complete the work. Thousands perished, while in other thousands died hope and ambition and joy of living.[2]

Decline of population in Ireland.

In 1844 the population of the island was about 9,000,000. At present it is less than half that number. It is estimated that at least 300,000 people died of disease and starvation during the years of famine; since then the population has been reduced yearly by emigration, chiefly to the United States. During the second half of the nineteenth century four million Irishmen came to the American shores.

The English people made a great effort to bring relief to the starving island. Parliament voted a large sum of money, and this was increased by voluntary subscriptions in which America joined. Food was rushed to the Irish ports. But what Ireland needed was cheap grain, and with the corn laws still in force the importation of cheap grain was impossible.

Repeal of the corn laws.

After having twice failed to induce his cabinet to consent to changes in these laws, Robert Peel resigned his office as prime minister; but as Lord John Russell, the leader of the Whigs, was unable to form a ministry, Peel soon returned to the helm. The following year his measure passed the house of commons, though most of the Tories voted against it. The tax on imported wheat was reduced to a nominal sum. The price of wheat went down immediately; at present English wheat sells for about sixty cents per bushel. The Irish were not helped very much by the repeal; they had no money with which to buy bread at any price. But the

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 432-433.

[2] Kendall, No. 137.

English workingman now had cheaper bread, and certain forms of agitation among the laboring classes quieted down.

512. Disraeli and the Conservative Party.[1] The repeal of the corn laws split the Tory party. The more liberal section, which had come to doubt the wisdom of trying to build up any trade or industry by legislative favors, followed Peel out of the party and for a time formed a distinct parliamentary group known as the Peelites. Among the Peelites was William Ewart Gladstone, who later rose to a unique position in the Liberal party and in the British nation. Gladstone entered politics in 1833 as a member for a pocket borough that had survived the reform of the year before. At the time he was a Tory of the sterner type. But like his great chief, Robert Peel, his opinions developed in the direction of Liberalism and he closed his career in that political faith.

Gladstone.

The more conservative wing, which believed strongly in the duty of the government to protect English agriculture against competition from abroad, found a leader in a brilliant young novelist of Jewish blood, Benjamin Disraeli. Unlike Gladstone, Disraeli had entered parliament as a radical; but he soon found it expedient to make terms with the Tories, with whom he agreed to the extent of being an opponent of Whiggism. Disraeli was a political adventurer: he had no interest in the landlord class, and his new political associates had little faith in him. But the "Protectionists" had no leader who could meet successfully in debate such men as Peel, Gladstone, Cobden, and Bright; Disraeli, who was a talented speaker, was easily the first on his side in debate. Disraeli never wholly shed his early radicalism, and under his leadership the remnant of the Tory party was organized as the Conservative party. He gave the party a new political creed and program which emphasized the importance of the British Empire and promised a certain measure of social reform.

Disraeli.

The Conservative party.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 438.

But Disraeli and the Protectionists fought a losing battle. They had prophesied low prices, bankruptcies, and other dire results from the repeal of the corn laws; these, however, failed to appear. A wave of prosperity had set in which the new legislation was unable to retard. In 1848 and 1849 the gold fields of California and Australia were discovered, and the sudden increase of the world's supply of gold doubtless helped to stimulate English trade. With the removal of the tariff on wheat went the whole system of protective tariffs. Other ministers followed the example of Robert Peel, and for more than a decade the work of reduction and readjustment continued. In 1849 the old navigation acts were also abolished.[1] Three years later a resolution that the policy of free trade should be "firmly maintained and prudently extended" carried by a vote of 468 to 53. The Conservatives quietly dropped the matter of protection. For half a century England has remained a free trade country. Duties are still levied on certain articles like tobacco and spirits, but they are for the purpose of raising revenue for the government, not for protecting English agriculture or manufactures.

Continued prosperity in England.

Free trade accepted.

513. The Chartist Movement.[2] Robert Peel's ministry did not long survive the repeal of the corn laws. The following month the Protectionists joined the Whigs and drove the Peelites from office. Lord John Russell became prime minister and Lord Palmerston was again made foreign secretary. For the next twenty years the attention of the people and the government was chiefly directed toward foreign and imperial affairs. Throughout this period Palmerston was the leading figure in English politics and one of the most prominent statesmen in Europe.

Palmerston.

In February, 1848, a revolution broke out in Paris, which, like the July Revolution of 1830, soon spread to the neighboring nations, and in a few months nearly all western and central Europe was in revolt. There was no

The Revolution of 1848.

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[1] Review secs. 339, 355.

[2] Bates and Coman, 397–398; Gardiner, 923–924.

outbreak in England, but a demonstration in favor of what was known as Chartism made the ruling classes very uneasy for a time. The object of the Chartist movement was to give the laboring classes a share in the government. The workingman could not vote, nor could he hope to be chosen member of parliament; if a man of moderate means were elected, he could scarcely afford to take his seat, as the members were not paid. Chartism began to appear about 1839; its leaders were chiefly men of the trade-union type, and the organization was not efficiently managed. The program of the Chartists, "the People's Charter," comprised six points.[1] (1) Universal suffrage; this would give the laboring classes the ballot and would make them a power at the elections. (2) Vote by secret ballot; the custom was for the voter to write his name in the poll-book opposite the name of the candidate for whom he voted; with a secret ballot the laborer and the tenant could vote with greater security, as their ballot could then no longer be inspected. (3) Abolition of the property qualification for membership in parliament; this would open parliament to the candidates of the laboring classes. (4) Compensation for members; this would make it possible for workingmen to serve if elected. (5) Equal electoral districts. (6) Annual parliaments.

Chartism.

It was announced in the spring of 1848 that 250,000 men were planning to march upon Westminster on April 10 to present to parliament a monster petition embodying these six demands. It was reported that 5,500,000 had signed the document. The government took great precautions to prevent trouble on the day assigned. Soldiers were stationed about at important points and nearly 200,000 special constables were called into service. The Chartists abandoned the procession that they had planned, but they presented their petition as announced.[2] It was found to contain nearly 2,000,000 names, some of which, however, were fictitious. Much ridicule was heaped on the

The Chartist petition.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 428.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 429.

movement when it was learned that the petition fell short of the number of signatures announced; but thinking men soon began to realize that the Chartists were a numerous body and that their demands could not long remain unheeded.

Soon after 1848 conditions among the workingmen began to improve. Free trade brought cheaper bread. The labor unions began to feel that they ought to let politics alone. The Chartist agitation died down, and the movement was rated as a failure. Still, it is an important fact that all the demands of the People's Charter have been granted with a single exception. There is no longer a demand for annual parliamentary elections; members of the house of commons have come to be more heedful of the wishes of the men who elect them than they were in 1848, and the need for short terms is no longer felt.

Outcome of the Chartist movement.

514. The Crimean War.[1] **1854–1856.** The Revolution of 1848 was not generally successful; but it brought two new men into prominence: Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, a nephew of the Emperor Napoleon, who had great ambitions for his dynasty in France; and Cavour, the chief minister of the king of Sardinia-Piedmont, who dreamed of a united Italy. Louis Napoleon was elected president of France in 1848. Three years later he threw the constitution of the Second Republic overboard and proceeded to make himself emperor of the French. Lord Palmerston, who was foreign secretary for the third time, privately expressed his approval of Napoleon's act. The nation and the cabinet became very indignant when this was learned, and the blustering minister was forced to resign.

Louis Napoleon and Cavour.

In 1854 the new emperor found opportunity to interfere in a quarrel between Russia and Turkey into which England and later Sardinia-Piedmont were also drawn. The aim of the allied powers was to keep Russia from seizing any Turkish territory. But when the Russians had been forced out of Turkey, the war was unnecessarily carried

The war in the Crimea

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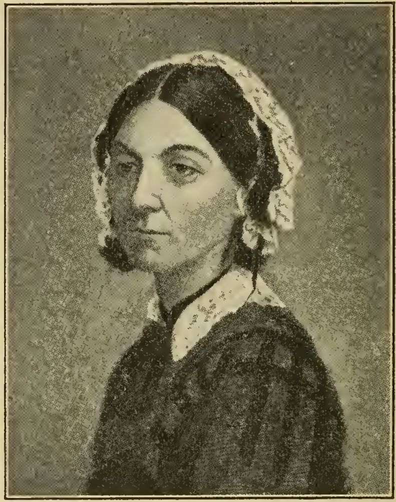
[1] Gardiner, 944–948.

over into Russian territory on the Crimean peninsula, where the Russians had their celebrated stronghold Sevastopol.[1] To this fortress the allied forces laid siege; but poor preparations had been made; the necessary supplies had not been provided; disease broke out in the camp; and the death rate in the hospitals was appalling. The government finally sent Florence Nightingale, an English nurse of training and experience, out to the East to take charge of the hospital service. Under her efficient management conditions at once began to improve and the death rate was materially reduced. With Florence Nightingale's mission to the English hospitals in Turkey began the modern movement for sanitation in military camps, which has done so much to lessen the terrors of warfare.

Florence Nightingale.



FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE

The news of the suffering in the British camps roused the entire kingdom and public sentiment drove the government from office. To her great distress the queen was finally forced to give Palmerston the reins of government. In spite of his seventy years the vigorous minister assumed the duty and energetically pursued the war to a successful issue.

Palmerston's first ministry. 1855.

515. The Sepoy Mutiny.[2] **1857.** The Crimean War closed in 1856. The next year England was brought face to face

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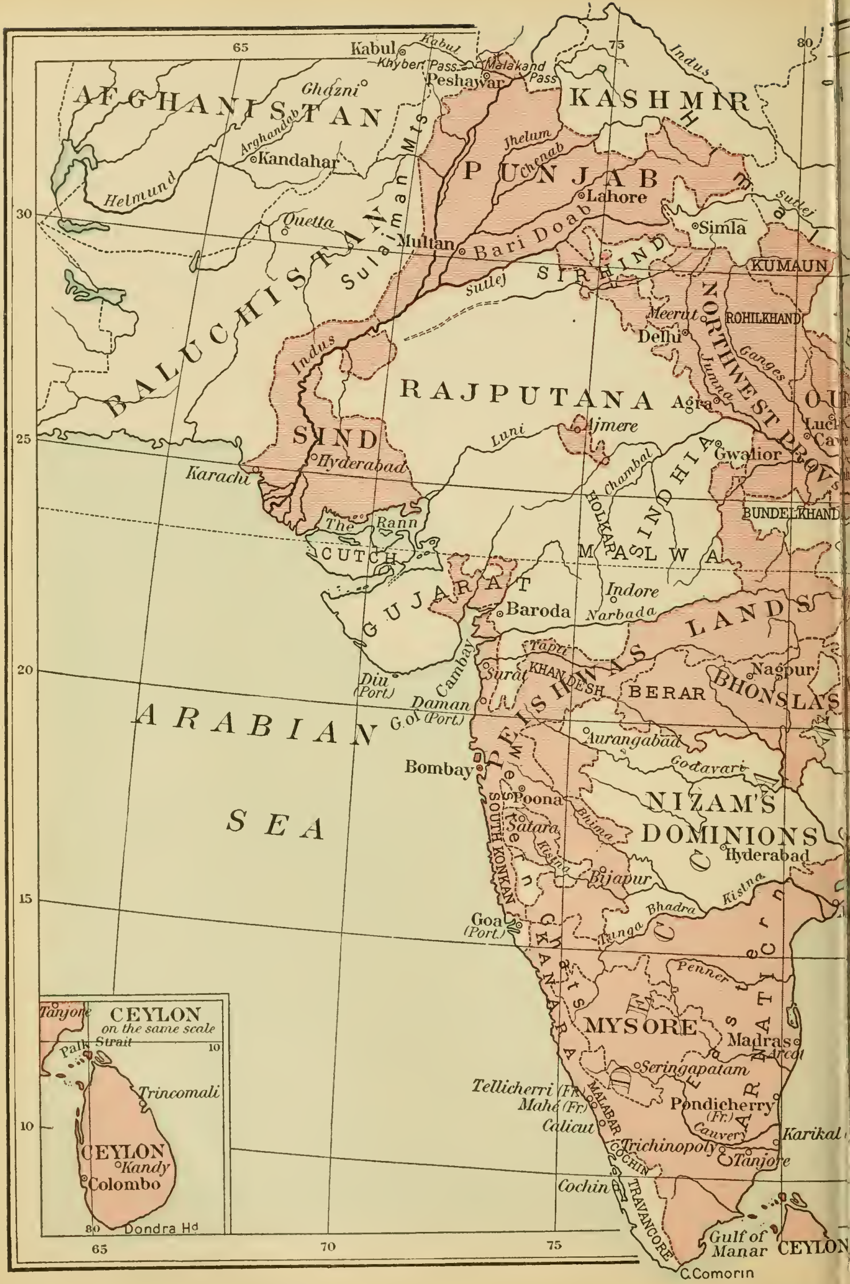
[1] Kendall, No. 140; Tennyson, *Charge of the Light Brigade.*

[2] Gardiner, 952–955; Kendall, No. 143.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Ghazni
Arghandab
Kandahar
Helmund
Sulaiman Mts
Jhelum
Chenab
PUNJAB
Lahore
Simla
Sutlej
Quetta
Multan
Bari Doab
SIRHIND
KUMAUN
Sutlej
BALUCHISTAN
Meerut
Delhi
NORTHWEST PROVS
ROHILKHAND
Ganges
Jumna
Indus
RAJPUTANA
Agra
Luck
Cawn
SIND
Ajmere
Luni
Hyderabad
Karachi
Chambal
Gwalior
SINDHIA
HOLKAR
BUNDELKHAND
The Rann
CUTCH
MALWA
GUJARAT
Indore
Baroda
Narbada
PEISHWA'S LANDS
Tapti
Surat
KHANDESH
BERAR
Nagpur
BHONSLA'S
Diu (Port.)
Cambay
Daman (Port.)
G. of
ARABIAN SEA
Aurangabad
Godavari
Bombay
Western Ghats
Poona
SOUTH KONKAN
Satara
Bhima
NIZAM'S DOMINIONS
Hyderabad
Kistna
Bijapur
Kistna
Bhadra
Tunga
Goa (Port.)
KANARA
Penner
MYSORE
Madras
Arcot
CARNATIC
Seringapatam
Tellicherri (Fr.)
Mahé (Fr.)
Calicut
MALABAR
Pondicherry (Fr.)
Cauvery
Karikal
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
COCHIN
Cochin
TRAVANCORE
Gulf of Manar
CEYLON
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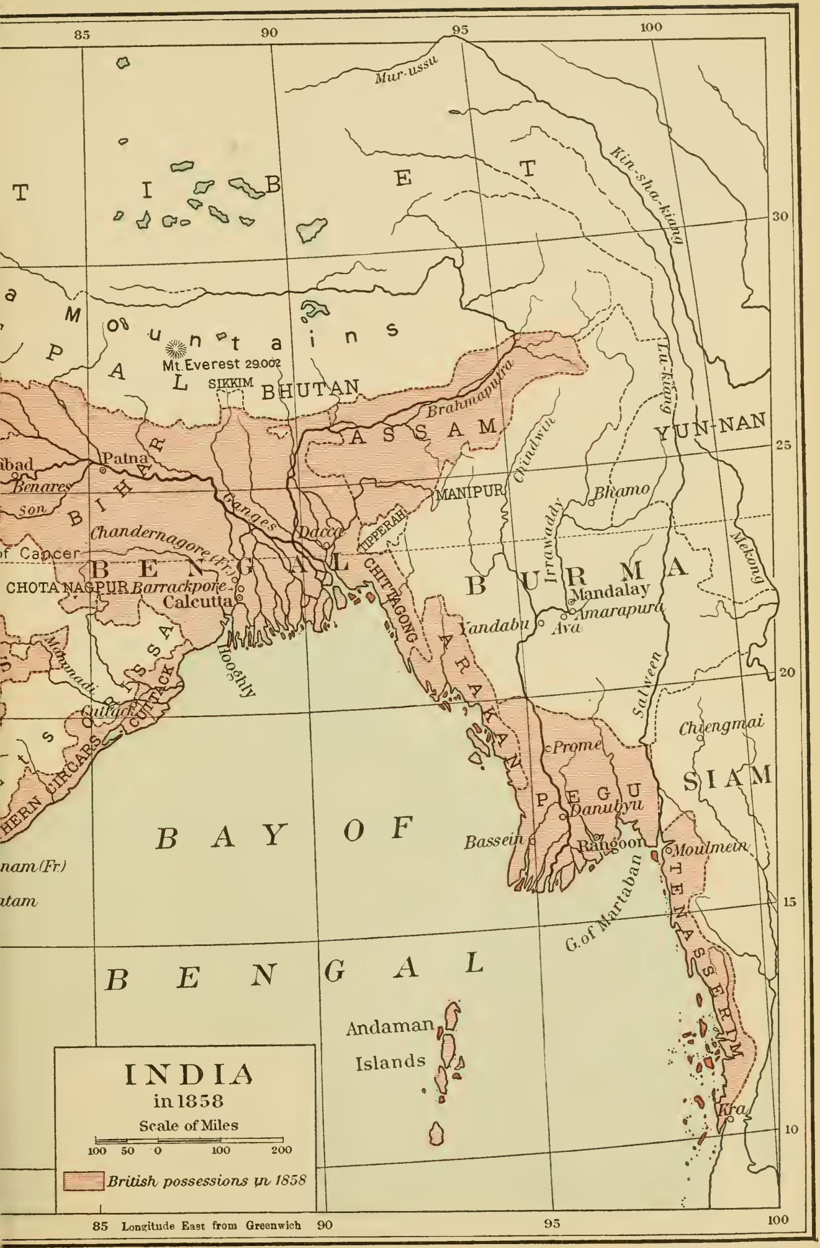

INDIA

in 1858

Scale of Miles
100
50
0
100
200
British possessions in 1858
85
90
95
100
30
25
20
15
10
Longitude East from Greenwich
Mur-ussu
T I B E T
Kin-sha-kiang
M o u n t a i n s
a
P A L
Mt. Everest 29.002
SIKKIM
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MANIPUR
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Irrawaddy
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CHOTA NAGPUR
Barrackpore
Calcutta
CHITTAGONG
B U R M A
Mandalay
Amarapura
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Ava
Mahanadi
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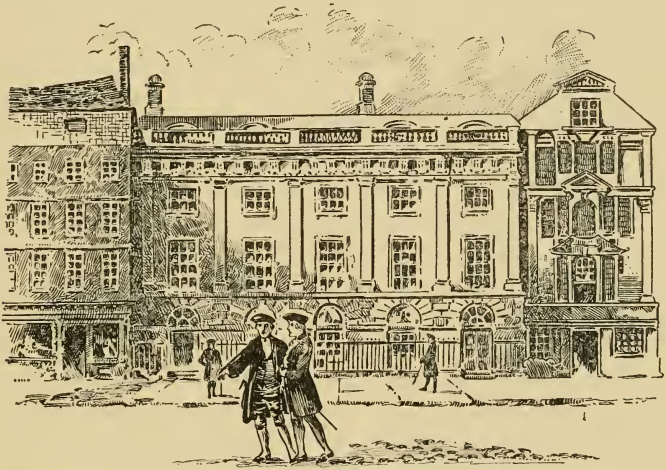
Islands
Kra

GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

with an uprising in India which threatened destruction to British supremacy in the East.

The government of India.

It is difficult to characterize the government of India in the first half of the nineteenth century: it was a matter of partnership between the English government and the East India Company. In 1784 William Pitt had contrived a scheme of administration according to which the East India Company was allowed to select the officials of the Indian service; but the crown reserved the right to veto certain appointments. The act furthermore established a "Board of Control" of six members appointed by the crown to which the governor-general of India was to be responsible. But the board had its offices in England, while the governor-general resided in distant Calcutta; consequently the scheme did not provide a very effective control.



THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE, LONDON

The headquarters of the East India Company. Charles Lamb served as a clerk in this house. Drawing by Herbert Raillon based on an old print.

In Pitt's day only a relatively small part of India had been annexed; but the governors-general were constantly adding new territories to the company's dominions, and naturally the native princes who were still independent began to fear lest their own sovereignty should be lost. A conspiracy was formed, and a successful effort was made to sow disloyalty among the Sepoy regiments that were stationed in the Ganges valley. It was represented to them that their new cartridges were greased with tallow from the cow, a holy beast among the Hindus. It was necessary to tear off a part of the paper covering with the teeth; in this way the soldiers would be partaking of what was forbidden and would lose their caste or station in Hindu society. The mutiny began in May, 1857, and soon the entire Ganges valley was aflame.[1] But the British soldiery with the aid of the Sikhs of Punjab, who had no religious scruples in the matter of tallow, were soon able to quell the uprising, and the autumn months saw a return to peaceful submission.

The Sepoy rebellion.

1857.

End of the mutiny.

