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PREFACE.

THIS work is the outcome of a desire to furnish both general readers and young students of British history with a record based upon the best authorities, and written in an interesting narrative style.

British history should be, above all, an account of the social and political development by which a people comprising various nationalities, characters, and creeds has acquired, in the fullest measure ever known, the true freedom which combines liberty with order, and makes Law, represented by the Throne, the highest authority in the realm. Such headings in the Index as "House of Commons," "Freedom," "House of Lords," "Charters," "Statutes," will prove the importance herein assigned to constitutional history.

The writer has aimed at accurate, impartial, and comprehensive treatment of his subject, and it is believed that, for the use of learners in colleges and schools, no department has been left unnoticed. Literature, science, art, commerce and geographical discovery have all come under review, and the student is enabled to trace national progress in every stage, from Roman times to the democratic era of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The relations of this country with Foreign Powers at every period have been traced, and the valour which, on scenes of both foreign and civil warfare, has been a main element in making the British Empire, has been fully recognised.

The reign of Queen Victoria is treated on an extended scale and India and the Colonies are separately dealt with.

The attention of students who may be preparing themselves for examinations in British History is specially directed to the technical terms marked by italics in the Index, and to such articles as "Clergy," "Catholics, Roman," "Declarations," "Dissenters," "Impeachment," "Papacy," and "Presbyterians."

A series of original maps serves to show the great territorial changes that have occurred since earlier times, and the gradual progress of the formation of the British Empire in later days.

It is hoped that the work will commend itself to the judgment of instructors, and be found of essential and indispensable use in Schools and Colleges.

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* * Statutes, documents, and technical terms are in italics : square brackets enclose events placed out of chronological order, and matters outside of, but bearing on, English history.

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871 } St. Edmund, king of East Anglia, slain.	CHAP. IV.— <i>England in the Tenth Century</i> p. 53	991 } <i>Danegeld</i> raised to buy off Danes.
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886 } Invading Danes defeated in Kent.	959 } Edgar, king.	1017 } Harold I. (Harefoot), king.
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1066 } Norman influence in England begins.	Oct. 1036 } Battle of Hastings.	1076 } Waltheof executed.
1042 } [Duchy of Normandy founded by Rollo.]	CHAP. III.— <i>After the Battle of Hastings</i> p. 87	1078 } Robert (William's eldest son) revolts.
10th } [Normans acquire new culture and power.]	Dec. 25 } William I. crowned at Westminster.	1087 } William's war with France, and death.
1042 } Earl Godwin powerful in England.	1066 } Completion of conquest.	1087 } William II. (<i>Rufus</i>), king.
1053 } Godwin banished.	1071 } Exeter taken.	1100 } Revolt of barons suppressed.
1051 } <i>William, Duke of Normandy</i> , visits England.	Feb. 1063 } Revolts in north subdued.	1088 } Lanfranc dies; see of Canterbury left vacant.
1051 } Godwin returns from exile.	1068 } Yorkshire laid waste.	1089 } Cumberland annexed (from Scotland).
1052 } Godwin dies; Harold becomes Earl of Wessex.	1069 } Lanfranc becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.	1092 } Anselm becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.
1053 } Harold chief minister in England.	1070 } Hereward subdued in Isle of Ely.	1093 } <i>The First Crusade</i> : Robert pledges Normandy to William.
1066 } Harold's victories in Wales.	CHAP. IV.— <i>Establishment of Norman Rule</i> p. 97	1096 } Anselm leaves England.
1063 } Harold chosen king by Witan.	1074 } William I. refuses homage to Pope for England.	1097 } William reduces Maine to submission.
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		1100 } William slain in New Forest.

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- A.D.
1100 } Henry I., king.
1135 }
1101 } Henry gives Charter of Liberties.
1106 } Robert defeated by Henry at Tenchebray.
1107 } Henry's compromise with Pope and Anselm on investitures.
1120 } Prince William drowned.
1127 } Matilda (Empress Maud) marries Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou.
1133 } Prince Henry (Henry II.) born.
Dec. } Henry I. dies.
1135 }

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- 1135 } Stephen, Count of Blois,
1154 } king.
1138 } Scottish invasion repelled at Battle of the Standard.
Stephen quarrels with bishops.
1139 } Matilda (Maud) and Robert, Earl of Gloucester, invade England.
Stephen defeated and taken at battle of Lincoln.
1141 } Matilda in power.
The war renewed; Matilda driven from London.
1142 } Stephen released by exchange for Earl Robert.
Matilda besieged at Oxford.
1145 } Earl of Gloucester dies.
1146 } Matilda retires to Normandy.
1151 } Prince Henry rules Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine.
1152 } Prince Henry marries Eleanor of Guienne.
Prince Henry invades England.
Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, intervenes.
1153 } *Treaty of Wallingford* secures throne for Henry.
Oct. } Death of Stephen.
1154 }

[*Literature of the Period: the Chroniclers.*]

- 1082 } Florence of Worcester
1117 } wrote.
1142 } Ordericus Vitalis wrote.
William of Malmesbury's historical work *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* ends.
1154 } Geoffrey of Monmouth died.
12th } Wace of Jersey's *Brut* and cent. } *Roman de Rou.*
1154 } Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle ends.
Stephen's } *Miracle Plays.*
reign }

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- A.D.
1154 } Henry II., king.
1189 }
1157 } Thomas Becket becomes Chancellor.
1159 } Becket with Henry in French war.
1162 } Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1163 } Council of prelates at Westminster.
Jan. } Great Council at Clarendon
1164 } (Wilts).
1164 } *Constitutions of Clarendon.*
Oct. } Council of Northampton.
1164 }
1164 } Becket's flight to the Continent.
Dec. } Return and murder of
1170 } Becket.

CHAP. IV.—*Henry's Reign after Becket's Death.* . . p. 139

- 1155 } [Ireland: Pope Hadrian IV.'s bull for conquest.
1168 } Invasion of Ireland from Wales by Fitz-Stephen.
1170 } *Strongbow* (De Clare, Earl of Chepstow) takes Dublin and Waterford.
1171 } Strongbow becomes king of Leinster.
1172 } Henry II. in Ireland.
1175 } Henry assumes lordship of Ireland.
1177 } Hugh de Lacy, lord-deputy.
1185 } Prince John, lord-deputy.
English dominion limited to the *English Pale*—Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Drogheda, Cork, and districts.]
1186 }
1173 } Queen Eleanor and the princes plot against king.
1173 } Scottish and Flemish invasions repelled.
1174 } Henry's penance at Becket's tomb.
1175 } William the Lion of Scotland prisoner: does homage to Henry as liege-lord for Scotland (*Treaty of Falaise*).
1176 } Henry's legal reforms; judges of assize appointed.
1183 } King's sons again rebel in France.
1185 } Knights Templars established in London.
1189 } Prince Richard wars with Henry in France.
July }
1189 } Death of Henry II.

CHAP. V.—*Richard of the Lion Heart.* . . p. 144

- 1189 } Richard I., king.
1199 }
1190 } The Jews ill-treated: the tragedy at York.

- A.D.
1190 } Claim to homage for Scotland sold.
Richard starts for Palestine.
July }
1191 } Richard in Holy Land.
1191 } Saladin defeated: Acre, Ascalon, and Jaffa taken.
Richard makes truce with Saladin.
1192 } Philip Augustus of France and Prince John plot against Richard.
1193 } Richard a prisoner in Germany.
Mar. } Richard arrives in England.
1194 }
1194 } War in France against Philip Augustus.
1199 } Death of Richard I. in France.
Literature: Walter Map's satires, &c.: Ranulph (Ralph) de Glanvill's work on English law: the Chroniclers, William of Newbury, Roger de Hoveden, Gerald of Barri (Giraldus Cambrensis); Layamon (the Brut, a metrical chronicle of Britain in early English).

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- 1199 } John, king.
1216 }
1200 } War in France: John keeps Anjou and Maine.
1202 } John defeats his nephew Arthur in Poitou.
1203 } Prince Arthur murdered.
1204 } Philip Augustus of France attacks John: Normandy lost.
Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, &c., conquered by Philip.
1205 }
1206 } John's quarrel with Pope Innocent III.
1213 } Stephen Langton made (by Pope's influence) Archbishop of Canterbury.
1207 }
1208 } England under Papal *Interdict*.
1213 } John's deposition proclaimed by Pandulf.
1212 } War with France: French fleet partly destroyed.
1213 } John submits to Pope as his suzerain.
1214 } French invading fleet destroyed at Damme (Flanders).
Philip of France victorious over John's league at Bouvines.
Jan. } Langton and the barons
1215 } meet in London.
May } Baronial army gathered
1215 } under Fitz-Walter.
June } *Magna Carta* signed at
1215 } Runnymede.

A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1215 { John appeals to Pope: brings in foreign troops.	May 1216 { John victorious over barons: Prince Louis of France called in by barons.	Oct. 1216 } Death of John.

BOOK VI.

Rise of the House of Commons (1216-1272).

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A.D.	1242 { Henry defeated at Taille- bourg.	1265 } Reaction of barons against De Montfort.
1216 { Henry III., king.	1245 { Papal exactions strongly resisted.	Aug. 1265 } Renewal of war: De Mont- fort defeated and slain at battle of Evesham.
1216 { William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, chief minister.	1250 { Queen Eleanor at feud with city of London.	1265 } The royalist reaction.
1219 { Battle of Lincoln: the French expelled from England.	1253 { Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, heads barons.	1272 } { The <i>Dictum</i> (award) <i>de Kenilworth</i> .
1217 { French invading fleet de- stroyed off Sandwich. <i>Charter of Forests</i> granted.	Easter 1258 { Troubles on Welsh border: Henry summons Parliament.	1266 } Prince Edward restores order.
1219 { Hubert de Burgh, justiciary and chief minister.	June 1258 { The <i>Mad Parliament</i> at <i>Oxford</i> .	1271 } Prince Edward in Palestine (eighth and last crusade).
1219 { The country reduced to order.	1258 { <i>Provisions of Oxford</i> reform the mode of rule.	Nov. 1272 } Henry III. dies.
1224 { The <i>Great Charters</i> solemnly confirmed by king.	1259 { Factions among barons.	CHAP. III.— <i>Learning and Reli- gion in Thirteenth Century</i> p. 181
1227 { Henry assumes power.	1263 { De Montfort returns from France and takes lead.	1224 { Franciscan Friars come to England.
1223 { Cardinal Langton dies.	CHAP. II.— <i>De Montfort and the House of Commons</i> . p. 174	1230 { The Grey Friars (Francis- cans) and Dominicans active in England.
1231 { De Burgh deprived of office.	June 1263 } The barons' war begins.	1235 { Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln.
1231 { Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, in power.	Sep. 1263 { The king and Prince Ed- ward swear to <i>Provisions of Oxford</i> .	1235 { Adam Marsh (de Marisco) teaches at Oxford.
1236 { Henry marries Eleanor of Provence.	Jan. 1264 { <i>Mise of Aiens</i> (award of Louis IX. of France) an- nuls <i>Provisions</i> .	1250 { Roger Bacon at Oxford. etc.
1236 { Influx of Poitevin and other French intruders.	May 1264 { King and Prince Edward defeated at battle of Lewes.	1263 { Bacon's <i>Opus Majus</i> .
1241 { Peter of Savoy (queen's uncle) in power.	May 1264 { <i>Mise (Treaty) of Lewes</i> .	1269 { <i>Henry of Bracton's</i> work on cir. English law.
1231 { The king's illegal exactions.	Jan. 1265 { De Montfort summons bur- gesses to Parliament.	1260 { Matthew Paris, chronicler.
1235 { Resistance of barons in Parliament.		
1248 { Henry at war with Louis IX. of France.		

BOOK VII.

England conquers Wales and attacks Scotland and France (1272-1377).

CHAP. I.— <i>England under Edward the First</i> . . . p. 186	A.D.	A.D.
A.D.	1284 { Edward of Caernarvon, first English "Prince of Wales."]	1293 { War with France: Guienne lost to England.
1272 { Edward I., king.	1275 { <i>First Statute of Westminster</i> .	1294 { French and Scottish alliance begins.]
1273 { The king and queen (Eleanor of Castile) in France.	1275 { The great law-courts (<i>King's Bench, Exchequer, Com- mon Pleas, Chancery</i>) finally settled.	1297 { Barons resist the king's exactions.
1274 { Edward and Eleanor land at Dover.	1279 { <i>Statute of Mortmain (De Religiosis)</i> .	1297 { <i>Confirmation of the Char- ters</i> (statute).
1267 { [Llewellyn has title "Prince of Wales."	1283 { <i>Statute of Merchants (St. of Acton Burnel)</i> .	1299 { The <i>Confirmation</i> renewed.
1274 { Llewellyn refuses homage to Edward.	1285 { <i>Statute of Winchester</i> .	1301 { <i>Charter of Forests</i> enforced by barons.
1277 { Edward invades North Wales.	1290 { <i>Statute Quia Emptores</i> deals with estates.	1305 { <i>Confirmation</i> again extorted by barons.
1278 { Llewellyn submits: marries Eleanor de Monfort.	1290 { Jews, after much ill-treat- ment, banished.	843 { [<i>Scottish affairs</i> : Kenneth Mac-Alpin, king.
1282 { David and Llewellyn of Wales revolt.	1295 { The first complete Parlia- ment.	9th, 10th cent. } Danish invasions.
1282 { Llewellyn killed in action: David taken and exe- cuted.	1279 { [Edward does homage to French king for Guienne.	cir. } Kingdom of Scotland com- pletely formed.
1284 { <i>Statute of Wales</i> regulates the conquered territory.	1286 { Edward settles affairs in France.	1056 { Malcolm III. (<i>Cannore</i>), 1093 } king.
	1289 {	12th } Norman nobles settle in cent. } Scotland.

A.D. } David I. establishes feuda-
 1124 } lity.
 1153 }
 1165 } William the Lion, king.
 1214 }
 1175 } *Treaty of Falaise.*
 1190 } Treaty annulled by Richard
 cir. } I.
 1240 } Border-line settled between
 } England and Scotland.
 1263 } Haco of Norway defeated
 } at Largs.
 1266 } Hebrides annexed to Scot-
 } land.
 1286 } Alexander III. dies.
 } Margaret, *Maid of Norway*,
 } queen.
 July } *Treaty of Brigham* for
 1290 } marriage of Margaret
 } with Prince Edward.
 Oct. } The young Scottish queen
 1290 } dies]
 } Parliament at Norham dis-
 1291 } cusses Scottish succes-
 } sion.
 Nov. } Scottish throne awarded
 1292 } by Edward I. to John
 } Baliol.
 1295 } Edward I. quarrels with
 } Baliol.
 Mar. } Edward invades Scotland.
 1296 } Capture of and massacre at
 } Berwick.
 Apr. } Baliol defeated at Dunbar.
 1296 }
 June } Edinburgh occupied.
 1296 } Stirling Castle surrendered.
 July } Baliol dethroned.
 1296 }
 1296 } Scottish crown, sceptre,
 } and "stone of destiny"
 } brought to England.
 1297 } Wallace takes the field in
 } Scotland.
 Sep. } Defeat of English at Stir-
 1297 } ling.
 June } Edward invades Scotland.
 1298 }
 July } Edward defeats Wallace at
 1298 } Falkirk.
 1300 } Pope Boniface VIII. claims
 } decision between England
 } and Scotland.
 1301 } English parliament rejects
 } Papal interference.
 1303 } Stirling Castle taken by
 } Scots.
 1304 } Edward invades Scotland
 } and exacts submission.
 1305 } Wallace taken and execu-
 } ted.
 Feb. } Robert Bruce takes the
 1306 } field.
 Mar. } Bruce crowned at Scone.
 1306 }
 July } Bruce defeated at Methven.
 1306 }
 May } Bruce victorious at Loudon
 1307 } Hill.
 July } Edward I. dies at Burgh-
 1307 } on-Sands.
 CHAP. II.—*The Fight for Scottish*
Independence . . . p. 222
 1307 } Edward II., king.
 1327 }
 1308 } Edward marries Isabella of
 } France.

A.D. } Piers de Gaveston in power
 1307 } at intervals.
 1312 }
 Mar. } *Lords Ordainers* appointed.
 1310 }
 1311 } The barons cause reform of
 } government.
 1312 } The barons in arms : Gave-
 } ston beheaded.
 } [*Scottish affairs* : Robert
 1309 } Bruce supported by
 } Douglas.
 1310 } The Scots retake their towns
 } and fortresses.
 1312 } Bruce invades England.]
 June } Edward invades Scotland.
 1314 }
 June } The Scots victorious at
 1314 } Bannockburn.
 1312 } The Despensers in power at
 1326 } intervals.
 1314 } Edward coerced by Thomas
 } of Lancaster.
 1316 } Lancaster president of
 } Council.
 1318 } Berwick taken by Bruce.
 1320 } Northern counties ravaged
 1321 } by Scots.
 } Edward vainly invades Scot-
 } land.
 1322 } Lancaster defeated at
 } Boroughbridge, and be-
 } headed.
 } The *Ordinances* repealed by
 } Parliament at York.
 May } Truce made with Scotland.
 1323 }
 1324 } Isabella and Roger Morti-
 } mer allied against king.
 Sep. } Isabella invades England.
 1326 }
 1326 } The Despensers executed as
 } traitors.
 Jan. } The king dethroned by
 1327 } Parliament.
 Sep. } Edward murdered at Berke-
 1327 } ley Castle.
 1324 } [Dissolution of Knights
 } Templars in England.]
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War begins . . . p. 232
 1327 } Edward III., king.
 1377 }
 1327 } Isabella and Mortimer in
 1330 } power.
 } *Treaty of Northampton* ac-
 1328 } knowledges Scottish in-
 } dependence.
 June } [Death of Robert Bruce.
 1329 }
 1329 } David II., king of Scotland.]
 } Edward marries Philippa
 } of Hainault.
 1328 } Mortimer made Earl of
 } March.
 } Edward assumes power :
 1330 } Mortimer hanged as trait-
 } tor.
 } [*Scottish affairs* : Civil war
 1332 } in Scotland.]
 } War with Scotland : Scots
 } defeated at Halidon Hill.
 1333 } Berwick captured by Ed-
 } ward.
 1333 } [Edward Baliol vassal-king
 1339 } of Scotland.]

A.D. } Scots recover fortresses :
 1341 } David II. again on throne.]
 Oct. } Edward takes title "King
 1337 } of France."
 1339 } France vainly invaded by
 } Edward.
 1340 } French fleet beaten at
 } Sluys.
 1341 } Truce with France.
 1344 } Edward invades Normandy:
 July } Caen taken.
 1346 }
 Aug. } English victory at Crécy.
 1346 }
 Oct. } David II. of Scotland de-
 1346 } feated at Neville's Cross.
 1346 } [David II. a captive in
 1357 } England.]
 Aug. } Calais taken by Edward.
 1347 }
 1347 } Truce with France.
 1355 }
 } *Order of Garter* instituted.
 1349 } *The Black Death* rages in
 } England.
 } *The Statute of Labourers*
 } passed.
 1351 } *Statute of Treasons.*
 } *Statute of Provisors* against
 } Papal claims.
 1353 } Further anti-Papal legisla-
 } tion.
 1355 } War with France renewed.
 Sept. } Black Prince victorious at
 1356 } Poitiers.
 1357 } French king John prisoner
 } in London.
 1360 } *Treaty of Bretigny.*
 1363 } *Statute of Apparel.*
 1364 } French king dies in London.
 1367 } Black Prince in Spain.
 1369 } War in France renewed.
 1370 } French invade Gascony.
 } Black Prince returns to
 1371 } England.
 1371 } Du Guesclin in field against
 1374 } English.
 1372 } Spanish fleet holds sea
 } against English.
 } Truce with France : English
 1374 } possessions mostly lost.
 1370 } Duke of Lancaster (John of
 1377 } Gaunt) in power.
 1371 } William of Wykeham (Chan-
 } cellor) driven from office.
 1376 } *The Good Parliament* im-
 } peaches evil counsellors.
 June } Black Prince dies.
 1376 }
 July } Alice Perrers and Lancaster
 1376 } again dominant.
 June } Death of Edward III.
 1377 }
 CHAP. IV.—*Literature and Learn-*
ing under the Three Edwards
 p. 251
 1308 } Duns Scotus, the *Subtle*
 } Doctor, died.
 1347 } William de Occam, the *In-*
 } vincible Doctor, died.
 1349 } Thomas Bradwardine, the
 } *Profound Doctor*, died.
 } Richard de Bury, Chancel-
 } lor, and Bishop of Dur-
 1345 } ham, a patron of learning,
 } died.

CONTENTS.

BOOK VIII.

The Age of Wyclif and Chaucer. The Lancastrian Kings and France (1377-1453).

CHAP. I.—*England under Richard the Second* P. 254

A.D. 1377 } Richard II., king.
1399 }

1361 } [The religious revolt: Lollardry: Wyclif master of Balliol, Oxford.
1366 } Wyclif, prominent against
1378 } Papal claims.
1375 } Wyclif rector of Lutterworth.
1378 } Wyclif's anti-Papal tract, *Schism of the Popes*.
Langland's *Piers the Plowman's Vision*.
1380 } Wyclif's translation of Bible appears.
1381 } Wyclif denounces transubstantiation at Oxford.
1382 } Wyclif condemned as heretic.
1384 } Wyclif dies.]
1378 } War with France, Spain, and Scotland.
1380 }
1381 } The poll-tax: Wat the Tyler's revolt.
1380 }
1390 } [Anti-Papal legislation.
1391 }
1392 } *Statute of Praemunire*.]
1382 } Richard marries Anne of Bohemia.
1384 } War with Scotland: border forays and invasions.
1387 } Earl of Suffolk removed from power by Lords and Commons.
De Vere, Earl of Oxford (king's favourite), defeated at Radcot Bridge.
1387 } Chief-Justice Tresilian and others executed by Parliament as traitors.
1388 } Battle of Otterburn (*Chevy Chase*).
Richard assumes power:
1389 } William of Wykeham, Chancellor.
1394 } Richard II. quells revolt in Ireland.
The king turns upon nobles:
1397 } Gloucester dies in prison at Calais.
Richard wields despotic power.
1398 } Dukes of Norfolk and Hereford (Bolingbroke) banished.
Duke of Lancaster's (Bolingbroke's) estates confiscated.
1399 }
July } Bolingbroke lands in arms at Ravenspur.
Sept. } Richard forced to abdicate.
1399 }
Feb. } [Richard dies at Pontefract Castle.]
1400 }
1391 } [Literature: Gower's *Vox Clamantis*.

A.D. 1394 } Gower's *Confessio Amantis*.
1369 } Chaucer's earlier poems.
1386 }
1373 } *Canterbury Tales* written.
1400 }

CHAP. II.—*Religious persecution under Henry IV.* . . P. 275

1399 } Henry IV., king.
1413 }
1400 } Plots for Earl of March dealt with.
1401 } Owen Glendower's revolt in Wales.
1409 } Sir Edmund Mortimer defeated by Glendower.
1402 } Scots under Earl Douglas defeated at Homildon Hill.
1403 } Rebellion of the Percies: battle of Shrewsbury.
1405 } Revolt in north suppressed.
1408 } Earl of Northumberland defeated at Bramham Moor.
1401 } [*Religious affairs*: Statute *De Heretico comburendo*.
Sawtree burned at Smithfield.
1401 }
1413 } Persecution of Lollards.
1410 } John Badby burned at Smithfield.]
1370 } [*Scottish affairs*: David II. died.
1390 } Robert II. (Stewart) died.
1398 } Duke of Rothesay (Prince David), regent for Robert III.
1402 } Duke of Albany in power as regent.
1405 } Prince James (James I.) a prisoner in England.
1424 } James I. acknowledged as king.
1406 } The Highland invasion defeated at Harlaw.
1411 } James I. crowned at Scone on release from England.]
1424 }
1413 } Death of Henry IV.

CHAP. III.—*Henry V. conquers France* P. 282

1413 } Henry V., king.
1422 } Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham) escapes from Tower.
1414 } Lollard plot crushed.
1417 } [Cobham taken and executed as traitor.]
July } Plot for Earl of March
1415 } crushed.
Aug. } French war begins.
1415 }
Sept. } Harfleur surrenders to Henry V.
1415 }
1415 } Victory of Agincourt.

A.D. July } Henry's second invasion of France.
1417 }
1417 } Normandy towns taken.
Jan. } Rouen surrenders.
1419 }
May } *Treaty of Troyes*.
1420 }
1421 } Scottish army helps French. English defeated at Beaufé (Anjou).
June } Henry's third invasion of France.
1421 }
1422 } Henry and his queen (Catherine of France) at Paris.
Aug. } Henry V. dies at Vincennes.
1422 }

CHAP. IV.—*End of the Hundred Years' War* P. 289

1422 } Henry VI., king.
1461 }
Oct. } [Charles VI. of France dies.
1422 } Dauphin crowned, as Charles VII., at Poitiers.]
1422 } Henry proclaimed "King of France."
1422 } Duke of Bedford commands in France.
1423 } Earl of Salisbury defeats French and Scots at Crevant.
1424 } Bedford routs French and Scots at Verneuill.
1427 } Bedford defeated by French.
Oct. } Earl of Salisbury begins siege of Orléans.
1428 }
Mar. } English win *Battle of Herrings* (Rouvrai).
1429 }
Apr. } Jeanne Darc takes the field.
1429 }
May 2, } Jeanne Darc, La Hire, and Dunois at Orléans.
1429 }
May 4, 7, } English defeated before Orléans.
1429 }
May 8, } Siege of Orléans raised.
1429 }
June } Earl of Suffolk defeated and taken at Jargeau.
1429 }
June } English defeated at Patay.
1429 }
July } Charles VII. of France crowned at Rheims.
1429 }
May } Jeanne Darc defeated and captured at Compiègne.
1430 }
Dec. } Henry crowned in Paris.
1430 }
May } Jeanne Darc burnt at Rouen.
1431 }
1425 } [*Home affairs*: Quarrels of Beaufort and Gloucester.
1447 }
1430 } Restriction of county franchise to forty-shilling freeholders.
1445 } Henry married to Margaret of Anjou.
1447 } Deaths of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort.