The chief result of the mutiny was a complete change in the system of Indian government.[2] As a governing corporation the East India Company came to an end. The government of India was transferred to the crown to be administered by a special cabinet member in Westminster, the secretary of state for India, assisted by a council of experts. In India the governor-general was replaced by a viceroy. Since 1877 India has been officially called an empire, the king of England holding the title of emperor. Recently an effort has been made to give the empire a fuller meaning to the Hindu mind by removing the seat of government to the ancient capital Delhi, where the Great Moguls ruled when the English first came to India.

India annexed to the crown.

The Indian Empire.

516. The Last Years of Palmerston. The ten years following the India mutiny were quiet years in English politics. In 1858 the Conservatives came to power, but in a few months they were overthrown and the Liberals again took control. Palmerston was made prime minister for the second time with

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[1] Cheyney, No. 435.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 436.

Lord John Russell in the foreign office and Gladstone as chancellor of the exchequer. Of the three Gladstone alone showed much energy; he wished to carry out a number of important reforms, but his chief vetoed his innovations. Palmerston was seventy-five years old when he took office for the last time, and he was no longer so aggressive and quarrelsome as he had once been. His colleague, Lord John Russell, was a younger man and had once been counted among the reformers; but Russell had never favored making very radical changes in the social or political constitution of the kingdom. Even the foreign office shared in the dull quiet of English politics.

517. The American Civil War.[1] This strange lack of energy is shown clearly in the relations with America during the Civil War, especially in the affairs of the *Trent* and the *Alabama*. In the *Trent* affair Palmerston was disposed to display some vigor; but on the advice of the dying prince consort, whose last counsel urged peace with the daughter nation, the American government was given an opportunity to explain and make suitable amends. The case of the *Alabama* illustrates the listless fashion in which the two old chiefs conducted her Majesty's government. Russell and Palmerston knew that a ship, "No. 290," was in process of building at Birkenhead; but they had no information as to the intended use of the vessel, simply because they sought none. When the British authorities finally decided to detain the vessel, it was already on the high seas.

The Trent affair.

The Alabama.

After the war the American government presented claims for the depredations committed by the *Alabama*, and in 1872 an international arbitration court decided that Palmerston and Russell had not been sufficiently watchful in the matter and awarded the American claimants the sum of $15,500,000.

In the earlier stages of the Civil War the cause of the American Union had few friends among the governing classes in England. It was quite generally believed that the South differed so

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[1] Cheyney, No. 439; Gardiner, 958–960; Kendall, No. 145.

Attitude of the English government toward the American war.

Sentiment in Lancashire.

much from the North that it was entitled to a separate national existence. The only prominent Englishman who did effective service in the cause of the Union was John Bright, whose chief argument was that the forces of the North were fighting the battles of democracy. The war caused much suffering in England, especially among the weavers and spinners of Lancashire, whose employment was lost because cotton could no longer be imported so freely as before. But the English workingman had come to see that one of the great issues involved was slavery, and he set his face against any effort on the part of his government to assist the South. It is believed that the English cabinet in the autumn of 1862 was ready to intervene in behalf of the Confederacy; but before action was taken came the news that Lincoln proposed to emancipate the slaves on the following New Year's Day. Lincoln's proclamation stayed the hand of Palmerston, for the English nation now refused to enlist on the side of the South.

Imperial growth.

518. Summary. The first thirty years of the reign of Queen Victoria are properly called the age of Palmerston. During most of this period he was a member of the government, first as foreign secretary, then for a few years in the home office, and finally as prime minister. He was easily the most popular man in England, but was at the same time exceedingly unpopular in the Continental capitals. Palmerston's personality is reflected in nearly all the great events of the time. Except for the repeal of the corn laws there was little domestic legislation of an important character during this period. The interest of the time was chiefly in the development of the British Empire. During the age of Palmerston the government of British America was reorganized and the foundations laid for the Dominion of Canada. New commonwealths were being founded in Australia. The crown took over the administration of India, and the East India Company as a governing body passed out of history. In the closing years of Palmerston's career, England was stronger and more prosperous than ever before. A number of English and Irish problems were, however, pressing for solution. These Lord Palmerston left to his great successor as chief of the Liberal party, William E. Gladstone.

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CHAPTER XXVII

GLADSTONE AND THE PROBLEM OF IRELAND

519. The Second Reform Act.[1] Palmerston died in 1865, and his place at the head of the government fell to Earl Russell, who now became prime minister for the second time. The Chartist agitation of twenty years before was at last to bring fruit.[2] Russell was not enthusiastic for further parliamentary reform, but Gladstone, who as chancellor of the exchequer was second in command, practically forced his chief to act. A moderate reform measure was introduced into the house of commons, but it pleased neither the Liberals nor the Conservatives, and the ministry, realizing the situation, resigned.

Russell's second ministry.

The Conservatives now assumed control of the government with Lord Derby as prime minister and Benjamin Disraeli as chancellor of the exchequer. Twice before these two men had held these same offices, but for brief periods only. Lord Derby had originally been a Whig and had fought with Grey and Russell for the great reform of 1832. He was, however, of a conservative temper, and the reform activities of his party soon drove him over into the Tory camp. Derby was not in favor of parliamentary reform at this time, but his younger colleague realized that the Conservatives would have to meet the demand or leave office, and in 1867 Disraeli set about to contrive a measure which proved acceptable and became a law the same year.

The third Derby-Disraeli ministry.

The Reform Act of 1867,[3] the Conservative "leap in the dark," as Lord Derby called it, went farther in the direction of radicalism than the Liberals had proposed to go. Eleven boroughs were wholly deprived of representation in parliament, and thirty-five lost one member each. More important, however, was the extension of the suffrage. In the boroughs every man who occupied his own or a rented house was allowed to vote; this was called "household suffrage."[1] The vote was also given to lodgers who paid £10 in annual rent. In the counties the franchise was extended to all who owned or rented for life a parcel of land that would yield £5 in rent to the owner; short-time tenants who paid a yearly rent of £12 were also allowed to vote. Thus the right to vote was given to the workingmen of the cities; but the country laborer was not yet enfranchised.

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[1] Cheyney, No. 441; Gardiner, 961–962; Masterman, 201–202.

[2] Review sec. 513.

[3] Review sec. 496.

The Second Reform Act. 1867.

Household suffrage.

BENJAMIN DISRAELI, LORD BEACONSFIELD

520. Disraeli and Gladstone. A few months after the Conservatives had taken their "leap in the dark," Lord Derby resigned his high office and Disraeli became prime minister. From that time on till Disraeli's death in 1881, English political history is a long duel between the keen, conservative leader and his great progressive opponent, William E. Gladstone.[2] Disraeli's interest, like that of Palmerston before the years had weakened him, lay almost wholly in foreign affairs: he was drawn especially toward the Orient, the land that had been so closely associated with the history of his own

Retirement of Lord Derby.

Disraeli's interest in the Orient.

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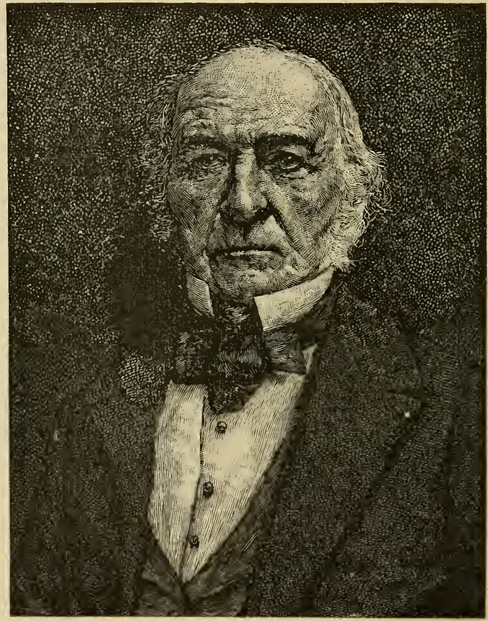
[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 73.

[2] Cheyney, No. 437; Tuell and Hatch, No. 68.

race.[1] But he was not permitted to choose his line of action at this particular time. A few months after his elevation to the premiership Gladstone forced the Irish question into parliamentary politics. As the majority of the house of commons was against him, Disraeli ordered new elections under the law of 1867. The Liberals were victorious and the Conservatives left the cabinet (1868).

521. Gladstone's Reform Ministry. The queen promptly sent for Gladstone and gave the government into his hands. Gladstone was one of the most remarkable men of his century:[2] four times he was called to the office of prime minister; and until his resignation in 1894 he retained the undisputed leadership of the Liberal party. He did not have the quick vision of genius; but he was highly talented and presented his plans and measures with wonderful power. Gladstone was interested chiefly in domestic problems and legislation. During his first ministry the English school system was organized; the English universities were opened to Catholics and dissenting Protestants; an act providing for a secret ballot was passed; the central courts were reorganized

Gladstone.



William Ewart Gladstone

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[1] Review sec. 512.

[2] Review secs. 512, 516.

along modern lines; and the old practice of buying offices in the army was abolished.[1]

Education.

The education act was of singular importance: it gave England a system of public schools supported by the government and managed by school boards elected by taxpayers. Religion according to the Anglican standards was to be taught in these schools, but the children of Catholics and non-conformists were not to be compelled to receive such instruction. The fact remains, however, that taxpayers who are not Anglicans have to contribute to Anglican instruction; and this question of public education still remains unsettled. The new organization of the courts was supplemented by important changes in the methods of trial. Under the new English system, men charged with crime are brought to trial without unnecessary delay; the long, tedious trials extending sometimes through weeks and months which are still common in America are almost unknown in England. In forbidding the sale of offices in the army, the government ended a scandalous practice but did not accomplish a real reform. The army is still officered from the aristocratic classes. There is, however, a strong movement looking toward a more democratic practice by allowing promotion from the ranks.

Judicial reforms.

Purchase of commissions in the army.

The Ballot Act. 1872.

The Reform Act of 1867 did not alter the methods of voting. It was still customary to record the vote of every man in the poll-book, where every one could see how he had cast his ballot. Under such conditions the right to vote was of little service to the newly enfranchised farmer or workingman: his landlord or his employer would often force him by threats or otherwise to vote for his own candidate. Independent voting could easily be punished by the loss of work or by the refusal to renew a lease. To remedy this condition the Liberals in 1872 supplemented the reform measure with a Ballot Act[2] which provided for a secret ballot at parliamentary elections.

[1] Gardiner, 964–965.

[2] Masterman, 203–204.

522. The Problem of Ireland. The greatest problem that Gladstone had to face was how to bring peace and contentment to the people of Ireland. It was a vote on this question that had made him prime minister; and the Irish problem followed him to the end of his long career.

The Irish problems.

The Irish question was a complicated one, but three distinct problems were prominent. (1) There was the old problem of the land and the rights of the tenants who were working the land. (2) There was the problem of the Anglican church in Ireland: for three hundred years the Irish Catholics had been compelled to support a Protestant church to which only a fraction of the population counted themselves as belonging. (3) Since the days of Catholic emancipation a new problem had arisen in a demand for the repeal of the Act of Union[1] and a separate government for Ireland. This is known as the demand for "home rule." Gladstone did not at this time believe that Ireland should be given a separate parliament; but he felt that the Irish had a real grievance in being denied higher education in their own country. There was no Irish university; Trinity College in Dublin was an Anglican institution which no Catholic Irishman could well attend.

523. The Repeal Movement and the Fenians. Soon after his admission to parliament, Daniel O'Connell[2] began to agitate for the repeal of the act of 1801 which had united the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland. As the English government suspected that this was merely a step toward complete independence for Ireland, the movement was vigorously opposed and the leaders were prosecuted. For a time the great orator had a formidable following; but as he believed in "moral force" and legal means only, the more aggressive Irishmen soon began to leave him. These organized a new party called "Young Ireland," which favored radical and even violent measures.

The repeal movement.

Young Ireland.

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[1] Review sec. 481.

[2] Review sec. 495.

The great famine and the consequent emigration to America called the attention once more to the evils of the landlord system and for a time the repeal agitation languished. But in 1858 the demand for a free Ireland became the chief purpose of a wide-spread secret society, the Fenian Brotherhood. The Fenians were strong and numerous in Ireland, but stronger still among the Irish Americans. The American Civil War prevented activities in Ireland for some years; but when that war was over, the Fenians began to plan for an uprising in Ireland and for an invasion of Canada by Irish Americans. The English government was well informed,[1] however, as to the plans of the brotherhood, and the movement failed.

The Fenians.

524. The Disestablishment of the Irish Church. The Fenian uprising, with the trials and executions that followed in its wake, made a deep impression on the English mind. There was no sentiment for Irish home rule in England, nor did any one feel prepared to suggest a solution for the Irish land problem; but many Englishmen were convinced that to force the Irish Catholics to maintain Protestant churches was an evil that ought to be remedied at once. Gladstone brought the matter up in the house of commons and carried a resolution in favor of disestablishing the Anglican church in Ireland (1868). It was this resolution that led to the downfall of the Disraeli ministry. The next year Gladstone introduced a bill for the disestablishment of the Protestant church in Ireland. It met with bitter opposition from the Conservatives, but after a long fight it became a law (1869).

Disestablishment of the Irish Protestant Church. 1869.

The Anglican church in Ireland was allowed to retain all its church buildings and ample provision was made for the support of the clergy. But it was no longer to be a state church; it could collect no more tithes from reluctant Irishmen; and its bishops lost their seats in the house of lords.

525. The Land Act of 1870 and the University Bill. One of the three great problems had now been solved. The Gladstone ministry next undertook to settle the question of the land, but with slight success. The Irish Land Act of 1870 provided that when a tenant left his farm he could demand payment for the improvements that he had made upon it. It also enabled a tenant, who had faithfully paid the rent as agreed, to collect damages if his landlord dismissed him for any other reason. The act further provided that, if the landlord should be forced to sell his land, it should be sold to the tenants, if they wished to buy their farms. The government arranged to lend money to the tenants who might wish to buy under these circumstances. Thus the correct principle, that of land purchase by government assistance, had been found and stated, but it was applied in special cases only. Several thousand tenants were enabled to buy their farms under the provisions of this law, but on the whole Gladstone's Land Act was a failure.

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[1] Review sec. 480.

The Land Act of 1870.

The principle of land purchase.

During the following three years the Liberal cabinet was busied with domestic problems of a more general nature: education, the ballot, the courts, the purchase of commissions in the army and the like.[1] In 1873 Gladstone returned to the Irish question, this time to the subject of higher education. He planned to establish an Irish University which was to be open to students of all creeds, but in which disputed subjects such as philosophy, theology, and history, were not to be taught. The bill was rejected. Of the three Irish grievances that he recognized as legitimate Gladstone had redressed one; he had also indicated the proper principle for the solution of the land question, but the problem itself had not been touched.

The University Bill. 1873.

526. The Irish Land League. After five years of Liberalism and reform England began to tire of Gladstone. His foreign policy was also on the whole unsatisfactory to the nation: it was not "aggressive" enough to suit the average Englishman. The prime minister looked at foreign

Gladstone's foreign policy.

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[1] See sec. 521.

politics from an unusual point of view: with him the question was not what would bring profit to England, but what seemed just and equitable toward the peoples concerned. It was during his first ministry that the Alabama claims were settled (1872); the outcome of the arbitration was very distasteful to the English voter.[1]

In the elections of 1874 the Conservatives won a decisive victory and Disraeli became prime minister once more. Disraeli was a theoretical believer in social reform; he had once written that "the social happiness of the millions should be the first object of a statesman," and that "the rights of labor were as sacred as those of property." But the Conservative party had no important legislative program to offer, and Disraeli proposed to direct the attention of the English people toward colonial expansion and foreign politics.[2] In the Irish question he showed little interest.

Michael Davitt.

Ireland, however, was not at peace. All through the six years of Conservative rule there was much unrest on the island. This culminated in the formation of the Land League, which was organized in 1879 by Michael Davitt, who had once been a leader among the Fenians. The purpose of the League was to make war on the English landlords and their partisans in Ireland. Its program consisted of three chief demands, the so-called three F's: fair rent, fixed hold, and free sale. By "fair rent" the leaders of the Land League meant a rent that was not fixed exclusively by the owner of the land, as the landlords had a habit of raising the rent to a point that the tenants regarded as unreasonable; a fair rent would consequently imply a reduction of rents. By "fixed hold" the League meant that a tenant should not be deprived of his farm so long as he paid the specified rent. But if a farmer wished to surrender his farm, it was held that he should be allowed to sell his interest in the land, or his right to remain upon it, to another tenant: this was called "free sale."

The "three F's."

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[1] Review sec. 517.

[2] See secs. 540–541, 552–553.

For more than a year the Land Leaguers and their followers terrorized the island. They would allow the farmers to pay only what the tenants considered a fair rent. Those who paid what the landlords demanded were persecuted in a variety of ways: their cattle were maimed; their crops were destroyed; threatening letters were sent to them; shots were fired through their windows. Landlords and their agents were especially made to feel the displeasure of the League. A certain agent, Captain Boycott, found life in Ireland exceedingly hard: since his day the word "boycott" has come to stand for the sort of treatment that the League meted out to the unfortunate captain and to others of his kind.

Methods of the Land League.

527. The Home Rule Party. Just before the close of Gladstone's first ministry there was organized a new political party with self-government for Ireland as its chief tenet. Though officially this body is known as the Nationalist party, its members are generally called "Home Rulers." The Home Rule party was not taken seriously at first; but in 1875 a young man from County Wicklow, Charles Stewart Parnell, entered parliament and took his place among the Home Rulers. Parnell was a cold, silent, and reserved man who showed little promise as a parliamentary leader; but it was not long before he became a chief among the Irish members, and under his leadership the Nationalist group became a terror to English politicians. It was the purpose of Parnell and his followers to block legislative business until the house of commons should be willing to take up the question of "repeal." They made endless speeches on the most trivial subjects, raised objections whenever possible, and usually voted "no" on all proposed legislation. The discipline of the party was perfect; Parnell was in complete control. When Disraeli left the cabinet in 1880, the Home Rule party counted sixty votes in the house of commons. Several of the leading members, including Parnell, were Prot-

The Nationalist party.

Charles Stewart Parnell.

Tactics of the Home Rulers.

estants. The money required to carry on the Home Rule campaign was largely collected among the Irishmen of the United States.

528. The Land Act of 1881. The election of 1880 was not fought on the Irish question: it was Disraeli's "spirited foreign policy" and his apparent love for petty but expensive wars that the electors were asked to approve or condemn. But when Gladstone as the result of the election returned to leadership in the government, it was the Irish situation that gave most concern. The "agrarian crimes," as the persecution of landlords, agents, and obedient tenants was called, were exceedingly numerous in the autumn of 1880. More than 2500 such crimes were committed in that year, and the government held the Land League responsible for these. The landlords on their side evicted more than 10,000 tenants who had refused to pay the stipulated rent or had otherwise offended the owners of their farms.

"Agrarian crimes."

The new government recognized the fact that the tenants had a real grievance; but Gladstone insisted that crime must be suppressed before legislation could be undertaken. The titular head of the government in Ireland is the Lord Lieutenant, who is the personal representative of the king and resides in Dublin. But the most important official is the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, who is secretary only in name. It is to the chief secretary that the kingdom and parliament look for the solution of Irish problems. W. E. Forster, the new chief secretary, asked parliament to pass an act for the preservation of the peace, which virtually permitted the lord lieutenant to imprison any one whom he regarded as an enemy to the peace of the island. The bill was passed and Parnell with several of the other leaders was thrown into prison and detained for several months without trial.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The "Crimes Act."

This act was accompanied by another Land Act which virtually granted everything that the Land League had contended for. The new law provided for a land court which was empowered to fix rents, to value improvements, and to watch over the rights of the tenant farmers. The Land Act of 1881 was an important forward step, but it did not provide a final settlement, for the landlords still owned the land.

The Land Act of 1881.

529. Failure of Gladstone's Irish Policy. Gladstone soon began to feel that his policy of repression was a failure. Parnell was released from prison on the understanding that he would support the measures of the government. Gladstone on his part promised conciliation and further legislation to remedy conditions in Ireland. Forster, disgusted with this change of policy, resigned his office, and the prime minister sent Lord Frederick Cavendish to Ireland as chief secretary. One day, while the new secretary was walking through Phœnix Park, Dublin, he fell in with Thomas Burke, another government official, who was deeply hated in Ireland. Suddenly a band of revolutionists surrounded the two men and slew them both. The tragedy filled the entire kingdom with horror. Conciliation was stricken from the Liberal program and coercion took its place. The alliance between Gladstone and Parnell was broken, and the solution of the remaining Irish problems was made exceedingly difficult. The prime minister turned his attention to other questions.

The Phœnix Park tragedy.

Charles Stewart Parnell

After the painting by Sydney P. Hall.

530. The Third Parliamentary Reform Act.[1] **1884–1885.** The reform act of 1867 had enfranchised the workingmen in the boroughs but it had left the country laborers still without the ballot.[2] There was an insistent demand for a new franchise law that should remedy this defect, and Gladstone determined to yield to this demand. In 1884 the government passed a reform bill through the lower house, but the lords rejected it on the plea that if the franchise were to be extended, there ought also to be a new distribution of parliamentary seats. Gladstone adopted the suggestion, and on his promise to take up the matter of parliamentary reform the lords accepted his measure. The promised bill was passed the following year. It was drawn up by the leaders of both political parties and was therefore not a partisan measure.

Franchise reform. 1884.

The reform acts of 1884 and 1885 took a long step toward political democracy. About two millions, chiefly laborers in the country districts, were given the right to vote. At the same time England was divided as nearly as might be into equal parliamentary districts, each sending one member to the house of commons. A large number of small boroughs were deprived of their right to a separate representation, and the larger cities received a corresponding increase in membership. The reluctance of the house of lords to extend the franchise led to severe criticism of that body and to an organized movement to deprive the peers of their seats in the upper chamber. This movement has recently gained considerable strength, and the question of "ending or mending" the house of lords is a political one at the present time.[3]

Parliamentary reform. 1885.

Agitation against the house of lords.

531. The Settlement of the Irish Land Problem. The Home Rule party was much displeased with Gladstone's attitude toward Irish questions, and soon after the passage of the third reform act, Parnell threw the strength of his following to the Conservative side and the Liberals were outvoted. Lord Salisbury, who had served under Disraeli, now became prime minister as the head of a Conservative government. He decided not to continue repression in Ireland and to attempt a solution of the land problem. Accordingly his party passed a Land Purchase Act, the first in a series of five such laws. The government set aside a sum of about $25,000,000 from which the Irish farmers might borrow what they needed to purchase the land that they tilled. The purchase price was to be repaid in forty-nine annual instalments. Several thousand tenants took advantage of this act and bought their farms.

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[1] Masterman, 202–203.

[2] Review sec. 519.

[3] Cheyney, No. 446.

Lord Salisbury.

The First Land Purchase Act.

Two years later, when Lord Salisbury was prime minister for the second time he chose his nephew, Arthur James Balfour, to be chief secretary for Ireland. Balfour was a brilliant scholar who has also proved a sagacious political leader. In parliament he fought the Home Rulers on all points; in Ireland he was a close student of every phase of Irish affairs. On his recommendation the policy of land purchase was continued. In 1888 a second act was passed and three years later a third act of this kind. By the act of 1891 the sum of $170,000,000 was set aside as a loan fund from which those who wished to buy their farms might borrow. The terms were the same as under the act of 1885.

Arthur James Balfour.

Later land purchase acts.

Since 1891 two other land purchasing acts have been passed, the last in 1903 when Balfour was prime minister. These laws have made it possible for every Irish farmer to be his own landlord. They have all been enacted by the Conservative party; but the principle followed was first stated in Gladstone's Land Act of 1870. The land purchase acts have proved a success, and the Irish land question has passed out of English politics.

532. The First Home Rule Bill. 1886. The demand for Home Rule remained, and to this demand the Conservatives would not listen. Lord Salisbury's first ministry was consequently short-lived. Soon after the passage of the first land purchase act the Irish members joined the Liberals for the moment, and Gladstone returned to the premiership.

Gladstone had by this time become convinced that a separate parliament for Ireland was the only solution of the Irish problem. He formed an alliance with the Parnellites and prepared a bill for the creation of a government at Dublin. The lord lieutenant or viceroy was to remain at the head as formerly, and the English parliament was to continue legislating for Ireland in all matters affecting the empire; but in this parliament Ireland was no longer to be represented.[1]

Gladstone and home rule.

Joseph Chamberlain

The bill caused a serious split in the Liberal party: ninety-three members of the house of commons led by Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Hartington, and John Bright refused to vote for the Home Rule Bill, and the measure was defeated. The seceders organized themselves into a new party called the Liberal Unionist. This group maintained a separate organization for some time, though for the most part it gave loyal support to the measures of the Conservatives. Finally, however, the Liberal Unionists were merged with the Conservatives into a new organization, the Unionist party.

The split in the Liberal party.

Joseph Chamberlain was a manufacturer from Birmingham and was classed as a radical. Lord Hartington represented the old Whig element in the Liberal party. Between the two there was not agreement on all measures; but they were united in opposition to anything that looked like a dissolution of the

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[1] Cheyney, No. 447; Tuell and Hatch, No. 74.

Joseph Chamberlain.

British Empire. The radicals in the Liberal party did not regret to lose Lord Hartington and his following o aristocratic Whigs; but the loss of Joseph Chamberlain was a hard blow. Many of them had been looking forwar to a time when he should succeed the aged Gladstone as chie of the Liberal forces, and they found it hard to think of him a allied with the Tories.

Asquith.

Gladstone's fourth ministry.

533. The Second Home Rule Bill. A defeated cabinet may either resign or call a new election, "appeal to the country,"[1] as it is called in England. Gladstone chose the latter course, but his party was overwhelmingly defeated. The United Kingdom was clearly opposed to home rule for Ireland. Six years later, however, another election was fought on the same issue, though the Liberals also emphasized other questions. In this election Gladstone and the Home Rulers were victorious. The new parliament on a motion by H. H. Asquith voted a lack of confidence in the Conservative government. Lord Salisbury resigned, and the "Grand Old Man," who was now eighty-two years old, became prime minister for the fourth time. Among the members of his cabinet were Lord Rosebery, who took the foreign office; Asquith, who took charge of the home department; and John Morley, an English man of letters, who was made chief secretary for Ireland.

The Second Home Rule Bill.

A new bill for the government of Ireland was prepared and promptly introduced. It differed from the earlier plan chiefly in that it provided for an Irish membership of eighty in the English parliament, who were, however, to have the right to speak and vote on Irish questions only. After a long and bitter debate the bill passed the house of commons by a small majority; but when it came to the house of lords, it was rejected by the decisive vote of 419 to 41 (1893).

534. The Passing of Gladstone. The next year Gladstone retired from public life and Lord Rosebery succeeded him as prime minister and leader of the Liberal party. Since 1832 Gladstone had been almost continuously a member of the house of commons. Since 1852 he had served in every Liberal cabinet. For nearly thirty years he had been the most prominent figure in English politics and one of the most eminent of the world's statesmen. At the time of his retirement, however, he was not popular in England: his countrymen resented his efforts to secure home rule for Ireland. But during the last four years of his life the dislike wore away, and England once more began to realize the greatness of the man. When he died (in 1898) lords and princes bore his body to the tomb, and the entire world joined in doing honor to his memory.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 72.

Lord Rosebery.

Death of Gladstone.

535. The Unionists in Control. After the failure of the first home rule bill, the Conservatives came into control of the government and this control they managed to keep almost continuously for twenty years (1886–1906); only during the years 1892–1895, the period of the Gladstone-Rosebery government, did the Liberals have control of the house of commons. The alliance with the Liberal Unionists added greatly to the Conservative strength both in numbers and in ability; but the support was not without its price. To please the radical Chamberlain his new associates passed two important reform measures: a new Education Act, which created free public schools for England and Wales; and a County Councils Act, which provided a new form of county government. For nearly five centuries the local government had been in the hands of the local justices of the peace meeting in quarter sessions. On the whole the management of county affairs had been honest, economical, and efficient; but the system was not democratic, as the justices were selected by the central government, not by the voters of the counties. The purpose of the new law was to give the people a voice in the control of county affairs. The quarter sessions were deprived of their administrative powers[1] and these were transferred to

The county councils.

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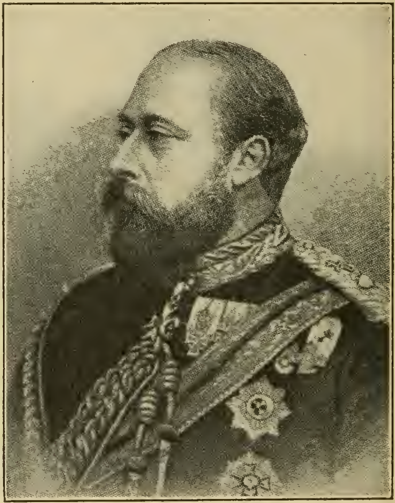
[1] Review sec. 179.

a new body, the county council, most of the members of which were chosen directly by the voters of the county. These bodies were patterned after the councils that were governing the boroughs. Some of the larger counties were divided and each section was made a separate administrative county. All of what is usually called London outside of the old City of London, a densely populated area composed of nearly thirty separate boroughs, has also been formed into a county with a government of the council type. In 1894 the Liberals extended this system of local government to the parishes, areas that correspond roughly to the American towns or townships, by providing parish meetings and parish councils. The parish meeting is an assembly of the citizens of the parish somewhat like the American town meeting; the parish council has general oversight of the business of the parish. Thus by the close of the century, the government of England, both local and central, had been made essentially democratic.

The parish council.



Edward VII.

536. **The Close of the Victorian Era.** Soon after the opening of the new century, January 22, 1901, Queen Victoria died; and the prince of Wales mounted the throne of the United Kingdom as Edward VII. For more than sixty-three years Victoria had borne the English crown. In 1887 the fiftieth anniversary of her reign was celebrated amid great rejoicing and much display. Ten years later the queen's diamond jubilee gave occasion for even more pomp and

The jubilees.

deeper expressions of loyalty. These jubilees naturally led to elaborate surveys of the progress that the kingdom had made during her reign, and the results of these were very impressive. The nineteenth century is the age of steam and electricity; of the steamship and the railway; of the telegraph and the telephone; of the electric car and the automobile. The scientific discoveries and the mechanical inventions of the century affected profoundly the conditions of life. During the queen's reign the population of England doubled; while the wealth of the kingdom grew to more than three times what it was in 1837. The British Empire had grown till it comprised one-fourth of the world's land area, and had brought more than 400,000,000 people, at least one-fifth of the population of the globe, under the authority of the British crown. British trade had increased sixfold, and the English merchant marine carried English products to every port in the world. Every other field of life had felt the same impulse of progress.

Material progress of the reign.

537. Summary. During the generation that followed the passage of the second parliamentary reform bill (1867–1901), the political life of the United Kingdom saw many important changes. A public school system was founded. Workingmen were given the right to vote. Balloting was made secret. The government of the counties and parishes was reorganized according to democratic principles. Many other important reforms were enacted. The question of first importance, however, was the Irish problem in its three phases: the church, the land, and home rule. Gladstone settled the first of these by the act of 1869 disestablishing the Irish church. His successor as prime minister, Benjamin Disraeli, showed little interest in the Irish question; his indifference, however, indirectly added strength to two important movements: the Irish founded a Land League to force the settlement of the land question; they had also organized a Home Rule party to work for the repeal of the Act of Union. When the Liberals came into power again in

Domestic legislation.

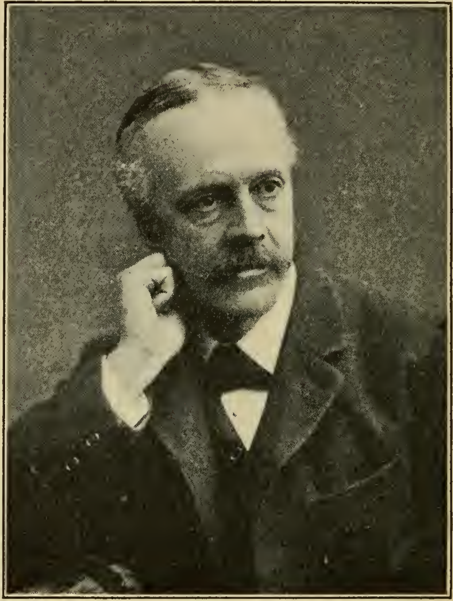
The Irish church.

1880, Gladstone granted the demands of the Land League.

The Irish land problem.

The Conservatives under the leadership of Lord Salisbury and Arthur James Balfour found a final settlement for the Irish land question by the passage of a series of land purchase acts, which have enabled many thousands of Irish peasants to buy the farms that they tilled. In 1886 Gladstone proposed to solve the Irish question once for all by granting home rule. The measure proposed was defeated, however, as was also a second measure which the house of commons passed in 1893. In 1894 Gladstone retired, and two years later the Conservative, or Unionist, party again came into control of the English government. Not till nearly twenty years later, was a serious effort made to give home rule to Ireland.

Home rule for Ireland.



Arthur James Balfour

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CHAPTER XXVIII

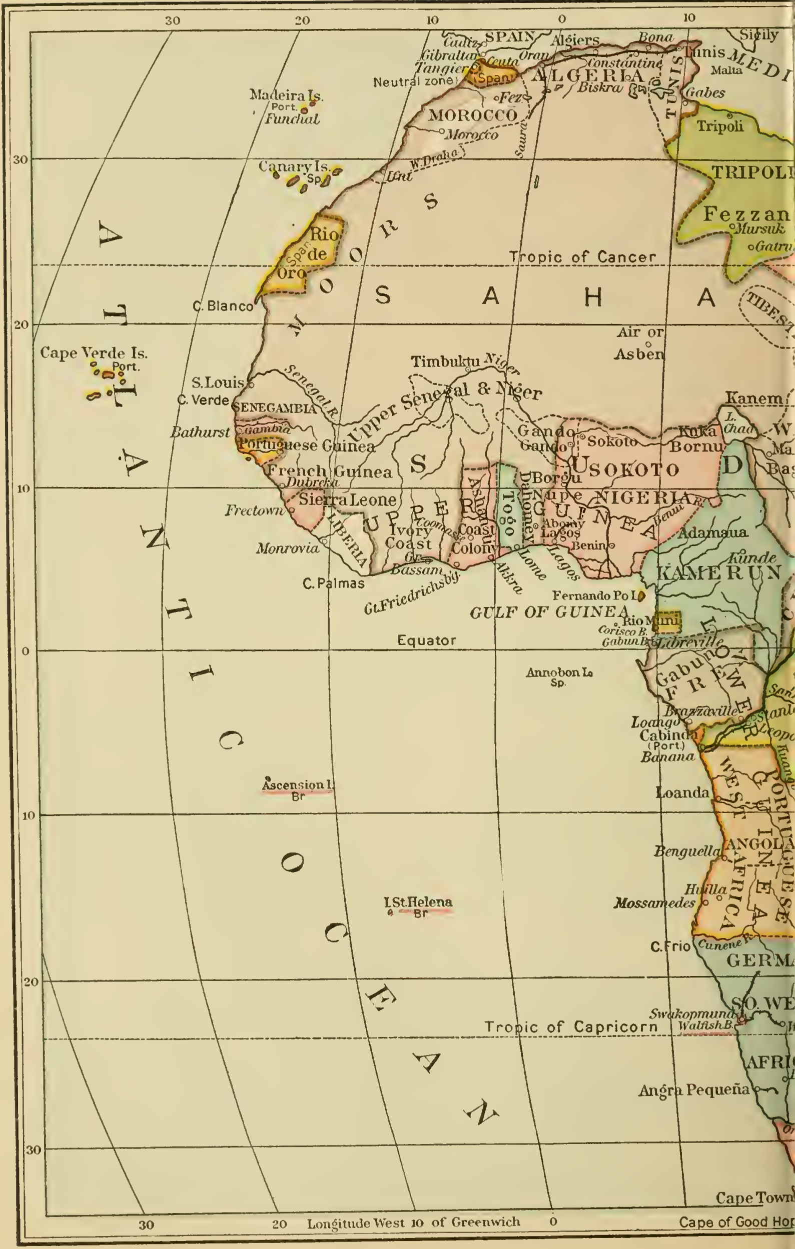
THE UNIONISTS AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

538. England in Africa. During the last half century England has made important additions to her territories over the seas, notably in Africa. In the Dark Continent English expansion has been from three directions: from Egypt southward into the Soudan; from British East Africa northwestward to the head waters of the Nile; and from Cape Colony northward into the valley of the Zambezi River and beyond. England has thus come into possession of a broad and almost continuous strip of territory extending from the mouth of the Nile to the Cape of Good Hope. The two political parties have both shared in this expansion; but the greater credit belongs to the Unionists. Many a venturesome Briton has found great wealth in these regions; but the history of England in Africa also illustrates the more serious phase of empire building, for much of this territory was purchased by the war with the Boers, the most expensive single war in English history.

English expansion in Africa.

539. Cape Colony and the Boer Republics. The Dutch founded a settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in the days of Cromwell and held the colony till 1796 when it was seized by the English. Ten years later it became definitely a British possession. Cape Colony had already a considerable population composed chiefly of Dutch farmers or *Boers;* the number was soon materially increased by English immigration. The slow-moving Boer did not like the more aggressive Englishman and there was friction in the colony from the very beginning of English rule. The Boers had enslaved the native blacks in large numbers; but in 1834

The Dutch at the Cape.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Bona
Sicily
Gibraltar
Ceuta
Oran
Constantine
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Tangier
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Neutral zone)
ALGERIA
Biskra
TUNIS
Fr.
Gabes
Madeira Is.
Port.
Funchal
Fez
MOROCCO
Morocco
Saura
Tripoli
TRIPOLI
Canary Is.
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W.Draha
Unt
Fezzan
Mursuk
Gatru
Rio de Oro
Span.
MOORS
SAHARA
Tropic of Cancer
TIBEST
C. Blanco
Air or Asben
Cape Verde Is.
Port.
Timbuktu
Niger
S.Louis
Senegal R.
Upper Senegal & Niger
C. Verde
SENEGAMBIA
Kanem
Bathurst
Gambia
Portuguese Guinea
Gando
Gando
Sokoto
Kuka
Bornu
L. Chad
W
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Bag
French Guinea
SOKOTO
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Dubreka
Borgu
Sierra Leone
Nupe
NIGERIA
Frectown
UPPER GUINEA
LIBERIA
Ashanti
Togo
Dahomey
Abomy
Lagos
Benue R.
Adamaua
Coomasse
Ivory Coast
Coast Colony
Benin
Monrovia
Gr. Bassam
Kunde
KAMERUN
C. Palmas
Lome
Lagos
Akkra
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Fernando Po I.
GULF OF GUINEA
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Gabun B.
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I. St Helena
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C. Frio
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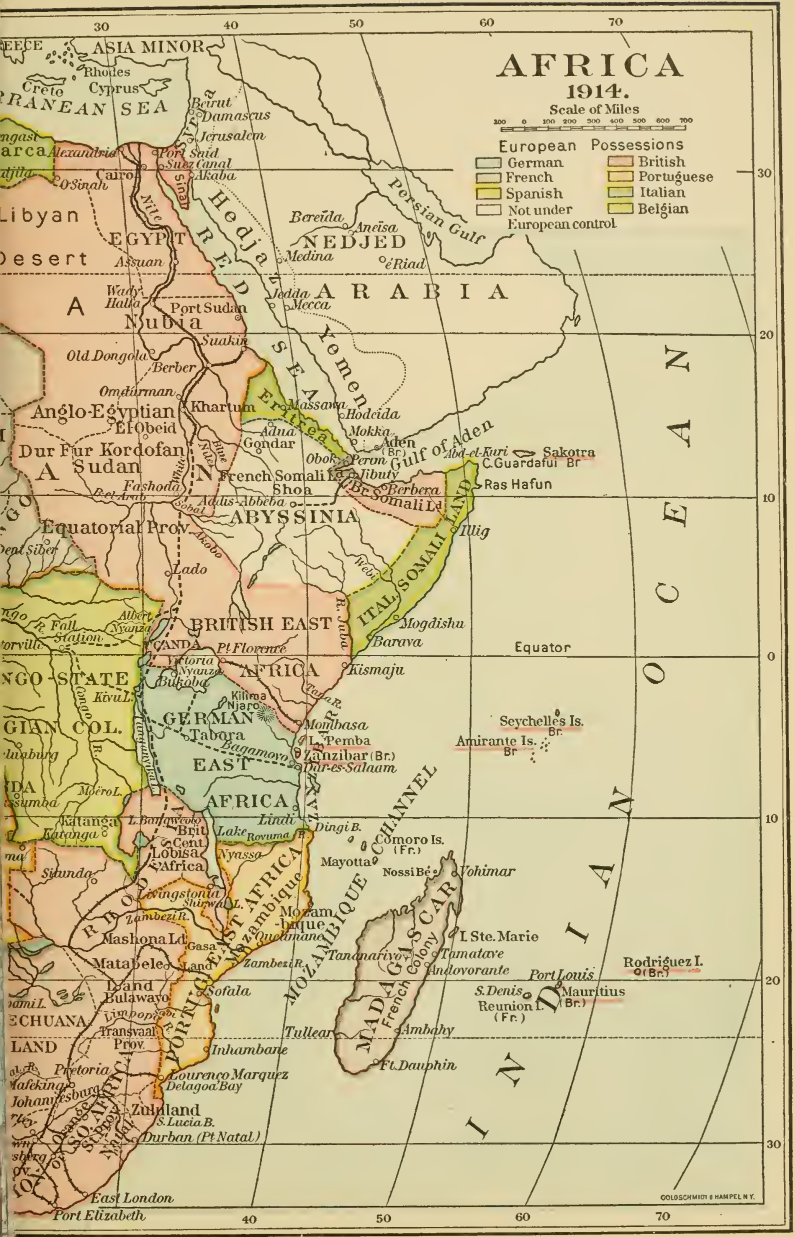
ATLANTIC OCEAN



AFRICA
1914.