A.D.	Dukes of Suffolk and Somerset in power.	A.D.	1450 Dukes of Somerset and York at issue.	A.D.	1448 Maine ceded to France.
1448	Richard, Duke of York, and Earls of Salisbury and Warwick head other faction.	1452	[The French war: Congress of Arras: Duke of Burgundy abandons English cause.	1450	{ Normandy lost to England.
	Duke of Suffolk impeached and murdered.	1435	Duke of Bedford dies.	1452	{ Lord Talbot (Earl of Shrewsbury) defeated and killed at Castillon (Guienne).
1450	Rebellion of Jack Cade suppressed.	1436	English garrison overcome in Paris.	Oct.	{ Bordeaux surrendered to French.
		1437	Lord Talbot's successes in France.	1453	{ Calais sole English possession in France.]
		1440			

BOOK IX.

The Fight for the Crown (1453-1485).

CHAP. I.— <i>Henry succumbs to Edward of York</i> . . . P. 304	A.D.	1462 Lancastrian risings suppressed.	A.D.	1427	{ The "Lord of the Isles" submits.
A.D.	1453 Prince Edward born: Henry insane for a time.	Apr.	1464 Lord Montacute's victory at Hedgeley Moor.	1431	{ Highland rising suppressed.
1454	Duke of York named "Protector."	May	1464 Montacute again beats Lancastrians at Hexham.	Feb.	{ James murdered at Perth.
1454	King recovers: Somerset again in power.	1464	Henry a prisoner in the Tower.	1437	{ James II., king.
Feb.	1455 Wars of Roses begin: first battle of St. Albans.	1470	Edward marries Lady Elizabeth Grey (Woodville).	1437	{ James II., king.
1455	Duke of York in retirement.	1464	Margaret of York marries Charles of Burgundy.	1460	{ Earl of Douglas murdered at Edinburgh.
1458	The war renewed: battle of Elore Heath.	1468	Duke of Clarence marries Isabel Neville.	1443	{ William Douglas in power.
1459	Duke of York and Earl of Warwick win battle of Northampton.	1469	Warwick turns against Edward.	1452	{ Douglas murdered (by king) at Stirling.
July	1460 Duke of York claims throne for his line.	July	1469 Edward's army defeated at Edgecote.	1460	{ James II. killed at siege of Roxburgh.
1460	Duke of York defeated and killed at battle of Wakefield.	1470	Clarence and Warwick driven out by king.	1460	{ James III., king.
1460	Edward of York victorious at Mortimer's Cross.	1470	Warwick's league with Margaret of Anjou.	1488	{ Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews, in power.
Feb.	1461 Earl of Warwick defeated at second battle of St. Albans.	Sept.	1470 Warwick and Clarence land at Dartmouth.	1460	{ James III. marries Norwegian Princess.
1461	Edward of York becomes king.	Oct.	1470 Edward flees to Flanders. Henry again on throne.	1469	{ Orkney and Shetland Isles annexed.
CHAP. II.— <i>Literature of the Lancastrian Period</i> . . . P. 311	Mar.	1471 Edward and Richard of Gloucester land with force at Ravenspur.	1472	{ Archbishopric of St. Andrews founded.]	
cir.	1420 Lydgate's satirical poems.	Apr.	1471 Clarence joins king.	CHAP. IV.— <i>The End of the House of York</i> . . . P. 330	
1440	The <i>Paston Letters</i> written.	Apr.	1471 Edward enters London as king.	Apr.	{ Edward V., king.
1422	Oocleve wrote satirical verse.	Apr.	1471 Edward victorious at Barret.	June	{ Edward V., king.
1430	Pecock's chief work (prose).	May	1471 Edward's final victory at Tewkesbury.	1483	{ Earl Rivers and Edward's supporters arrested.
1450	Fortescue's legal works.	May	1471 Deaths of Henry VI. and Prince Edward.	Apr. 30,	{ Edward accepted in London as king.
		1473	1473 Margaret of Anjou a prisoner in Tower.	June 13,	{ Lord Hastings beheaded in Tower.
		June	1473 Richard of Gloucester marries Anne Neville.	June 26,	{ Richard of Gloucester proclaimed king.
		1475	1475 Edward invades France.	1483	{ Edward V. and his brother disappear.
		1477	1477 The ignoble <i>Treaty of Pecquigny</i> .	1483	{ Richard III., king.
CHAP. III.— <i>England under Edward the Fourth</i> . . . P. 314	1475	1475 Margaret of Anjou released from Tower.	1483	{ Duke of Buckingham's revolt and execution.	
1461	1461 Edward IV., king.	1477	1477 Caxton begins printing in England.	1484	{ Richard's only Parliament: statutes first made in English and printed.
1483	1483 Edward's victory at battle of Towton.	Feb.	1478 Duke of Clarence dies for treason.	1484	{ Richard's son, Edward, dies.
1461	1461 Edward crowned at Westminster.	1482	1482 Richard of Gloucester captures Berwick.	Mar.	{ Death of Richard's queen (Anne Neville).
1461	1461 Acts of attainder against Henry, Margaret, and other Lancastrians.	Apr.	1483 Death of Edward IV.	1485	{ Earl of Richmond lands at Milford.
		1424	1424 [Scottish affairs: James I., king.	Aug. 7,	{ Richard III. killed at Bosworth.
		1437	1437	Aug. 22,	

BOOK X.

Tudor Times. The New Learning and the New Church (1485-1558).

CHAP. I.— <i>The Age of Henry the Seventh</i> . . . P. 339		A.D.		A.D.	
A.D.		1487	{ [Bartholomew Diaz doubled Cape of Good Hope.	1533	{ <i>Annates</i> abolished by statute.
1485	Henry VII., king.	1492	{ Columbus landed in West Indies.	1533	{ Convocation surrenders its legislative powers.
1509	Henry marries Elizabeth of York.	1497	{ John and Sebastian Cabot reached Labrador.		{ Sir Thomas More resigns chancellorship.
1486	Lambert Simnel's imposture.	1498	{ Vasco da Gama reached India round Cape.]	Jan.	{ Cranmer becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.
1487	Simnel's supporters routed at Stoke, near Newark.	CHAP. III.— <i>England under Henry the Eighth</i> . . . P. 371		1533	{ Henry marries Anne Boleyn (privately).
1492	Henry's sham invasion of France: Treaty of Estaples.	1509	{ Henry VIII., king.	May	{ Cranmer pronounces divorce from Catharine
1493	Perkin Warbeck claims throne as Richard of York.	1509	{ Henry marries Catharine of Aragon.	1533	{ Anne Boleyn crowned at Westminster.
1494	Warbeck's English supporters executed for treason.	1510	{ Empson and Dudley executed.	1533	{ Princess Elizabeth born.
1495	Sir William Stanley executed.	1511	{ Henry joins <i>Holy League</i> against France.		{ <i>Act of Supremacy</i> separates English Church from Rome.
1495	[<i>Ireland: Poyning's</i> (Lord Deputy's) <i>Law</i> passed.]	1513	{ <i>Battle of the Spurs</i> (French defeat near Calais).	1534	{ Other important church legislation.
1488	[<i>Scotland: James III.</i> killed at Sauchie Burn.	1514	{ Battle of Flodden: James IV. killed.		{ Cromwell becomes Chief Secretary of State.
1488	James IV., king.]	1514	{ <i>Holy League</i> dissolved.		{ <i>Act of Succession</i> legalises marriage with Anne Boleyn.
1513	Act legalising allegiance to <i>de facto</i> sovereign.	1515	{ [Francis I. becomes king of France.]		{ Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More executed.
1495	Warbeck welcomed in Scotland by James IV.	1513	{ [<i>Scotland: James V.</i> , king.	1535	{ Cromwell made Vicar-General.
June	Cornish insurgents defeated at Blackheath.	1514	{ Queen-mother marries Earl of Angus.	1536	{ Wales incorporated with England.
1497	Warbeck captured.	1515	{ Duke of Albany, regent.]		
Nov.	Warbeck captured.	1515	{ Wolsey in power as Chancellor.	CHAP. V.— <i>Progress of the Religious Revolution</i> . . . P. 402	
1497	Warbeck and Earl of Warwick executed.	1529	{ Wolsey made Papal legate. Princess Mary born.	1536	{ Act suppressing lesser monasteries.
Nov.	Arthur, Prince of Wales, marries Catharine of Aragon.	1516	{ League of France, Spain, and England.		{ Execution of Queen Anne Boleyn.
1501	Princess Margaret married to James IV. of Scotland.	1519	{ [Charles V. becomes emperor.]	May	{ Henry marries Jane Seymour.
1502	Arthur, Prince of Wales, dies at Ludlow.	1520	{ <i>Field of Cloth of Gold</i> .	1536	{ New Act of Succession bars from throne Princesses Mary and Elizabeth.
1502	Prince Henry becomes Prince of Wales.	1521	{ Duke of Buckingham executed.		{ Bible in English admitted from abroad.
Feb.	Elizabeth of York, the queen, dies.	1520	{ [Luther burns Papal bull.	1536	{ Coverdale's Bible placed in churches.
1503	Death of Henry VII.	1521	{ Henry's book <i>On Seven Sacraments</i> .]		{ Parts of Liturgy used in English.
Apr.		1523	{ Wolsey's contest with House of Commons.		{ Lincolnshire revolt and <i>Pilgrimage of Grace</i> .
1509		1525	{ General resistance to illegal taxation.		{ Fresh risings in north suppressed.
CHAP. II.— <i>The Days of the Renaissance</i> . . . P. 357		CHAP. IV.— <i>The Great Anti-Papal Revolt</i> . . . P. 383		1537	{ Birth of Prince Edward: death of Queen Jane.
1434	{ [Cosmo de Medici rules in Florence.	1527	{ [First application to Pope (Clement VII.) for divorce.	1537	{ Greater monasteries dissolved.
1469	Nicholas V., pope.	May	{ Wolsey and Campeggio consider divorce case in London.	1539	{ Relics, pilgrimages, and shrines suppressed and destroyed.
1455	Constantinople taken by Turks.	1529	{ The divorce case remitted to Rome.	1539	{ Act of <i>Six Articles</i> .
1453	Greek taught at University of Paris.	1529	{ Fall of Wolsey from power.		{ Henry marries (and divorces) Anne of Cleves.
1458	Lorenzo de Medici in power at Florence.	1529	{ Sir Thomas More becomes chancellor.	1540	{ Fall and execution of Cromwell.
1469	Grocyen taught Greek at Oxford.	1530	{ Death of Wolsey.		{ Henry marries Catharine Howard.
1491	Croke taught Greek at Cambridge.]	1530	{ Cranmer comes into favour with Henry.		{ Executions under Six Articles Act.
1520	[<i>Scotland: St. Andrews' University</i> founded.		{ Thomas Cromwell rises to power.		
1413	Glasgow University founded.		{ Clergy in convocation admit king as Head of Church.		
1449	Aberdeen Univer. founded.]				

A.D.

1541 { The *Great Bible* ("Cranmer's Bible") placed in churches.
Execution of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury.

CHAP. VI.—*The Last Years of the Reign* P. 422

1542 { Execution of Queen Catharine Howard.
The Bible removed from churches.

1543 { Henry marries Catharine Parr.
Invasion of France.

1544 { Third Act of Succession leaves throne to Edward (and heirs) and Princesses.
Anne Askew burnt at Smithfield.

1545 { Chantries, chapels, &c., suppressed.
Earl of Surrey executed.

Jan. 19, 1547 }
Jan. 28, 1547 } Death of Henry VIII.

1534 { Ireland: Revolt of the Geraldines suppressed.
Conquest proceeds: Henry VIII., "King of Ireland."

1541 { [Scotland: James V. assumes power.
Suppresses border-chiefs and pacifies Highlands.

1538 { James marries Mary of Lorraine (Mary of Guise).
Scots defeated at Solway Moss: death of James V.

1542 { Birth of Mary Stuart.
Earl of Arran becomes regent.

1543 { English invade Scotland: Edinburgh taken.
Cardinal Beaton in power.

1544 { Lowlands ravaged by English.

1546 { Cardinal Beaton murdered at St. Andrews.
[*Scottish Reformation*: Resey, a Lollard, burned as "heretic."

A.D.

1525 { Scottish Parliament forbids "Lutheranism."
Patrick Hamilton burned at St. Andrews.

1528 { Priests and laymen burned at Edinburgh.
George Wishart, a "heretic," returns from exile.

1544 { Wishart burned by Beaton at St. Andrews.]

1545

CHAP. VII.—*Social and Intellectual Condition of Early Tudor Times* P. 433

1514 *Trinity House* founded.

1536, 1545 } Vagrancy-laws.

1503 } *Literature and Learning*:
1533 } Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury.

1510 } St. John's College, Cambridge, founded.
Henry VIII. founds Regius Professorships at Cambridge.

1540 } Trinity College, Cambridge, founded.
More's *Utopia* (in Latin, 1516) in English.

1551 } Lord Berners' translation of Froissart.
Sir Thomas Wyatt's and Earl of Surrey's poems published.

1557 } Udall's comedy, *Ralph Roister Doister*.

CHAP. VIII.—*The Reformation under Edward the Sixth* p. 438

1547 } Edward VI., king.
1553 } Duke of Somerset, "Protector."
1549 } Scots defeated at Pinkie.
1547 } [Mary Stuart betrothed to French Dauphin.]
1548 } *Six Articles* repealed.
1547 } Images, pictures, relics, &c., suppressed.

A.D.

1549 { *First Prayer-book of King Edward.*
Act of Uniformity.
Western and Norfolk (Kett's) rebellions.
Lord Seymour of Sudeley executed.
Fall of Protector Somerset.
Earl of Warwick (Duke of Northumberland, 1551) in power.

1550 } Hooper and Ridley made bishops.
Jan. Duke of Somerset executed.
1552 } *Second Prayer-book of King Edward.*
July } Death of Edward.
1553 }

CHAP. IX.—*The Catholic Revival under Mary Tudor* P. 443

1553 } Mary I., queen.
1558 } Northumberland's scheme baffled.
1553 } Cardinal Pole made Papal legate.
Feb. Wyatt's rebellion suppressed.
1554 } Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Grey, &c., executed.
1554 } Princess Elizabeth imprisoned.
July } Mary marries Philip of Spain.
1554 } The reconciliation with Rome.
Nov. 1554 } The persecution by burning.
1557 } Philip leaves England.
Sept. 1555 } Cranmer "degraded" and burnt.
1556 } War with France: battle of St. Quentin.
1557 } Loss of Calais.
Jan. 1558 } Deaths of Mary and Cardinal Pole.
Nov. 1558 }

BOOK XI.

Elizabeth. The Fight for Religion and Life (1558-1603).

CHAP. I.—*The Opening Years of the Reign* P. 459

A.D.

1558 } Elizabeth, queen.
1603 }
1558 } Sir William Cecil (Lord Burleigh, 1571) in power.
1558 } Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1559 } Mary Stuart claims English crown.
1575 }
1559 } New Liturgy and *Act of Supremacy.*
1560 } *Act of Uniformity.*
1560 } Renewal of debased coinage.
1562 } Penal statute against Catholics.
1563 } *Thirty-nine Articles* settled in Convocation.

A.D.

1567 { Persecution of Puritans begins.
Catholic rising in northern counties (for Mary Stuart).
Duke of Norfolk imprisoned in Tower.
[French Protestants (Huguenots) defeated at Jarnac and Moncontour.]
Pope Pius V. issues Bull of deposition against Elizabeth.

1570 } New statutes against Catholics.
1571 } [Massacre of St. Bartholomew in France.]
Aug. 1572 } Duke of Norfolk executed for treason.

A.D.

1573 } Walsingham becomes Chief Secretary.
1573 } Jesuits hunted down in England.
1586 } Further penal legislation against Catholics.
1583 } Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.
1604 } Renewed persecution of Puritans (Nonconformists).
1583 } High Commission Court fully established.
1585 } Star Chamber begins censorship of press.
1586 } Sir Philip Sidney killed at Zutphen.
1557 } [Scotland. The *First Covenantant*.]

A.D.

1559 { John Knox returns to Scotland.
Popular attacks on Catholic churches and abbeyes.

1560 { Siege of French troops in Leith.
Death of Mary of Guise (regent).
Reformed religion established.

1561 { Mary Stuart arrives in Scotland.

1562 { Earl of Moray (Protestant) in power.
Mary marries Lord Darnley.

1565 { Mary marries Lord Darnley.

Mar. 1566 { Murder of Rizzio.

June 1566 { Birth of Mary's son (James VI.).

Feb. 1567 { Darnley murdered by Bothwell.

May 1567 { Mary marries Bothwell.

June 1567 { Mary's surrender at Carberry Hill.

July 1567 { Mary abdicates Scottish throne.

1567 { James VI. (infant), king.
Earl of Moray, regent.
Presbyterianism established by Parliament.

1568 { Mary's defeat at Langside.
Mary Stuart a prisoner in England.

1570 { Regent Moray assassinated.

1571 { Earl of Lennox (regent) killed.

Oct. 1572 { Earl of Mar (regent) dies.

1572 { Earl of Morton (regent).

1581 { Catholic reaction among nobles.

1579 { Earl of Morton executed.
Earls of Lennox (Esmé Stuart) and Arran in power.

1581 { James (with Arran) establishes Episcopacy.]

CHAP. III.—*The Crisis of England's Destinies*. . . P. 484

A.D.

1583 { Throgmorton's plot detected by Walsingham.
Act against Jesuits and Catholic priests.

1584 { "Bond and Association" for Queen's protection.
Babington's conspiracy crushed.

Sept. 1586 { Mary Stuart tried for share in plot.

Oct. 1586 { Mary condemned in Parliament.

Nov. 1586 { Mary Stuart executed.

Feb. 1587 { Drake's attacks on Spanish commerce and ports in America.]

1572 { Drake's attacks on Spanish commerce and ports in America.]

1577 { Drake's attacks on Spanish commerce and ports in America.]

1580 { Drake's attacks on Spanish commerce and ports in America.]

1585 { Drake's attack on Cadiz.

Apr. 1587 { Armada defeated and ruined.

July 1588 { English forces in France for Henry IV.

1590 { Statute against Nonconformists.

1593 { Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

1594 { Essex and Lord Howard take Cadiz.

1597 { Deaths of Lord Burleigh and Philip II.

1596 { *Ireland*: Shan O'Neil's rebellion.

1598 { Rebellion in Munster.

1598 { Risings in Ulster.

1598 { Burke's rebellion in Connaught.

1579 { Spaniards help Irish rebels.

1581 { Spanish troops taken and massacred at Smerwick.

1591 { Dublin University founded.

1598 { Hugh O'Neil's (Earl of Tyrone) rebellion.

A.D.

1599 { Essex fails to deal with rebels.

1601 { Essex executed for treason.
Ireland finally subdued by Lord Mountjoy.]

1602 { [First poor law passed.

1572 { Another Act for poor relief.

1597 { Parochial overseers appointed.
New poor law passed.]

1601 { Parliament legislates against monopolies.]

Mar. 1603 { Death of Queen Elizabeth.

1539 { *Scotland*: James VI. marries Anne of Denmark.

1592 { Scottish Parliament abolishes Episcopacy.

1600 { The Gowrie plot against James.]

CHAP. IV.—*England in the Elizabethan Age*. . . P. 503

1570 { Royal Exchange opened in London.

1576 { Martin Frobisher's north-west voyages.

1578 { John Davis' voyages to North America.

1585 { *Literature*: Translations from Greek, Latin, French, Italian.

1564 { Ascham's *Schoolmaster*.

1600 { Hollinshed's Chronicle.

1570 { *Lylly's Euphues*.

1577 { Stow's Chronicle.

1579 { Camden's *Britannia*.

1580 { Sidney's *Arcadia*.

1580 { Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.

1583 { Bacon's Essays.

1590 { *The Drama*: First English tragedy (*Gorboduc*).

1596 { Shakespeare's earlier comedies and historical plays.

1597 { Marlowe's tragedies.

1598 { Ben Jonson's earlier plays.

1603 {

BOOK XII.

The Great Contest for Freedom (1603–1689).

CHAP. I.—*The Beginnings of Stuart Rule*. . . P. 517

A.D.

1603 { James I., king.

1603 { The *Main and Bye* plots.

1603 { Sir Robert Cecil (Earl of Salisbury) in power.

1612 { Millenary Petition of Puritans.

1603 { Hampton Court conference.
House of Commons asserts its privileges.

1604 { Gunpowder Plot.

1605 { House of Commons again asserts rights.

1610 { No Parliament summoned.

1611 {

1614 {

A.D.

1611 { Authorised Version of Bible published.

1603 { [Sir Arthur Chichester, lord-deputy in Ireland.

1610 { Colonisation of Ulster.]

1612 { Death of Prince Henry of Wales.

1612 { Princess Elizabeth marries Elector Palatine.

CHAP. II.—*The Rising Power of Parliament*. . . P. 525

1614 { House of Commons again resists James.

1614 { No Parliament summoned.

1621 {

A.D.

1613 { Carr, Earl of Somerset, in power.

1616 { Chief-Justice Coke removed from council.

1616 { Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, in power.

1625 { Bacon becomes Lord Chancellor.

1618 { Execution of Raleigh.
Thirty Years' War in Germany begins.

1620 { Elector Palatine expelled from Bohemia.

1621 { Parliament punishes monopolists and other offenders.
Impeachment and ruin of Bacon.

D. ec.	A.D.	A.D.
221	House of Commons votes the "Protestation."	1645
221	Pym, Coke, and other members imprisoned.	1646
223	Prince Charles and Buckingham at Madrid.	May 1646
224	Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer, impeached and condemned.	1646
224	Expedition to Palatinat fails.	Jan. 1647
517	[Scotland: The king and Laud in Edinburgh.]	1647
618	Five Articles of Perth favour Episcopacy.]	1647
609	[Hudson's discoveries in North America.]	1647
610	Baffin explores his bay.]	1647
601	[Literature, Science: Shakespeare's great tragedies.]	1648
608	Shakespeare's later comedies.	1648
613	Ben Jonson's tragedies and comedies.	Jan. 1649
607	Beaumont and Fletcher's plays.	1649
619	Massinger's plays.	
633	John Napier invents logarithms.	
614	Bacon's <i>Novum Organum</i> published.]	
20	CHAP. III.— <i>The House of Commons grows Defiant</i> . p. 534	
1625	Charles I., king.	1649
1649	Charles marries Henrietta Maria of France.	1649
1625	Duke of Buckingham, chief minister.	1650
1628	House of Commons shows distrust of king.	1650
1626	Buckingham impeached.	1650
June	Second Parliament dissolved.	1650
1626	Arbitrary rule and illegal exactions.	1651
1628	War with France: Buckingham's failure at La Rochelle.	1651
1627	Third Parliament meets: <i>Petition of Right</i> .	1651
1628	Buckingham murdered at Portsmouth.	1651
1629	Laud becomes Bishop of London.	1652
1629	Wentworth deserts Commons for king.	1652
1629	Wentworth made President of Council of the North.	1652
Mar.	Third Parliament dissolved.	1652
20	CHAP. IV.— <i>The Royal Road to Ruin</i> . . . p. 541	1652
1629	The eleven years of tyranny.	1653
1633	Laud becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.	1653
1633	Prynie punished by Star Chamber.	1653
1633	Wentworth in Ireland as Lord Deputy.	1653
1635	<i>Ship-money</i> tax imposed on inland shires.	1653
	Hampden's case in Exchequer Court.	1645
	[Scotland: The Liturgy-riot in Edinburgh.]	1646
	Renewal of <i>Covenant</i>	1646
	Scottish people renounce Episcopacy.	1646
	Revolt in Scotland.	1646
	Treaty of Berwick.]	1646
	[<i>Short Parliament</i> meets and is dissolved.]	1647
	Riot in London against Laud and High Commission Court.	1647
	Scots invade England.	1647
	Treaty of Ripon.	1647
	Long Parliament meets.	1647
	Strafford impeached.	1647
	Strafford executed under Act of Attainder.	1647
	High Commission, Star Chamber, Council of North abolished.	1647
	Revolt in Ireland.	1647
	The <i>Grand Remonstrance</i> voted in Commons.	1647
	Riots against bishops in London.	1647
	The king and the Five Members.	1647
	The king refused entrance to Hull.	1647
	Charles rejects hard terms of Parliament.	1647
	The royal standard raised at Nottingham.	1647
	CHAP. V.— <i>The First Civil War: Events to end of 1643</i> . p. 561	
	Battle of Edgehill.	1647
	Hampden killed at Chalgrove.	1647
	Parliamentary defeats in west and south.	1647
	Earl of Essex raises siege of Gloucester.	1647
	Falkland killed at Newbury.	1647
	Cromwell's <i>Ironsides</i> show fight in north.	1647
	Death of Pym.	1647
	Westminster Assembly of Divines.	1647
	English Church is Presbyterian.	1647
	CHAP. VI.— <i>Progress and Close of the First War</i> . . . p. 567	
	Battle of Marston Moor.	1647
	The Independents form the "New Model" army.	1647
	Royal cause ruined in Scotland.	1647
	Battle of Naseby.	1647
	Royal cause ruined in England.	1645
	King with Scottish army.	1646
	Army (Independents) wins power over Parliament.	1647
	Republicans subdue Royalist reaction.	1648
	King's trial and execution.	1649
	CHAP. VII.— <i>The only English Republic</i> p. 585	
	Council of State in power.	1649
	Subjection of Ireland completed.	1650
	Charles II. arrives in Scotland.	1650
	Battle of Dunbar.	1650
	Conquest of Scotland.	1651
	Battle of Worcester.	1651
	Navigation Act passed.	1651
	Naval war with Holland.	1652
	Cromwell in power as Protector.	1653
	Union Parliament at Westminster.	1653
	War with Spain.	1654
	Blake's exploit at Teneriffe: his death.	1655
	English troops at Dunkirk.	1656
	Death of Cromwell.	1657
	Richard Cromwell as Protector	1658
	The year of anarchy.	1658
	Charles II. enters London.	1660
	CHAP. VIII.— <i>England under a Royalist Reaction</i> . . p. 605	
	Charles II., king.	1660
	Convention Parliament settles revenue.	1660
	Lord Clarendon in power.	1660
	First (<i>the Cavalier</i>) Parliament.	1661
	The Clarendon persecuting Code (<i>Act of Uniformity, Conventicle Act, Five Mile Act</i>).	1661
	Dutch war.	1665
	Plague of London.	1665
	Fire of London.	1666
	Dutch fleet in Medway and Thames: <i>Peace of Breda</i> .	1667
	Fall of Clarendon.	1667

CHAP. IX.—*The Cavalier Parliament and the Catholics* p. 621

A. D.	
1667	{ The Cabal Ministers.
1674	{ The Triple Alliance against
Jan.	{ Louis XIV.
1668	{
May	{ <i>Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.</i>
1668	{ Secret Treaty of Dover with
1670	{ Louis.
1672	{ Shutting of Exchequer.
1672	{ Dutch war.
1674	{
1675	{ <i>Test Act</i> against Catholics.
1675	{ Lord Shaftesbury in opposi-
1675	{ tion.
1674	{ Earl of Danby, chief minist-
1679	{ ter.
1677	{ The Orange marriage (Wili-
1678	{ am and the Lady Mary).
1678	{ <i>Peace of Nimwegen.</i>
1678	{ The sham Popish plot of
1679	{ Oates.
1679	{
1679	{ Second Parliament meets.
1679	{ Danby dismissed: Temple,
1679	{ Halifax, Sunderland in
1679	{ power.
1679	{ <i>Exclusion Bill</i> introduced.
1679	{ <i>Habeas Corpus Act</i> passed.
1679	{ Charles dissolves the Parli-
1679	{ ament.