Scale of Miles
200 0 100 200 300 400 500 600 700
European Possessions
German
French
Spanish
Not under European control
British
Portuguese
Italian
Belgian
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40
50
60
70
EECE
ASIA MINOR
Rhodes
Crete
Cyprus
RANEAN SEA
Beirut
Damascus
Syria
Jerusalem
ngasi
arca
Alexandria
Port Said
Suez Canal
Akaba
Sinai
Cairo
O.Sinah
djila
Libyan
Desert
EGYPT
Nile
Hedjaz
RED SEA
Medina
Bereida
Aneisa
NEDJED
éRiad
Persian Gulf
Assuan
Wady Halfa
Port Sudan
A
Nubia
Jedda
Mecca
ARABIA
Suakin
Old Dongola
Berber
Yemen
Omdurman
Anglo-Egyptian
Khartum
Eritrea
Massawa
Hodeida
El Obeid
Adua
Gondar
Mokka
Aden (Br.)
Dur Fur
Kordofan
Sudan
A
N
Blue Nile
White Nile
Obok
Perim
Gulf of Aden
Abd-el-Kuri
Sakotra
C.Guardafui Br
French Somali Ld.
Jibuty
Shoa
Fashoda
B.el Arab
Br. Somali Ld.
Berbera
Ras Hafun
Addis Abbeba
Sobat
ABYSSINIA
Equatorial Prov.
Illig
Dem Siber
Akobo
Webi
ITAL. SOMALI LAND
Lado
ngo R.
Fall Station
Albert Nyanza
BRITISH EAST AFRICA
R. Juba
Mogdishu
Barava
torville
UGANDA
Pt Florence
Equator
Victoria Nyanza
Bukoba
Kismaju
NGO STATE
Kivu L.
Congo R.
Kilima Njaro
Tana R.
GERMAN EAST AFRICA
Tabora
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Seychelles Is. Br.
Amirante Is. Br
GIAN COL.
L. Pemba
Bagamoyo
Zanzibar (Br.)
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Moëro L.
Katanga
Katanga
L. Bangweolo
Lindi
Brit. Cent. Africa
Lobisa
Lake Rovuma R.
Dingi B.
CHANNEL
Comoro Is. (Fr.)
Nyassa
Mayotta
Nossi Bé
Vohimar
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Siunda
RHODESIA
Livingstonia
Shirwa L.
EAST AFRICA
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Mozambique
Zambezi R.
Quelimane
MOZAMBIQUE
Mashona Ld.
Gasa Land
Matabele
Zambezi R.
Tananarivo
MADAGASCAR
French Colony
Tamatave
I. Ste. Marie
Andovorante
Port Louis
Rodriguez I. (Br.)
Band
Bulawayo
Sofala
S.Denis
Reunion I. (Fr.)
Mauritius (Br.)
ami L.
ECHUANA LAND
Limpopo R.
Transvaal Prov.
PORTUGUESE
Tullear
Ambahy
Inhambane
Ft.Dauphin
Pretoria
Mafeking
Johannesburg
Lourenço Marquez
Delagoa Bay
Zululand
S. Lucia B.
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GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

slavery was abolished in all British dominions, and many of the Boers felt that they could endure the British rule no longer. They determined to seek another land where they could enjoy freedom and keep slaves. Beginning the next year, these dissatisfied Dutch migrated in large numbers to the northeast beyond the borders of Cape Colony and founded the republic of Natal. But the English followed them, and in 1841, after a stubborn resistance on the part of the Boers, Natal was annexed to the British crown.

The "trek" to Natal.

The Boer migration was now directed to the country beyond the Orange River. This region was also claimed as British territory but in 1853 the claim was surrendered and the Boers organized a second republic, the Orange River Free State. During the conflict between the government of the Cape and the Dutch settlers in the Orange River country, a number of Boers traveled still farther to the north across the Vaal River to a region nearly one thousand miles from Cape Town. Here they built up the South African or Transvaal Republic. Thus all the four states that make up the South African Union were founded by the Dutch.

The Orange Free State.

The Transvaal Republic.

540. The Annexation of Transvaal. For twenty years the English government showed little interest in the Boer republics. But during Disraeli's second ministry a danger appeared on the borders of Natal that the British authorities at the Cape could not afford to ignore. Along the east frontier of the Boer republics lived the Zulus, a very capable and aggressive people of the Kaffir stock. The Zulu chiefs wished to extend their territories, and in so doing they came into conflict with the white settlers. It was Disraeli's plan to organize a federation in South Africa on the Canadian plan, and as a preliminary step Transvaal was annexed (1877). This act saved the Boer states from destruction, but it displeased both the Boers and the Zulus. Two years later the English made war on the Zulus. At first the natives were victorious; but after a time they were overcome and Zululand

The Boers and the Zulus.

was virtually made a British possession. Some years later it was formally annexed and joined to Natal.

541. The Transvaal Revolt. The Boers protested loudly against the annexation of their country, but so long as there was still danger from the Zulus, they thought it wiser not to fight. They also hoped much from Gladstone, who succeeded Disraeli as prime minister in 1880. But the Liberal ministry was slow in declaring its intentions, and in 1881 the Boers of the Transvaal rose in revolt. The Boers were a strong and courageous people, excellent marksmen and virile fighters. From the first, victory was on their side. At Majuba Hill they inflicted a severe defeat on the English arms. The numbers engaged in this famous battle were small: but the outcome revealed the startling fact that the Boer rifleman was far superior to the British soldier. The war practically ended with this battle: Gladstone felt that the Disraeli government had not dealt justly with the Boers, and he decided to come to terms with them. England recognized the independence of the Transvaal Republic, but with the important proviso that in making treaties the republic was to consult the English government. This assertion of suzerainty on the part of England was the cause of much trouble in the next decade.

War in South Africa.

542. England in Egypt. The English interest in South Africa arose from the fact that Cape Town was an extremely convenient half-way station on the long route to India. In 1869 the distance to India was made several thousand miles shorter by the opening of the Suez Canal. This gave the English foreign office a new interest in the Orient which became still keener when Disraeli was made prime minister in 1874. The Suez Canal was built by a stock company in which the khedive, or king, of Egypt was heavily interested. The government of Egypt was carried on very extravagantly, however, and the khedive's treasury was frequently on the verge of bankruptcy. In 1875 he sold his shares in the Canal to the English government for about $20,000,000. But this did little to help the finances of Egypt, and the English

The Suez Canal. 1869.

and French bondholders, who were interested in the Egyptian debt, began to make appeals to their respective governments. The outcome was that in 1879 the khedive was forced to take several English and French officials into his cabinet; these men virtually controlled the Egyptian government. The plan seemed to work satisfactorily, and Gladstone, when he took office again the following year, decided to let the arrangement stand.

Joint administration of Egypt by France and England.

The situation in Egypt was peculiar. The country was a kingdom, but it was tributary to the sultan of Turkey, whose control, however, had become very ineffective. The actual rulers were England and France, whose representatives in the cabinet "administered" the country. The condition produced much dissatisfaction and led to an uprising in 1881. The leader, Arabi Pasha, probably aimed at Egyptian independence. The following year an English army put down the rebellion; Arabi Pasha was exiled to Ceylon; and the European officials remained in charge. The same year France withdrew from Egypt, and since 1882 England has occupied the Nile valley alone. A representative of the English government resides in Egypt. His function is to give the khedive "advice" and to insist that his advice be taken. The advice is supported by the presence of a British army. England has "advised" many reforms and much has been done to improve conditions in the Nile valley: on the whole Egypt has profited much from English control.

Arabi Pasha's revolt.

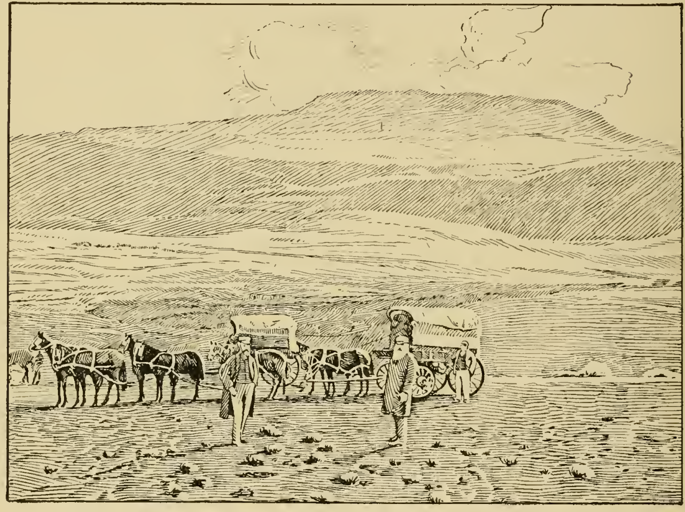
England in Egypt.

543. The Loss of the Soudan. To the south of Egypt and extending far westward along the southern border of the Sahara lies a vast, mysterious region called the Soudan. A large part of the Soudan had been annexed to Egypt; but the Egyptian government was bad; the officials plundered the half-civilized natives; and there was much unrest on the Upper Nile. In 1882, the year of Arabi Pasha's rebellion, a Mohammedan fanatic, who called himself the Mahdi, or Messiah, raised the standard of revolt and preached a holy war against the alien oppressors. The

Revolt of the Soudanese: the Mahdi.

next year an Egyptian army was cut to pieces by the Mahdi's forces; for the Soudanese (the Fuzzy-Wuzzies of Kipling's poem) proved to be very capable soldiers.

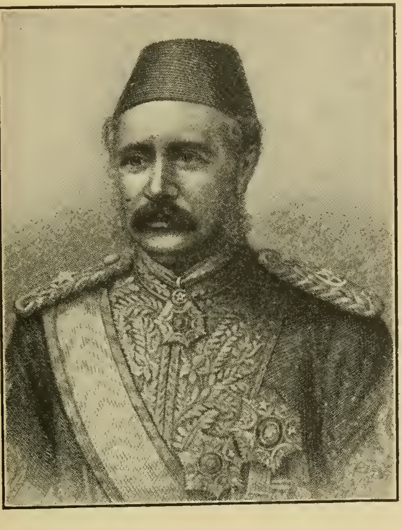
It was Gladstone's plan to surrender the Soudan to the Mahdi. There were, however, Egyptian garrisons in the country which were hard pressed by the Mahdi's troops; it was the first duty of the government to rescue these. General Charles George Gordon, popularly known as "Chinese" Gordon, was sent to Khartoum, the capital of the Soudan, presumably to arrange terms with the Mahdi. Gordon had seen much service in half-civilized lands and had been governor of the Soudan only a few years before. But like the Mahdi he was something of a religious fanatic, and he decided to stay in the Soudan till he could end the rebellion. His mission failed; he was shut up in Khartoum by the rebels. After some delay a force was sent out to relieve him. It reached Khartoum in January, 1885; but two



Majuba Hill

General Gordon in the Soudan.

days earlier Gordon had been slain by the Soudanese. Eleven thousand soldiers and inhabitants of Khartoum were put to the sword on the same day. The British force retired, and for the next ten years the natives were left in control of the Soudan.


General Charles George Gordon

544. Cecil Rhodes and the Development of South Africa. The year following the disaster at Khartoum, the attention of the English public was once more diverted to South Africa: in 1886 gold was discovered in the southern border of the Transvaal. Diamonds had been found for nearly twenty years in the northern part of Cape Colony, and a strong tide of immigration had flowed into that section. But after gold had been found in the hill ranges of the Rand, the stream of European adventurers was turned toward the Transvaal Republic. In the gold fields there grew up a large and important town, Johannesburg, inhabited almost exclusively by a floating population of aliens who had come to seek their fortune in the gold fields. These aliens the Boers called "Outlanders."

Gold and diamond fields in South Africa.

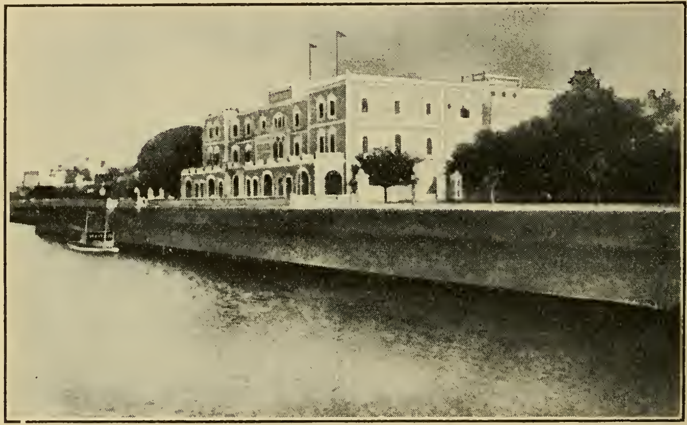
Johannesburg.

Among the immigrants who found their way to South Africa in the decade of the seventies came Cecil Rhodes, a young Englishman who soon rose to be a leader of the British elements in those regions. Cecil Rhodes was a keen, far-sighted, and resourceful man, who loved to plan and carry out large undertakings. After a time he found

Cecil Rhodes.

his way into the Kimberley diamond fields, where he amassed a great fortune. Later he invested heavily in the gold fields of the Rand. But Cecil Rhodes was also interested in the vast interior country lying to the north of the Boer republics. In 1889 he organized the South African Company, the purpose of which was to develop the territories north and south of the Zambezi River. The company was also given extensive administrative powers over the regions in which it was to operate. The South African Company brought a large interior province under the British flag: this has been called Rhodesia in honor of Cecil Rhodes. The presence of the English in Rhodesia caused much irritation in the Boer settlement, as it prevented further expansion of the Transvaal Republic to the north and the west.

The South African Company.



Governor's Palace, Khartoum

Rhodesia.

545. The Imperialism of Joseph Chamberlain. In 1895 the Liberal party lost its control of the administration and the Unionists took charge of the British government. Lord Salisbury was once more made prime minister and he selected Joseph Chamberlain for the office of colonial secretary.

Joseph Chamberlain in the colonial office.

Chamberlain was still a radical; but on two important subjects his political beliefs appealed to a large element in the Unionist party: (1) he held that the time had come to abandon free trade and return to some form of a protective tariff;[1] (2) he emphasized the importance and value of the British Empire. So long as England was the only "workshop of the world," her products found markets everywhere; but since the days of Cobden and Peel Germany and the United States had become great manufacturing nations and were competing for the markets of the world. But more than 350,000,000 people live under the British flag outside the British Isles, and Chamberlain held that England should strive to secure the colonial markets for British products. If England were to lay a tax on imported goods, he believed it would be wise to establish a lower rate on products coming to England from the colonies. This would direct the colonial trade to the mother country, and the empire would be bound together by ties of economic advantage.

CECIL RHODES

Chamberlain's theory of protection.

A "preferential tariff."

Chamberlain also held that the empire ought to be made a definite political unit. This he hoped to accomplish by some form of "imperial federation."[2] He dreamed of an imperial

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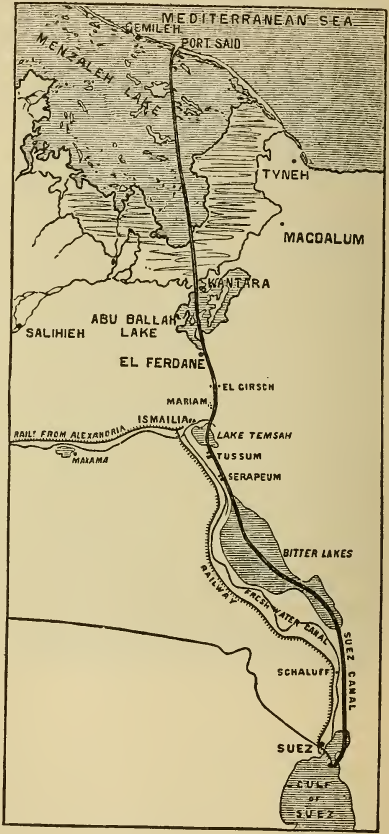
[1] Review secs. 510–512.

[2] Cheyney, No 453; Kendall, No. 147.

Imperial federation.

Kipling.

parliament to be made up of representatives from the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and perhaps from other important colonies. This idea did not originate with Joseph Chamberlain, but he became most prominently identified with it. Imperialism, the belief that the colonies are desirable and even necessary to England, is widely held in Great Britain.[1] It has even found a literary exponent in Rudyard Kipling, whose tales and poems deal largely with England over the seas and with the greatness of the British Empire.[2]


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GEMILEH
PORT SAID
MENZALEH LAKE
TYNEH
MACDALUM
KANTARA
ABU BALLAH LAKE
SALIHIEH
EL FERDANE
EL GIRSCH
MARIAM
ISMAILIA
RAIL? FROM ALEXANDRIA
MAHAMA
LAKE TEMSAH
TUSSUM
SERAPEUM
BITTER LAKES
RAILWAY
FRESH WATER CANAL
SUEZ CANAL
SCHALUFF
SUEZ
GULF OF SUEZ

The Suez Canal

Kitchener in the Soudan.

546. The Reconquest of the Soudan. 1898. Joseph Chamberlain also believed in adding to the empire wherever it was possible. Accordingly the new ministry resolved to reconquer the Soudan. In 1896 a force under the command of General Kitchener began to move up the Nile valley. The advance was slow, for Kitchener built a railroad as he went forward, so as to be sure of supplies for the campaign. In 1898 he reached the vicinity of Khartoum and defeated the successor of the Mahdi in a battle near Omdurman on the opposite side of the Nile. This defeat virtually ended the native control of the Soudan.

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[1] Cheyney, Nos. 454–457; Tuell and Hatch, No. 80.

[2] Typical poems are *Fuzzy-Wuzzy, The Sons of the Widow, Gunga Din, The Native Born, The Young British Soldier, Pagett, M.P., Mandalay,* and *Recessional.*

Omdurman. 1898.

Lord Kitchener of Khartoum

Lord Kitchener was sent out by the Egyptian government, but his forces were composed of English and Egyptian soldiers. The flags of England and Egypt were both raised over the reconquered strongholds. Officially the Soudan is held jointly by the two countries; but the power of the khedive in Central Africa is scarcely more than a pretense: the Soudan is governed by British officials and is properly counted as belonging to the British Empire.[1]

Joint occupation of the Soudan.

547. The Boers and the Outlanders. The Boers were displeased with the advance of Cecil Rhodes and his trading company into Rhodesia; but the invasion of the Rand by the European fortune-hunters gave them even more concern. They made no attempt to make the gold fields attractive to the Outlanders and hoped to make their stay as brief as possible. The Outlanders, however, objected to the treatment accorded to them: they were heavily taxed and were forced to do military service, while the right to become naturalized citizens was denied them. As

The grievances of the Outlanders.

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[1] Kendall, Nos. 149–150.

the majority were British subjects, they naturally turned to the British government for support. Cecil Rhodes, who was prime minister of Cape Colony, sympathized with the Outlanders, and Joseph Chamberlain watched events at Johannesburg with a rising interest. The English government finally took up the cause of the dissatisfied class and asked that the Outlanders be allowed to become citizens of the Transvaal. The Boers refused: the Outlanders were becoming so numerous that they would probably outvote the Boers at the elections; their next step doubtless would be to invite annexation to the British crown, and the Boers would again become subject to a government that they had once fled to escape.

English intervention in behalf of the aliens.

In the closing days of 1895 an English force under the command of Dr. Leander Jameson, one of Cecil Rhodes' officials in Rhodesia, crossed the Transvaal frontier and proceeded toward Johannesburg. The purpose of the "Jameson raid" was to bring aid and comfort to the Outlanders and perhaps to start a revolution in the Transvaal. Not far from Johannesburg the invading force was surrounded by Boer soldiers and forced to surrender. President Kruger of the Transvaal Republic turned the offenders over to the British authorities for punishment. Dr. Jameson and twelve others were tried in London and given light sentences. Several of the leaders of the Outlanders, including a brother of Cecil Rhodes, were seized by the Boers and heavily punished. The Boers in Cape Colony forced Rhodes to resign his office as prime minister. A parliamentary committee was appointed to look into the circumstances of the raid. The committee found that Cecil Rhodes had guilty knowledge of the movement. He was censured but not brought to trial.

The Jameson raid. 1895.

The result of the Jameson raid was to produce even more bitterness in the Transvaal. The lot of the Outlander was not made easier. The Boers had long been purchasing supplies for a war that they felt must come: during the years 1896–1898 the preparations were going on

The Boers prepare to fight.

at a rapid rate. By 1899 the Transvaal Republic had a splendid army of the New Model type:[1] every soldier was a trained horseman, an accurate marksman, and a fanatical enemy of the British.

548. The Boer War. 1899-1902.[2] In October, 1899, in the early springtime of the southern hemisphere, the Boers were ready to strike. The Orange Free State joined its forces to those of the Transvaal and the combined Boer armies poured across the frontier into Cape Colony and Natal. The British were not prepared for the struggle, and for several months victory was with the Boers in all the important engagements. The fiercest fighting was in Natal in the neighborhood of Ladysmith, where the Dutch farmers shut up a British army and for a time defeated every effort to bring relief and raise the siege. England was deeply distressed; but the war had to be fought to a finish and a large army numbering 450,000 men was finally collected in South Africa. Never before had England called so many men into the field. A large part of this vast army was contributed by the self-governing colonies. Lord Roberts of Kandahar, who had proved his abilities in Afghanistan,[3] was placed in command. With him was Lord Kitchener of Khartoum, who had just conquered the Soudan. The Boer generals Delarey, De Wet, and Botha, were second to none in bravery: but they could not equal Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener in generalship. The war was now carried into Boer territory. Lord Roberts invaded the Orange Free State and seized its capital. The advance then continued into the Transvaal to Johannesburg and Pretoria. The two republics were deprived of their independence and their territories were added to the British Empire. The Boers kept up a desperate guerilla warfare for nearly two years longer. But the cause of Dutch freedom in South Africa was lost; and June 1, 1902, the Boer chiefs made peace with England and the war ended.

Boer victories.

Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener in South Africa.

Annexation of the Boer republics.

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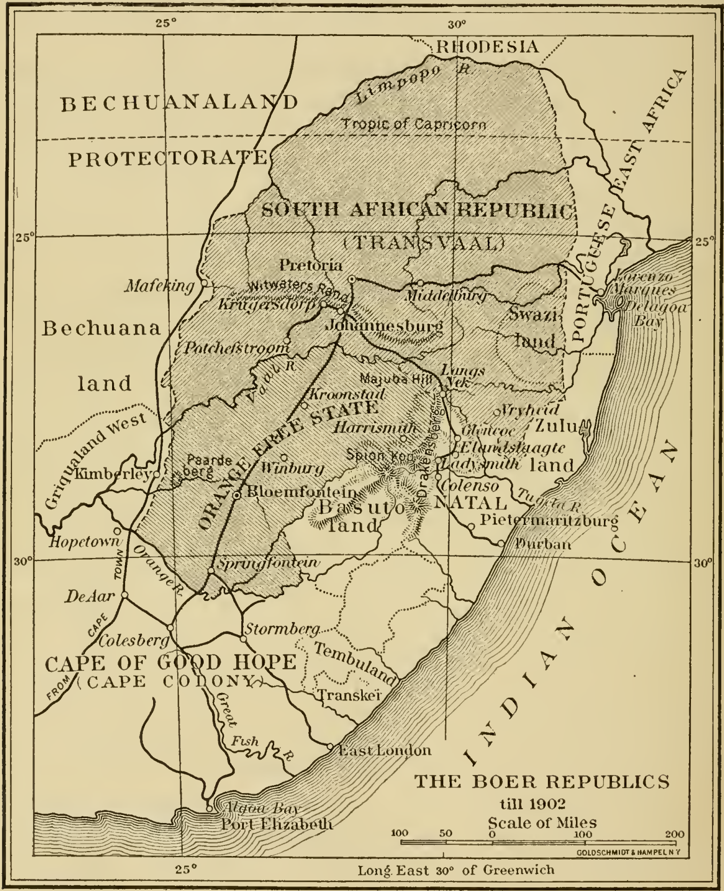
[1] See sec. 331.

[2] Gardiner, 976-978.

[3] See sec. 553.

549. The Commonwealth of Australia. 1901.[1] During the Boer war the second self-governing British colony came into being. To the close of the nineteenth century, the colonies of Australia, of which there were finally six, remained politically distinct. For a long time there was no real need of a union. But with the spread of settlement and the development of com-


25°
30°
RHODESIA
Limpopo R.
BECHUANALAND
PROTECTORATE
Tropic of Capricorn
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC
(TRANSVAAL)
PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA
Pretoria
Mafeking
Witwaters Rand
Krugersdorp
Middelburg
Johannesburg
Swazi land
Lorenzo Marques
Delagoa Bay
Bechuana land
Potchefstroom
Vaal R.
Majuba Hill
Langs Nek
Kroonstad
ORANGE FREE STATE
Vryheid
Zulu land
Harrismith
Glencoe
Elandslaagte
Ladysmith
Griqualand West
Kimberley
Paarde berg
Winburg
Spion Kop
Drakensberg
Colenso
Bloemfontein
Basuto land
NATAL
Tugela R.
Pietermaritzburg
Durban
Hopetown
Orange R.
Springfontein
INDIAN OCEAN
De Aar
Cape Town
Colesberg
Stormberg
Tembuland
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE
(CAPE COLONY)
From Cape Town
Transkei
Great Fish R.
East London
Algoa Bay
Port Elizabeth
THE BOER REPUBLICS
till 1902
Scale of Miles
100 50 0 100 200
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.
Long. East 30° of Greenwich

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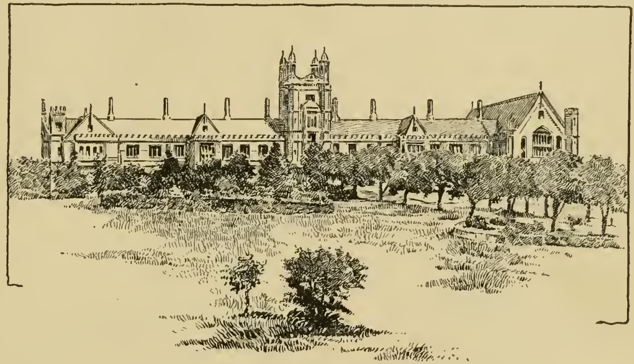
[1] Review sec. 508.

merce and industry, problems began to appear that clearly could not be solved by the action of a single colony. The navigation of rivers that ran through more than one colony had to be regulated. Still more important was the regulation of rates and traffic on intercolonial railways. It was evident that in undertaking to reclaim arid lands by irrigation a colony could not always act alone.

The movement for Australian federation.



THE UNIVERSITY, SYDNEY, AUSTRALIA

It was also felt that on many subjects such as tariffs, labor disputes, old age pensions, factory control, and alien races, there should be uniform legislation throughout the southern continent. The movement for a colonial union was constantly gaining in strength and after ten years of negotiations an act was passed creating the Commonwealth of Australia, the act to become effective on the first day of the new century.

The Australian Commonwealth is a federal union like Canada, with the important difference that the states retain all the powers not expressly handed over to the common parliament. In this respect it resembles the American system. The use of such terms as states, senate, and house of representatives also recalls the constitution of the United States.

Character of the Commonwealth.

550. The Dominion of New Zealand. 1907. Southeast of Australia and more than one thousand miles distant lie the twin islands of New Zealand. This colony did not join the new Commonwealth, and in 1907 it was allowed to organize a third self-governing colony, the Dominion of New Zealand. New Zealand is famous throughout the world for its experiments with certain forms of state socialism. The government engages in a variety of activities that are usually left to private business: it owns and operates railways, telegraph and telephone lines, and coal mines; it writes fire insurance and has a system of postal savings banks; it finds work for the unemployed; it pensions the aged. Women have the right to vote. New Zealand is in many ways the most democratic state in the world.

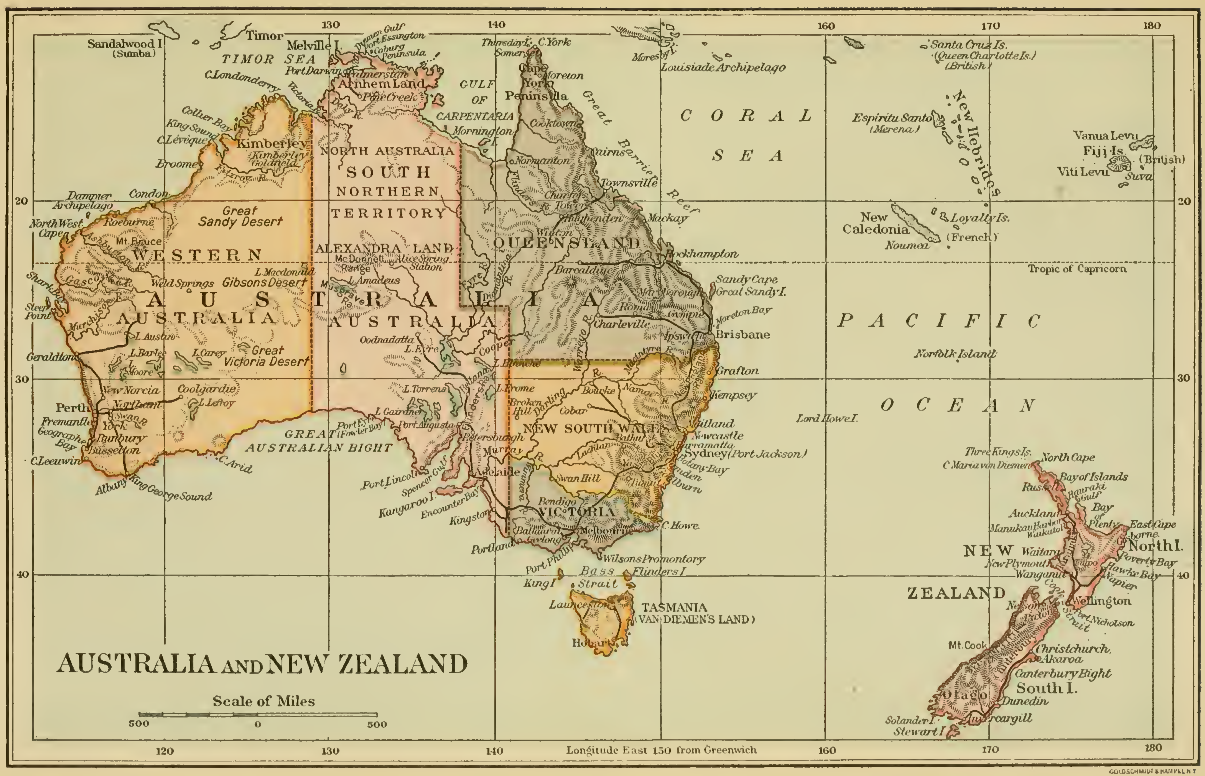
Socialistic experiments in New Zealand.

551. The Union of South Africa. 1909. While Mr. Chamberlain continued at the head of the colonial office, the two Boer states were governed as crown colonies. But in 1905 the Liberals returned to power and a new policy was adopted. The Liberal party had never been enthusiastic for the Boer war; and a faction, sometimes called the "Little Englanders," had bitterly opposed it. In 1906 self-government was restored to the people of the Transvaal and the following year the Orange Free State was granted similar rights. A few months later a movement looking toward the union of all the South African colonies was set on foot. This bore fruit in 1909 when the British parliament authorized the formation of the Union of South Africa.

South African policy of the Liberal party.

This Union is composed of the four provinces, Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal; it is not a federation, however, but rather a single unified state. The provinces exist chiefly for convenience in carrying out the laws of the Union. The Union has a parliament that meets in Cape Town and an executive government located in Pretoria. The chief executive is a governor-general appointed by the crown; but the actual chief is the prime minister. Lord Gladstone, the oldest son of the great

The Union of South Africa.



AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Scale of Miles
500
0
500
Longitude East 150 from Greenwich
120
130
140
160
170
180
20
30
40
Sandalwood I.
(Sumba)
Timor
TIMOR SEA
Melville I.
Van Diemen Gulf
Port Essington
Coburg Peninsula
Port Darwin
Palmerston
Arnhem Land
Pine Creek
Daly R.
Victoria R.
C. Londonderry
Collier Bay
King Sound
C. Lévêque
Kimberley
Kimberley Goldfield
Fitzroy R.
Broome
Condon
Dampier Archipelago
North West Cape
Roebourne
Mt. Bruce
Ashburton R.
Great Sandy Desert
WESTERN
AUSTRALIA
Gascoyne R.
Shark Bay
Steep Point
Wild Springs
Gibsons Desert
L. Macdonald
Murchison
L. Austin
L. Barlee
L. Carey
L. Moore
Great Victoria Desert
Geraldton
New Norcia
Coolgardie
L. Lefroy
Northam
Perth
Fremantle
Swan R.
York
Geographe Bay
Bunbury
Busselton
C. Leeuwin
Albany
King George Sound
C. Arid
GREAT AUSTRALIAN BIGHT
Port Eyre (Fowler Bay)
NORTH AUSTRALIA
SOUTH
NORTHERN
TERRITORY
ALEXANDRA LAND
McDonnell Range
Alice Spring Station
L. Amadeus
Musgrave Ra.
Oodnadatta
L. Eyre
L. Torrens
L. Gairdner
Port Augusta
Port Lincoln
Spencer Gulf
Kangaroo I.
Encounter Bay
Kingston
Petersburgh
Murray R.
Adelaide
AUSTRALIA
A U S T R A L I A
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
Mornington I.
Thursday I.
C. York
Somerset
Cape York Peninsula
Moreton
Cooktown
Normanton
Flinders R.
Cairns
Charters Towers
Townsville
Great Barrier Reef
Hughenden
Winton
QUEENSLAND
Mackay
Rockhampton
Barcaldine
Maryborough
Gympie
Roma
Charleville
Ipswich
Brisbane
Moreton Bay
Sandy Cape
Great Sandy I.
Diamantina R.
Eyre R.
Cooper
L. Blanche
L. Frome
Warrego R.
Macintyre R.
Bourke
Namoi R.
Broken Hill
Darling
Cobar
NEW SOUTH WALES
Lachlan
Bathurst
Swan Hill
Murrumbidgee
Maitland
Newcastle
Parramatta
Sydney (Port Jackson)
Botany Bay
Camden
Goulburn
Grafton
Kempsey
Bendigo
VICTORIA
Ballarat
Geelong
Melbourne
Portland
Port Phillip
C. Howe
Wilsons Promontory
Bass Strait
Flinders I.
King I.
Launceston
Hobart
TASMANIA
(VAN DIEMEN'S LAND)
Moresby
Louisiade Archipelago
CORAL SEA
Santa Cruz Is.
(Queen Charlotte Is.)
(British)
Espiritu Santo
(Merena)
New Hebrides
Vanua Levu
Fiji Is.
(British)
Viti Levu
Suva
New Caledonia
Noumea
Loyalty Is.
(French)
Tropic of Capricorn
PACIFIC OCEAN
Norfolk Island
Lord Howe I.
Three Kings Is.
C. Maria van Diemen
North Cape
Bay of Islands
Russell
Hauraki Gulf
Auckland
Manukau Harbor
Waikato
Bay of Plenty
East Cape
Gisborne
North I.
Poverty Bay
Hawke Bay
Napier
Taupo
Waitara
New Plymouth
Wanganui
Cook Strait
Wellington
Port Nicholson
NEW ZEALAND
Nelson
Picton
Mt. Cook
Christchurch
Akaroa
Canterbury Bight
South I.
Otago
Dunedin
Invercargill
Solander I.
Stewart I.

GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

premier, was sent out as the first governor-general. His prime minister was General Louis Botha, one of the heroes of the Boer War.

The Dutch element in the Union.

In the South African Union the two languages, Dutch and English, have been placed on equal footing. The Dutch element in the population, however, seems to be the more aggressive, and is likely to become the controlling force. Rhodesia has refused to join the Union because of the apparent ascendancy of the Boers.

The Cape to Cairo Railway.

England has large plans for the economic development of her African possessions. One of the most important projects is a railway, the Cape to Cairo line, which is to be built from Alexandria to Cape Town; a large part of this has already been constructed. Under the sure protection of the British flag, the missionary, the engineer, and the physician are transforming life in the Dark Continent. The resources of the country have been brought to light. Mines have been opened. Plantations have been laid out. The telegraph and the telephone have been introduced. Roads and bridges have been built. Arid lands have been irrigated. The slave traffic has been outlawed. Schools and churches have been founded and built. Only the beginnings have been made, however, but thus far England has been very successful in her civilizing work.

Progress in British Africa.

552. The Development of Canada.[1] When Canada was organized as a dominion (1867), it did not include all the territories of British America. To the far northwest lay a vast wilderness that belonged to the Hudson Bay Company and was thought to be valuable for its furs only. In 1869 Canada purchased this territory, and the following year a part of it was admitted to the Dominion as the Province of Manitoba. British Columbia was admitted in 1871, and Prince Edward Island, an old colony on the Atlantic seaboard, joined the Dominion two years later. Large areas of the wilderness that once belonged

The expansion of Canada.

The Canadian Northwest.

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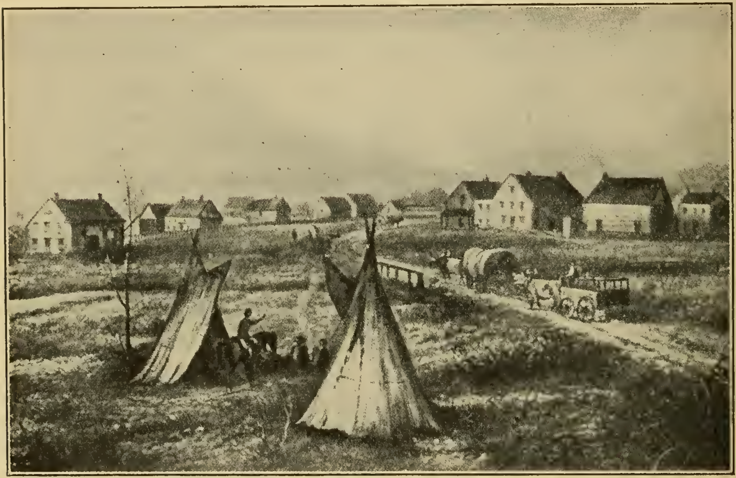
[1] Review sec. 507.

to the Hudson Bay Company have been found to be extremely valuable for farm land purposes. In recent years emigrants from the United States have gone north by the thousand to settle in the new provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Canadian railways.

The development of these regions has been made possible by the building of two great railways: the Canadian Pacific, which was built across the American continent during the eighties, and the Grand Trunk Pacific, which runs farther to the north and is still in the process of construction. Canada now comprises nine provinces and includes nearly all the British possessions on the continent of North America.