CHAP. X.—*The Rise of the Whig Party* p. 633

1680	{ The <i>Exclusion Bill</i> before
1680	{ the country.
Nov.	{ <i>Exclusion Bill</i> thrown out
1680	{ by Lords.
Mar.	{ Third Parliament sits for
1681	{ a week at Oxford.
1682	{ Triumph of the Court party.
1682	{ Arbitrary government of
1685	{ Charles.
1683	{ Municipal charters resumed
1684	{ by crown.
1683	{ Rye House plot: executions
1683	{ of Whigs.
Feb.	{ Death of Charles II.
1685	{
1661	{ [Scotland: Persecution of
1685	{ Covenanters.
1661	{ Execution of Marquis of
1661	{ Argyle.
May	{ Archbishop Sharp mur-
1679	{ dered by Covenanters.
1679	{
June	{ Covenanters beat Graham
1679	{ of Claverhouse at Drum-
1679	{ clog.

A. D.	
June	{ Monmouth defeats rebels
1679	{ at Bothwell Bridge.]

CHAP. XI.—*Intellectual Progress: Rise of Colonies* p. 643

1629	{ <i>Literature</i> : John Milton's
1634	{ earlier poems.
1633	{ George Herbert dies.
1638	{ Chillingworth's <i>Religion of</i>
1638	{ Protestants.
1642	{ Thomas Browne's <i>Religio</i>
1642	{ <i>Medici.</i>
1644	{ Milton's <i>Areopagitica.</i>
1648	{ Herrick's <i>Hesperides.</i>
Feb.	{
1649	{ The <i>Eikon Basilike.</i>
1650	{ Milton's <i>Defence of the</i>
1650	{ <i>People of England.</i>
1651	{ Thomas Hobbes' <i>Leviathan.</i>
1653	{ Richard Baxter's <i>Saint's</i>
1653	{ <i>Rest.</i>
1656	{ Harrington's <i>Oceana.</i>
1661	{ Thomas Fuller dies.
1663	{
1664	{ Samuel Butler's <i>Hudibras.</i>
1664	{
1667	{ Milton's <i>Paradise Lost.</i>
1667	{ Abraham Cowley dies.
1661	{ John Dryden's plays.
1681	{
1668	{ Dryden's <i>Essay on Dramatic</i>
1668	{ <i>Poesy.</i>
1669	{ Jeremy Taylor dies.
1671	{ Milton's <i>Samson Agonistes.</i>
1671	{ Duke of Buckingham's <i>Re-</i>
1671	{ <i>hearsal.</i>
1675	{ Thomas Otway's plays.
1684	{
1677	{ Isaac Barrow dies.
1677	{ Andrew Marvell dies.
1678	{ Ralph Cudworth's <i>Intellec-</i>
1678	{ <i>tual System.</i>
1678	{ John Bunyan's <i>Pilgrim's</i>
1678	{ <i>Progress.</i>
1681	{ Dryden's <i>Absalom and</i>
1681	{ <i>Achitophel.</i>
1679	{ Gilbert Burnet's <i>History of</i>
1714	{ <i>English Reformation.</i>
1687	{ Dryden's <i>The Hind and the</i>
1687	{ <i>Panther.</i>
1689	{ Dryden's translations of
1697	{ Juvenal, Persius, Virgil.
1690	{ John Locke's <i>Essay on</i>
1690	{ <i>Human Understanding.</i>
1697	{ Dryden's <i>Alexander's Feast,</i>
1700	{ <i>Fables, &c.</i>
1702	{ Lord Clarendon's <i>History of</i>
1704	{ <i>Rebellion</i> published.
1623	{ <i>Science</i> : William Harvey's
1623	{ work on Circulation of
1623	{ Blood.

A. D.	
1660	{ Thomas Sydenham's medi-
1680	{ cal works.
1662	{ Royal Society founded.
1676	{ John Ray's works on
1705	{ Natural History.
1687	{ Sir Isaac Newton's <i>Prin-</i>
1687	{ <i>cipia.</i>
1703	{ John Wallis, mathema-
1703	{ tician, died.
1607	{ <i>Colonies</i> : Virginia founded
1620	{ Pilgrim Fathers land in
1620	{ North America.
1628	{ Massachusetts founded.
1633	{ Connecticut and Rhode
1636	{ Island.
1634	{ Maryland founded.
1664	{ Carolinas founded.
1664	{ New York and New Jersey
1664	{ annexed.
1682	{ Pennsylvania founded.

CHAP. XII.—*Freedom's Battle Won* p. 656

1685	{ James II., king.
1689	{
1685	{ Argyle's and Monmouth's
1685	{ risings suppressed.
1685	{ The king violates the <i>Test</i>
1685	{ <i>Act.</i>
1685	{ James uses the "dispensing
1685	{ power."
1686	{ High Commission Court in
1686	{ action.
1686	{ Camp formed at Hounslow
1686	{ Religious persecution in
1686	{ Scotland
1686	{ Catholic cabal in power.
1686	{ Catholics made dominant
1686	{ in Ireland.
1687	{ The Hyde (Clarendon and
1687	{ Rochester) dismissed.
1687	{ First <i>Declaration of In-</i>
1687	{ <i>dulgence.</i>
1687	{ The Universities attacked
1687	{ by James.
1687	{ King's effort to pack a
1687	{ Parliament fails.
Apr.	{ Second <i>Declaration of In-</i>
1688	{ <i>dulgence.</i>
1688	{ Trial of Seven Bishops.
June	{ Birth of prince (elder Pre-
1688	{ tender).
Nov.	{ Prince of Orange lands in
1688	{ Torbay.
Dec.	{ Final flight of James.
1688	{
Feb.	{ William and Mary accept
1689	{ English crown.

BOOK XIII.

The Revolution. Great Britain Free and Powerful (1689-1714).

CHAP. I.—*The Last great King of Great Britain* p. 693

A. D.	
1689	{ William III., king.
1702	{
1689	{ Mary II., queen.
1684	{
1689	{ <i>Mutiny Act, Toleration Act,</i>
1689	{ <i>Bill of Rights,</i>
1690	{ <i>Act of Grace.</i>

A. D.	
July	{ [Scotland: battle of Killie-
1689	{ crankie.
1690	{ Final establishment of Pres-
1690	{ byterianism.
Feb.	{
1692	{ Massacre of Glencoe.]
Aug.	{ [Ireland: Siege of London-
1689	{ derry raised.
July	{
1690	{ Battle of Boyne.

A. D.	
July	{ Battle of Aughrim.
1691	{
Oct.	{ Capture of Limerick.]
1691	{
June	{ Battle of Beachy Head.
1690	{
1691	{ Louis XIV. captures
1691	{ Mons.
May	{
1692	{ Battle of La Hogue.

1. } French take Namur.
 2 }
 3 } Battle of Steinkirk.
 4 } Battle of Landen (Neer-
 5 } winden).
 6 }
 7 } British failure at Brest.
 8 }
 9 } *Home-affairs*: Marlborough
 10 } dismissed.
 11 } National Debt begins.
 12 } Bank of England founded.
 13 }
 14 } Death of Mary.
 15 }
 16 } *New Coinage Act*.]

IAP. II.—*The King's Difficulties
 at Home and Abroad* p. 711

17 } William captures Namur.
 18 }
 19 } Barclay plot discovered.
 20 }
 21 } Peace of Ryswick.
 22 }
 23 } Trade-Acts against Ireland.
 24 } [Scotland: Darien Scheme
 25 } fails.]
 26 } First and Second Partition
 27 } Treaties.
 28 } *Act of Settlement*.

A.D.
 Sep. } Grand Alliance against
 1701 } France.
 Mar. } James II. dies.
 1701 }
 Mar. } William III. dies.
 1702 }
 CHAP. III.—*The Contest for "Bal-
 ance of Power"* . . . P. 723

1702 } *Anne, queen*.
 1714 }
 May } War of Spanish Succession
 1702 } begins.
 1704 } Gibraltar taken.
 Aug. } Battle of Blenheim.
 1704 }
 1705 } Earl of Peterborough's vic-
 1706 } tories in Spain.
 May } Battle of Ramillies.
 1706 }
 1707 } British and allies defeated
 } at Almanza.
 1708 } Battle of Oudenarde; cap-
 } ture of Lille.
 1709 } Battle of Malplaquet.
 1710 } General Stanhope sur-
 } renders at Brihuega.
 1711 } Marlborough deprived of
 } command.
 Apr. } Treaty of Utrecht
 1713 }

A.D.
 Nov. } [*Home affairs*: The Great
 1703 } Storm.
 1704 } *Act of Security* (Scotland).
 1705 } Whigs in power.
 1707 } *Act of Union*.
 1708 } Harley (Tory) dismissed
 } from office.
 1710 } Dr. Sacheverell impeached.
 } Tory ministers (Harley, St.
 } John, &c.)]
 Aug. } Death of Queen Anne.
 1714 }
 1691 } [*Literature*: Congreve's
 1700 } plays.
 1697 } Vanbrugh's plays.
 1700 }
 1698 } Farquhar's plays.
 1707 }
 1698 } Jeremy Collier's *Short
 } View*.
 1704 } Swift's *Tale of a Tub*.
 1709 } The *Tatler* (Steele and Ad-
 } dison) begins.
 1711 } The *Spectator* (Addison and
 } Steele) begins.
 1711 } Swift's *Conduct of the
 } Allies*.
 1712 } Swift's *Barrier Treaty*.
 1713 } Arbutnot's *History of John
 } Bull*.
 1714 } Pope's *Rape of the Lock*.]

BOOK XIV.

The Eighteenth Century (1714–1802).

IAP. I.—*England comes under
 Whig Rule* P. 742

1. }
 2 } *George I., king*.
 3 }
 4 } Lord Townshend, chief
 5 } minister.
 6 }
 7 } *Riot Act* passed.
 8 } Jacobite rebellion (Earl of
 9 } Mar's).
 10 } Death of Louis XIV.
 11 } *Septennial Act* passed.
 12 } General (Earl) Stanhope,
 13 } chief minister.
 14 } *Triple Alliance* (Great Bri-
 15 } tain, France, Holland).
 16 } *Quadruple Alliance* (by ad-
 17 } dition of German Empire).
 18 } Spanish fleet destroyed off
 19 } Cape Passaro.
 20 } Jacobite invasion of Scot-
 21 } land foiled.
 22 } South Sea Scheme.
 23 } Robert Walpole, chief mini-
 24 } ster.
 25 } Bishop Atterbury banished.
 26 } The *Drapier's Letters* (Dean
 27 } Swift's).
 28 } Earl of Macclesfield (Chan-
 29 } cellor) condemned.
 30 } *Treaty of Hanover* (Great
 31 } Britain, France, Prussia).

CHAP. II.—*Sir Robert Walpole as
 Chief Minister* p. 750

1727 } *George II., king*.
 1760 }
 1733 } Walpole's *Excise Bill* fails.
 } Bourbon *Family Compact*
 } (France and Spain).

A.D.
 1736 } Porteous Riots at Edin-
 } burgh.
 1737 } Queen Caroline dies.
 1739 } War with Spain.
 1740 } Anson's voyage round
 1744 } world.
 1740 } War of Austrian Succession
 } begins.
 1742 } Walpole resigns office.
 1744 } Lord Carteret, chief mini-
 } ster.
 1743 } *Second Family Compact*.
 June } Battle of Dettingen.
 1743 }
 May } Battle of Fontenoy.
 1745 } Jacobite rebellion (Young
 1746 } Pretender's).
 CHAP. III.—*Great Britain finds a
 Man at Need* P. 751

1744 } Henry Pelham, chief mini-
 1754 } ster.
 1746 } William Pitt (the elder) in
 } office.
 1743 } Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
 } Frederick, Prince of Wales,
 1751 } dies.
 1752 } *New Style* adopted.
 1753 } *Marriage Act* passed.
 } Duke of Newcastle, chief
 1754 } minister.
 1755 } Braddock's defeat in
 } America.
 } Seven Years' War begins.
 1756 } Admiral Byng's failure off
 } Minorca.
 Nov. } Pitt in chief power.
 1756 }

A.D.
 1757 } Duke of Cumberland's sur-
 } render at Klosterseven.
 1758 } Louisburg (Cape Breton
 } Island) captured.
 } Battle of Minden.
 1759 } Wolfe's victory at Quebec.
 } Admiral Hawke's victory at
 } Quiberon Bay.
 1760 } Conquest of Canada.
 Oct. } George II. dies.
 1760 }
 CHAP. IV.—*Regal Power and its
 Effects* p. 769

1760 } George III., king.
 1820 }
 1761 } Earl of Bute in power.
 1763 } *Third Family Compact* (of
 } Bourbons).
 Oct. } Pitt resigns office.
 1761 }
 Jan. } War with Spain.
 1762 }
 1762 } Duke of Newcastle resigns
 } office.
 May } Havana and Manilla cap-
 } tured.
 Feb. } Peace of Paris.
 1763 }
 1763 } George Grenville, prime
 } minister.
 1765 }
 1763 } Wilkes prosecuted for libel.
 Jan. } Wilkes expelled from House
 } of Commons.
 1764 }
 1765 } Grenville's *Stamp Act* for
 } American colonies.

A.D.		A.D.		A.D.	
July 1765	} Marquis of Rockingham, prime minister.	Apr. 1782	} Duke of Portland's coalition ministry (Fox and Lord North).	July 1789	} French Revolution begins
1766		1783		1790	
1766	} <i>Stamp Act</i> repealed.	1783	} William Pitt, prime minister.	1791	} Tory riots at Birmingham
1768		1801		1792	
1768	} Earl of Chatham (William Pitt) in office.	1768	} [Ireland: Flood and Grattan demand reforms.	Feb. 1793	} France declares war with England.
1767		1779		1779	
1768	} Charles Townshend taxes American colonies.	1780	} Partial freedom for Irish trade.	Dec. 1793	} British troops driven from Toulon.
1768		1780		1793	
1769	} Wilkes' elections for Middlesex.	1782	} Partial removal of Catholic disabilities.	June 1, 1794	} Lord Howe's great victory near Ushant.
1770		1782		1794	
1770	} Duke of Grafton, prime minister.	1782	} The congress of volunteers at Dungannon.	1794	} Habeas Corpus Act suspended.
1770		1782		1794	
1770	} Letters of <i>Junius</i> published.	1782	} Irish free Parliament (Grattan's) begins.]	1795	} Prince of Wales married Caroline of Brunswick
1772		1782		1795	
Sept. 1768	} British troops quartered in Boston.	CHAP. VI.— <i>Social Conditions in Eighteenth Century</i> . p. 790		1796	} Spain declares war against England.
1768		1740	1740	1796	
1770	} Massachusetts and Virginia resist taxation.	1740	} The Wesleyan movement begins.	1797	} Naval mutinies at Spithead and Nore.
1770		1746		1746	
1772	} Lord North, prime minister.	1746	} Great London hospitals founded.	1798	} Income-tax first levied.
1771		1746		1746	
1771	} Right of reporting debates acquired.	1746	} John Howard's work <i>On Prisons</i> .	1799	} French armies defeated in Italy.
1773		1746		1746	
1773	} Tea riots at Boston (Massachusetts).	1746	} Robert Raikes founds first Sunday-school.	1799	} Duke of York again driven from Holland.
Sept. 1774		1746		1746	
1774	} Congress meets at Philadelphia.	1746	} Edmund Cartwright's powerloom.	1800	} Moreau beats Austrians at Hohenlinden.
1774		1746		1746	
CHAP. V.— <i>Revolt and Loss of American Colonies</i> . p. 781		1746	} Brindley's Bridgewater canal opened.	1801	} [Ireland: Society of United Irishmen founded.
Apr. 1775	} American war of independence begins.	1746		1746	
1775		1775	1746	1746	1801
1775	} Battle of Bunker's Hill.	1775	} Turnpike-roads made.	1801	} French invading fleet dispersed.
1776		1775		1775	
1776	} British troops evacuate Boston.	1775	} Mail-coaches established.	1801	} Rebellion suppressed.
July 4, 1776		1776		1776	
1776	} American <i>Declaration of Independence</i> .	1776	} James Hargreaves invents spinning-jenny.	1804	} Addington, prime minister
1777		1776		1776	
Oct. 1777	} Burgoyne's capitulation at Saratoga.	1776	} Richard Arkwright's spinning-frame.	1804	} Nelson's success at Copenhagen.
1777		1776		1776	
1778	} France and Spain in alliance with United States.	1776	} Samuel Crompton's mule-jenny.		
1778		1776		1776	
May 1778	} Death of Lord Chatham.	1776	} Edmund Cartwright's powerloom.		
1778		1776		1776	
Jan. 1780	} Rodney defeats Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent.	1776	} Dr. Roebuck founds Carron ironworks.		
1780		1776		1776	
1779	} Siege of Gibraltar.	1776	} James Watt improves steam-engine.		
1782		1776		1776	
June 1780	} Gordon riots in London.	1776	} Wedgwood's improved pottery.		
1780		1776		1776	
Apr. 1782	} Rodney's great victory in West Indies.	1776	} William Hogarth's work in art.		
1782		1776		1776	
Sept. 1782	} Final repulse of enemy at Gibraltar.	1776	} Sir Robert Strange as engraver.		
1782		1776		1776	
Oct. 1781	} Cornwallis' capitulation at Yorktown.	1776	} William Woollett as engraver.		
1781		1776		1776	
Mar. 1782	} Lord Rockingham, prime minister.	1776	} Royal Academy founded.		
1782		1776		1776	
July 1782	} Earl of Shelburne, prime minister.	1776	} English sculpture begins with Thomas Banks.		
1782		1776		1776	
Feb. 1783	} William Pitt, Chancellor of Exchequer.	1776	} John Flaxman chosen R. A.		
1783		1776		1776	
1783	} Treaty of Versailles.	CHAP. VII.— <i>Great Britain under William Pitt</i> . p. 802			
1783		1783	1783		

BOOK XV.

The Great War for British Commerce and for Europe.

CHAP. I.—*The Revival of the Strife* p. 823

- A.D.
 May 1803 } War declared with France.
 May 1804 }
 Jan. 1804 } Pitt again prime minister.
 1806 }
 1804 } Buonaparte becomes Emperor Napoleon.
 1804 }
 1805 } French forces at Boulogne.
 Oct. 1805 } Battle of Trafalgar.
 Dec. 1805 } Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz.
 Jan. 1806 } Death of William Pitt.
 Feb. 1806 }
 Mar. 1807 } Lord Grenville (with Fox) in power.
 Sep. 1806 } Death of Charles James Fox.
 Nov. 1806 } Napoleon's Berlin decree.
 1807 } British orders in council.
 1807 } Napoleon's Milan decree.
 1807 } British slave-trade abolished.
 Mar. 1807 } Duke of Portland, prime minister.
 Oct. 1809 }
 1809 } Treaty of Tilsit (France and Russia).
 1807 } Danish fleet and stores seized at Copenhagen.

CHAP. II.—*Wellington and the Peninsular War* p. 829

- A.D.
 1808 } French occupation of Portugal and Spain.
 Aug. 1808 } Sir Arthur Wellesley's first victories.
 1808 } Convention of Cintra (Sir Hew Dalrymple).
 Jan. 1809 } Battle of Corunna.
 1809 } Lord Cochrane's exploit in Aix (Basque) Roads.
 July 1809 } Napoleon victorious over Austria (Wagram).
 May, July 1809 } Wellesley's victories at Oporto and Talavera.
 1809 } Failure of Walcheren expedition.
 Oct. 1809 } Mr. Perceval, prime minister.
 May 1812 }
 Nov. 1810 } Masséna's retreat from Torres Vedras lines.
 Feb. 1811 } Prince of Wales becomes regent.
 1811 } Battles of Fuentes d'Onoro and Albuera.
 May 1812 } Mr. Perceval's assassination.
 1812 } Earl of Liverpool, prime minister.
 1812 } War with United States.
 Jan. 1815 } Wellington captures Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz.
 Apr. 1812 }
 June 1812 } Napoleon invades Russia.

A.D.
 July 1812 } Wellington's victory at Salamanca.
 1812 } American naval successes.

CHAP. III.—*Wellington's Invasion of France* p. 839

- 1813 } Napoleon's defeats in Germany
 June 1813 } Wellington's success at Vittoria.
 1813 } The battles of the Pyrenees.
 Nov. 1813 } Wellington's victories in France (Nivelle, Nive, St. Pierre, Orthes, Toulouse).
 1814 }
 Apr. 1814 } Napoleon's first abdication.
 June 1813 } *Shannon* frigate takes *Chesapeake*.
 1814 } British force captures Washington.
 Dec. 1814 } Treaty of Ghent ends American war.
 Jan. 1815 } British repulse at New Orleans.
 Mar. 1815 } Napoleon returns from Elba.
 June 16 } Battles of Ligny and Quatre Bras.
 1815 }
 June 18 } Battle of Waterloo.
 1815 }
 Sep. 1815 } Napoleon sent to St. Helena.
 1815 } New Corn Law passed.
 Nov. 1815 } Peace of Paris.
 Dec. 1815 } *The Holy Alliance*.
 1815 } Lord Exmouth's victory at Algiers.
 1816 }

BOOK XVI.

After the Struggle. Parliamentary Reform.

CHAP. I.—*The Early Movements towards Reform* p. 847

- A.D.
 Nov. 1817 } Death of Princess Charlotte.
 1817 } Habeas Corpus Act suspended.
 Dec. 1817 } William Hone tried and acquitted.
 Aug. 1819 } The "Peterloo" trouble at Manchester.
 Dec. 1819 } Lord Sidmouth's Six Acts.
 Jan. 1820 } Death of George III.

CHAP. II.—*England under George the Fourth* p. 859

- 1820 } George IV., king.
 1820 } Cato Street conspiracy crushed.
 1821 } Proceedings against Queen Caroline foiled.

- A.D.
 1822 } Canning takes Foreign Office.
 1823 } Huskisson's free trade reforms.
 1824 }
 1825 } Commercial panic and ruin.
 Dec. 1826 } Canning's prompt interference for Portugal.
 Apr. 1827 } Canning, prime minister.
 Aug. 1827 }
 Sep. 1827 } Viscount Goderich (Earl of Ripon), prime minister.
 Jan. 1828 }
 Oct. 1827 } Battle of Navarino.
 Jan. 1828 }
 1828 } Duke of Wellington, prime minister.
 Nov. 1831 }
 1825 } Test and Corporation Acts repealed.

A.D.
 1829 } Peel's new London police.
 1829 } Catholic Emancipation Act passed.

CHAP. III.—*The First Reform Act* p. 870

- 1830 } William IV., king.
 1837 }
 July 1830 } Second French Revolution.
 Nov. 1830 } Belgium becomes independent.
 1830 } Manchester and Liverpool Railway.
 Nov. 1830 }
 1830 } Earl Grey, prime minister.
 July 1834 }
 Mar. 1831 } Lord John Russell introduces Reform Bill.
 Sept. 1831 } Reform Bill rejected in Lords.
 Oct. 1831 } Riots at Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol.

A.D.		A.D.		A.D.	
1832	Reform Bill carried.	Dec. 1834	} Sir Robert Peel, prime minister.	1835	Municipal Reform Act.
1833	} Slavery abolished in colonies.	Apr. 1835		} Lord Melbourne, prime minister.	1836
1834		Lord Melbourne, prime minister.	1835		} Victoria, queen,
1834	New poor law.	Sept. 1841			

BOOK XVII.

Victorian Age of Progress.

CHAP. I.— <i>Early Days of Victoria's Reign</i> . . . p. 888		A.D.	} Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman.	A.D.	} Fenian conspiracy in Ireland.
A.D.	1838	Sep.-Nov. 1854		1866	
	} Anti-Corn Law League formed.	Oct. 1854	} Siege of Sebastopol.	1867	} Second Franchise Reform Acts.
1839		Education Committee of Council appointed.		Sep. 1855	
1839	Chartist troubles.	Feb. 1855	} Lord Palmerston, prime minister.	Dec. 1868	} Mr. Disraeli's first ministry.
1842	First China war.	Feb. 1855		1868	
1840	Penny postage began. War in Syria.	Feb. 1858		1868	} Mr. Gladstone's first ministry.
CHAP. II.— <i>The Free Trade Battle Won</i> . . . p. 897		1855	} Stamp-duty on newspapers abolished.	Feb. 1874	
1841	} Sir Robert Peel, prime minister.	Sep. 1855		} Civil Service Commission appointed.	1869
1846		Income-tax revived: Peel's free-trade budget.	Sep. 1855		} Capture of Sebastopol.
1843	O'Connell's agitation for repeal of union.	CHAP. V.— <i>Lord Palmerston's Period of Power.</i> . . . p. 947		1870	
1843	Free Church (Scotland) established	1856	} Treaty of Paris ends Russian war.	1870	} Third French Republic founded.
1845	Peel's further steps towards free trade.	1856		} (Second) Chinese and Persian wars.	
1845	Potato famine in Ireland.	1857	} Lord Derby's second ministry.		1871
1846	Corn Laws repealed.	Feb. 1858		} Lord Palmerston's second ministry.	1872
1846	Lord John Russell, prime minister.	June 1859	} Third Chinese war.		1872
1847	Ten Hours (Factory) Act.	June 1859		} Mr. Gladstone's second great Budget.	1872
1848	Third French Revolution.	Oct. 1865	} Italy united under Victor Emanuel.		CHAP. VII.— <i>Disraeli becomes Lord Beaconsfield</i> . . . p. 968
CHAP. III.— <i>Lord John Russell's First Ministry</i> . . . p. 915		1865		} Repeal of the paper-duty.	1875
1849	Navigation Laws repealed.	1860	} Death of Prince Consort.		1875
1850	Palmerston's great foreign policy speech.	1861		} Cotton famine in Lancashire.	1877
1850	Death of Sir Robert Peel.	Dec. 1861	} Mr. Gladstone rejected by Oxford University.		1878
1851	"Papal Aggression" stir.	1861		} Death of Lord Palmerston.	1879
1851	Great Exhibition in Hyde Park.	1864	} Prussia becomes leading German power.		1879
Dec. 1851	Louis Napoleon supreme in France.	1865		} Lord Derby's first ministry.	1880
Feb. 1851	} Lord Derby's first ministry.	1865	} Duke of Wellington died.		1880
Dec. 1852		Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry.		1865	} Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry.
1852	Duke of Wellington died.	CHAP. VI.— <i>A New Period of Reforms</i> . . . p. 957		1881	
1852	} Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry.	Nov. 1865	} Lord Russell's second ministry.	1881	} Second Irish Land Act.
1855		Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry.		June 1866	
CHAP. IV.— <i>The Eastern Question brings War.</i> . . . p. 926		July 1866	} Lord Derby's third ministry.	1882	} Phoenix Park murders in Dublin.
1853	Mr. Gladstone's great Budget.	Feb. 1866		} Egyptian and Soudan wars.	
1854	The Russian (or, Crimean) War.	Feb. 1868			1885

A. D.
 1883 } Dynamiters at work in Lon-
 1885 } don.
 1883 } Bribery Act: Bankruptcy
 Act.
 1884 } Third Franchise Reform
 1885 } Acts.

A. D.
 June } Lord Salisbury's first mini-
 1885 } stry.
 Feb. }
 1886 }
 Feb } Mr. Gladstone's third mini-
 July } stry.
 1886 }

A. D.
 July } Lord Salisbury's second mi-
 1885 } nistry.
 July }
 1892 } Queen's Jubilee celebra-
 June } tion.
 1887 }

BOOK XVIII.

Our Empire in Asia.

CHAP. I.—*Beginnings of British India* P. 99†

A. D.
 1600 } East India Company
 founded.
 1612 } "Factories" established at
 1616 } Surat, &c.
 1654 } Presidency of Madras esta-
 blished.
 1668 } Bombay bestowed by
 Charles II.
 1707 } Presidency of Calcutta (Ben-
 gal) began.
 1708 } Presidency of Bombay.
 1741 } [War of Austrian Succes-
 1748 } sion.]
 1746 } Madras taken by French.
 1748 } Madras restored (Treaty of
 Aix-la-Chapelle).
 1751 } Clive's seizure and defence
 of Arcot.
 June } The "Black Hole" of Cal-
 1756 } cutta.
 Jan. } Clive retakes Calcutta.
 1757 }
 June } Clive's victory at Plassey.
 1757 }
 1756 } [Seven Years' War.]
 1753 }
 1760 } Eyre Coote defeats French
 at Wandewash.
 1761 } Pondichery captured by
 Coote from French.

CHAP. II.—*India under Warren Hastings* P. 99†

1764 } Munro's victory over Nabob
 of Bengal at Buxar.
 1765 } Clive, governor of Bengal.
 1767 }
 1765 } Bengal, Behar, Orissa ceded
 to Company.
 1760 } Hyder Ali strong in Car-
 1781 } natic.
 1772 } Warren Hastings, governor
 of Bengal.
 1774 } *Regulating Act* makes Hast-
 ings governor-general.
 1775 } Nanda-Kumar (Nuncomar)
 executed.
 1776 } Hastings supreme in Coun-
 cil.
 Hyder Ali takes the field in
 Carnatic.
 1780 } Colonel Baillie defeated at
 Conjeveram.
 Arcot taken by Hyder.
 1781 } Eyre Coote victorious at
 1782 } Porto Novo (Cuddalore),
 &c.
 1782 } Hyder Ali dies.
 British power supreme in
 Carnatic.
 1784 } Pitt's *India Act* establishes
 Board of Control.

A. D.
 1785 } Warren Hastings leaves
 India.
 1788 } [Impeachment and trial of
 1795 } Hastings.]
 CHAP. III.—*Cornwallis, Wellesley,
 Bentinck* P. 1008
 1793 } Lord Cornwallis, governor-
 1789 } general.
 1792 } War with Tippoo Sahib of
 Mysore.
 1792 } Tippoo cedes much terri-
 tory.
 1793 } Sir John Shore (Lord Teign-
 1798 } mouth), governor-general.
 (Lord Mornington (Marquis
 1798 } Wellesley), governor-
 1805 } general.
 1798 } Tippoo renews war in Car-
 natic.
 1799 } Capture of Seringapatam:
 death of Tippoo.
 Canara coast, Coimbatore,
 &c., annexed.
 1802 } Mahratta war.
 1805 } Arthur Wellesley's victories
 (Assaye, Argatum).
 1803 } Lake's victory at Laswaree,
 and capture of Delhi.
 Delhi, Agra (provinces), &c.,
 annexed.
 1805 } Sir George Barlow, governor-
 1806 } general.
 1806 } Sepoy mutiny at Vellore.
 1807 } Lord Minto, governor-
 1813 } general.
 1813 } Company's charter renewed:
 India trade thrown open.
 1814 } Lord Moira (Marquis of
 1823 } Hastings), governor-gen-
 eral.
 1816 } Pindarees and Mahrattas
 1818 } conquered.
 1823 } Lord Amherst, governor-
 1823 } general.
 1824 } First Burmese war.
 1826 } Assam, Aracan, Tenasserim,
 annexed.
 1826 } Lord Combermere captures
 Bhurtpore.
 1828 } Lord William Bentinck,
 1835 } governor-general.
 1833 } Macaulay frames the Crimi-
 1834 } nal Code.
 1833 } Company's charter renewed.
 China trade thrown open.
 North-Western Provinces
 separated from Bengal.
 CHAP. IV.—*The Afghans and the
 Sikhs* P. 1017
 1836 } Lord Auckland, governor-
 1842 } general.

A. D.
 1839 } War with Afghanistan.
 1839 } British and sepoy troops in
 1842 } Cabul.
 Jan. } The Khoord-Cabul Pass dis-
 1842 } as'er.
 Nov. }
 1841 } Sale's defence of Jellala-
 Apr. } bad.
 1842 }
 1842 } Lord Ellenborough, gover-
 1844 } nor-general.
 Sept. } British troops victorious at
 1842 } Cabul.
 1843 } Sir Charles Napier's con-
 quest of Scinde.
 1843 } Mahratta power finally sup-
 pressed.
 1844 } Sir H. Hardinge, governor-
 1848 } general.
 1845 } First Sikh war (Moodkee,
 1846 } Ferozeshah, Aliwal, So-
 bha).
 1848 } Lord Dalhousie, governor-
 1856 } general.
 Second Sikh war (Ramngur,
 Chillianwallah, Goo-
 1849 } jerat).
 Annexation of Punjab.
 1852 } Second Burmese war: an-
 nexation of Pegu.
 1854 } Annexation of Nagpur.
 1856 } Annexation of Oude.

CHAP. V.—*The Mutiny and Change of Rule* P. 1029

1856 } Lord Canning, governor-
 1858 } general.
 1857 } Indian (sepoy) mutiny or
 1858 } war.
 May } The rising at Meerut.
 1857 }
 May } Lucknow and Delhi seized
 June } by mutineers.
 1857 }
 June 27, } First massacre at Cawn-
 1857 } pore.
 July- } Havelock's march to Cawn-
 Sept. } pore and Lucknow.
 1857 }
 July 16, } Second massacre at
 1857 } Cawnpore.
 Sept. } Havelock and Outram
 1857 } enter Lucknow.
 June- } British siege of Delhi.
 Sept. }
 1857 }
 Aug. } Sir Colin Campbell lands
 1857 } at Calcutta.
 Nov. } Campbell relieves resi-
 1857 } dency at Lucknow.
 Nov. }
 1837 } Campbell's general opera-
 Mar. } tions against rebels.
 1858 }

A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1838 } Campbell captures Luck-	1868 } Lord Mayo, viceroy.	1830 } Marquis of Ripon, viceroy.
1858 } now.	1872 } Lord Northbrook in office.	1884 } Third Burmese war.
1858 } Lord Strathnairn's (Sir Hugh	1876 } Prince of Wales visits India.	1885 } Upper Burmah annexed.
Dec. } Campbell (Lord Clyde) re-	1876 } Lord Lytton, viceroy.	1886 } (Ceylon coasts taken from
1858 } ports suppression of re-	1880 } Second Afghan war.	1796 } Dutch.
Aug. } Act transfers Indian gov-	1878 } Sept. { Sir Louis Cavagnari (Brit-	1796 } Malacca provinces (Straits
1858 } ernment to Crown.	1880 } ish resident) and suite	1800 } Settlements) annexed.
1858 } East India Company (as	1879 } murdered at Cabul.	1815 } Ceylon fully occupied.
1858 } Lord Canning, "viceroy"	July } British troops defeated at	1824 } Singapore acquired.
1862 } of India.	1880 } Malwand.	1839 } Aden occupied.
1862 } Earl of Elgin, viceroy.	Aug. } Sir Frederick (Lord) Roberts'	1846 } Labuan ceded to British.
1863 } Sir John (Lord) Lawrence	1880 } march from Cabul to	1857 } Perim occupied.]
1863 } in power.	1880 } Candahar.	

BOOK XIX.

Colonial Empire in Africa, America, and Australasia.

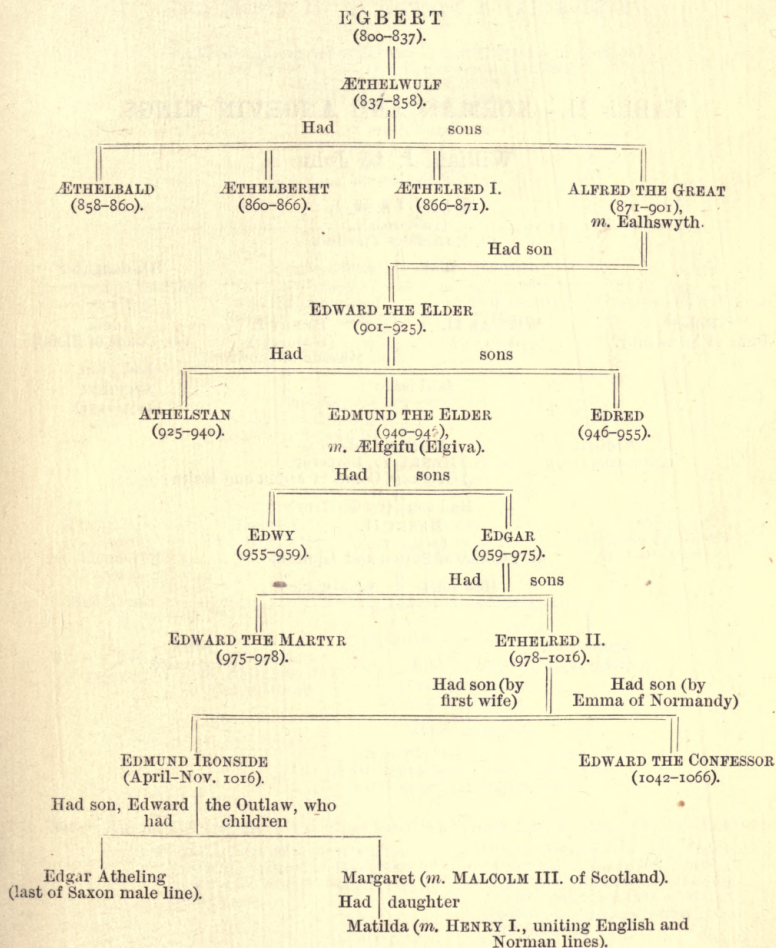
CHAP. I.— <i>British Dominions in Africa</i> p. 1039	A.D.	A.D.
A.D. (a.) <i>West Coast.</i>	1788 } New South Wales colonised	1749 } Halifax (Nova Scotia)
1591 } British traders settle on	1803 } by convicts.	founded.
1661 } Gambia.	1829 } Tasmania first settled.	1758 } Cape Breton Island con-
1661 } First British possessions on	1836 } Western Australia colo-	quered.
1787 } Gold Coast.	1851 } nised.	1763 } Prince Edward Island ac-
1787 } Sierra Leone a British	1836 } South Australia settled.	quired.
1821 } colony.	1851 } Victoria a separate colony.	1638 } (Hudson Bay Territory
1821 } Gold Coast a crown colony.	1859 } Gold discovered in Victoria.	settled.
1826 } Wars with Ashantees.	1859 } Queensland a separate	1670 } Hudson Bay Company
1831 } colony.	1872 } colony.	formed
1831 } Wars with Ashantees.	1872 } Overland telegraph estab-	1869 } Territory joins Dominion of
1863 } lished.	(b.) <i>New Zealand, &c.</i>	Canada.
1866 } (b.) <i>Islands.</i>	1815 } New Zealand first settled	1870 } Red River insurrection sup-
1861 } Lagos ceded by native	1841 } by British.	pressed,
1874 } Ashantees finally dealt with	1841 } New Zealand a separate	1858 } Manitoba joins Dominion]
by Wolseley.	1874 } British colony.	(Vancouver's Island and
	1874 } Fiji Islands ceded to Brit-	British Columbia become
	1885 } tain.	colonies.
	1885 } British New Guinea ac-	1871 } Vancouver and British
	quired.	Columbia join Dominion.]
		1713 } Newfoundland finally ac-
		quired.
1673 } St. Helena occupied by East	CHAP. III.— <i>British Rule in North</i>	CHAP. IV.— <i>West Indies and South</i>
1816 } India Company.	<i>America</i> p. 1052	<i>America</i> p. 1050
1821 } Napoleon at St. Helena.	(a.) <i>Canada.</i>	1612 } Bermudas first settled.
1833 } St. Helena a crown colony.	1763 } Canada conquered by Brit-	1623 } British colonists at St.
1816 } Ascension occupied.	tain.	Kitt's.
1810 } Mauritius taken from	1791 } Representative government	1625 } Bridgetown (Barbadoes)
France.	granted.	founded.
(c.) <i>Cape and East Coast.</i>	1837 } Rebellion in Canada.	1641 } Sugar-cane brought to Bar-
1306 } Cape Colony taken from	1838 } Lord Durham, governor.	1655 } badoes.
Dutch.	1839 } Upper and Lower Canada	Jamaica taken from Spain.
1834 } Wars with Kaffirs.	1841 } united, with responsible	
1835 } Cape Colony receives repre-	government.	[For other dates see text,
1846 } Natal a separate colony.	1845 } Earl of Elgin in power.	pp. 1061-1062.]
1871 } Griqualand, West and East,	1854 } Montreal riots.	1797 } Trinidad conquered from
1874 } annexed.	1858 } Ottawa made seat of govern-	Spain.
1859 } British protectorate at Zan-	ment.	1834 } Slave emancipation in West
1890 } zibar.	1867 } Confederation of Canadian	Indies.
CHAP. II.— <i>The Australasian</i>	1867 } Dominion begins.	1842 } Lord Elgin, governor of
<i>Colonies</i> p. 1043	(b.) <i>Other American colonies.</i>	1846 } Jamaica.
(a.) <i>Australia.</i>	1713 } New Brunswick and Nova	1865 } Negro insurrection in Ja-
1770 } Captain Cook lands in New	Scotia acquired.	maica.
South Wales.		1783 } British Honduras (Belize)
		acquired.
		1803 } British Guiana (Demerara,
		&c.) acquired.
		1833 } Falkland Islands become
		crown-colony.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

TABLE I.—THE HOUSE OF CERDIC.

Egbert to Matilda of Scotland.

Double Line shows Succession of Kings.



Note.—Danish Kings reigned from 1016-1042.

TABLE II.—NORMAN AND ANGEVIN KINGS.

William I. to John.

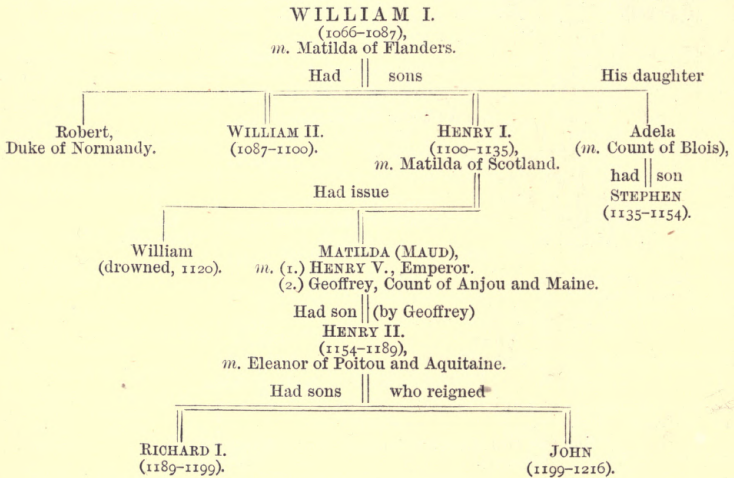


TABLE III.—HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET (PROPER), (1154–1399).

(a.) Henry II. to Edward I. (1154–1272).

MATILDA (daughter of HENRY I. and MATILDA of Scotland,
see Tables I. and II.), *m.* (as second husband)
GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET,
Count of Anjou and Maine,

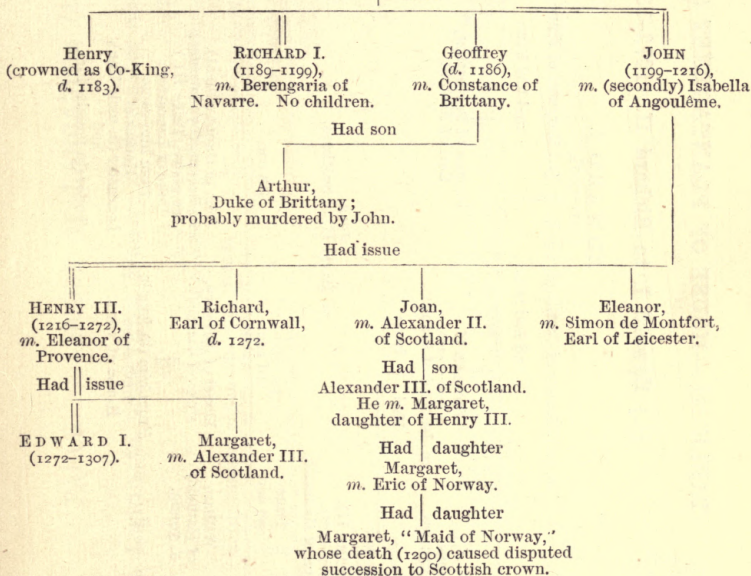
and || had son

HENRY I.

(1154–1180),

m. Eleanor of Poitou.

Had | issue



Note.—HENRY III. had also a son. EDMUND (Crouchback), Earl of Lancaster, who had issue—

(1) THOMAS, Earl of Lancaster, &c.,
who was executed by his cousin,
Edward II., at Pontefract (Pom-
fret) in 1322.

(2) HENRY, who had a son Henry,
Duke of Lancaster, whose
daughter, Blanche, co-heiress
of Lancaster, *m.* John of Gaunt
(see *b.*), and so made him Duke
of Lancaster.

TABLE III.—HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET (Continued).

(b.) Edward I. to Richard II. (1272-1399).

EDWARD I.

(1272-1307)

m. (1.) Eleanor of Castile (*d.* 1290), and had issue

and had issue

Alfonso (*d.* 1284),
and other sons
and several daughters.

EDWARD II.

(1307-1327)
m. Isabella of France.

Had issue

EDWARD III.
(1327-1377),
m. Philippa of Hainault,

Had issue

Edward
(the Black Prince),
d. 1376,
m. Joan of Kent
(see above to right).
Had issue

RICHARD II.

(1377-1399),
m. (1.) Anne of Bohemia.
(2.) Isabel of France.
No children.

Thomas of Brotherton,
Earl of Norfolk.

Edmund of Woodstock,
Earl of Kent
(executed as traitor, 1330).

His grand-daughter was
Joan of Kent,
who *m.* Edward the Black Prince.

m. David II. of Scotland.

Joan,

eldest son

William
of Hatfield,
d. young.

2nd son

Lionel of Antwerp,
Duke of Clarence.

3rd son

From him (in female
line) came
House of York.

4th son

John of Gaunt (Ghent),
who became (by marriage,
see above, Table III.)
Duke of Lancaster:
from him came
Houses of
Lancaster (in male line),
and
Tudor (in female line).

5th son

Edmund of Langley,
Duke of York:
from him came
House of York (in male
line).

6th son

Thomas of Woodstock,
Duke of Gloucester:
from him came
the line of Staffords,
Dukes of Buckingham.

TABLE IV.—HOUSE OF LANCASTER (1399—1461).

(a.) The Legitimate Lines (from Blanche of Lancaster and Constance of Castile).

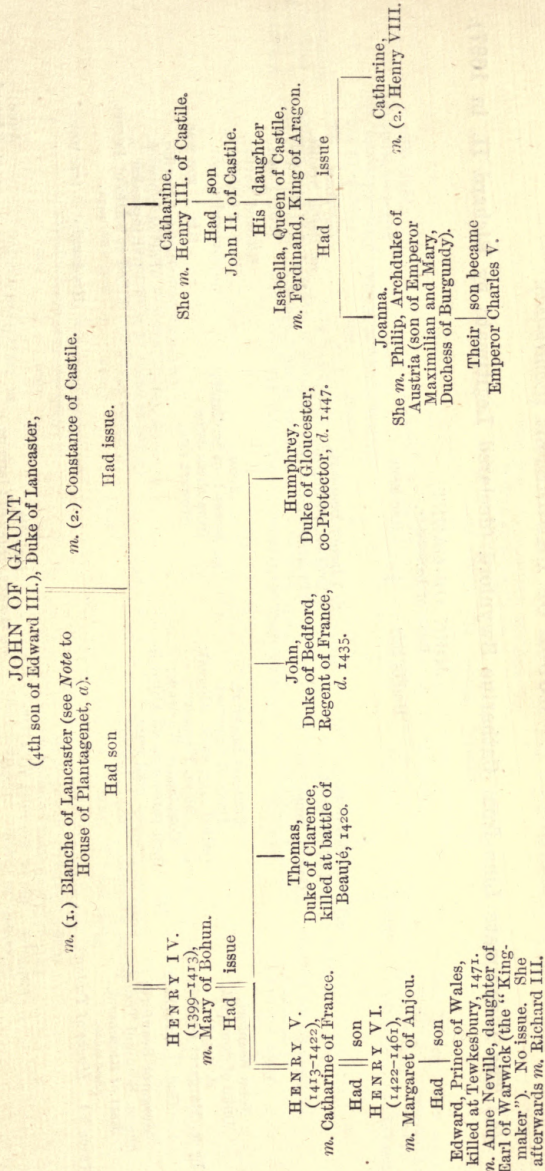


TABLE IV.—HOUSE OF LANCASTER (Continued).

(b.) The Illegitimate Line from Catharine Swynford (declared Legitimate by Richard II. in 1397).

JOHN OF GAUNT,
Duke of Lancaster.

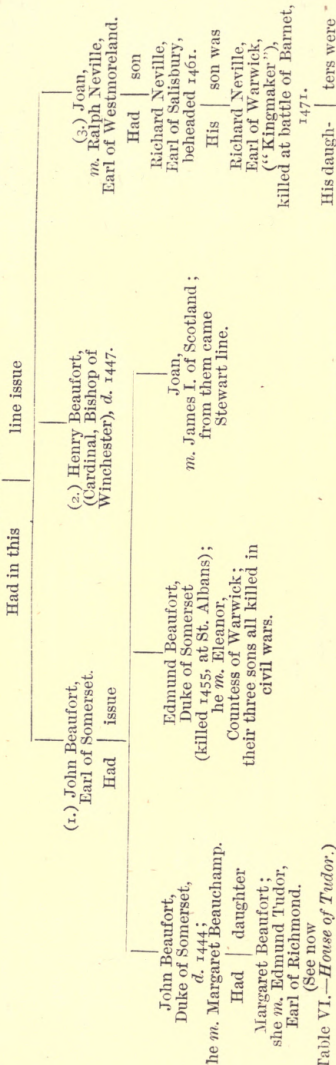


TABLE V.—HOUSE OF YORK (1461–1485).