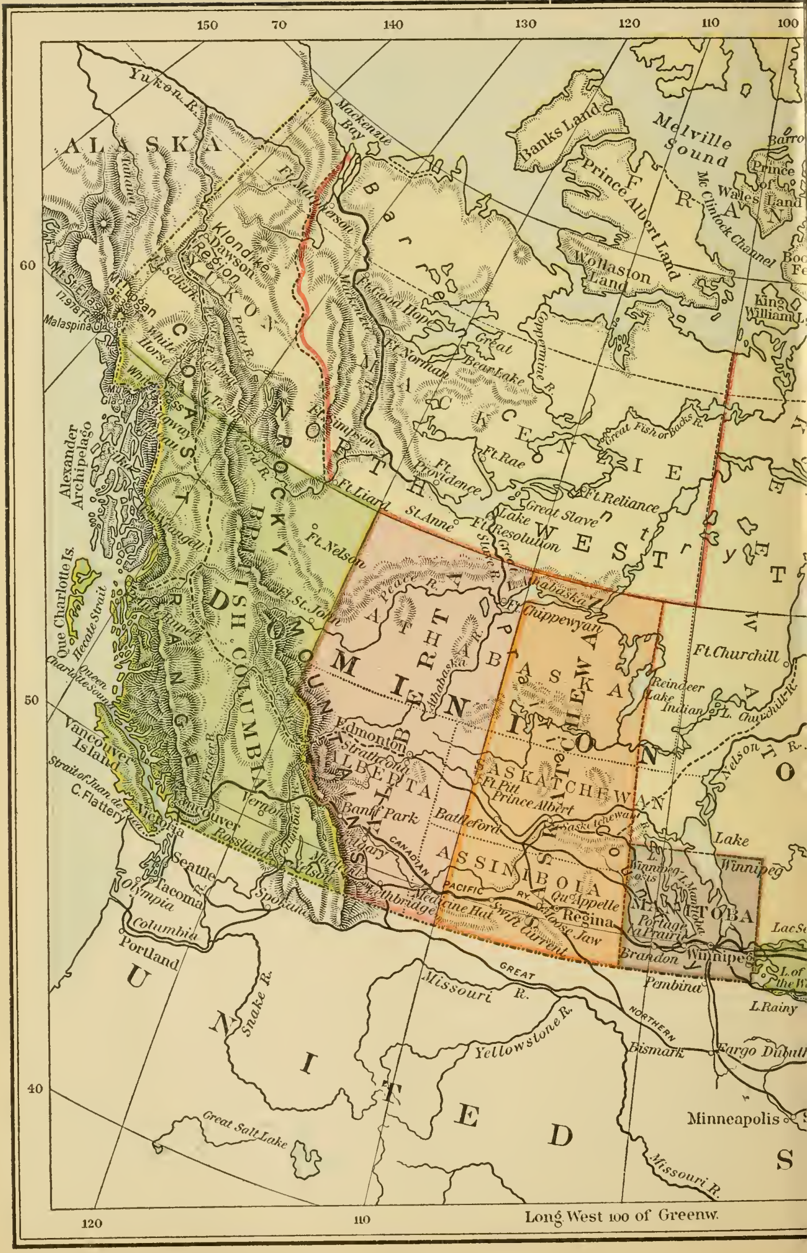


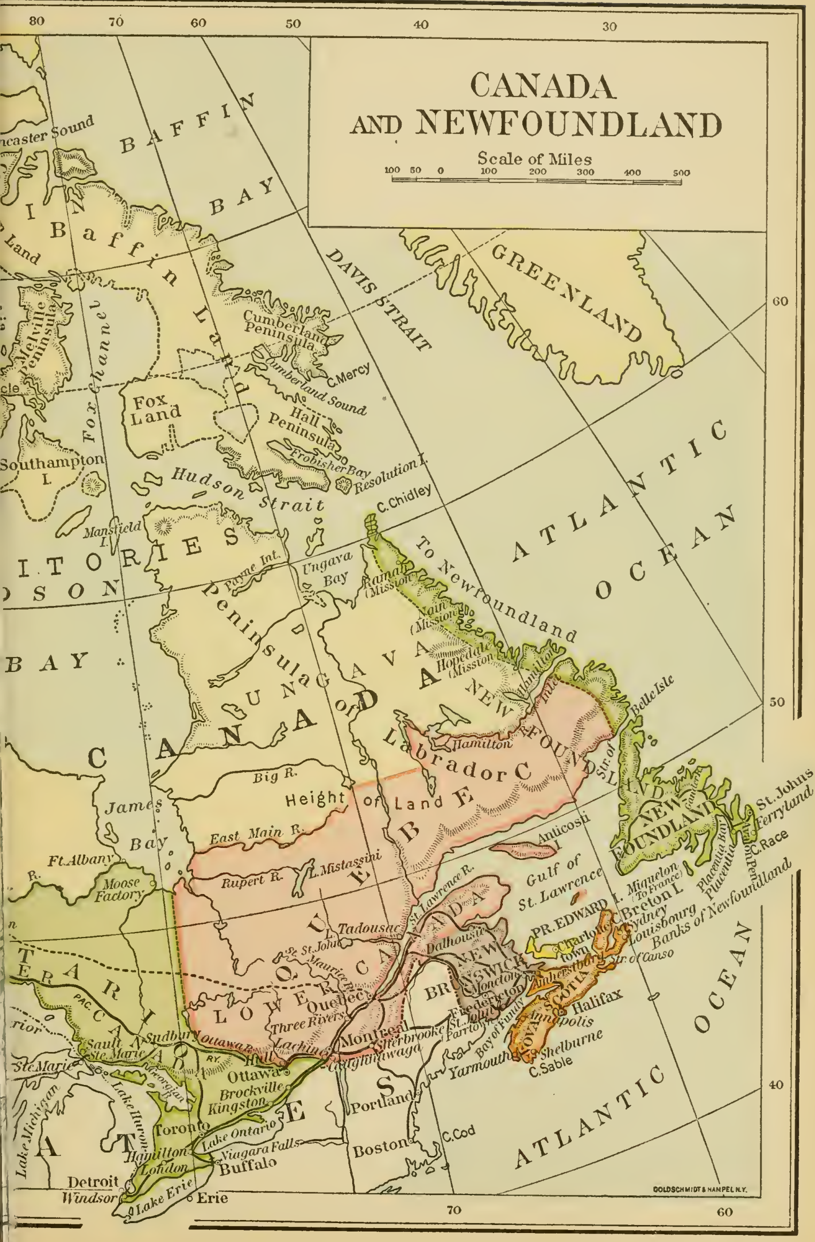
WINNIPEG IN 1870

553. Disraeli and the Near East. Nearly all the recent developments along colonial and imperial lines can be traced back to the second ministry of Benjamin Disraeli (1874–1880).

Disraeli's foreign and colonial policy.

Two important achievements have secured a high place for Disraeli in the history of English politics: he reorganized the Tories into a Conservative party which was to watch over the interests of the people as well


150
70
140
130
120
110
100
ALASKA
Yukon R.
Tanana R.
Mackenzie Bay
Ft. McPherson
Banks Land
Melville Sound
Prince Albert Land
Barrow
Prince of Wales Land
Mc Clintock Channel
F R A N
Wollaston Land
Boothia Fel
King William L.
60
Mt. St. Elias 17,978 Ft.
Mt. Logan 19,539
Malaspina Glacier
Klondike Region
Dawson
Ft. Selkirk
YUKON
Petty R.
White Horse
White Pass
Muir Glacier
Lewes R.
Ft. Good Hope
Mackenzie R.
Great Bear Lake
Coppermine R.
Ft. Norman
MACKENZIE
Great Fish or Backs R.
Ft. Simpson
Ft. Providence
Ft. Rae
Ft. Reliance
Great Slave Lake
Ft. Resolution
Slave R.
Ft. Liard
St. Anne
Ft. Nelson
Alexander Archipelago
Sitka
Queen Charlotte Is.
Hecate Strait
Queen Charlotte Sound
COAST RANGE
ROCKY MOUNTAINS
BRITISH COLUMBIA
Ft. St. John
Peace R.
ATHABASKA
L. Athabaska
Ft. Chippewyan
Athabaska R.
DOMINION
NORTH WEST TERRITORIES
KEEWATIN
SASKATCHEWAN
Ft. Churchill
Churchill R.
Reindeer Lake
Indian L.
Nelson R.
ONTARIO
50
Vancouver Island
Strait of Juan de Fuca
C. Flattery
Victoria
Vancouver
Fraser R.
Rossland
Vernon
Columbia R.
Nelson
Edmonton
Strathcona
ALBERTA
Banff Park
Calgary
Battleford
Ft. Pitt
Prince Albert
Saskatchewan R.
ASSINIBOIA
CANADIAN PACIFIC RY.
Medicine Hat
Lethbridge
Swift Current
Moose Jaw
Qu'Appelle
Regina
Lake Winnipeg
L. Winnipegosis
L. Manitoba
MANITOBA
Portage la Prairie
Brandon
Winnipeg
Lac Seul
L. of the Woods
Pembina
L. Rainy
Seattle
Tacoma
Olympia
Spokane
Columbia
Portland
UNITED STATES
Snake R.
Missouri R.
GREAT NORTHERN
Yellowstone R.
Bismark
Fargo
Duluth
Minneapolis
40
Great Salt Lake
Missouri R.
120
110
Long. West 100 of Greenw.



CANADA AND NEWFOUNDLAND

Scale of Miles
100 50 0 100 200 300 400 500
80
70
60
50
40
30
60
50
40
70
60
BAFFIN BAY
ncaster Sound
Baffin Land
Land
Melville Peninsula
cle
Fox Channel
Fox Land
Southampton I.
Cumberland Peninsula
Cumberland Sound
C.Mercy
Hall Peninsula
Frobisher Bay
Resolution I.
C.Chidley
Hudson Strait
Mansfield I.
DAVIS STRAIT
GREENLAND
ATLANTIC OCEAN
I.TORIES
DSON BAY
Payne Int.
Ungava Bay
Peninsula of Labrador
Ramah (Mission)
Nain (Mission)
Hopedale (Mission)
To Newfoundland
NEWFOUNDLAND
Hamilton Inlet
Hamilton
Belle Isle
Str. of Belle Isle
CANADA
UNGAVA
Big R.
Height of Land
James Bay
East Main R.
Ft.Albany
R.
Moose Factory
Rupert R.
L.Mistassini
QUEBEC
Anticosti I.
Gulf of St. Lawrence
St. Lawrence R.
NEWFOUNDLAND
St. Johns
Ferryland
C.Race
Avalon Pen.
Placentia Bay
Placentia
Trinity B.
Miquelon I. (To France)
C.Breton I.
Sydney
Louisbourg
Banks of Newfoundland
PR. EDWARD I.
Charlottetown
Str. of Canso
Tadousac
St. John
St. Maurice R.
LOWER CANADA
Dalhousie
NEW BRUNSWICK
Moncton
Fredericton
St. John
Parrtown
Bay of Fundy
Amherst
Truro
NOVA SCOTIA
Halifax
Annapolis
Shelburne
C.Sable
Yarmouth
Quebec
Three Rivers
Montreal
Lachine
Caughnawaga
Sherbrooke
Hull
Ottawa R.
Ottawa
Brockville
Kingston
Lake Ontario
Toronto
Hamilton
London
Niagara Falls
Buffalo
Detroit
Windsor
Lake Erie
Erie
Lake Huron
Georgian B.
Lake Michigan
Sault Ste. Marie
Ste.Marie
Sudbury
rior
n
ONTARIO
PAC. C. RY.
RY.
UNITED STATES
Portland
Boston
C.Cod
OCEAN
ATLANTIC
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

as over the rights of the land, the church, and the sovereign; he revived the interest of the English people in their territories over the sea and taught them that with a large colonial empire England could play a larger part as a world power. He began to carry out his imperial policy by securing control of the Suez Canal (1875). He sought to bind India more closely to the British crown by reviving the Empire of India and proclaiming Victoria Empress of India (1877). He took a hand in the settlement of the Balkan question at the time of the last Russo-Turkish War. He annexed the Transvaal (1877) and thought favorably of a federal union for South Africa. He found a new field for English energies in Egypt (1879). But Disraeli is best known for the interest that he showed in the group of countries at the east end of the Mediterranean Sea which is commonly called the Near East.

WINNIPEG IN 1912

The Asiatic policy of England was determined largely by a fear that Russia may have designs on her possessions in India. Russia has a powerful fleet in the Black Sea which may some day sail out past Constantinople and seize the Suez Canal. To prevent this England was determined to keep the Bosporus a closed strait by leaving both shores in the hands of the Turk. In 1876 troubles broke out in Turkey which led to the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. The Turks were defeated and made peace with Russia. But Disraeli (now Lord Beaconsfield) insisted that the Balkan question concerned all Europe and should be dealt with by a congress of the European powers. Accordingly such a congress met at Berlin under the presidency of Bismarck, England being represented by Disraeli and Lord Salisbury. The congress secured more favorable terms for Turkey. For the friendly assistance of England the Turks paid with the important island of Cyprus.

The fear of Russia in the Orient.

The Congress of Berlin.

554. India. England also feared that India might be invaded from the northwest by way of Afghanistan. The Russian frontier in Turkestan is now less than one hundred miles distant from the northern border of British India. It is therefore a part of English policy to keep Russian influence out of Afghanistan. To accomplish this Disraeli in 1878 sent an army against the Afghans. The country was overrun, but when Gladstone came to power he withdrew the British forces. Afghanistan is still independent but under British protection.

England and Afghanistan.

The greater part of India has now been annexed to the British crown. A number of independent states still remain, but they are independent in name only. To the west of India the Disraeli government extended British authority over the wilderness of Beloochistan in 1876; toward the east the British flag was planted in Burma in Salisbury's first ministry (1885). To the divided nations of India England has brought peace, order, and great material improvement.[1] Much, however, remains to be done. The masses are still densely ignorant and miserably poor. Among the educated classes, especially among those who have come

Expansion in India.

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[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 79.

into actual contact with western civilization, there is much discontent. There is some agitation among the Hindus for an independent and self-governing Indian empire; but the differences in race, language, religion, and social standing are so great and so dividing that British authority is not likely to be successfully disputed for some generations to come.

Imperialism.

555. Summary. The closing decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a revival of interest in the colonial possessions of the United Kingdom. It appeared in a mild form in Disraeli's second ministry and was called a "spirited foreign policy." Twenty years later it had grown into a passion and was called "imperialism." Imperialism has become an article of faith with the Unionist party, and many Liberals too have imperialistic leanings. The greatest exponent of the idea was Joseph Chamberlain. Imperialism has led to action in many fields, but its greatest achievements have been in Africa.

Growth of the British Empire.

In Africa large areas have been added to the British Empire. Egypt was occupied in 1882. Three years later a British trading company entered Nigeria in West Africa. The British East Africa Company began to operate from Zanzibar and Mombasa westward and northwestward later in the same decade. Rhodesia appeared on the map in the early nineties. General Kitchener conquered the Soudan in 1898. The Boer War added the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. In Asia British authority was extended over the larger part of India and over the neighboring territories of Burma and Beloochistan. In Australia and America there has been continued progress, but the growth has been wholly along peaceful and material lines.

The "colonial nations."

During the last half century four "colonial nations" have been organized within the Empire: Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. In the management of their internal affairs these are practically independent, but they have no foreign office. They are bound to England by strong sentimental and commercial ties; and it has recently been proposed to bind them even more closely to the mother country by some form of imperial federation.

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CHAPTER XXIX

ENGLAND IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

556. The Problem of the Unemployed. When the Reformed Parliament in 1833 began to enact its great series of industrial reforms, England was still the workshop of the world. Every year her output of manufactured products increased in amount and value; every year her foreign commerce showed greater totals. Where there was so much work to be done, it would seem that it ought not to be difficult to secure employment. There was, however, a tendency among factory owners to employ cheap labor: much of the lighter work was done by children; and women were sometimes engaged in tasks that were better suited to the strength of men. Hours were long, and the employer showed little interest in the welfare of the laborer. In those days it was believed that, if the conditions under which men and women labored were improved, all would be well. With shorter hours, with the elimination of child labor, and with proper restrictions on the labor of women, able-bodied men would surely find suitable work, and with employment would come prosperity and contentment.

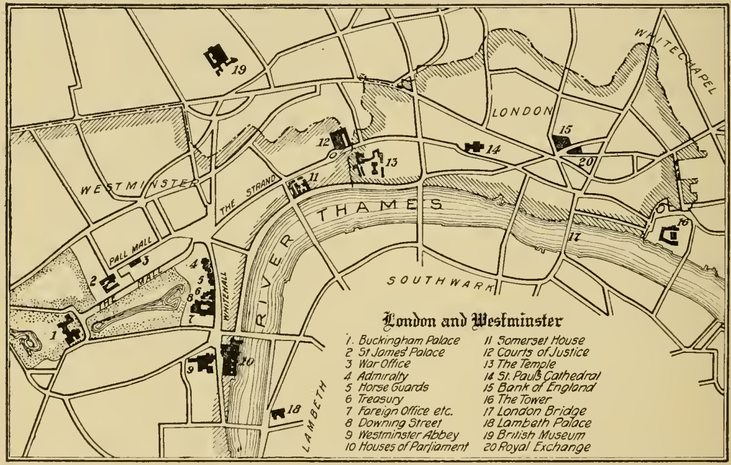
Industrial problems.

When the nineteenth century came to a close, however, England was greatly disturbed by the presence of hundreds of thousands of men who were temporarily or permanently out of work. For this there were several reasons. In the century that closed with 1911, the population of Great Britain increased more than threefold; but the demand for labor did not show a corresponding increase. Since the American Civil War the United States had developed into an industrial nation and was now competing with England

Causes of unemployment.

in the markets of the world. A little later Germany had begun to develop in the same direction. Consequently there was not the demand for English wares that there once had been; nor is it likely that England will again possess the monopoly of the world's trade that she once held.

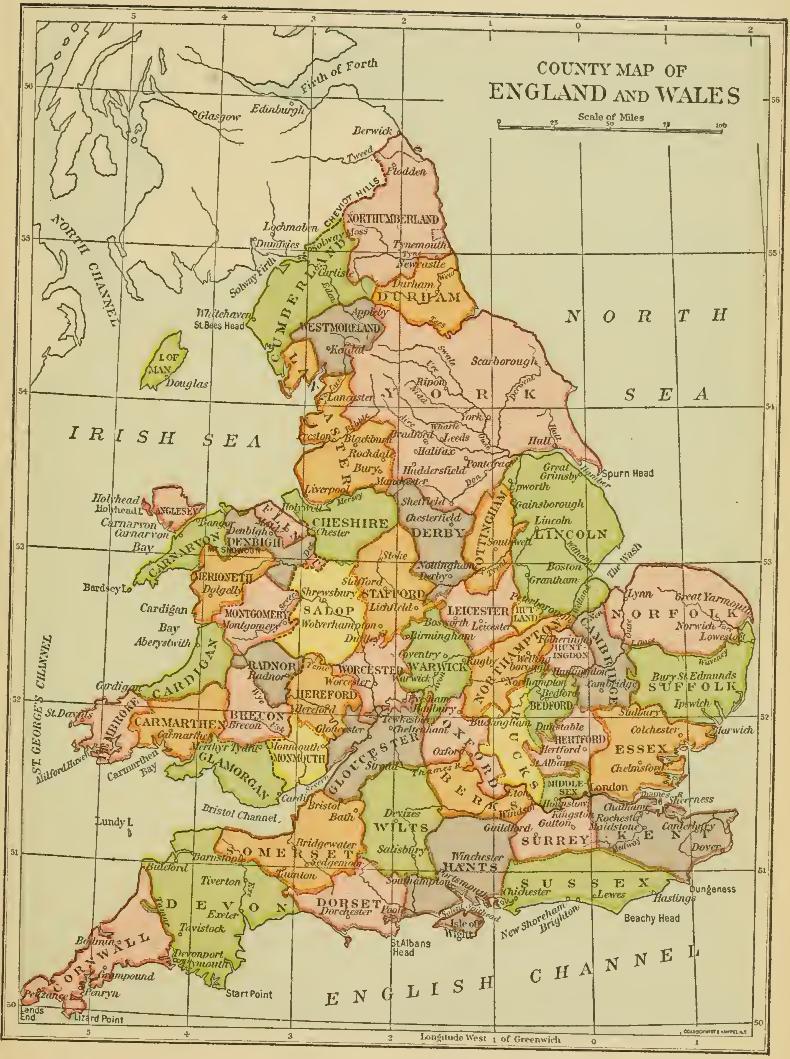
It was also coming to be understood that the working classes as a rule were unable to provide for the future: the rise in wages had not kept pace with the cost of living; and elderly workingmen were frequently without means and without employment. Illness often deprives a laborer of his income for a time, and an accident may render him permanently unable to work at the trade that he is best prepared to follow.


WESTMINSTER
THE STRAND
PALL MALL
THE MALL
WHITEHALL
RIVER THAMES
LONDON
WHITECHAPEL
SOUTHWARK
LAMBETH
London and Westminster
1. Buckingham Palace
2 St James' Palace
3 War Office
4 Admiralty
5 Horse Guards
6 Treasury
7 Foreign Office etc.
8 Downing Street
9 Westminster Abbey
10 Houses of Parliament
11 Somerset House
12 Courts of Justice
13 The Temple
14 St. Paul's Cathedral
15 Bank of England
16 The Tower
17 London Bridge
18 Lambeth Palace
19 British Museum
20 Royal Exchange

LONDON AND WESTMINSTER

Poverty and measures for relief.

These and other causes had brought millions to the verge of actual want. Charitable men and women were doing much to relieve the distress, and organizations like the Salvation Army were working faithfully in the more impoverished sections of the larger cities. But thinking men of all parties had begun to feel that


COUNTY MAP OF
ENGLAND AND WALES
Scale of Miles
0
25
50
75
100
Firth of Forth
Edinburgh
Glasgow
Berwick
Tweed
Flodden
CHEVIOT HILLS
NORTHUMBERLAND
Lochmaben
Dumfries
Solway Moss
Solway Firth
Tynemouth
Tyne
Newcastle
Wear
Carlisle
Eden
CUMBERLAND
Durham
DURHAM
Tees
Whitehaven
St.Bees Head
Appleby
WESTMORELAND
Kendal
I. OF MAN
Douglas
NORTH CHANNEL
NORTH SEA
Swale
Scarborough
Ure
Ripon
Nidd
Derwent
YORK
Lancaster
LANCASTER
Ribble
Aire
Wharfe
York
Ouse
Preston
Blackburn
Bradford
Leeds
Hull
Rochdale
Halifax
Pontefract
Bury
Huddersfield
Don
Great Grimsby
Humber
Spurn Head
Liverpool
Manchester
Mersey
Epworth
IRISH SEA
Holyhead
Holyhead I.
ANGLESEY
Carnarvon
Carnarvon Bay
Bangor
Holywell
FLINT
Denbigh
DENBIGH
CHESHIRE
Chester
Dee
Sheffield
Chesterfield
DERBY
NOTTINGHAM
Gainsborough
Lincoln
LINCOLN
Southwell
Witham
CARNARVON
MT SNOWDON
Stoke
Nottingham
Derby
Trent
Boston
The Wash
Grantham
Bardsey I.
MERIONETH
Dolgelly
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Severn
STAFFORD
Peterborough
Welland
Lynn
Great Yarmouth
NORFOLK
Norwich
Yare
Lowestoft
Cardigan Bay
MONTGOMERY
Montgomery
SALOP
Lichfield
Wolverhampton
LEICESTER
Leicester
Bosworth
RUTLAND
Dudley
Birmingham
Fotheringay
HUNTINGDON
Ouse
Aberystwith
CAMBRIDGE
Waveney
Teme
RADNOR
Radnor
Coventry
WARWICK
Warwick
Rugby
NORTHAMPTON
Wellingborough
Huntingdon
Cambridge
Bury St.Edmunds
SUFFOLK
WORCESTER
Worcester
Avon
Northampton
Bedford
Ipswich
CARDIGAN
Cardigan
Wye
HEREFORD
Hereford
Evesham
Tewkesbury
Banbury
BEDFORD
Sudbury
ST GEORGE'S CHANNEL
St.Davids
PEMBROKE
CARMARTHEN
Carmarthen
BRECON
Brecon
Usk
Gloucester
Cheltenham
Buckingham
Dunstable
HERTFORD
Hertford
Colchester
Harwich
ESSEX
Merthyr Tydfil
Monmouth
MONMOUTH
GLOUCESTER
OXFORD
Oxford
BUCKS
St.Albans
Chelmsford
Milford Haven
Carmarthen Bay
GLAMORGAN
Stroud
Thames R.
BERKS
MIDDLESEX
London
Thames R.
Sheerness
Cardiff
Severn
Eton
Windsor
Hounslow
Kingston
Chatham
Rochester
Bristol Channel
Bristol
Bath
Devizes
WILTS
Guildford
Gatton
Maidstone
Canterbury
Lundy I.
SURREY
KENT
Medway
Dover
Bridgewater
SOMERSET
Salisbury
Winchester
HANTS
Barnstaple
Sedgemoor
Bideford
Taunton
Southampton
Portsmouth
Chichester
SUSSEX
Lewes
Hastings
Dungeness
Tiverton
Exe
DEVON
Exeter
Torridge
DORSET
Dorchester
Poole
Solent
Spithead
Isle of Wight
New Shoreham
Brighton
Beachy Head
Tavistock
Bodmin
CORNWALL
Devonport
Plymouth
St.Albans Head
Grampound
Penryn
Start Point
ENGLISH CHANNEL
Penzance
Lands End
Lizard Point
5
4
3
2
1
0
1
2
56
55
54
53
52
51
50
Longitude West of Greenwich
GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

there could be no real improvement before the entire nation was willing to bring systematic relief.

557. The Political Situation. While the Boer War was still in progress, the Unionist government had dissolved parliament (1900) and appealed to the country. In the "khaki" elections the patriotic British voters rallied about the candidates who were favorable to the government, and the Unionists were returned to the house of commons in overwhelming majority. Joseph Chamberlain was a power in the Unionist party, and he sympathized actively with the cause of social reform; but most of the leaders of his party were more anxious to safeguard the rights of property than to vote funds for the relief of the poor. A. J. Balfour, who succeeded Lord Salisbury as prime minister in 1903, made a feeble move in the direction of reform with three bills that were planned to relieve the distress. Two of these failed outright and the third was amended to such an extent that it became wholly valueless.

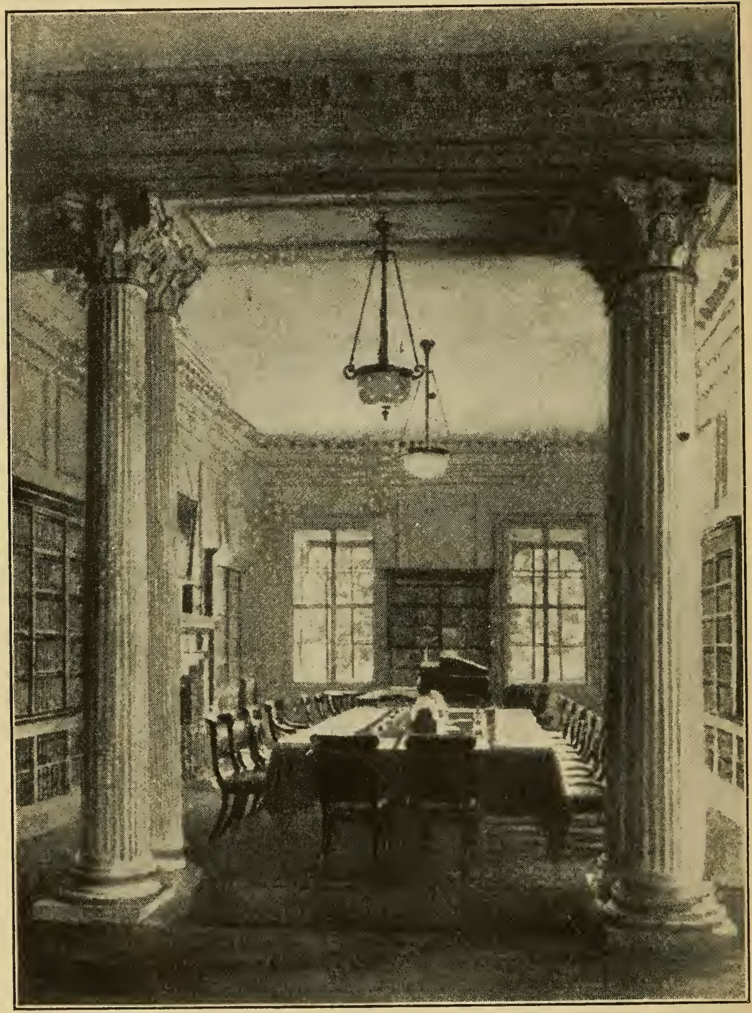
Attitude of the Unionists.

Nor could much be hoped from the Liberal party. Gladstone's great following was thoroughly demoralized. The Liberals were not yet in agreement as to Irish home rule; but the Boer War had proved an even greater source of discord. The radicals were bitterly opposed to what they termed "Mr. Chamberlain's War;" the leaders among these "Little Englanders," as the Unionists termed them, were John Morley and David Lloyd George, a brilliant lawyer and debater who rose to great prominence as member of the cabinet a few years later. On the other hand there was an important group of Liberals who believed in the extension of British territory and influence, and who loyally supported the government in the prosecution of the war in South Africa. Among the leaders of this faction were H. H. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey. There was, however, no member of either house who seemed able to harmonize these factions and give the Liberal party effective leadership.

Demoralized state of the Liberal party.

The "Little Englanders."

The Liberal Imperialists.



THE CABINET ROOM
At No. 10 Downing Street.

The Unionist cabinet was not popular in the years following the Boer War; it was continued in power simply because the opposition party seemed impossible.

But when the Balfour ministry failed to carry its program of reform, the opportunity came once more to the Liberals. The party chiefs agreed to accept the facts and forget the past; they also agreed to take no decided stand on the Irish question, but to make a fight for social betterment. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, a Scotch member of parliament of considerable ability and long parliamentary experience, was made leader of the party, and the Unionists were attacked with vigor both in and out of parliament. As nearly all the bye-elections, or special elections to fill vacancies in the house of commons, were now going against the Unionists, Balfour soon found that his great strength was being materially reduced. Toward the close of 1905 he resigned. King Edward promptly summoned Campbell-Bannerman to take office as prime minister; and with some changes the cabinet that he organized in 1905 is still (1914) in control of the government.

Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

1905.

558. The Labor Party. A general election was held the next year in which the Liberals won a sweeping victory. Since 1832 no political party had returned to parliament with so great a majority. Out of 670 members the Unionists elected only 156. The Irish Home Rulers counted 83. But when parliament met, a new party made its appearance in the house of commons, a Labor party which had elected twenty-nine members and could count on the votes of at least twenty other labor members who were classed as Liberals.

The Liberal victory of 1906.

The Labor party.

The new party was an organization of labor unions for political action. Since the days of Chartism the unions had been relatively harmless bodies down to 1889, when the workingmen won several important strikes. The most important of these was the great dock strike, which seriously tied up the shipping of London. This strike was

The dock strike of 1889.

led by John Burns, a strong and resourceful labor leader, who was later given a seat in the Liberal cabinet. After the successes of 1889 the unions became more aggressive, but the outcome also led to a reaction among the employing classes. It was argued in many quarters that labor organizations were in reality corporations which might be held responsible for damages to property caused by strikes. In 1901 a suit was heard in the house of lords which came to be of great importance: the employés of the Taff Vale Railway Company had called a strike and the company had brought suit against the unions to recover damages. The law lords decided that the unions were corporations and could be held responsible as the Taff Vale Company had contended.

The Taff Vale decision.

The Taff Vale decision caused much uneasiness among the unions. They could still call strikes, but a strike, even if successful, would endanger their funds. Finally the leaders decided to organize a separate political party with a view to securing legislation favorable to organized labor. The party fought its first campaign in 1906, when it contested fifty parliamentary districts. It has since extended its organization into other districts and has shown considerable strength, especially in the manufacturing centers.

559. The Reforms of the Liberal Government. 1906–1909.

One of the earliest measures to be accepted by the new parliament was a Trade Disputes Bill, which was intended to secure the labor unions against suits for damages in cases of strikes. As the Unionists had tried to pass a similar measure, the bill did not meet with much opposition.

The Trade Disputes Bill. 1906.

Parliament also passed two bills of great importance to the working classes in general: these were a Workingmen's Compensation Act and an Old Age Pensions Law. It frequently happens in mines, factories, and other industrial plants, that workers meet with accidents that result in serious injuries, in dangerous diseases, and even in death. The Workingmen's Compensation

The Workingmen's Compensation Act. 1906.

Act makes the employer liable to pay compensation in such cases to the injured worker or to his family. This measure had also been a part of Balfour's program and met with little opposition.

Old-age pensions. 1908.

The Old Age Pensions Act became a law in 1908. The bill provided that a pension should be paid to all persons above the age of seventy, whose "yearly means as calculated under this act do not exceed thirty-one pounds ten shillings" (about $153). Half a million men and women were thus made eligible to pensions. The amount paid varies from one shilling to five shillings per week according to the income of the recipient. The Unionists criticised the measure very freely, but only a few voted against it. The house of lords accepted it with great reluctance.

560. The Opposition of the House of Lords. Parliament passed several other bills looking toward social betterment. A Provision of Meals Act authorized the local school authorities to provide meals for hungry school children attending the elementary schools. A Trade Boards Act sought to remove the worst evils of sweat shop labor by establishing trade boards with authority to fix minimum wages and to enforce the demand for sanitary conditions in the shops. A House and Town Planning Act enabled the local authorities to remove unsightly and unsanitary buildings and replace them with structures built according to modern demands and ideas. Some of the more important proposals of the government failed to become laws, however: they were rejected by the house of lords, where at least four-fifths of the membership belong to the Unionist party.

Other Liberal reforms.

The Nonconformists and the Education Act.

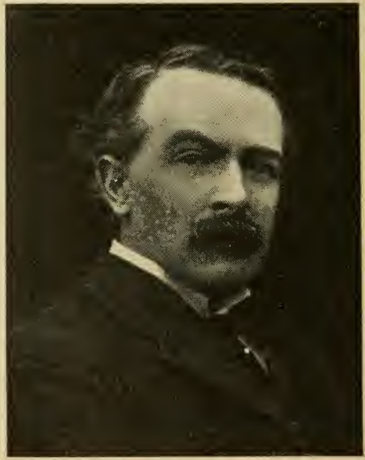
In 1902 the Unionists had secured the passage of an education bill which gave great offense to the non-conformists. The act permitted the local authorities to levy taxes for the support of private church schools, nearly all of which were Anglican foundations. In the election of 1906 about 200 non-conformists were returned to the house of commons as Liberals, and they demanded such a modification of the education law as should relieve them of paying taxes to support Anglican schools. The house responded and sent three successive bills to the house of lords, but all were rejected.

Failure of the Licensing Bill.

In 1906 the cabinet turned its attention to the matter of intemperance. A licensing bill was passed, the purpose of which was to reduce the number of dramshops in the kingdom: it was proposed to abolish 30,000 of these, but to make the process a gradual one extending over fourteen years. Both the great parties were pledged to the principle of this reform; but when the bill reached the house of lords it was promptly rejected.

Plural voting.

A third important measure that the lords threw out was the plural voting bill. An English voter may cast a ballot in every parliamentary district where he has property interests. The fact that all districts do not vote on the same day, the election extending over nearly two weeks, makes it possible for wealthy men to vote in many places; it is said that in 1911 there were men who voted seventeen times. As most of the wealthy men are Unionists, that party benefits most from plural voting.



David Lloyd George

561. The Lloyd George Budget. 1909. The disagreement between the two houses threatened to become serious in 1909, when Lloyd George presented the budget of that year. A budget is a careful estimate of the probable expenses of the government for the year to come, with a plan of taxation which the chancellor of the exchequer believes will yield suf-

The budget.

ficient revenue to meet these expenses. Lloyd George proposed to make use of different forms of taxation; but what interested the nation most was his plan for taxing the land: he proposed to confiscate a part of the "unearned increment." In many places land had risen greatly in value through no effort of owner or tenant, but because important improvements had been made on neighboring properties; this increase is called the unearned increment. It was Lloyd George's plan to have all the land valued every ten years, and if any lot, farm, or estate was found to have increased in value during the decade, the state was to take one-fifth of this increase.

The "unearned increment."

The new budget met bitter and determined opposition in the house of commons, and the lords were encouraged to refuse their assent. It had long been held in England that the commons should control the matter of taxation; but the Unionists professed to believe that this proposal was more than a money bill. The lords, however, did not dare to reject the bill outright, but resolved that it should not pass before it had been referred to the people at a general election.

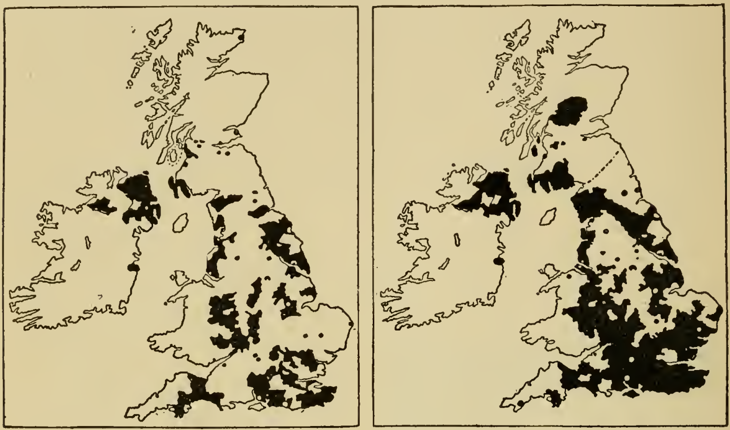
The lords and the Lloyd George budget.

562. The Election of 1910. H. H. Asquith, who had become prime minister in 1908, accepted the challenge and called new elections. In the campaign that followed the voters had four great issues before them. (1) Most prominent was the question whether the lords should be allowed to interfere with money bills. (2) The electors were also asked to approve or disapprove the new budget. (3) As an alternative the Unionists proposed a protective tariff, which, they argued, would revive industry, bring employment to the workingmen, and provide money for old age pensions. (4) There was also much discussion whether the Liberal policy of social reform should be continued. A fifth issue was the question of Irish home rule, but this issue was not made prominent.

The issues of 1910.

The result of the election was a disappointment to both parties; neither was given a majority. The Liberals elected

274 members and the Unionists 272. Ireland returned 82 Home Rulers, and the Labor party increased its membership to 41. It became evident that no party could remain long in power without the support of the Irish members. An understanding was reached among the three groups that opposed the Unionists, and for some years Asquith was the chief of a political alliance rather than of a party.[1] In his management of this alliance he displayed remarkable abilities as a political leader. The election settled the dispute over the budget; the lords submitted and the bill became a law.



THE ELECTION OF 1906 THE ELECTION OF JANUARY, 1910

The strength of the Liberal and Unionist parties before and after the first election of 1910. The blackened portions indicate the districts carried by the Unionists.
Courtesy of *Review of Reviews*.

The anti-Unionist alliance.

563. The Parliament Act of 1911.[2] The experience of the Asquith parliament had convinced a large part of the nation that the house of lords now represented, not the kingdom as a whole, but a party and a class. There arose, therefore, an insistent demand for legislation that would "curb" the power of the lords. The feeling that the upper house ought to be

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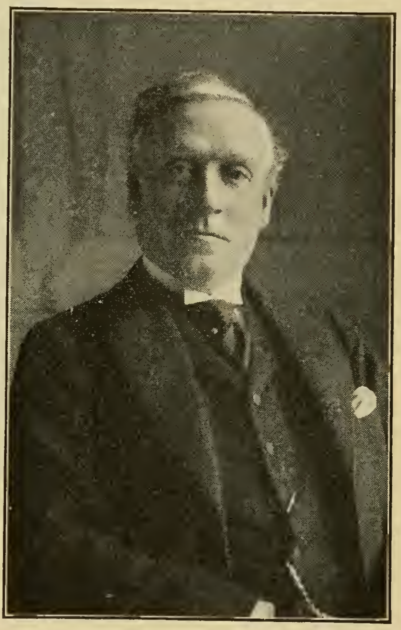
[1] Tuell and Hatch, No. 82.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 77.

The Asquith proposals.

representative of all classes, creeds, parties, and interests was shared by the Unionists as well as by the Liberals; but as to plans and methods there was hopeless disagreement. The Asquith ministry decided to begin by reducing the power of the upper chamber and prepared a bill comprising three chief points. (1) The house of lords was to be definitely deprived of all power over money bills. (2) The lords were to be allowed to delay legislation by rejecting a bill twice; but a bill passed three times by the house of commons in three different sessions of the same parliament was to become a law, if the commons insisted, no matter what action was taken in the upper house. (3) The maximum life of a parliament was to be reduced from seven to five years.



H. H. Asquith

George V.

Before the debate on the Asquith proposals had fairly begun, King Edward died and was succeeded by his son George V. The events connected with the succession and the feeling that the new king ought not to be plunged immediately into a controversy over the constitution naturally delayed action, and the discussion in parliament was not resumed before the following autumn. The house of lords now presented a plan for which Lord Lansdowne, the Unionist leader in the upper house, was the sponsor. Lord Lansdowne proposed that when the houses disagreed the question should be settled in a joint session; and if the matter was one of unusual importance, it should be referred to the people. The Liberals could not accept a proposal for a joint session in which they would probably be outvoted in every case, and the prime minister dissolved parliament. In the election that followed the parties returned to the house of commons with almost the same strength that they had held since the election earlier in the year. The election was fought on the single issue of "curbing the lords." After their defeat the lords reluctantly allowed the Asquith bill to become a law, though not before the prime minister had informed the Unionist leaders that the king would be asked, if necessary, to create a sufficient number of Liberal peers to produce a majority for the measure.

"Curbing the lords."

George V

564. National Insurance. The government now proceeded with an elaborate scheme for the insurance of workingmen against unemployment caused by sickness or accident. It was proposed to create a large insurance fund, nearly half of which was to be contributed by the workingmen and the remainder by the employers and the government. Insurance against sickness was to be compulsory for all workingmen whose yearly income was less than $130. Others with higher incomes were permitted to share in the plan if they wished. In certain trades insurance was to be compulsory without reference to income. The Unionists did not take

Compulsory insurance. 1911.

kindly to the insurance bill but offered little active opposition. There was much criticism at first among the workingmen, many of whom did not enjoy the idea of having to contribute to the insurance fund. It is likely, however, that the national insurance act will prove to be a measure of great importance.

Social insurance in Germany.

The movement for social betterment through compensation, pensions, and insurance was not new in England. For some time the kingdom had had a law granting compensation to laborers who might be injured in certain forms of employment; this law, however, had proved of little value. Nor was it a specifically English movement. Thirty years earlier (1883–1884) the German Empire had begun to experiment with national insurance against accident and illness; old-age insurance came a few years later. Since then nearly all the nations of Europe have followed the example of Germany; but in no country has the principle of state assistance been applied more extensively than in Great Britain. In Germany the funds for pensions and insurance benefits are contributed almost wholly by the employers and the workingmen; while in England the state contributes all the money for old-age pensions and a considerable part of the fund for insurance against sickness and invalidity.

The Osborne judgment.

565. The Payment of Members of Parliament. The members of the house of commons were originally paid by the counties or boroughs that they represented; but during the Stuart period so many capable men seemed willing to serve in parliament without remuneration that the practice of paying members died out. During the past half-century, however, many of the less wealthy representatives have been paid out of the campaign funds of the parties to which they belonged. The Irish members were supported largely by the contributions of Irish Americans. The laborites were paid out of the funds of the unions. Finally one Osborne, a railway employé in London, brought suit against a labor union to prevent it from using its funds for political purposes. The case was taken to the house of lords, and the law lords sustained

Osborne's contention (1909). This was a severe blow to the labor party, as its representatives could not afford to serve in parliament without financial aid in some form. To break the force of the Osborne judgment, parliament passed a bill for the payment of members, the salary being fixed at £400 per year (1911).