EDWARD III.

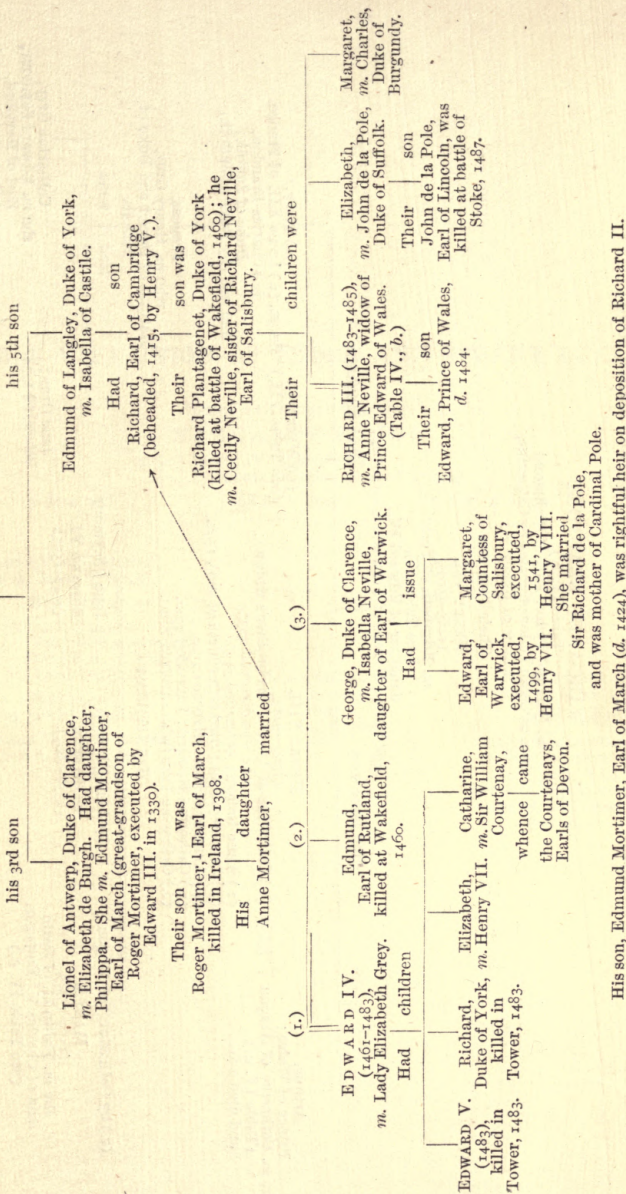


TABLE VI.—HOUSE OF TUDOR (reigned 1485—1603).

MARGARET BEAUFORT

Table IV. *b.*,

m. Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond
(son of Owen Tudor of Wales by Catharine,
widow of Henry V.)

Their son was

HENRY VII.

(1485—1509)

m. Elizabeth of York
(see Table V.)

daughter of Edward IV.,

and united Houses of York and Lancaster;

Had issue sons

Had daughters

Arthur,

Prince of Wales;

he *m.* Catharine of Aragon

(Table IV. *a.*),

and died 1502.

HENRY VIII.

(1509—1547).

he *m.* (1.) Catharine of Aragon (his brother's widow);

she was divorced 1533.

(2.) Anne Boleyn; beheaded 1536.

(3.) Jane Seymour; died (after birth of son), 1537.

(4.) Anne of Cleves; divorced 1540.

(5.) Catharine Howard; beheaded 1542.

(6.) Catharine Parr (who survived him).

Had children

(*a.*) by Catharine of Aragon

MARY I.

(1553—1558),

she *m.* Philip II. of Spain,

son of Charles V., Emperor.

(See Table IV. *a.*)

by Anne Boleyn

ELIZABETH

(1558—1603).

by Jane Seymour

EDWARD VI.

(1547—1553).

(1.) Margaret

(See Table VII.) she *m.* (1.) Louis XII. of France.

(2.) Charles Brandon,

Duke of Suffolk;

and had (by Duke of Suffolk)

Frances,

who *m.* Henry Grey,

Marquis of Dorset, and Duke of

Suffolk.

Had issue

Jane Grey;

beheaded 1554.

Catharine Grey,

she *m.* Edward Seymour,

Earl of Hertford,

son of Protector Somerset;

their son, Edward Seymour,

Lord Beauchamp,

had son, William Seymour

(afterwards Duke of Somerset);

he *m.* Lady Arabella Stuart.

(See Table VII.)

TABLE VII — UNION OF TUDOR AND STUART LINES.

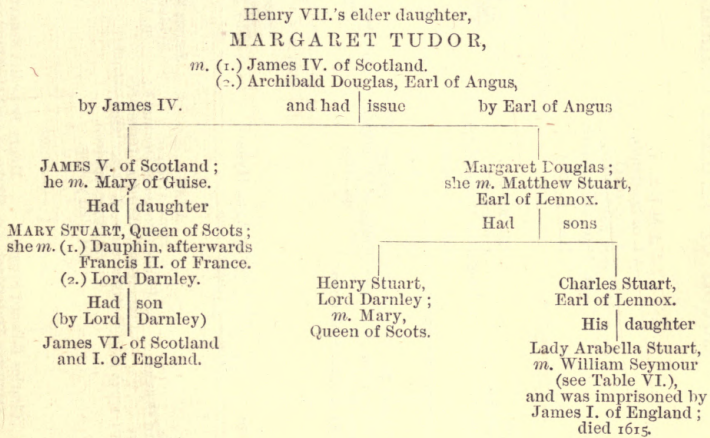


TABLE VIII.—HOUSE OF STUART (reigned 1603-1714).

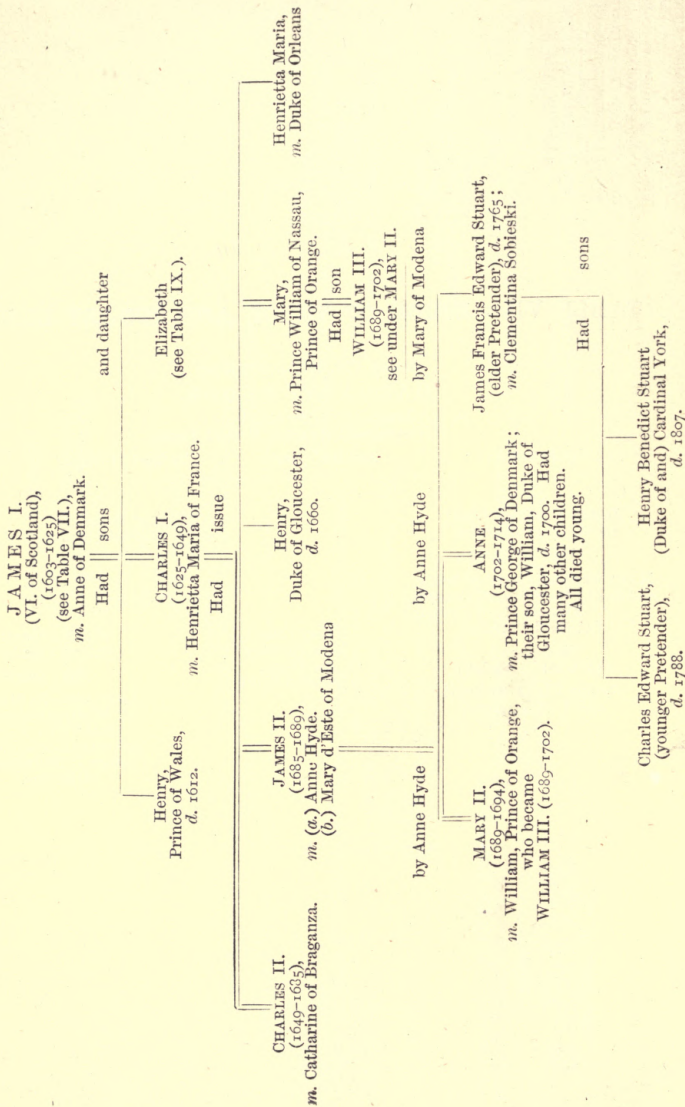


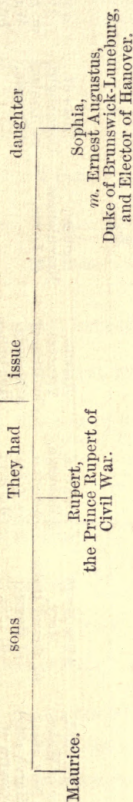
TABLE IX.—HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK OR HANOVER (reigned 1714—).

(a.) To George III. (1714–1760).

James I.'s daughter,
ELIZABETH

(Table VIII.)

m. Frederick, Elector Palatine in Germany
(the "Winter-King" of Bohemia).



George Louis,
GEORGE I. (1714–1727),
m. Sophia Dorothea of Zelle.

Had issue

GEORGE II. (1727–1760),
m. Caroline of Brandenburg-Anspach.

Had issue

Frederick,
Prince of Wales (*d.* 1751),
m. Augusta of Saxe-Gotha.

Had issue

(a.) GEORGE III.

Note.—George III.'s brother, the Duke of Gloucester, married the Countess Waldegrave, and another brother, the Duke of Cumberland, married Lady Intirell; these matches caused the passing of the Royal Marriage Act of 1772.

Sophia Dorothea,
Queen of Prussia, mother of
Frederick the Great.

William Augustus,
Duke of Cumberland
(of Fontenoy and Culloden fame),
d. 1765.

(b.) Augusta; she *m.* Duke of Brunswick, and was mother of (1.) Duke of Brunswick, killed at Quatre Bras; (2.) Caroline of Brunswick, wife of George, Prince of Wales (George IV.).

TABLE IX.—HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK OR HANOVER (Continued).

(b.) George III. to Victoria (1760—).

GEORGE III.

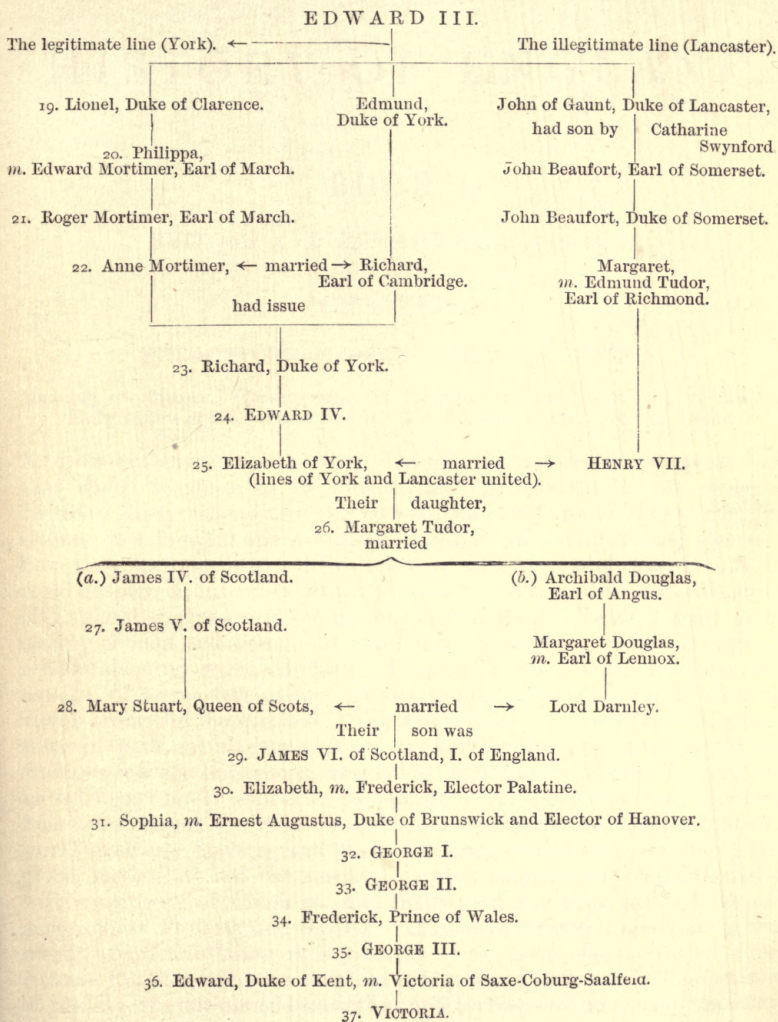
(1760-1820)

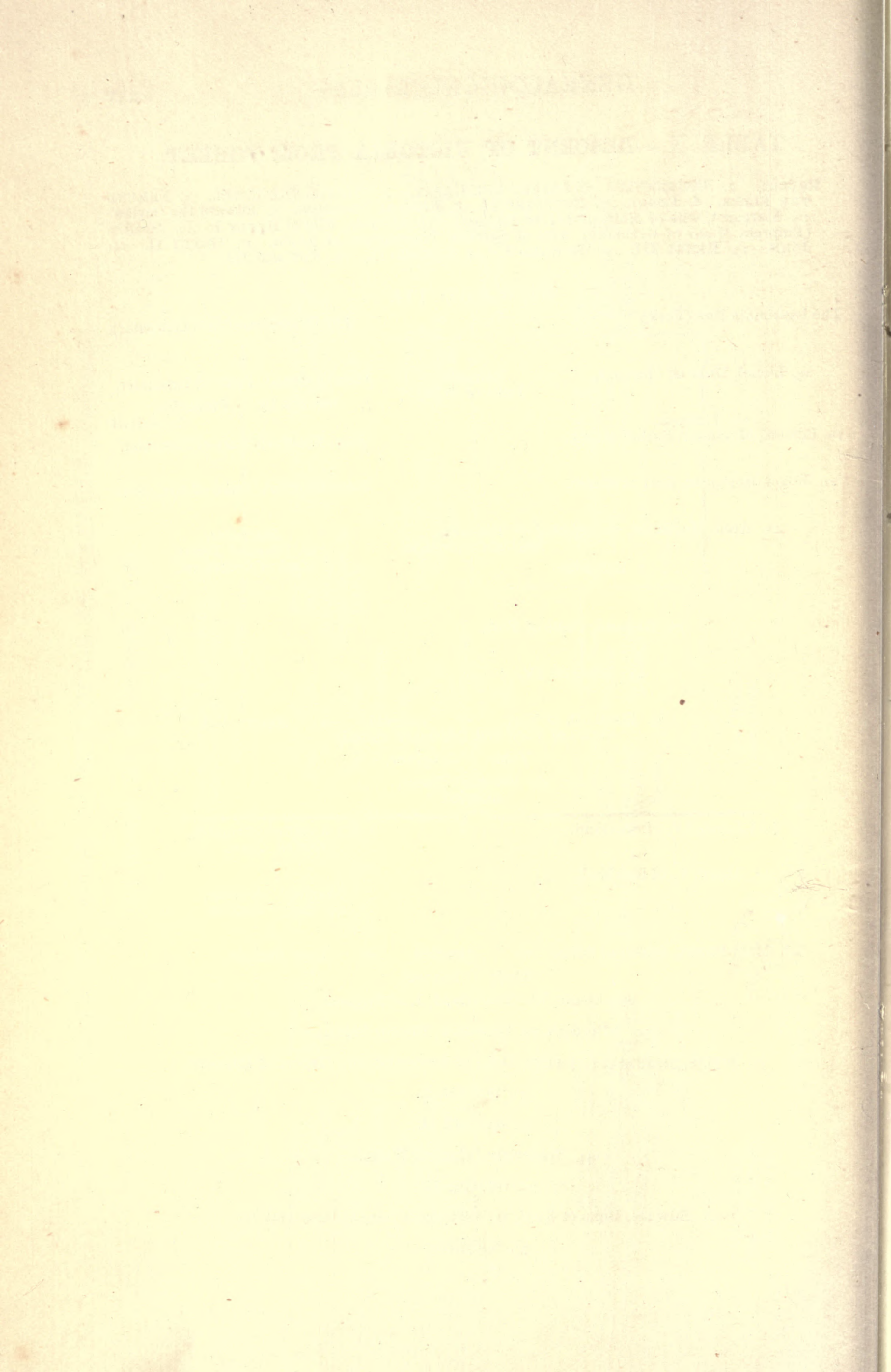
(grandson of George II., see Table IX. a.),
m. Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<p>GEORGE IV. (1820-1830), m. Caroline of Brunswick (Table IX. a.).</p> <p>Had daughter Charlotte, m. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, first King of Belgians; she d. Nov. 1817.</p>	<p>Frederick, Duke of York, d. 1827.</p>	<p>Duke of Clarence, WILLIAM IV. (1830-1837), m. Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen; children d. young.</p>	<p>Edward, Duke of Kent, d. 1820, m. Victoria of Saxe-Coburg. Had daughter VICTORIA (1837-), born May 24, 1819, m. (Feb. 1840) Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha (he d. Dec. 14, 1861).</p>	<p>Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, King of Hanover (1837).</p>	<p>George, Duke of Cambridge, Commander-in- chief.</p>	<p>Duke of Cambridge, m. Augusta of Hesse-Cassel. Had issue</p>	<p>Augusta, Duchess of Mecklenburg- Strelitz.</p>	<p>Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck; her daughter, Victoria Mary, m. (July 1893) George, Duke of York, 2nd son of Prince of Wales.</p>
<p>Victoria (Empress of Germany).</p>	<p>Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, born Nov. 1841; m. (March 1863) Alexandra of Denmark.</p>	<p>Alice Mand Mary, m. Grand Duke of Hesse; d. 1878.</p>	<p>Duke of Edinburgh, Admiral, m. (1874) Marie of Russia.</p>	<p>Helena, Princess Christian of Schleswig- Holstein.</p>	<p>Louise, Marchioness of Lorne.</p>	<p>Duke of Connaught, m. Louisa of Prussia.</p>	<p>Duke of Albany, m. Helen of Waldeck; he d. 1884.</p>	<p>Beatrice, m. Henry of Battenberg.</p>
<p>Albert Victor, Duke of Clarence, d. Jan. 1892.</p>	<p>George, Duke of York, m. (July 1893) Princess Victoria Mary, daughter of Duke and Duchess of Teck.</p>	<p>And three daughters.</p>						

TABLE X.—DESCENT OF VICTORIA FROM EGBERT.

EGBERT. 2. ÆTHELWULF. 3. ALFRED THE GREAT. 4. EDWARD THE ELDER. 5. EDMUND THE ELDER. 6. EDGAR. 7. ÆTHELRED II. 8. EDMUND IRONSIDE. 9. Edward the Outlaw. 10. Margaret, wife of Malcolm III. of Scotland. 11. Matilda, wife of HENRY I. 12. Matilda (Empress Maud of Germany), wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet of Anjou. 13. HENRY II. 14. JOHN. 15. HENRY III. 16. EDWARD I. 17. EDWARD II. 18. EDWARD III.





SANDERSON'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK I.

BRITONS AND ROMANS—(B.C. 55—A.D. 450.)

CHAPTER I.

PRE-HISTORIC PEOPLE: CÆSAR IN BRITAIN.

Meaning of 'history.' Development of English freedom. Beginning of Britain. Early names of islands and people. The Britons in time of Julius Cæsar.

A HIGH authority tells us that "history is the investigation of how that which is comes to be what it is." A real English or British history should tell the people, the commons of these realms, in a faithful and unbiassed narrative of public affairs, how they have grown out of slavery, out of feudal wrong, out of regal despotism, into constitutional liberty. We shall see in the history of England emphatically the history of progress. We shall see a great society of men and women, at the beginning of the twelfth century, in a miserable and degraded state. They are subject to the tyranny of a handful of armed foreigners. A strong distinction of caste divides the victor from the vanquished. The great body of the people live in a state of personal slavery and are sunk in brutal ignorance, while the studious few are engaged in acquiring what hardly merits the name of knowledge. Seven centuries pass away. "The wretched and degraded race have become the greatest and most highly civilised people that the world ever saw, have spread their dominion over every quarter of the globe, have scattered the seeds of mighty empires and republics over vast continents of which no dim intimation had ever reached the old geographers Ptolemy and Strabo. They have created a maritime power which would annihilate in a quarter of an hour the navies of Tyre, Athens, Carthage, Venice and Genoa together; have carried the science of healing, the means of locomotion and correspondence, every mechanical art, every manufacture, every thing that promotes the convenience

of life, to a perfection which our ancestors would have thought magical. They have produced a literature which may boast of works not inferior to the noblest which Greece has bequeathed to us; they have discovered the laws which regulate the motions of the heavenly bodies, have speculated with exquisite subtlety on the operations of the human mind, have been the acknowledged leaders of the human race in the career of political improvement. The history of England is the history of this great change in the moral, intellectual, and physical state of the inhabitants of our own islands." In these words of one of the greatest of our historians we have set before us the noble task which awaits the writer of British history.

We shall fail to grasp the true meaning of this great subject unless we observe that the history of every nation has been, in the main, a chain of cause and effect. Each of its phases has been the consequence of some prior phase, and the natural prelude of that which succeeded it. All that upon which we justly pride ourselves, whether in our institutions or our national character, has resulted from the principle of growth, and not of creation. This great principle must especially be borne in mind with regard to English history. The Roman, the Saxon, the Norman, did not each of them, without interference of the other, mix their blood with the old British stock, nor did any of them alone bequeath to us our political constitution. To the Roman we may distinctly trace our municipal institutions, in obedience to, or in connection with, a central authority, which rode supreme over the rights of individuals. To the Saxon we owe that principle of personal liberty which has survived, through twelve hundred years, every attempt to merge the freedom of the governed in the absolute control of the governors. From the feudal system of the Norman we derive those appropriations of territory which, however liable to abuses in their extent and their transmission, have afforded security to all property, during many generations, by their unassailable permanency. Amidst these influences, the power of the Church was sustaining the moral and spiritual elements of society, and was the parent and conservator of literature and art. It is not to any one particular epoch of this history of nineteen hundred years that we can point for the establishment of any one common privilege or immunity. We associate Magna Charta with King John, and the Bill of Rights with William III., but in the intermediate struggles of five centuries we must look for the true growth of constitutional government. It is only in following out the great law of progress that we can properly appreciate what we are, by comprehending what we have been. Nor must the observance of this law of progress be confined to the acts of kings and parliaments. The gradual emancipation of the serf, the assertion of the independence of the burgher, the submission of the priests to the civil law, the legal control of the baron in the castle by the resistance of the craftsman in the town, the right of the whole

body of the people to be taxed only by their representatives—are each intimately associated with the universal progress in industry and knowledge. Upon the Roman and early English civilisation were founded many of the great principles of government which have preserved their vitality amongst us during the lapse of fifteen centuries. The Norman feudality could not destroy municipal institutions, nor the spirit of personal freedom. The Norman despotism was absorbed by the English liberty, and feudality could only maintain itself by the recognition, however incomplete, of the equal rights of all men before the law.

From the deposition of Richard the Second to the virtual abdication of James the Second, every act of national resistance was accomplished by the union of classes, and was founded upon some principle of legal right for which there was legal precedent. Out of the traditional and almost instinctive assertion of the popular privileges have come new developments of particular reforms, each adapted to its own age, but all springing out of that historical experience which we recognise as Constitutional. In the words of Macaulay, we are, in the history of England, “to contemplate the steps by which the England of Domesday Book, the England of the Curfew and the Forest Laws, the England of crusaders, monks, schoolmen, astrologers, serfs, and outlaws, became the England which we know and love, the classic ground of liberty and philosophy, the school of all knowledge, the mart of all trade. The charter of Henry Beauclerc, the Great Charter, the first assembling of the House of Commons, the extinction of personal slavery, the separation from the See of Rome, the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Revolution of 1688, the establishment of the liberty of unlicensed printing, the abolition of religious disabilities, the reform of the representative system,—all these seem to be the successive stages of one great revolution; nor can we fully comprehend any one of these memorable events unless we look at it in connection with those which preceded, and with those which followed it. Each of those great and ever-memorable struggles, Saxon against Norman, villein against lord, Roundhead against Cavalier, Dissenter against Churchman, Manchester against Old Sarum, was, in its own order and season, a struggle, on the result of which were staked the dearest interests of the human race.”

All the historical inhabitants of the British Isles, Celts, Romans, Teutons of Germany, Danes, and Normans, were men of the great Aryan race. Still existing remains show that there once lived in our islands a non-Aryan people, a race of mere savages, who lived wholly by hunting and fishing. The contents of old graves and other deposits prove that these people had spear-heads and arrows of flint, and axes and hammers of stone. Of the use of metal they knew nothing. To them we may probably attribute the old sepulchral monuments, called *cromlechs*, found in all parts of the British Islands. In these relics we see three or more columns of

Earliest
dwellers
in the
British
Isles.

unhewn stone supporting a large tabular block, so as to form with it a rectangular chamber, beneath the floor of which is generally found a sepulchral chamber or cist enclosing a skeleton, with arms, stone implements, and other ancient remains. A well-known instance of such a monument is that called Kit's Coty House, near Aylesford, in Kent.

When the veil is lifted and historical knowledge begins, we find the British Isles inhabited by men of Celtic race. The Celts appear to have been among the earliest of the comers from Asia into Europe in the period of the great Aryan immigrations. There were two branches of this Celtic race. The Cimmerian or Cymric Celts settled first to the north of the Black Sea, between the Danube and the Don. East of the Don were the Scythian or Gaelic Celts, who afterwards pushed to the west and forced the Cymry before them. Both were, in turn, driven westwards by Slavonian and Teutonic immigrants. In the end, the Celts occupied in strength the coasts of what are now France and Spain, and it seems that these islands were first thinly peopled by Celts of the Gaelic branch, who came from Spain to the western coast of Ireland and the south-western shores of Britain. Cymric Celts, driven across the Channel by Teutonic tribes who pressed on them, landed on the eastern part of our south coast, and then forced the Gaels to the westward. Thus it was that the Manxmen, Highlanders of Scotland, and Irish belonged to the Gaelic branch, while Britain was mainly peopled by Celts from Gaul, belonging to the Cymric branch of the race, now represented in blood and language by the Welsh. Belgæ from Gaul, a people of German origin, also settled on the south and east coasts.

The word *Britain* appears to come from a Celtic word *brith* or *brit*, meaning *painted*, with a reference to the people's custom of staining their bodies blue with the juice of a plant called *woad*. The Gaelic name for the inhabitants is *Brython*, the Roman names for the country and people being *Britannia* and *Britanni*. The name *Albion*, or *white-land*, is probably derived from the chalky cliffs of the coast. The Roman name, *Caledonia*, for the northern part of the chief island, is supposed to be formed from the British *caoill daoin*, 'people of the woods.' The name *Scotland* is from the *Scoti*, a tribe who emigrated from the north of Ireland. The Welsh have always called themselves *Cymry*, whence the Roman name for Wales, *Cambria*; and *Wales*, *Welsh*, are old English for *foreign land*, *foreigners*, the term applied by our Teutonic forefathers to those who spoke a language not understood by themselves. The native name for Ireland was *Erin*; the Greek, used by Aristotle, was *Ierne*; the Romans called it *Hibernia*, and *Iverna* or *Juverna*. It seems likely that in early times the Phœnician traders visited the Scilly Islands and the coast of Cornwall for the purpose of obtaining tin; and Herodotus refers to the *Cassiterides* or *Tin Islands*, in the north parts of the ocean. The first certain knowledge which the Greeks obtained

Earliest
historical
inhabi-
tants.
Earliest
mention
and names
of British
Isles.

of Britain was from the merchants of Massilia (Marseilles) about the time of Alexander the Great, and soon after that period the Greek navigator Pytheas of Massilia sailed round a great part of Britain.

The real history of these islands begins with the great Roman Caius Julius Cæsar, the conqueror and governor of Gaul, who has left his own written account of what he saw and did in two invasions of the land, and of what he learnt from others as to the state and character of the people. On a day towards the end of the month of August B.C. 55, a gazer from the cliffs near Dover would have seen a large fleet of war-galleys and ships of burden making its way across the narrow sea from a port between Calais and Boulogne. A Roman force was coming to punish the Britons for sending help in ships and men to one of the Gaelic tribes, the *Veneti*, then at war with Cæsar. The alarm spread inland. The Cantii, or men of what is now called Kent, gathered in arms upon the cliffs, and their numbers and position caused the Roman leader to turn northwards for the open beach near Deal. The defenders of the soil of Britain had followed the invaders, and when Cæsar's men prepared to land, they saw the beach crowded with horses and chariots, and skin-clad, blue-dyed infantry, armed with great pointless swords, and uttering shouts of defiance. The Romans leaped into the water from their galleys at the bidding of the standard-bearer of the famous Tenth Legion, and Roman discipline and courage, after a fierce combat, drove off the natives. An advance of a few miles inland was then made by the Romans, and the usual fortified camp was formed, while cavalry from Gaul were awaited. A storm arose which scattered the horse-transport, and the rough weather, with a heavy spring-tide, greatly damaged the fleet lying off shore. Many vessels were swamped or broken up, and the Romans had to turn to the work of repairs. The Britons broke the truce and attacked their enemy again, but were soundly beaten. Cæsar then returned to Gaul, after an absence of only seventeen days.

Early the next year, Cæsar crossed again with a force of five legions, or about thirty thousand men, and now landed without re-
 assistance. On the march inland, his cavalry fought the natives
 and drove them into the woods. The damage caused by
 another storm brought Cæsar back to the coast, and during this time a
 British leader named Cassibelan or Caswallon—in Latin, Cassivelaunus
 —gathered a great force. He was driven back to the Thames near
 Walton, where the place called Cowey-stakes is believed to mark the
 spot at which the Britons fenced the bank of the river, and the ford
 below the water, with sharp-pointed young oaks. The Romans forced
 their way across, and the brief campaign ended with the storming of
 Caswallon's forest-fortress at Verulam, near the place now called St.
 Alban's. Cæsar gives us the names of the tribes whom he encountered
 in this march. There were the *Cantii* (Kent), *Trinobantes* (Middlesex

First in-
 vasion of
 Cæsar,
 B.C. 55.

Second in-
 vasion of
 Cæsar,
 B.C. 54.

and Essex), *Cenimagni* (or *Iceni*), of the country now called Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire, the *Segontiaci* and *Ancalites*, of some part between the Upper Thames and the Channel, the *Bibroci* of Hampshire, Berkshire, and Wiltshire, and the *Cassi* of Hertfordshire. The Britons now gave hostages and promised to pay tribute, and the Romans quitted the country after a stay of a few weeks, to appear no more as invaders for nearly a hundred years. As Tacitus says, Cæsar did not conquer Britain, but only showed it to the Romans.

From this time forward, peaceful intercourse with Rome and various parts of her empire went on. Blocks of lead and tin from the mines of the south-west were exchanged, as of old, with the Phœnician traders and Greek merchants from Massilia and Narbo (*Narbonne*), for **State of Britain.** brass, salt, and earthenware, and the Britons also exported slaves, hunting-dogs, and skins. The epicures of Rome had a great liking for the oysters of Rutupiaë, the place now called Richborough, in Kent, lying two miles inland. In forming a picture to the mind's eye of the appearance of the country, we must banish from the view nearly all that we now see around us. The north and east and west and centre of the land were still covered by forest and by marsh. The British roads were rough tracks that followed the windings of the hills, with here and there a descent to the plain, and a way cut through the woods, or passing by a clearing made for corn. The towns were mere gatherings of wattled or timbered huts, placed in a tract of woody country, and surrounded by a deep trench, with a further defence of felled trees. The tilling of the soil, in the more civilised south-eastern district, the pasturing of cattle, and the hunting of the abundant game, were the chief means of living. The deer, the wolf, the boar, the bear, the badger were all tenants of the forest; on the plains large flocks of bustards could be seen; the beaver built his home in the streams. The fisher had his *coracle* of skins stretched tightly over wicker work, as it may be seen to this day on the river Wye. A certain skill both in mechanics and in the art of war is proved by the construction and the use of the scythed chariots described by Cæsar. The drivers went at speed down steep descents, and charged the enemy with a fighting man upon the pole, who would alight and join the combat upon foot, using the car for his retreat in case of need. The contents of the sepulchral mounds or barrows tell us nearly all that we know of the artistic skill of the people. In the north of Wiltshire stands Silbury Hill, the largest artificial mound in Europe. There and in other tombs have been dug up arrow-heads and spear-heads of bronze, bodkins, necklaces, and beads, drinking-cups and urns. The rule of the people at the time of Cæsar's visits was in the hands of many petty chieftains, often at war with each other. At a later period, but before the Roman conquest of the land, we find that this separate dominion of many kinglets had been merged in that of kings, each ruling over large parts of the island. Cunobelin, king of the Trinobantes, ruled a territory which included

much of South Britain. His capital, Camalodunum, is represented either by Colchester or Maldon. Progress made in civilisation has been inferred from the fact that we have many coins of his reign, probably of British workmanship, and showing an acquaintance with Roman deities and customs.

The religion of the ancient Britons at this time was the mysterious and gloomy form of pagan worship known as Druidism. Cæsar tells us that 'this system is thought to have been formed in Britain, and to have been carried over thence into Gaul, and now those who wish to be more accurately versed in it go to Britain in order to become acquainted with it.' The Druids were the priests, the arbiters of disputes, and the judges of crime. Men placed under their interdict were held accursed, and were banished from human intercourse. Over this body of men one chief Druid presided. They were all exempt from service in war, and from payment of taxes. They believed in the immortality of the soul, and in the doctrine of transmigration. They made human sacrifices to their gods, offering up as victims either criminals or prisoners taken in war. The teaching of the Druids was not confined to matters of religion. They were the instructors in all the rude knowledge of the time, save in matters of war. They held sacred the oak and the mistletoe, and it was in groves of oak that they practised their religious rites.

The Gaelic nature was, at its best, that of an artist. The Gael was gifted with a bold and active fancy, skill in music, delight in vivid colour, a sense of honour, and a taste for literature. The Irish, Scottish, and Welsh Celts alike, the Gaels and Cymry too, are men who still delight in olden song that tells the glories of a legendary past. The instinctive wants of such a people were met by the attainments and performances of the class of men called Bards. Their task and their delight it was to act as the chroniclers, poets, and musicians of their tribe. To the strains of a rude harp they sang the genealogies and exploits of chiefs, the wonders of nature, and the praises of the gods, in lyric, epic, and didactic verse rich in simile and metaphor.

It has been shown that the early inhabitants of Britain were far removed from a merely savage state. The Britons, as known to the Romans, were a people of high courage, subject to authority and discipline, and yet impatient of subjection. They were acquainted with some important arts of life. They mined and smelted their native tin, and were not unskilled in the tillage of the soil. They were a warlike people, possessed of swords and shields and cars that could not be fabricated without some mechanical skill. They were a religious people, whose priests were their lawgivers and their teachers in whatever moral and mental training they possessed. They were lovers of instrumental music and song. They took an interest in the records of the past, and believed in another life after death.

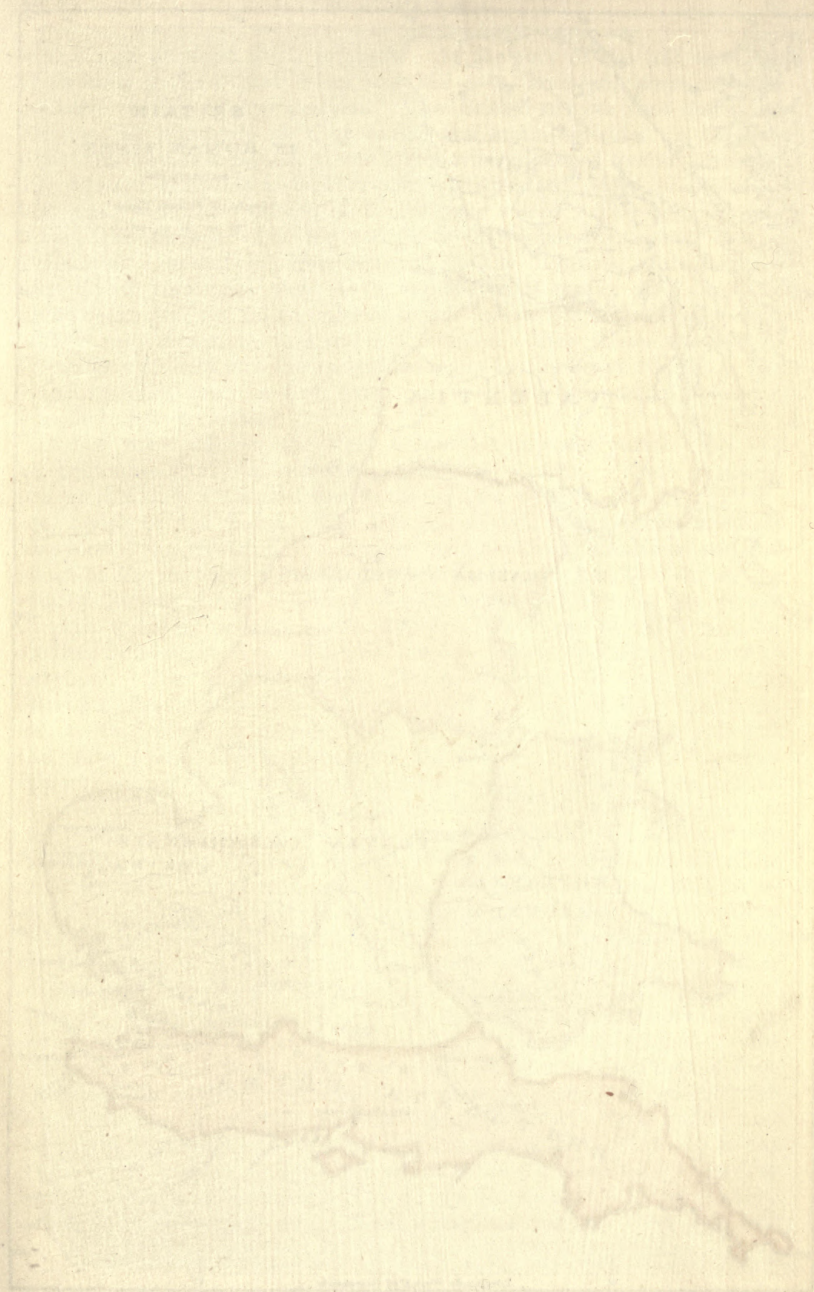
CHAPTER II.

ROMAN CONQUEST AND RULE.

Roman and British leaders. Stout resistance of natives. Agricola in power. Hadrian and Severus in Britain. Early Christianity. Picts and Scots. Withdrawal of Romans.

THE Emperor Claudius was the ruler who first resolved to make Britain a province of Rome. The man chosen to attack the country from Gaul with his legions was Aulus Plautius. In A.D. 43 he landed without opposition. The Britons had retired to the marshes and woods, hoping to wear out the invader by delay, and thinking that, like Cæsar, he would withdraw from the country after a brief stay. At this time, Caractacus, son of Cunobelin, was the chief ruler in the south of the island. Plautius marched against him, and, with much loss to the Romans in the marshes and woods, drove the Britons away to the west. Then Claudius came in person with great reinforcements, and the capital, Camalodunum, was taken. The Emperor remained but sixteen days in the island, was saluted by the army as *Imperator*, and then returned to Rome, to assume the name of *Britannicus*, and to be worshipped as a god. The memory of his Britannic triumph is preserved upon his coinage.

The Britons met their formidable foes with a most tenacious and determined opposition. That brave and rugged soldier, **Obstinate resistance made.** Vespaſian, born and bred a peasant in the Sabine Hills, and afterwards Emperor of Rome, was in high command under Plautius. He and his son Titus had all they could do to win for Rome, after many battles, the territory now forming Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. The Romans, however, kept pouring in fresh troops along the whole line of the southern coast, and by the estuaries of the Thames and the Colne, and thus, slowly but surely, the southern and south-eastern parts of the land were won. In the west and centre and east the natives maintained a fierce resistance. Their great leader was Caractacus or Caradoc, king of the *Silures*, a powerful tribe of South Wales. In A.D. 47, Plautius and Vespaſian, returning to Italy with well-won honours, were succeeded in the British command by Ostorius Scapula. Roman skill and discipline won their way in the east, and the Iceni were for a time overcome. Ostorius then marched west, and advanced as far as the Avon and the Severn. He next broke up the levies of the powerful tribe of the north, the *Brigantes*, who dwelt between the Humber and the Tyne. Caradoc himself was then brought to bay at the lofty hill in Shropshire which still bears the name of Caer-Caradoc, the town of Caradoc. The British forces were on a mountain-ridge,





Longitude West 2° of Greenwich

with a wall of stone for a rampart. At the foot of the hill flowed a river hard to ford, and when the hill was mounted, hosts of men guarded the intrenched position. The British arrows shot down the Romans by hundreds as they scaled the mountain-side. A terrible fight hand-to-hand ensued, as the legionaries advanced to the storming. The Roman discipline and short pointed two-edged sword prevailed at last against all the efforts of tumultuous valour. The position was taken, and Caradoc fled for refuge to Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes. By her he was betrayed to the Romans, and after his nine years' resistance went as a captive to Rome in A.D. 51. The noble bearing of the fallen chief of a warlike people induced Claudius, with a rare clemency, to spare his prisoner's life. Even the loss of Caractacus did not end the resistance made by the brave Silures. The Roman general Scapula died, worn out with the toil and trouble of a war that seemed endless.

A few years roll on, and Nero wears the imperial purple. In A.D. 58, Suetonius Paulinus took the command in Britain. There was at this time a female ruler in the eastern district, Boadicea, queen of the Iceni. The Roman officials and settlers had roused the wrath of the natives by extortions, licentiousness, and insult to the national worship. The British queen had bled under the rods of Roman lictors. Wrath and shame roused her and her people to plan a deadly revenge. The Romans held many of the towns, including London, even then a place of much trade, Verulam, and Camalodunum. The absence of the Roman governor in the north-west offered a great chance of success for a rising. A great host of natives, led by the queen in person, took the field in A.D. 61, and attacked the three chief towns. The ninth legion was destroyed at Camalodunum, and many thousands of Roman settlers perished there, and in London and at Verulam. The British were for the time triumphant, and there for the moment we leave them. Suetonius had marched into North Wales with the fixed purpose of assailing Druidism in one of its principal seats. The religious system of the Britons was held to be one of the chief causes of their enduring hostility to Rome. The Druidical faith was deep-rooted, long-established, and universal, and to its votaries the mythology of Rome was at once hateful and contemptible. Their solemn superstition gave them daring courage and a fanatical spirit of revenge. It was the knowledge of this fact that led Suetonius to attack the stronghold of the Druids in Mona, now the Isle of Anglesey. He crossed the Menai Strait, and there encountered a strange host of foes. The shore was covered with armed men in dense array, and women with loose hair ran about with furious cries, clothed in dark attire, and waving lighted torches. Around stood bands of Druids, lifting hands of prayer to heaven, and by turns enkindling a desperate valour by frantic words and gestures. The hardy Romans stood still at first, struck with unwonted awe. Then discipline came to their aid, and

they closed with the foe in the onslaught that hardly ever failed. Suetonius did his work well. The sacred groves of oak were cut down, the Druids were burned in their own wicker-idols, and a garrison was left amongst the remnant spared by fire and sword. Then came the terrible news from the south, and the Romans hurried back to the rescue. The exact spot of the decisive battle that ensued has never been determined. What is certain is, that the tumultuous hordes under Boadicea were utterly routed by Roman tactics directing the disciplined valour of ten thousand Roman legionaries. The revolt was ended at a blow. Boadicea died by poison. Unrelenting pursuit destroyed all chance of a rally, and the power of the natives in South Britain was thus broken for ever by A.D. 62.

It would seem that scant justice has hitherto been rendered by modern historians to the character of these ancient Britons. **The British character.** The great Roman writer, Tacitus, tells us that they were by nature fierce and resolute; that they would pay tribute to their conquerors and submit to the Roman levies of men to serve in the legions, but would bear no insult or wrong; they would obey, in short, but would not be treated as mere slaves. The bare facts of the narrative amply refute the common opinion of the low state of civilisation amongst a people who thus contended with one of the greatest military powers of all time. What must the spirit of the Britons have been, which, in a fierce and determined resistance, and in constant revolt after seeming subjection, could give the Romans twenty years of work to subdue but the southern part of the island?

For sixteen years after the death of Boadicea little advance was made by the Romans in the secure possession of the country. **The government of Agricola, A.D. 78-84.** At length, with a good emperor, Vespasian, in supreme power, a great man was placed at the head of affairs in Britain. Julius Agricola, father-in-law of Tacitus, whose eloquent eulogy is one of the finest things in literature, was both a great and a good man. He had already served in Britain under Suetonius Paulinus, and in A.D. 69 he was there in command of the twentieth legion. When he arrived in Britain as governor in the summer of 78, he found work ready to his hands. The *Ordovices*, a powerful tribe in North Wales, were in arms among the strongholds of the hills, after their sudden slaughter of a band of Roman horse in garrison on the borders. Agricola at once marched against them, gathered the scattered troops, routed the enemy in their fastnesses, and overran the old scene of conflict, Anglesey. The next year, 79, saw him again in the field, and waging war with a skill and energy that nothing could resist. He knew the country well, and could choose the proper lines of march and the places for effective attack. All that was won was firmly held by the planting of forts and garrisons at every strategic point. He welcomed as friends of Rome all that were ready to submit, and allured the chiefs into the towns to learn the Roman arts of life. In a few years the country

was peacefully held from the mouth of the Thames to the Severn, and from the Humber across to the Dee. In the third and fourth summers of his command, the years 80 and 81, Agricola was engaged against foes in the north. He secured the territory south of the Clyde and the Forth by a line of armed posts extending between the estuaries. In 82 he made his way to the western coast, and in 83 marched to the north towards the Grampians. The Caledonian tribes were in arms, and made a daring attack on the camp of a Roman legion, which was barely saved by Agricola's arrival. In 84 came the final conflict with the mountaineers, at the foot of the Grampian Hills. Thirty thousand warriors were in arms under Galgacus, and fought the Romans with the usual result. Ten thousand clansmen fell in the plain and on the hillside, and only night put an end to the slaughter. When morning dawned, not a foeman was to be seen: all had vanished to a far distance, and the Romans marched back to winter quarters. Agricola was much more than a mere conqueror. Under his government was shown the tranquillising force of the ruler who can civilise and colonise as well as subdue. In his time Roman ships first sailed round the chief island, and proved to the world its geographical shape. He rescued the natives from official rapacity, and made a just and equal distribution of the burden of tribute. He taught the conquered people to build houses, temples, galleries, and baths in the Roman style. The sons of the chief men were taught the Roman language and the liberal sciences, and the scattered people were encouraged to congregate in towns, and live the life of citizens under municipal rule. The Britons had ample reason to mourn his loss when he was recalled in 84 by the jealous tyrant Domitian.

For over three hundred years Britain remained a province of the Roman Empire. In the year 120 we find the Emperor ^{Hadrian's} Hadrian in the land, as he was carrying out his purpose of ^{Wall} visiting in person every portion of the vast dominion of Rome. The Britons had now fully submitted to conquest, and we hear nothing more of revolt, in the southern part of the island, against the ruling power. The chief trouble to the land for two centuries was caused by the incursions of the fierce predatory tribes in the north. We have seen that Agricola's conquest had stopped at the Firths of Clyde and Forth. Beyond this line were the hilly abodes of the unsubdued Picts and Scots. The Scots are known to be Gaelic immigrants from Ireland, the language spoken by some of the Scotch Highlanders to this day being the same tongue as the Erse spoken by the Irish. The Picts have been always a puzzle to ethnologists. They were probably of Celtic race, but their language differed from that of the British and Irish. The country between the Tyne and the Forth was inhabited by restless tribes, and Hadrian found it needful to raise a strong inner line of defence. This was the origin of the famous Roman wall between the Solway Firth and the Tyne, of which many remains still exist. It

consisted of a stone wall and an earthen rampart, in some places doubled and tripled, with the further defence of a ditch. Along the lines great camps of earthwork were formed, and the whole construction was meant not as a mere defence, but as a military base for operations on both sides of it. The castles along the works had gates opening to the north, and the coins found there prove that the ground north of the wall was held down to the end of the third century.

Under Antoninus Pius, the successor of Hadrian, the line of forts **Antoninus** raised by Agricola between the Clyde and the Forth was and **Severus** strengthened in 140, by a turf rampart known as the Wall of 140-211. Antoninus. In 208, the warlike Emperor Severus came to visit his distant province, with his sons Caracalla and Geta. He soon found that there was work for his soldiers in the northern parts of the land. The wall of Hadrian, between Solway and Tyne, was not only a rampart of defence against hostile incursions from the north, but a barrier to intercept dangerous friendships. The Brigantes, dwelling in what are now Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland, and Durham, amidst marshy valleys and barren hills, had been restless under the Roman yoke. The Meatae, a people in the south of Scotland, were ready to join with them in revolt. Driven back in the time of Antoninus, they often renewed attacks on the Roman military posts. The Picts and Scots also needed repression, and against all these foes Severus marched with a great army. The Roman forces had much toil in cutting down woods, making marshes passable, and building bridges, and even then they could not get to fair fight with the enemy. The warfare was one of ambuscades, and the Emperor himself was failing in health. We are told that he was carried to the far north of Caledonia in the midst of his army on a litter, and that he returned after making a treaty with the chiefs. He then repaired Hadrian's wall, and died at Eboracum (York) in the year 211.

For seventy years after the death of Severus, history is nearly silent on the affairs of Britain. During the third century the south-
Britain
from A.D. eastern coasts began to be troubled by the descents of Saxon 211-450.
 pirates. An incident of the time was the usurpation of sovereign power in Britain by a man named Carausius. A Gaul by birth, appointed by the Emperor Maximian to command a fleet for the protection of the Gallic and British coasts, he revolted in fear of punishment for misconduct in his command. In 287 he assumed in Britain the imperial purple, with the title of *Augustus*, and defied the co-emperors, Diocletian and Maximian. After vain attempts against him, which were repelled by his powerful fleet, he was acknowledged as colleague in the empire, and reigned till 293. Carausius was then murdered by his chief officer, Allectus, who ruled for three years, and then submitted to the imperial power of Constantius Chlorus. In 306 this emperor died at Eboracum, on an expedition against the Picts, and was there succeeded by his son Constantine, afterwards called "the Great," who

was the first Christian emperor. We know not the precise date when the new religion was first brought into Britain. The Emperor Diocletian began his great persecution of the Christians throughout the empire in 303, and in the following year the British martyr St. Alban died for his faith at Verulamium, close to the site of the town now called by his name. At the first Council of Arles, in the south of Gaul, held in 314, there were three British bishops, who presided over sees at York, London, and Caerleon. The heretic Pelagius, who lived a century later, is said to have been a Briton, whose real name was *Morgan*. St. Patrick, the apostle of Ireland, went forth from a monk's cell in France to preach the faith in the "Isle of Saints" about the year 430. There, and in Wales, the religion of the old British Church survived, when it was almost destroyed in England by our heathen forefathers.

In the year 360, the warlike tribes of the north made their way in force within the wall of Hadrian. The hold of the Romans upon Britain had been gradually weakened by the withdrawal of troops to other parts of the empire, and by 368 the invading tribes had carried their ravages as far as London. A great general, named Theodosius, came over from Gaul with a large army, and drove the enemy back beyond the wall of Antoninus. The garrisons were re-established, the civil administration was reformed, and the country seemed likely to return to a period of safety and peace. The Roman legions, however, were again partly withdrawn, and the Picts, the Scots, and the Saxon pirates invaded the land anew.