Payment of members. 1911.

566. Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales. After the passage of the Parliament Act, the government laid three important measures before parliament: one to give home rule to Ireland; a second to disestablish the Anglican church in Wales; and a third to abolish plural voting. The first bill to pass under the provisions of the Parliament Act was the Welsh Disestablishment Bill. The case of Wales was in many ways parallel to that of Ireland half a century earlier: in both countries the Anglicans were a minority only; but the non-Anglicans were taxed for the support of the established church as well. There was this difference, however: the Welshmen were not Catholics but nonconformist Protestants; and there was no separate Welsh church: ecclesiastically Wales was a part of the province of Canterbury. The attack on the church in Wales was therefore regarded by many as an attack on the church of England. Lloyd George, as a Welshman and Baptist, was keenly interested in this measure. By the terms of the bill the Welsh bishops were to lose their seats in the house of lords; the Anglican church in Wales and Monmouthshire was no longer to be supported by the state or to be dependent on the government; the church was also to forfeit some of its older endowments, which the Liberals held had been given to the Welsh people rather than to the church and which they proposed to use to promote education and for other public purposes. In May, 1914, the bill passed the house of commons for the third time, and in September it received the royal sanction. Owing to the European war, however, it was thought best not to insist on its immediate enforcement, and a law was passed suspending its application for one year.

Welsh disestablishment.

1914.

567. The Third Home Rule Bill. A week after the passage of the Welsh Disestablishment Bill the second great measure passed the commons for the third time and was sent to the upper house. It had long been evident that the Liberal party would soon be forced to deal with the problem of a separate government for Ireland. The Asquith bill provided for an Irish parliament composed of a senate appointed by the government and a lower house elected by the people. This parliament was to be entrusted with a limited field of legislation covering affairs that were wholly Irish. In certain other respects, too, the authority of the new legislature was limited: for one thing, it was forbidden to establish or give favor to any form of religious worship. Matters of wider importance, such as military and naval forces, peace and war, diplomacy and the commerce of the kingdom, were reserved to the parliament at Westminster, in which Ireland was to have a representation of 42 members with power to vote on imperial questions only.

Asquith's Home Rule Bill.

The announcement that Ireland was to be given home rule was not favorably received by the Protestants of Ulster. Under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson they prepared to resist, expressing their determination to remain direct subjects of the English king. A covenant was drawn up and signed by thousands, the signers pledging themselves to resist the new government. An army of volunteers was organized and drilled by former officers of the English army. In 1914 the Irish Nationalists, too, began to arm and drill, and for a time it looked as if the passage of the bill would be a signal for civil war.

The opposition in Ulster.

1914.

The province of Ulster comprises nine counties, of which the four northeastern are populated chiefly by descendants of the Scotch and English immigrants who settled the Ulster plantation in the days of James I. Four-fifths of the population of the province lives in these counties, which are overwhelmingly Protestant. Two other counties are almost evenly divided between the two religions, though the

The province of Ulster.

Catholics may be slightly more numerous. The remaining three are strongly Catholic. Asquith was willing to exclude the four Protestant counties from the restored Ireland for six years, but this did not wholly satisfy the Ulstermen: some demanded that the six counties of the plantation be excluded, while others wished to exclude the entire province. European troubles, however, forestalled the threatened uprising, and the bill received the royal signature; though in this case, too, it was thought wiser to suspend the enforcement of the act for a year.

568. The Triple Alliance. The movement for social and constitutional changes was suddenly checked in 1914 by the outbreak of the great European war of that year. This was a terrific struggle between two groups of allied powers, Germany and Austria on one side and the so-called *Triple Entente* with its allies on the other. In 1879 the emperors of Germany and Austro-Hungary formed a close defensive alliance which was joined by the king of Italy in 1883. This was the Triple Alliance, which was renewed from time to time, and for thirty years was a powerful factor in European diplomacy. The motives that led to the formation of this alliance were fear and jealousy of France and Russia. Germany feared that France would seek an early opportunity to take revenge for the humiliating defeat of her armies in the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) and the consequent loss of Alsace and Lorraine. Italy was led to join the alliance by a feeling of resentment toward France: in 1881 the French had seized Tunis which Italy had hoped to acquire as a colonial dominion. The fear of Russia dates from the Congress of Berlin at the close of the war between Russia and Turkey (1877–1878). In this congress Germany sided with Austria against Russia, and the Russians have since felt that they were robbed of the fruits of victory. Austria has hoped to extend her territories from Bosnia southward to the Ægean Sea. But the Balkan Peninsula is inhabited chiefly by peoples of Slavic race, and Russia as the greatest Slavic power regards herself as the natural

1883.

Germany and France.

The Balkan problem.

protector of the Balkan states. Germany has long been interested in the commercial possibilities of the Turkish Empire,—in markets, in railway building, and in the investment of German capital. This interest is not regarded with favor by the Russians. The Germans, therefore, look upon Russia as an obstacle to their ambitions in the Near East.

569. The Dual Alliance and the Triple Entente. The professed purpose of the Triple Alliance was to preserve the peace of Europe. The Alliance, and especially Germany, also stood for what is known as "armed peace," which means maintaining an army so strong that one's neighbors will not dare to make an attack. France and Russia naturally regarded the Triple Alliance as a threat, and some years later (1891) proceeded to form a Dual Alliance for their own protection. Thus nearly all the great powers of Europe were enrolled in one of these two hostile groups. England alone remained outside and alone, though for some time her statesmen, fearing that Russia had designs on India, were inclined to give their favor to Germany.

"Armed peace."

The Dual Alliance. 1891.

But before the nineteenth century closed, a keen commercial rivalry had arisen between England and Germany, which to a large extent had destroyed the old feeling of friendship. After the war with France, Germany entered upon a period of wonderful industrial development, and soon her factories were producing not only sufficient for the needs of the empire in many lines, but a surplus, which her merchants sought to sell in the markets of the world. To a large extent these markets were controlled by English traders, and Germany found it difficult to dispose of her wares. She succeeded to some extent, however, with the result that a keen feeling of resentment arose in both England and Germany. The Germans were displeased because they felt that they were not getting their full share of the world's trade; the English were irritated because they saw that a considerable part of their commerce had slipped away to the Germans and that even

Rivalry of England and Germany.

more might be lost in the future. Germany also found in England the chief obstacle to her ambitions of colonial expansion in various parts of the world, notably in Africa.

Military ambitions of Germany.

The German Empire had also become the leading military power of Europe. Her army was the best drilled and equipped in all the world; in the early years of the present century she also displayed an ambition to have a powerful navy. It has long been a commonplace that England is "mistress of the seas;" but to remain mistress she has long felt it necessary to maintain a fleet equal in strength and efficiency to any two other navies, or one that is at least sixty per cent more efficient than the fleet of her strongest rival. The activities of the Germans in building and buying warships now forced the English to strengthen a naval establishment that was already large and expensive. If Germany built five "dreadnoughts," England had to build eight. The result was that the anti-German feeling was intensified.

The Anglo-Japanese alliance.

This resentment soon developed into a fear of German aggression that found expression in various ways. Lord Roberts, the victor of the Boer War, led a movement looking toward the creation of a large standing army and the adoption of some form of compulsory military service. On the diplomatic side an understanding was reached with France, which, while not a formal alliance, served to notify the world that the sympathies of England were now with France rather than with Germany. Two years earlier (1902) England had entered into a defensive alliance with Japan, the purpose of which was to safeguard the interests of the British Empire in the Far East. This alliance made it somewhat difficult to approach Russia, for in 1904, the year of the new understanding with France, Russia suffered a humiliating defeat in her great war with Japan. Notwithstanding this fact, however, Sir Edward Grey was able to come to terms with the Russian foreign office, and the new group of friendly powers, England, France, and Russia, came to be known as the *Triple Entente*.

The Triple Entente.

570. The Great European War. 1914. For a time it seemed as if this grouping of the powers into the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente had created a balance of power in Europe and would actually secure a lasting peace. But in June, 1914, an event occurred which was to prove the ineffectiveness of European diplomacy and the dangers of armed peace. The heir apparent to the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was assassinated while at Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The Austrians believed that the crime could be traced to an organization with its headquarters in Servia, the purpose of which was to work for a Greater Servia. They demanded the suppression of this movement and the punishment of various Servians whom they declared to be involved in it, but the promises of Servia were not wholly satisfactory to Austria, who immediately declared war. Germany supported Austria, but Italy at first remained neutral, as she considered herself bound to assist her allies only when engaged in a defensive war. Russia, as the protector of the Slavs, gave active support to Servia. France, as a member of the Dual Alliance, was drawn into the war on the Russian side. The English government appeared at first to be undecided how far to take sides in the conflict; but when the Germans invaded France by way of Belgium, whose neutrality was guaranteed by international treaty and was of great importance for English interests in the North Sea, the United Kingdom decided to join her forces to those of the Dual Alliance. A month after the crime of Serajevo eight European nations were engaged in the most terrible conflict of all history: England, France, Russia, Belgium, Servia, and Montenegro were at war with Germany and Austria. In the Far East Japan soon deprived the Germans of their foothold in China; in the Near East Turkey joined Germany and Austria in an attack upon Russia; while Italy finally went to war with Austria for the Italian-speaking lands in the Alps and on the Adriatic. The conflict also involved the colonies and possessions of European powers in all parts of the world. On the British side the war was imperial

The crime of Serajevo.

Europe at war. 1914.

in character, as appeared from the enlistment of large contingents of troops from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and India.

571. Problems of Modern England. The keynote of British politics in the twentieth century has been social reform.

Summary of social legislation.

Since the victory of the Liberals in 1906, parliament has striven to enact a series of laws looking toward the betterment of social conditions. Among the bills passed the laws providing for workingmen's compensation, old age pensions, and compulsory insurance for the very poor may be counted as the most important. Of great significance, too, is the budget of 1910, not only because it announced a new principle of taxation, but because it led to the passage of the Parliament Act of 1911, by which the power of the house of lords to block legislation was taken away. Since 1911 the energies of the house of commons have been given chiefly to constitutional problems with the Irish question in the foreground.

Constitutional problems.

There remain, however, a large number of social and political questions that future parliaments will have to consider. Since 1832, the government of England has developed rapidly toward democracy, or government by the people. In industry, however, there is no democracy: the control of the factory, the mine, or other business is in the hands of the owner, whether this be a single capitalist, a firm, or a corporation. It is the purpose of the Socialist party, the Labor party in England, to make industry democratic by placing the control in the hands of the workmen directly interested or in society itself. Whether this purpose is practical or even possible remains to be seen.

Industrial democracy.

Socialism.

Of the highest importance is the problem of education. Government by the people is possible only where education is general and all classes enjoy the benefits of intellectual training. The statesmen of England have long realized that the problem of elementary schools is one that lies at the very roots of national life. The English schools, however, are not in a satisfactory condition. The problem is

Education.

still complicated by the ancient rights and the modern claims of the established church; and an immediate solution is not likely to be found.

Child welfare.

Closely associated with the movement for better elementary instruction is the growing interest in child welfare. There was a time when it was feared that the kingdom would become overpopulated; that fear has yielded to another: that the population may soon begin to decline. Families are smaller now than they were a century ago. It has come to be understood that if England is to keep her high place in the world, the children must be cared for and enabled to grow up into healthy and intelligent men and women. The law enabling school authorities to provide meals for underfed school children is a move in this direction; but there is a growing demand for further legislation along this line.

"Feminism."

A movement that has recently attracted much attention is that of "Feminism," the purpose of which is to secure for women the same opportunities as those enjoyed by men and also the same rewards for equal work. As the first point in their program, the Feminists demand that women shall be allowed to vote in parliamentary elections; they have for some time possessed the right to vote in local elections. Various organizations have been working toward this end; but a certain group known as the "Militants" has been especially strenuous in the demand for "votes for women." For several years the Militants even carried on a sort of warfare against the government for its failure to press a suffrage bill. When the European war broke out, the leaders declared a truce, but the conflict is likely to break out again when the peace of Europe is restored.

British federation.

The granting of home rule to Ireland is likely to give impetus to a movement for a federated kingdom for which Sir Edward Grey is the chief sponsor. There is a strong nationalistic current in Wales, and the Scotch members of parliament have recently been at work on a home rule bill for Scotland. England, however, does not seem to have been converted to the principle of federation. The house of lords offers another constitutional problem. There seems to be a wide-spread feeling that the possession of an inherited peerage ought not to be the only qualification for a seat in the upper house. The Liberal chiefs are pledged to a further reform of the house of lords, but no plan acceptable to the nation has thus far been proposed.

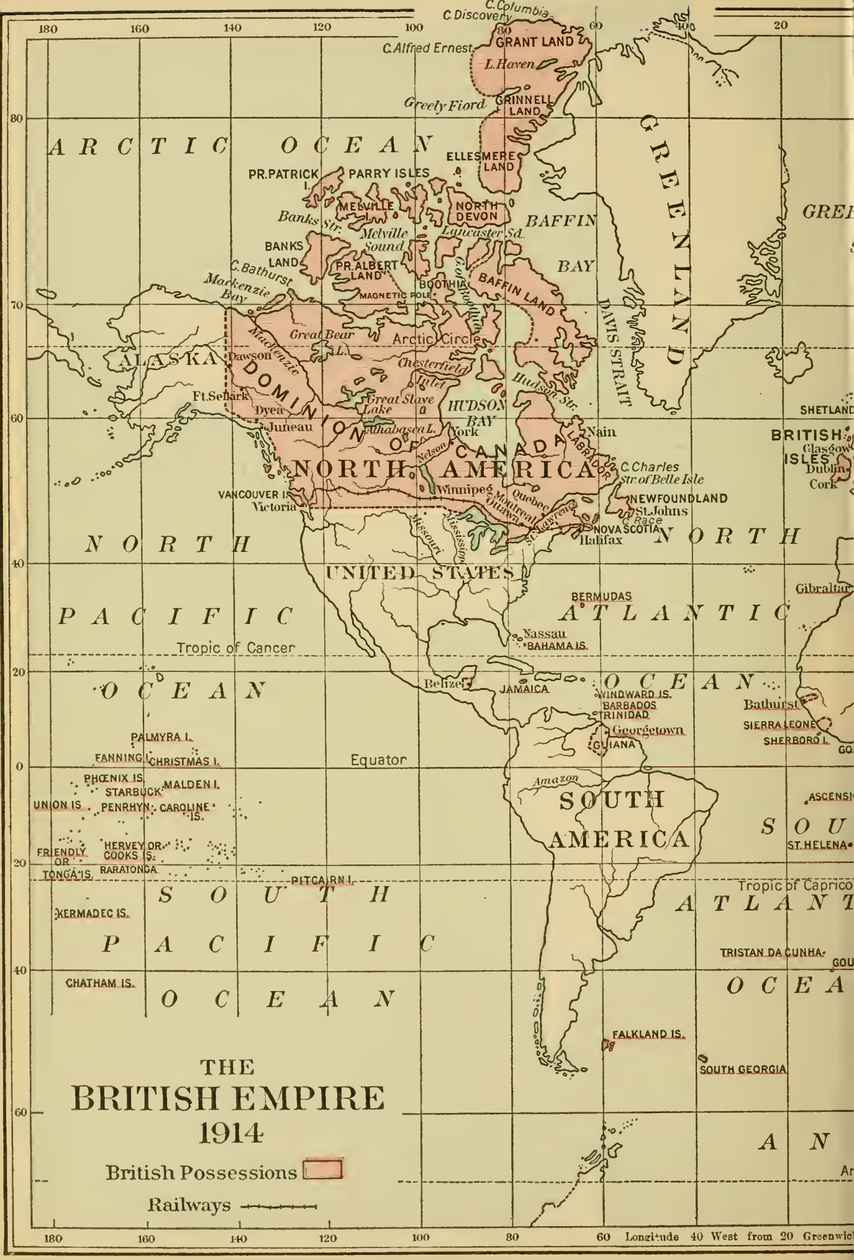
Imperial federation.

Chamberlain's twin theories of imperialism and protection are among the older ideas that have not yet been realized. It would seem that the British Empire really stands in need of a more effective form of organization; but Chamberlain's proposal has not found genuine favor in the great colonial nations, and the cause of imperial federation has made but little recent progress. The Unionist party is committed to protection; but the details of a new tariff will be difficult to work out, for the party is divided on the question of a tax on wheat and other food products. The English farmer will have nothing to do with a tariff that does not tax foreign wheat, while the Lancashire workingman is not likely to support a scheme that will probably raise the price of bread.

A protective tariff.

Although the demand for social and constitutional legislation has been prominent in English politics during the present century, it has not been the only great interest. The English people have shown a real concern for the welfare of the British Empire and have insisted that the prestige of Great Britain as a world-power must be maintained. It was this interest that dictated the terms of the alliance with Japan and induced the Liberal cabinet to enter the Triple Entente with autocratic Russia. The movement for a closer organization of the empire has sprung from the same interest. The opposition of the Unionists to home rule for Ireland was largely based on the feeling that to establish an Irish parliament would mean to loosen the bonds that hold the empire together. Although England justifies her entry into the European conflict as an effort to maintain the neutrality of Belgium, it cannot be

England and the empire.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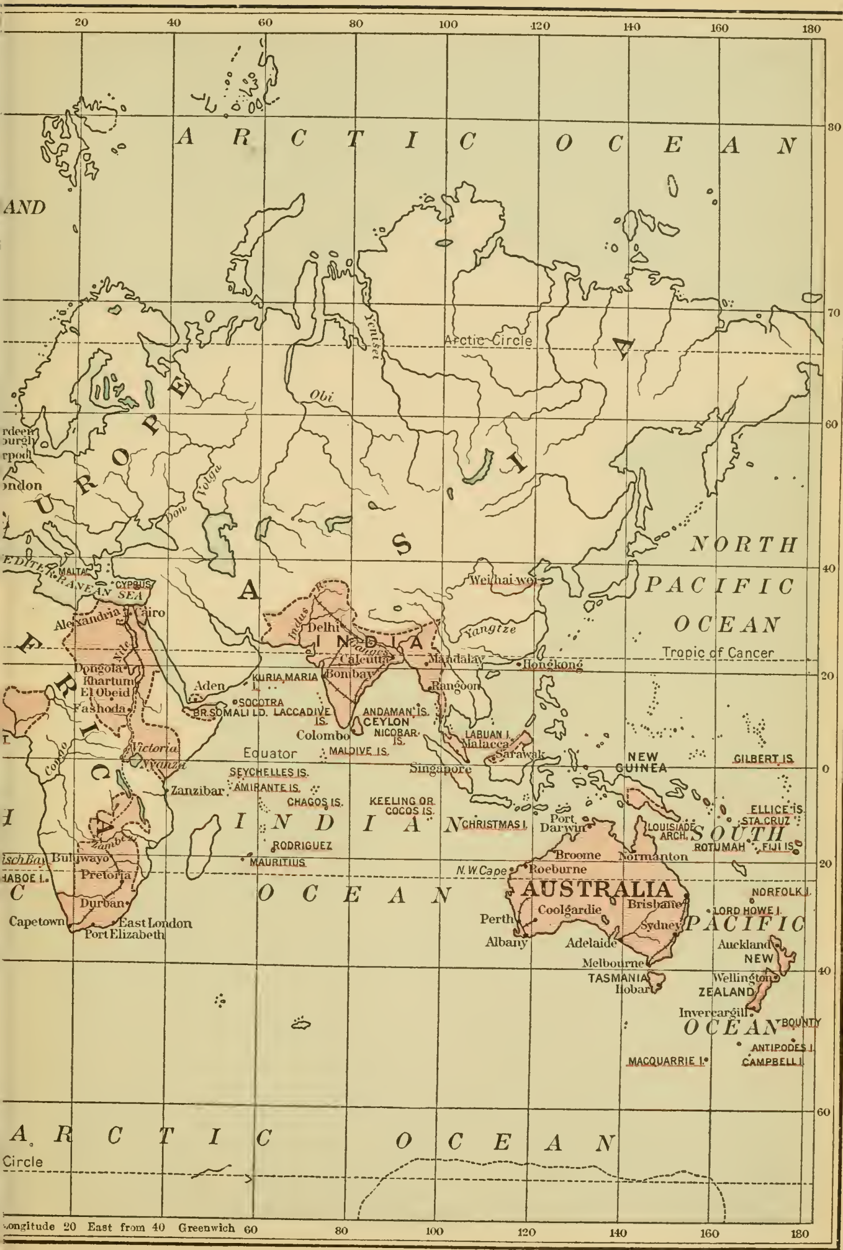
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GOLDSCHMIDT & HAMPEL N.Y.

doubted that fear for the future of the empire was a leading motive. And it is not strange that the English people should be determined to keep intact an empire, which in extent, in population, in commerce, in resources, and in political influence is still the greatest power in the world.

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