The Roman power went fast to decay, and by the year 410, all the troops had quitted the island. Britain was thus severed from the empire, though a Roman force came again in 418, and gave the people some help against the northern invaders. They then quitted the country, and thirty years of confusion and misery, under the name of independence, followed their departure. In 443 the unhappy people sent a letter, known as *The Groans of the Britons*, to the great Roman general Aetius. They begged for help against their cruel foes. "The barbarians," they wrote, "chase us into the sea; the sea flings us back on the barbarians; the only choice left us is to die by the sword or by the waves." Aetius, hard pressed as he was to defend the Western empire against the attacks of Continental barbarians, was quite unable to help them. It would seem that the old British courage had somewhat decayed under Roman rule, and that the national spirit of combination in self-defence had lost much of its power. The withdrawal of the Romans from Britain had left the way open for the coming of the race who were to stamp a lasting character upon the language, the name, and the whole future of the land.

Renewed
attacks of
Picts and
Scots.

End of
Roman
rule.

CHAPTER III.

ROMAN PERIOD OF RULE.

Roman provinces, garrisons, towns, and roads. Prosperity of country in Roman times. Tokens of Roman presence. System of rule.

BRITAIN, like the other distant provinces of the empire, was under the control of the emperor, and not of the senate. It was therefore ruled by successive legates of consular rank, appointed by the emperor, and holding office for several years together. It was divided in the fourth century into five provinces. Of these, *Britannia Prima* extended south of the Thames and the Bristol Channel, from the North Foreland to Land's End; Wales formed *Britannia Secunda*; *Flavia Cæsariensis* included the whole territory between the Thames and a line from the Humber across to the Mersey; *Maxima Cæsariensis* was composed of all the northern district from the Mersey and the Humber to Hadrian's wall, and beyond that *Valentia* reached to the rampart of Antonine. All beyond that was the unsubdued Caledonia.

From the *Notitia Imperii*, a work compiled early in the fifth century, we learn that the regular Roman army then consisted of about twenty thousand men. There was a permanent force of three legions, with their contingents of auxiliary troops, including natives from all parts of the empire—Spaniards, Gauls, Batavians, Dacians, and even Asiatics. We hear of a body of Parthian cavalry posted on the Severn. The military stations were selected with all the skill that economises military power. Fortresses were built on the coast, the great navigable rivers, and on all the chief roads. One legion, with a large force of auxiliaries, was always stationed at York for the defence of the northern frontier. When the Saxon pirates began to give trouble on the south-eastern coast, a special officer was appointed to meet the emergency. This was the *Comes Littoris Saxonici*, or *Count of the Saxon Shore*, which seems really to mean *Director of coast-defence against the Saxons*. The district under his command extended from the north of Norfolk round to the middle of the coast of Sussex. On this line there were nine great castles held by Roman troops. The first was at Branodunum, now *Brancaaster*, in Norfolk; then came Garianonum (*Burgh Castle*) on the Yare, Othona (*Ithancester*, just below the Blackwater), Regulbium (*Reculver*, on the north coast of Kent), Rutupiaë (*Richborough*, near Sandwich), Portus Dubris (*Dover*), Portus Lemanis (*Lymne*), Anderida (*Pevensey*), and Portus Adurni, which may be *Aldrington*, on

Britain
under
Roman
rule:
divisions
of the
country.

Military
arrange-
ments.

the Sussex coast, at the mouth of the Adur. The fortresses at Regulbium and Rutupia were built to guard the two mouths of the estuary which then cut off the north-east of Kent from the mainland, and made it in fact, and not, as now, in name alone, the Isle of Thanet. The names on the map of England suffice to show the positions of many of the fortified camps by which the Romans held the land against revolt of the natives or attack by foreign foes. The English conquerors changed many of the Roman names for others containing a corrupt form of the word *castra*. Hence come the present names of *Chester*, on the Dee, *Castor*, on the Nen, and *Caistor*, near Norwich, which represents the Roman town of *Venta Icenorum*. The terminations *caster*, *chester*, *cester*, tell the same tale of Roman military occupation. The important western city of *Isca* became *Exan-ceaster*, *Ex-ceaster*, and lastly *Exeter*, an instance of similar corruption being found in *Uttoxeter*, and in *Wroxeter*, on the Severn, where stood the ancient *Uriconium*.

There were in Britain nine towns which ranked as *coloniae*, where Romans were settled as possessors of the land, and the Roman institutions were adopted without any change in the forms or principles of local government. These were Londinium (*London*), ^{Roman towns.} *Camalodunum* (*Colchester*), *Rutupia* (*Richborough*), *Aqua Solis* (*Bath*), *Isca Silurum* (*Caerleon*, in Monmouthshire), *Deva* (*Chester*), *Glevum* (*Gloucester*), *Lindum* (*Lincoln*), and *Chesterford*, near Cambridge. *Verulamium* (*St. Albans*) and *Eboracum* (*York*) were municipal cities, with special rights and privileges for the citizens. *Venta Belgarum* (*Winchester*) was also an important town. London, as the residence of the governor, was the seat of rule for the whole province, but York was, in this respect, of almost equal rank, as the centre of military command for the dangerous and restless North.

The Romans, great in all the practical arts of life, are famous as constructors of straight and durable roads. Their highways ^{Roman roads.} in Britain reached to the most distant parts of the province, and there is hardly a county of England and Wales in which traces of them are not to be seen. A Roman road of the best kind was a paved causeway, formed by successive layers of earth, stones, and mortar, the whole topped either by stone or by a firm bed of lime and gravel. It was generally raised above the level of the ground on either side. Many of our best highroads run still on the solid foundation afforded by the lasting work of the Roman conquerors, and the perfect straightness of the course taken is a ready means of identification. In other cases, remains of their old roads may be seen as wide grass-grown tracks leading off our present highways, and sometimes serving as cart-roads from farm to farm. The makers of these roads rarely avoided a hill, but went straight from point to point. If a marsh came in the way, the engineers would drain it or fill it up, and no natural difficulties were allowed to interfere with the plan. The

mountain called *High Street* in Westmoreland is so named from the fact that a Roman road ran along its summit at a height of nearly 2000 feet above the sea. This network of solid road, with bold cuttings and firm terraces, just as the nature of the ground required, made the island one whole, according to the wants of the time. By these ways the Roman legions marched up and down the land, through all the five provinces, wherever there was a revolt to be subdued or payment of tribute to be enforced. They were also the means of communication used by a large population, who had not been without roads and towns in what was called their uncivilised state. Each of the great lines of highway was called a *strata* (for *strata via*, paved way), and the word *street*, adopted by the early English conquerors, is still found in the composition of the names of many places situated on these old lines of road. Hence came such words as *Streatham*, *Stratton*, and *Stratford*. In the city of London, just east of St. Paul's Cathedral, is a narrow way called *Watling Street*, and here we have the survival of the name of one of the great and historical Roman roads. The *Watling Street*, as the English named it, ran from *Rutupiæ* through Canterbury and London, and then to *Verulamium* across the island to Chester, and along the coast of North Wales. We shall see that it formed afterwards, in Alfred's day, a main part of the boundary between the Saxon and the Dane. *Formen Street* (*Irmine* or *Ermin Street*) was the name given to the great highway leading from *Pevensey* and *Regnum* (Chichester), through London, Lincoln, and York to Scotland. The *Fosse Way*, said to be so called because it was ditched on both sides, ran through Ilchester, Bath, Cirencester, and so through Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincoln to the eastern coast. The *Icknild Way* or *Street* went from the Yare in Norfolk to the Tamar in Cornwall, crossing the *Fosse Way* in Devonshire. Parallel to the *Fosse Way* was *Rykenild Street*, extending from north-east to south-west between Tynemouth and St. David's.

There seems to be little doubt that the state of peace, law, and order maintained by the Romans caused a great increase of wealth. The population largely grew by the influx of settlers and traders from Gaul and other provinces, and there is good reason to believe that, in the south-eastern parts of the island, a considerable English element was found among the people for a long period before the final retirement of the Romans. The land became so rich in corn as not only to supply its own wants, but to have an abundance for exportation. In the middle of the fourth century the Emperor Julian built warehouses in his Continental dominions to receive corn from Britain. The amount of supply in one season is shown by the fact that six hundred large vessels, as ships went in that day, built from the wood of the Ardennes Forest, made several voyages to the coast of Britain, and supplied the starving Rhine provinces, desolated by war, from the stores of the fertile island.

The Romans had doubtless improved the methods of agriculture, and the abundance of corn raised proves the existence of a large rural population. The mines were also vigorously worked. The tin-mines of Cornwall and the lead-mines of Somerset gave a rich produce for Roman use, and the pigs of lead in the British Museum, bearing the stamp of Domitian and Hadrian, confirm the words of Tacitus as to the mineral wealth of Britain. The mining and smelting of iron were also carried on by the Romans to a large extent. An iron district was then worked in the Forest of Dean, and within the last forty years Roman coins have been found in the pits from which the ore was dug.

Besides the earthworks of camps and roads, there are still many visible signs of the presence and work of Romans in our island. The remains of Roman walls are from time to time found in London, and are seen above ground at Lincoln, York, Chichester, and Colchester. At Richborough, once the great military settlement *Rutupiæ*, walls yet stand in their lonely grandeur as they have stood for seventeen hundred years. They are nearly twelve feet thick at the base, and from twenty to thirty feet in height, and their outer masonry is in many places as perfect as when their alternate courses of stone and tile were first laid. The sea has withdrawn two miles from their base; the estuary over which they once kept guard is but a broad dry ditch; the area within them is now five acres of cornfield; but they still tell something of a great age in the life of the past, whose influence will abide when even these mighty ruins shall be gone. Another splendid example of Roman work is Burgh Castle, in Suffolk, at the junction of the Waveney with the Yare. Fifteen hundred years ago this great fortress was the station of the squadrons of the *Stabulesian* cavalry, a corps of Gallic horse whose duty it was to watch and curb the unruly *Iceni* dwelling near the mouth of the Yare. The ivy-covered walls are very strongly built in deep courses of flints set in cement, alternating with thin layers of red tilework. They are about fourteen feet in height, and are probably the finest Roman work of the kind to be seen. In the long eastern wall are four solid circular towers, detached from the wall in most of their height, and only united at the top. The structure of the wall is nine feet thick, and the length of the eastern rampart is about 215 yards.

The London of those times is supposed to have reached from Blackfriars to the Tower, on the bank of the river, and in an irregular shape from the river as far as Bishopsgate. In digging for foundations deep below the present surface, the workmen have found tessellated pavements, remains of baths, broken pottery and glass, worn-out soles of sandals, waxen tablets with the *styles* or pens of bone and wood, gouges, augers, saws, knives with the makers' names upon them, weaving-bobbins, and coins. In our museums may be seen the pins of bronze with which the Roman ladies and the British dames who followed their fashions fastened up the

knots and plaits of their hair. At Bignor, in Sussex, have been unearthed the little-injured remains of a Roman villa, probably once the country-house of some important official of the neighbouring city of Chichester, the *Regnum* of the Romans. Here were found mosaic pavements and painted walls of bold and elegant designs, with colours still fresh. The plan of the house and its surroundings shows that a rich man dwelt there, with numerous chambers and spacious courts, baths, colonnades, and gardens. From the bed of the Thames have been taken small images of silver and bronze, supposed to have been the *Penates* or household gods of some Roman or Romanised family. One of the most remarkable discoveries of old Roman towns was made about thirty years ago at Wroxeter, in Shropshire. The excavations there made disinterred a large part of the ancient Uriconium. There were remains of streets, public buildings, and private houses; coins, objects in bronze, and stucco with fresco-paintings of wonderful freshness and tasteful pattern.

There are good reasons for believing that the population of Britain, in the later times of Roman occupation, was of a very mixed character. Not only did the Roman legions include large numbers of German soldiers, but the Roman government encouraged immigration from Germany, and it may be supposed that this element prepared the way for the subsequent inroads of our Teutonic forefathers.

The government of Rome was essentially municipal, and the inhabitants of the towns had important powers and privileges. It is clear, however, that the Roman rule laid heavy fiscal burdens on the people. The *procurator* or revenue officer of the province had his subordinates in every city, to secure the rigid collection of the poll-tax, the funeral-tax, the legacy-duty, the auction-tax, the tax on the sale of slaves, the tithe of mining produce, and the tribute of corn, hay, and cattle. There was a class of free artisans in the towns, and a large class of slaves. The municipal organisation included the mixed population above mentioned—Romans, Britons, Germans, and Gauls. Over all was the great centralising power of Rome itself, suspicious, exclusive, rapacious, and selfish. It was a system of colonial oppression which outraged nationality, disarmed and fettered the people, and prevented the resources of the land from being fully developed. With all this, we may remember that, amongst the elements of modern civilisation, the spirit of legality, of regular association, was derived from the Roman municipalities and the Roman laws. When the Teutonic race came in and blended therewith the spirit of personal freedom, then we had the mingling of the two great elements in the political institutions of modern Britain and in the character of the British people—the union of reverence for law and order with the utmost regard for personal rights and liberties.

It seems that Britain received from her first conquerors only a faint

tincture of Roman arts and letters. No writer of British birth is found among the masters of Latin poetry and eloquence. It is not likely that the people were ever generally familiar with the Latin tongue. Over large tracts of country the Britons spoke their own language, and the native tongue was only laid aside by dwellers in the towns and by the small class of wealthy British landowners who dwelt in rural districts. While Latin drove out the original tongues of Gaul and Spain, and is at this day the basis of French, Spanish, and Portuguese, in this island it never won its way against the British, and could not stand its ground against the English of the new-comers. The words *street* and *candle*, and a few Latin words taken into the Welsh language, are almost the only words due to the Roman period in Britain. The names of our months are exceptions to this rule, and it was in vain that the English conquerors tried to change *January* for *wolf-month*, and *July* into *hay-month*. It is trivial yet interesting to notice Roman influence upon our traditionary customs and superstitions. Our parochial perambulations—the “beating of the parish-bounds”—recall the Roman festival *Terminalia*, in honour of Terminus, the god of limits and boundary marks. Our Mayday is the festival of Flora. Our marriage ceremonies are all Roman—the ring, the veil, the wedding-gifts, the groomsmen, the bridesmaids, the cake. Our funeral symbols and customs are Roman—the cypress and the yew, the sprinkling of dust on coffins, the flowers strewn on graves, the black for mourning. The lucky and unlucky days of a superstition now almost dead amongst us were the *white* and *black days*—*dies albi* and *dies atri* of the Romans. If we have any faith in odd numbers, so had they. The dread once caused by the screech-owl’s cry at night had the same source. The civilisation derived by the Britons from their Roman masters was, upon the whole view, scanty and superficial, and was nearly effaced by those who, in the fifth and following centuries, stepped into their place as masters of the soil.

Extent of
Roman
influence
on British
civilisa-
tion.

BOOK II.

BRITAIN BECOMES ENGLAND—(450-828.)

CHAPTER I.

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH.

Our English ancestors. Their religious and social state. Real cause of invasion. Historic doubts as to details. The certainties of the matter. Nature of conquest. The parts left to Britons.

THE greatest ancestor of the English race is the German hero Irmin or **Our fore-** Arminius, who in A.D. 9 made Augustus wail for the legions **fathers.** destroyed under the command of Varus. It was that great and decisive victory that kept Germany free from the domination of Rome and made an England possible. The Romanised Celts whom our Teutonic forefathers found in the land did indeed influence the character of our nation, but the main stream of our people was and is Germanic. Arminius was the leader of the people called the Cherusci, who were of the race called Old Saxons, or Saxons of the interior of Germany. Closely akin to these were the Saxons of the coasts of the North Sea and the Baltic, from the Rhine to the mouth of the Oder. The *Saxons*, who were in a large measure our forefathers, dwelt amid woods and marshes on the lower courses of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems, and in the southern and narrower part of the peninsula which divides the North Sea from the Baltic. They belonged to the *Low German* race, as the people near the coast have been called, in distinction from the *High Germans* of the interior and hilly parts of the land. The name *Saxon* is supposed to come from that of the large knife or short sword, *seax* or *ser*, which they carried. A people called the Frisians, dwelling along the coast from the mouths of the Rhine to the Elbe, were absorbed by these Saxons, and the old Frisian tongue, a sister language of the modern Flemish and Dutch, was the Continental dialect which approached most nearly to the old English of our ancestors. The *Angles* may be identical with the powerful tribe called the *Angri-varii* (i.e., *Angre* or *Angle-ware*, the Angle people), whom Tacitus places on the Weser and the Elbe, in the rear of the Frisians and Saxons. It has been thought that they formed a more numerous and powerful part of the invaders of Britain, from the facts of their having peopled a

larger district of the country, and having at last given their name to the whole. The *Jutes* came from the peninsula called after them, *Jutland*, and were also of Low Germanic race. These three peoples, the *Angles*, the *Saxons*, and the *Jutes*, were the chief makers and founders of *England* in blood, language, law, and freedom.

While the Roman Empire had been converted to Christianity, the free German tribes had clung to their old Pagan faith. The names of some of their chief gods are contained in our present names for the days of the week. Thus Thursday is the day of *Thor*, the god of thunder, air, and rain. He was a kind of Northern Jupiter, who smote down his foes with a hammer instead of a thunderbolt. Sunday and Monday were named after the two great lights of the sky. Tuesday comes from *Tiw*, the *Tuisco* named by Tacitus as the national deity of the Teuton race, who has been compared to the Roman god Mars. Wednesday is the day of *Woden* or *Odin*, the god of war, but also inventor of letters and guardian of bounds and roads. His worship was common to all the Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples. He was held to be ancestor of the kings or chiefs of every tribe, and was, in fact, a deified hero. Friday means *Freyja's* day, named after a goddess who was the Northern Venus and wife of Woden. Saturday is so called either from *Saturn*, or from a water-god named *Saetere*. There were many minor deities, perhaps relics of a still more ancient mythology, such as *Eostre*, the goddess of spring or of morning, whence is derived the name of *Easter* as a church festival. The "weird sisters" of *Macbeth* come from *Wyrd*, the goddess of death, who wove the web of destiny. There were in this religion glimpses of a belief in a future life, and of a state of rewards and punishments. The heaven of warriors who fell in battle was a bright palace called *Valhalla*, where they should lie on couches, quaffing ale or mead from the skulls of foemen who had fallen by their hand.

The people dwelling on the German coast were a bold and hardy race of mariners, who lived by fishing and by piracy. They launched their ships or *keels*, and went forth to plunder commerce on the sea or to harry the coasts of Gaul and Britain. A Latin poet and bishop of the fifth century describes them as the fiercest, most cunning, and most dangerous of foes. They feared no peril of shipwreck, storm, or war, and were ever ready to get booty at the risk of life. The inland folk were farmers, living by the use of pasture and the plough in little settlements called *townships*, from the *tun*, or hedge and ditch that formed its outer bulwark. They too were of a warlike spirit, and very jealous of their independence, both as regards the men of their own settlement and those who dwelt outside their borders. The arms for warfare were swords, spears, bows and arrows, battle-axes, heavy clubs with iron spikes, and a shield or target worn on the left arm. The great fact to be noted in the early political condition of our forefathers is that of their personal freedom. There

Religion
of the
race.

Social and
political
condition
and cha-
racter.

were the *eorlas* (earls), men of high birth, the nobles of the community, from whom were freely chosen, by the mass of the people, those who should rule in time of peace or lead out to conflict in time of war. The main body of freemen were the *ceorlas* (churls), which simply meant "the men," as opposed to slaves. The usage of the freemen meeting from time to time at the *mote-hill* of the township is worthy of special note. There disputes were settled, justice was rendered, and appointments made of men to serve the little state in offices of peace or war. It was a rude and early form of parliament, where self-government was carried on by the freemen in person instead of by their chosen representatives.

The usual statement made is, that the Britons paved the way for their own subjugation by the German tribes beyond the North Sea when they called on them for help against the Picts and Scots. This appears to be a partial and superficial view of the subject. We have already seen that the Saxons had to some extent become peaceful settlers in Britain before the Roman legions were withdrawn. In the south-eastern part of the island Roman and Saxon were dwellers side by side. The truth is that these invasions by successive bodies of Jutes, Saxons, and Angles formed a part of a great general movement. In the middle of the fifth century, the time at which we have now arrived, the Roman Empire was breaking up in all directions. The Goths and Vandals, the Franks, the Suevi, and the Huns were pressing in from north and east. Rome itself had been taken in 410 by the West Goths under Alaric. Our Teutonic fathers were only following the fashion. They already knew from previous settlers of their race in Britain that it was a fertile and a goodly land to conquer and possess. They were, perhaps, feeling at home the pressure of increasing population and the failure of old resources of plunder on the sea and on the coasts of Gaul.

The story of the English conquest involves an account of victories and defeats extending over a period of more than a hundred years from 450 onwards. No more perplexing subject could fall to the lot of the historian. Macaulay holds that "in Britain an age of fable (at the time of the conquest) completely separates two ages of truth," and that "Hengist and Horsa, Vortigern and Rowena, Arthur and Mordred, are mythical persons, whose very existence may be questioned, and whose adventures must be classed with those of Hercules and Romulus." Authorities so high as Lappenberg, Palgrave, and Kemble also regard the whole account of the English conquest as of no historical value, and maintain that we have no real history of the English conquerors until their conversion to Christianity at the end of the sixth century. In reply to this, a most able and learned critic can only say that "there are good reasons for believing that the commonly received account of the conquest is *based upon historical facts.*" The truth is that there are two sets of traditions, those of the British,

Causes of
English
invasion.

The con-
quest:
nature
of the
subject.

and those of the early English writers, and that their accounts vary in many important points. Under these circumstances, we can only decline to be drawn into a maze of difficulty, and must confine ourselves to tracing the main course of events. The great fact is that Germanic tribes by slow degrees possessed themselves of the greater part of Britain.

In the year 450 a body of Jutes landed in Kent, in what was then the Isle of Thanet. At that time, and for long afterwards, it was divided from the mainland by a broad strait. The Course of conquest: (1.) The Jutes. Stour, now but a narrow stream, was then a wide river, opening into an estuary between Sandwich and Ramsgate, in the direction of Pegwell Bay. Ships from France and Germany used to sail up this estuary and through the river into the Thames by Reculver. The Jutes, whether they came as friends to help the fight against the Picts, or as foes to help themselves, came ashore at a spot called Ebbes Fleet, a name now given to a farmhouse on a strip of high ground rising out of Minster Marsh. They are said to have driven off the Picts with ease, and then, determined to conquer for themselves and stay in their new quarters, to have sent for fresh forces of their own tribe, and of their Angle and Saxon friends. A great victory over the islanders was won at Æglesford (now *Aylesford*), on the Medway. A massacre followed, and, as a rule, the pagan conquerors waged at first a war of extermination. The churches were burnt, the priests slain, and the few peasants who escaped the sword became the slaves of the conquerors. All this, however, was the work of more than twenty years. The Britons made a stubborn resistance, and rallied again and again. At last the work was done, and the Jutish kingdom of Kent was founded. It is the only part of the east of Britain which has kept the old British names. By a process often repeated during the conquest, the name of the capital, called by the Romans *Durovernum*, was changed into *Cant-wara-byrig*, or *Kent-mens-borough*, since shortened into *Canterbury*.

The Saxons now appear upon the scene as conquerors and as founders of kingdoms of their own. In the year 477, a body of that (2.) The Saxons. people led by Ella landed at the place which they called Shoreham, on the southern coast. Many battles followed, and it was not till 491 that they succeeded in taking the fortress of Anderida, the Roman walls of which are still to be seen near Pevensey. They slew the defenders, according to the chronicle, to the last man, and thus was founded the kingdom of the *South Saxons*, which maintains its name as the county of *Sussex*. The Roman town *Regnum* became the capital under the name of *Cissan-ceaster*, the camp or city of Cissa, who was son of Ella. It is, of course, the modern *Chichester*. This new dominion included a large part of Surrey. The third kingdom was also founded by Saxons led by Cerdic and his son Cynric; they landed in 495 on the shore of Southampton Water. Slowly, in years of stubborn conflict, the invaders won their way. We hear of a great

victory over the Britons at Cerdices-ford (Charford, in Hampshire), and that in 519 Cerdic took the title of king of the *West Saxons* or *Wessex*. The progress of these Saxons to the west is said to have been checked for many years by a great defeat from the Britons in 520. The scene of conflict was at Mount Badon, which was perhaps Badbury, in Dorset, and the British leader was the semi-fabulous King Arthur. After more than thirty years, the work of conquest was continued by Cynric, and in 577, under his son Ceawlin, the cities of Gloucester, Bath, and Cirencester became the prizes of war. Under later rulers Wessex lost all territory north of the Thames. The capital of this kingdom was *Wintan-ceaster* (Winchester), the *Venta Belgarum* of the Roman time. A fourth settlement of Saxon invaders had founded joint-kingdoms of the *East Saxons* or *Essex*, and of the *Middle Saxons* or *Middlesex*, in the year 526, with capitals at Colchester and London.

As the Jutes and Saxons had possessed themselves of much of the southern part of the island, so the Angles came over in their ships and established themselves in the north, centre, and east. At an unknown date towards the end of the sixth century, invading bodies of Angles founded the kingdom of *East Anglia*, comprising the territory of Norfolk, Suffolk, and parts of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Other Angles made their way by the rivers, as will be shown hereafter, into the centre of the land, which we now call the Midland Counties. This country got afterwards the name of *Mercia*, as being on the *March* or border between Englishmen and the Britons on the west. We know little of the details of conquest in the north. In Roman times the district from the Humber to the Tees was known as *Deira*. Then came a mass of forest between the Tees and the Tyne, in what became the county of Durham. The land from the Tyne to the Forth was called *Bernicia*. This great territory was assailed by English invaders some time in the sixth century, both from the north, after landings in the Forth and on the coast, and from the south by those who made their way inland through the Humber and the Yorkshire Ouse and its tributaries. York and other towns were taken and burnt, and fire and slaughter sped through the land, amongst the villas of British land-owners and the flocks that fed on the wolds. Thus was founded the *kingdom of Bernicia*, under a leader named Ida, with its capital at Bamborough, the impregnable rock-fortress whose ruins still frown from the steeps that face the Farne Isles. The *kingdom of Deira* had its centre at York. Towards the close of the sixth century these two were united to form the *kingdom of Northumbria*.

Such were the events which, in a struggle of nearly a century and a half, made Britain into England. It was the most complete nature of the conquest. of all the conquests effected by the German tribes who so largely shared in the breaking-up of the Roman Empire. In other lands, the conquerors adopted the language, the laws, the social life, and the religion of the conquered race. The followers of Cerdic

and Ida brought with them to their settlements in Britain all the superstitions of the Elbe, and were still offering worship in the temples of Thor and Woden while the German princes ruling in France, Italy, and Spain were adoring the relics of Christian martyrs and discussing with bishops and councils points of Christian theology. In the England which thus arose on the ruins of Roman Britain the faith of Christ, so far as the sword of the conquerors was carried, vanished for a time from the earth. The name of the country was changed. The language of the new-comers, while adopting a few Celtic words from the Britons who survived as the hewers of wood and drawers of water, swept away all the Latin tongue of the dwellers in towns and the British dialects of the country parts.

We have seen that the conquest of Britain by the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes was thorough, within limits to be hereafter noted. Yet the acquirement of not more than two-thirds of the land from the Channel to the Forth needed nearly a hundred and fifty years. Some account of the reasons both for the completeness and length of the work should be given. We may notice, first, the stubborn resistance made by the defenders of the soil, and the merciless dealing of the victors with the vanquished. The one caused the other, and the free use of fire and sword in one region, goaded in turn the dwellers in another to hold out to the last. Such a struggle ended either in annihilation of the British or in their flight, without hope of return, to the fastnesses of the north and west. A contest of such a kind could not but be protracted. The Romanised Britons, as well as the purely Celtic population, showed the same tenacious courage to the German invaders as their fathers had displayed, four or five centuries earlier, in their contests with the legions of Rome. The resistance to conquest was also much aided by the possession, on the part of the Britons, of fortified strongholds and towns, left in their hands by the Romans. The semi-barbarian invaders had no siege-apparatus, and the solid walls erected by Roman or native hands under the direction of Roman builders and engineers could and did defy for years all attempts at capture by assault. The fortress of Lymne, near Hythe, was not taken until 473 by the Jutish invaders, who landed in 450. Anderida was only captured in 491 by the Saxons, who had arrived in 477. We must also consider the nature of the country with which the advance of the conquerors had to deal. It was, to an extent which we can hardly now conceive, of a woody and marshy character. The invaders had no corps of engineers, such as the Roman armies included in their ranks, to make firm causeways over marshes, to bridge streams, and clear a path through woods. Where the great roads ran they could make a rapid march, but elsewhere their progress was slow. Thus it was that, though by the year 500 the coast from Hampshire to Lincolnshire was in the power of the new-comers, they could not for a long time, in many quarters, make their way

Circumstances of the conquest.

inland. They were hemmed in by great masses of woodland and fen. Near the southern coast there was the great *Andreds-weald*, extending for over a hundred miles from Kent far into Hampshire, and northwards almost to the Thames. It was a very difficult piece of country for the invaders to master, consisting of bush, moor and forest, which afforded excellent cover for those who were resisting an advance into the interior. On the other hand, the progress of the invaders was easy, in the ships of that age, wherever there were rivers flowing from far inland. Their way up the Thames had been barred at first by the fortress of London, but up the rivers which unite to form the Humber a way lay open to the heart of the country. As they passed up the Trent beyond Nottingham, they would come, near what is now called Kegworth, to the place where the Trent receives, at two miles apart, the waters of the Derwent and the Soar. The adventurous occupants of the barks would, if they took the northward turn, come by the Derwent to Derby and the country beyond. If their fancy led them south, the Soar would give them a road to Leicester. Those who kept up the larger stream, the Trent, would move on to the capture of Repton, and then a stream on the right, the Dove, might tempt them on to Uttoxeter and Rocester. If they still bore away up Trent, they would come within striking distance of Lichfield, and then, on re-embarking, could make their way through the heart of Staffordshire.

The old Celtic inhabitants, when driven away to the west and north, formed several small states. A considerable part of England, the whole of Wales, and most of the Scotch lowlands, lay beyond the earlier limits of English dominion. From the Clyde to the Land's End, the whole western side of the island remained yet unsubdued. This large tract of country was, from its hilly nature, best suited to afford a stronghold of independence to those who had lost the plains. In the south-west, by slow degrees, the conquerors who had settled in Wessex advanced from the Salisbury Avon first to the Exe, and then to the Tamar, but it was nearly two hundred years after the landing of Cerdic in Hampshire that the men of Wessex made their way into Devonshire. There was the British kingdom of Devon and Cornwall, which bore the name of *Damnonia*, or of *West Wales*. A large native population also remained in Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire. In *Cambria* or *Wales*, still wholly British, there were several distinct petty kingdoms. From the Solway to the estuary of the Clyde was the British kingdom of *Strath-clyde*, with its capital at *Al-cluyd*, now called Dumbarton. The kingdom of *Cumbria* included Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, extending from the Solway to the Mersey, and from the sea to the Pennine Hills. Its chief city was *Caerleol*, now Carlisle.

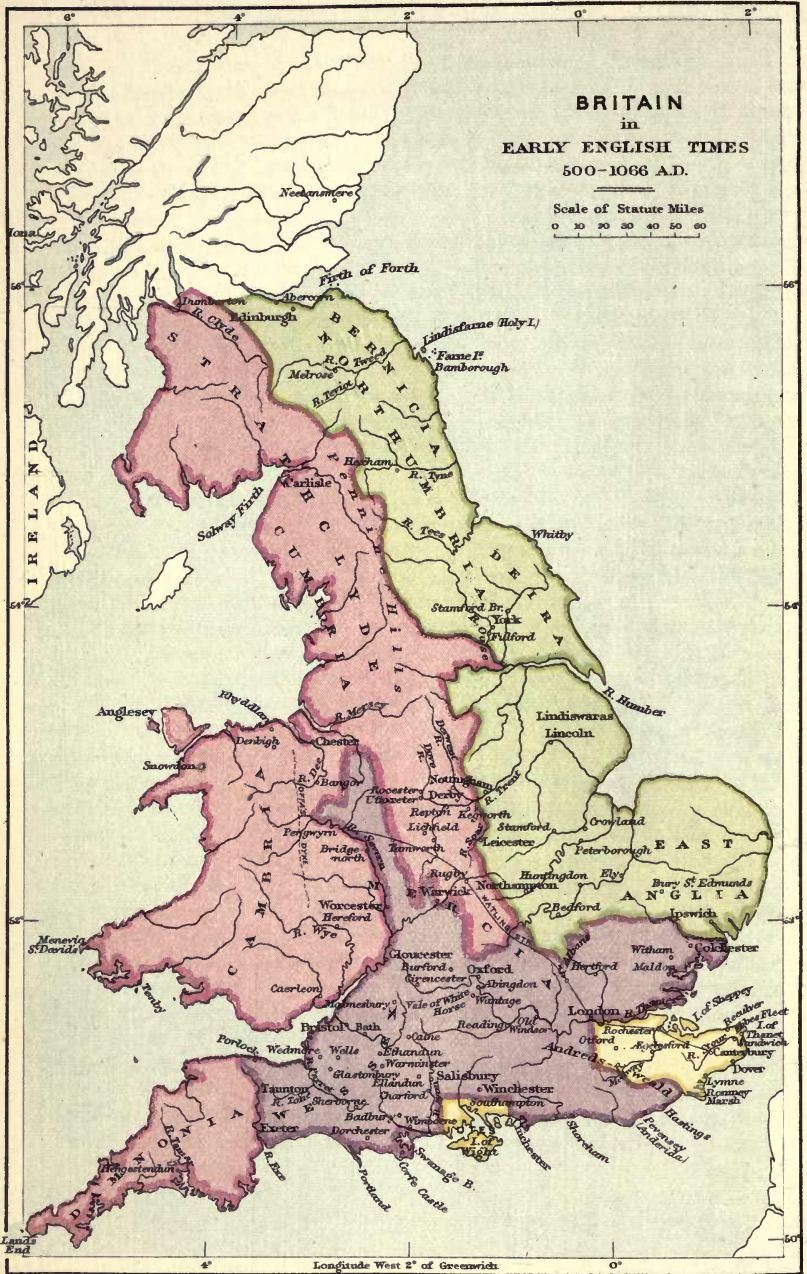
Country
retained
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3



BRITAIN
in
EARLY ENGLISH TIMES
500-1066 A.D.

Scale of Statute Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60



Longitude West 2° of Greenwich

Starford's Geog. Estab. London.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND A CHRISTIAN COUNTRY.

Augustine and Æthelberht. First English bishops. The missionary-monks. Church of England begins. Archbishop Theodore. Advance of civilisation.

IN the last years of the sixth century, Gregory I., or Gregory the Great, was Pope, and a powerful king named Æthelberht ruled in Kent. His sway extended far beyond the borders of the original Jutish kingdom, and included Middlesex and Essex, and much of Mercia and East Anglia. He still held the faith of his fathers, but he was no bigoted adherent of paganism. At this time friendship and intercourse had begun between southern England and northern Gaul or France. We hear of English traders with Rouen making their way to the great fair of St. Denis near Paris. The English monarch had formed a very close tie with the Franks in marrying Bertha, daughter of their King Charibert of Paris. By the terms of her marriage-contract she enjoyed the exercise of her Christian worship in a little church near Canterbury, called St. Martin's, built in the Roman times. She had brought with her a Frankish bishop named Luidhard, and he may have asked Gregory to send men from Rome to preach the Gospel in Britain. A Roman abbot, named Augustine, was despatched with a body of about forty monks as missionaries. As the only language of these men was Latin, they took with them interpreters from France, and landed in the Isle of Thanet in the year 597. The superstition of the English pagan of that age is shown by the fact that King Æthelberht took the precaution of admitting them to an interview only in the open air, where the charms or spells of those who might, for all he knew, be wizards, would have less power over him. The Christian visitors advanced, bearing a silver cross and a painted image of Christ, singing the litany, and offering up prayer for the success of their efforts. After hearing the discourse translated to him, he declared that their words were good, but that he could not give up the faith of his fathers. He allowed them, however, publicly to teach and preach their religion, and gave them a dwelling-place in his city of Canterbury. In the course of a year the king embraced the new faith, and many of his subjects were also baptized. Thus was laid the foundation of the Church of England. Augustine became in due time the first Archbishop of Canterbury, and built a church on the site where now stands the metropolitan cathedral of England. Some time afterwards the new faith spread over the kingdom of Essex, and its chief preacher there, Mellitus, became Bishop of

Establishment of Christianity: Augustine, 597.

London. A Christian church was built on the hill now crowned by St. Paul's Cathedral, and in Thorney Island, to the west, a church dedicated to St. Peter arose on the spot where we now see Westminster Abbey. In Kent the see of Rochester was founded by Augustine. This conversion of the English settlers to Christianity was a great and salutary revolution. Western Europe was at that time a great spiritual commonwealth united under the supremacy claimed by the Pope. Into this federation our ancestors were now admitted. The land was reunited with Western civilisation, and Latin became once more the tongue used in its religion and its literature.

Early in the seventh century Edwin was king of Northumbria. His youth had been one of exile and suffering, but he had regained his kingdom, and was married to Æthelburga, the Christian daughter of Æthelberht of Kent. The young wife had brought with her to her new country one of the companions of Augustine, a bishop named Paulinus. His efforts to convert the king met at first with no success, but at last Edwin called his council together, and the question was there discussed. We are told that the chief heathen priest, named Coifi, declared himself against the old religion, on the ground that, in spite of all his devotion, the gods had not given him the worldly prosperity to which he thought himself entitled. An aged layman then stood up and complained that the priests of their present faith could tell them nothing of the future life. Might it not, he urged, be worth while to pay heed to a new doctrine which brought them something more certain? The discourse of Paulinus ended in the conversion of the king and the priest, and Coifi himself went forth to hurl his lance at the chief idol and to set fire to the heathen temple. Edwin was baptized at York on Easter Day, 627, in a wooden church erected for the purpose, and dedicated to St. Peter. Paulinus became the first Archbishop of York, and a stone cathedral arose on the spot now ennobled by the magnificent York Minster.

St. David, the apostle of Wales, was a priest of the school of the Egyptian monks and son of a Cymric prince. He worked as a missionary in the sixth century, and became Bishop of Caerleon, and then of Menevia, afterwards St. David's.

Even before this time the Christian faith had been preached in the North. St. Columba, a native of Ireland, set up his famous school for priests at the island of Iona in 565. He worked as a missionary among the wild Pictish tribes beyond the Forth.

St. Aidan, a monk of Iona, was an apostle, after Paulinus, of the kingdom of Northumbria. The downfall of Edwin at the hands of a heathen king named Penda brought with it, for a time, an eclipse of the Christian faith. A new king, named Oswald, sent to Iona for missionaries, and Aidan had great success in his preaching. He became Abbot of Lindisfarne, as head of the monastery

Conversion of the North: Paulinus, 627.

St. David, 6th century.

St. Columba, 565.

St. Aidan, circa 640.

there, which gave the place its name of Holy Island. From this headquarters of the faith, preachers went forth through the wilds of the northern region, zealously helped by the power and influence of the pious king. Aidan is regarded as the first of the line of the bishops of Durham.

Ceadda, or St. Chad, Bishop of Mercia, is regarded as the founder of the see of Lichfield. He was a monk of Lindisfarne, who traversed the land on foot to preach the faith of Christ.

St. Chad,
circa 670.

St. Cuthbert, a famous father of the early English Church, is said to have been born near Melrose about 635. Brought up as a shepherd in the land of the Teviot and the Tweed, he was inspired with longings for a religious life, and made his way to some monks of Lindisfarne who had set up a mission-station at Melrose. He had many gifts which fitted him for success as a preacher among the peasants of Northumbria and the Lowlands—a hardy frame, a pleasant manner, sound sense, humour, patience, real piety, and faith. In 664 he became Prior of Melrose, and then took charge of the monastery at Lindisfarne. After this he withdrew as a hermit to the desolate isle of Farne, and was only drawn thence by the earnest entreaties of the king of Northumbria. Grievous trouble came on the land in a contest with the Picts of the north, and, after vain efforts for peace, Cuthbert gave up his post as Bishop of Lindisfarne, and retired once more to his hermitage at the islet, where he died in 687, in his hut amid the gulls and the seals. His body was buried, at his own request, in the monastery of Lindisfarne, but found its last resting-place, three hundred years later, in the Cathedral of Durham. This greatest of the Northern saints was held in deep reverence by the early English Church. Pilgrimages were made to his shrine, and a cloth which he had used at mass was formed into a standard borne by Northern armies when they went forth to fight the Scots. It waved over English heads at Flodden, and perished by a bigot's hands when it was burnt by Calvin's sister, wife of the first Protestant Dean of Durham.

St. Cuthbert
664-687.

The Church of England was first organised in its present shape by a Greek monk called Theodore of Tarsus. A synod had been held at Whitby to decide a question of some importance which had arisen in the Church of Northumbria. That Church mainly owed its existence to the labours of the monks of Lindisfarne, who looked to Iona as their spiritual metropolis. Iona, again, looked to Ireland as the source of her Christianity, since her school of preachers was founded by St. Columba, an apostle of the Church of Ireland. On the other hand, there were those who claimed Northumbria for the see of Rome, on the ground that Paulinus, a colleague of Augustine, had been the founder of the see of York. At the Council of Whitby in 664 a decision was given in favour of Rome, and the Pope in 669 sent Theodore as Archbishop of Canterbury to secure the newly-converted

Theodore
of Tarsus,
670.

land to his spiritual control. The new primate set himself to the work of setting in order existing dioceses and of forming new ones, all dependent on Canterbury as the mother-church. In due time, after Theodore's age, the parish system became established, the Jewish system of tithes provided a regular income for the clergy, and the Church was fairly started on its eventful, and, on the whole, beneficent career.

In the train of Christianity came the learning which, at that time, belonged to the clergy alone. The poetry and eloquence of the Augustan age of Rome were studied in the religious houses of the land. A school was founded by Archbishop Theodore at Canterbury, and it was there that the learned Bede or Bæda gained his knowledge of Greek, which few men in Western Europe then included in their range of study. Benedict, surnamed Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth, did much to improve the art of building, and was the first glazier of English windows. Settlements of monks in the wilder parts of the land led the way in the clearing of forests and draining of marshes, and new towns arose around the religious houses. In the Fen country of the east, amid a reedy and misty wilderness, where the only dwellers were wild ducks and moorhens, the cathedral and abbey of Medeshamstead gathered round them the houses which in a later age were called the city of Peterborough. Not far away were the abbeys of Ely and Crowland, whose monks also toiled at the reclaiming of the fen. All over the country the preachers and teachers of the Christian faith were almost the sole promoters of physical and intellectual good.

CHAPTER III.

THE CHIEF EARLY ENGLISH KINGDOMS.

Rise and fall of Northumbria. Penda of Mercia. Offa of Mercia. Offa's Dyke.
Rise of Wessex. Egbert unites the Kingdoms. The Celtic element.

WHEN the conquerors had fairly settled down in that portion of the land which they had won, they began to turn their arms in jealous rivalry against each other. For over two hundred years we have a chronicle of fierce hostilities and treacherous alliances, which Milton declared to have no more interest or value for the moderns than the "strife of kites and crows." It is not needful to take a view so extreme or contemptuous as this, but the full tale is wearisome, and we here give only the chief events of a struggle for supremacy, which was to end in bringing all the kingdoms under the control of the king of Wessex. The kingdom of Kent, as we

The English kingdoms: (1.) Kent.

have seen, had risen into greatness under King Æthelberht, who died in 616. Besides the part which he had played in the introduction of the Christian religion, he was distinguished in enacting the first written laws put forth by any of the conquering people. He followed in this the advice of his council of wise men, and his ordinances were in force, with variations of form, for several hundred years. They were, in fact, the common law of the Germanic tribes reduced to a statutory form. Soon after the death of Æthelberht the power of Kent passed away in a revolt of the people of the Midlands, and Rædwald, king of East Anglia, for a time was supreme to the south of the Humber.

Northumbria became powerful under Æthelfrith, who began to rule in 593. In 613 he attacked the city of Chester, and by its capture divided the British kingdoms of Cumbria and Strathclyde from the kindred states in Wales. It was in this contest that occurred the slaughter of over a thousand monks of Bangor, a monastery in Flintshire. The Northumbrian king was a heathen, and as he was fighting with the Welsh near Chester, he saw many monks praying. Then he cried, "If these men pray to their God that we may be beaten, it is all one as if they were fighting against us," and so, at his command, they were smitten with the edge of the sword. He died himself, four years later, in fighting against Rædwald, king of the East Angles. We have seen how Edwin, king of Northumbria, welcomed the Christian faith to his land. He was an able and vigorous ruler, and under him the power of the Northern kingdom reached its highest point. The southern bank of the Forth was guarded by the city which he founded and called by his own name as Eadwine's burgh, now Edinburgh. He was loved and feared alike by those under his rule, and so strong were the law and order that prevailed, that men declared in his day that "a woman with her bairn could go safe on foot from sea to sea."

In Kent, on the death of Æthelberht, a feeling in favour of the old religion had begun to have some power. The kings of East Anglia and Essex became semi-pagans, but Penda, a powerful king of Mercia, was an open champion of heathenism, and used his sword freely against the Christian kings. He formed an alliance with a Welsh king, and in 633 defeated and slew Edwin of Northumbria. Cadwallon the Welshman captured York, but was defeated and killed near Hexham by Oswald of Northumbria, a son of the former King Æthelfrith. Oswald then, as we have seen, revived the Christian faith in Northumbria by the help of missionaries from Iona, and for seven years ruled in power. In 642 he, too, was defeated and slain by Penda, who was supreme over Wessex and Mercia, and most of the north, but could never capture the fortress of Bamborough. At last the powerful Pagan met his own doom. He had never, perhaps, been so much the foe of the Cross as of Northumbrian supremacy, and at one time he allowed preachers

(2.) Northumbria,
583-685.

Pagan
reaction:
Penda,
king of
Mercia,
626-655.

from Lindisfarne to carry the Gospel again among the Mercians. In 655 there came the end of heathendom in the land when Penda was defeated and killed in battle with Oswin or Oswy of Northumbria.

In 670 Ecgfrith succeeded his father Oswy, and turned his arms with success against his British neighbours. He drove them first from Cumbria, and then attacked the kingdom of Strathclyde. Marching even beyond the Forth, he subdued some of the southern Picts, and a few years later the bishopric of Abercorn was founded to the north of the Firth. In 675 he came south and routed the king of Mercia, and took from him the province of Lindiswaras or Lincolnshire. In 685 his life, and with it the power of Northumbria, came to an end at the hands of the Picts. A rising drew Ecgfrith again beyond the Forth, and at the moor of Nectansmere, in Fifeshire, he and most of his nobles fell in a lost battle. The fallen kingdom had done good work in the spreading of the Christian faith, and its monasteries became, for the ages to come, centres of both religious and intellectual life.

We have seen that the pagan Penda had allowed his Mercian subjects to receive the Christian faith from the monks of Lindisfarne. (3.) Mercia, 659-828. In 659 Wulfhere became king of Mercia, and ruled for sixteen years in energy and strength. He carried his arms with success to the Severn and the Wye, and in 661 severely defeated the men of Wessex. The kingdoms of Essex and Sussex acknowledged him as over-lord, and Mercia became supreme over all the centre of the land. Another king of Mercia brought Kent under his sway, and in 726 Æthelbald, a powerful monarch, who ruled for nearly forty years (716-755), began a long struggle with Wessex. In 733 he captured the royal town of Somerton in Oxfordshire, and became master of all England south of the Humber. In a charter of the year 736 he signs himself as "King of Britain." In 754 his power came to an end in a desperate battle with the West Saxons at Burford. Kent, Essex, and East Anglia thus became free from the power of Mercia, and Wessex resumed her lordship over the territory south of the Thames. The Mercian power revived under the great King Offa, whose reign takes us on from 758 to 796. In 775 he gained a victory at Otford, in the now fertile vale bright with hops and corn near the town of Sevenoaks. He became master of Kent, Sussex, Surrey, and Essex, and then turned his forces against the Welsh. About 780 he crossed the Severn, and took from the king of Powys, on the eastern side of North Wales, his capital, Pengwyn. The rough state of the country in those days is shown by the change of the town's name to *Scrobbes-byrig*, the town in the scrub or bush, now known as Shrewsbury. He then planted English settlements to the west of the Severn, between the river and the mountains, and secured his new frontier by the famous *Offa's Dyke*. This was a rampart and ditch along the whole length of the Welsh border, from the mouth of the Dee to that of the Wye. When the Welsh broke

through, the Mercian king drove them back and routed them with fearful slaughter near Rhyddlan, in Flintshire. In his reign and person we find an English king, for the first time in our history, entering into friendly relations with a Continental monarch. The English Church had sent forth missionaries to preach the Gospel to their German kinsmen, who still remained heathens. Bishop Wilfrith taught the faith among the Frisians, and Winfrith, known as St. Boniface and as the Apostle of Germany, became the first Archbishop of Mainz. It was through these men that a friendship was brought about between Offa and Charles the Great, king of the Franks, and afterwards Roman emperor, wrongly known as Charlemagne. Letters and gifts were exchanged, and Offa, at his friend's request, sent to his court the scholar Alcuin, a Northumbrian monk of great fame for his learning. This excellent man became chief teacher or professor at the school founded by Charles for himself, his sons, his female relatives, his nobles, and his clergy. The murder of Æthelberht, king of East Anglia, when he was a guest at his court in 792, and the seizure of the dead king's realm, are stains on the memory of this greatest of Mercian kings. According to the fashion of the time, he strove to make amends by gifts to the Church. The monastery of St. Alban's claims Offa as its founder, and he paid the Pope a yearly sum for the support of an English school at Rome. A tax of a silver penny was laid for the purpose on each household. Being paid at Rome on the feast of Saint Peter, the contribution became famous under the name of *Peter's-pence*, and was claimed as a tribute by the Pope, which was generally paid until its final abolition under Elizabeth. After the death of Offa in 796, internal strife swiftly caused the ruin of Mercian power.

Some of the people of Wessex had received the Christian religion early in the seventh century from a preacher named Birinus, (4) Wessex, who came over from Gaul, and much more was done there 688-802. for the new faith under the supremacy of Oswald, the pious king of Northumbria. The king of Wessex was baptized, and a bishopric was founded at the city of Dorchester, now an obscure village in the south of Oxfordshire, but then an important place and royal town. After a long period of weakness largely caused by internal strife, Wessex revived in power in the latter half of the seventh century. Her people forced back the Britons far into Somersetshire, and also conquered Sussex. Ine or Ina, who was king from 688 to 726, was a wise and just ruler, who treated with kindness the Britons whom he subdued in the west. He allowed them to keep their lands, and encouraged marriages between his Celtic and Saxon subjects. He is famous for his code of the laws of the West-Saxons, and founded a bishopric at Sherborne, to divide the work of the Church with the see of Winchester. He was also founder of the church which became the cathedral of Wells, and of the great Abbey of Glastonbury. This

greatest of the Wessex kings showed no less vigour in maintaining his position by force of arms. He became master of Kent, Essex, and London, and, in order to guard his conquests in the west, he built a fortress on the Tone which became the town of Taunton. In 715 he had a great battle with the men of Mercia, in which he at least held his own. The end of his reign was troubled by civil strife and rebellion, and Ina gave up his royal power, and went as a pilgrim to Rome, where he died in 728. At a later period the power of Wessex was extended over Devon, and then a time of civil strife brings us to the days of Egbert. He was of the royal line of Cerdic, and had claimed the crown of Wessex, but was driven into exile, first with Offa of Mercia, and then at the court of Charles the Great, king of the Franks. As the friend and follower of this ablest monarch of his age, one of the great men of Christendom, Egbert learnt the military and political lessons which fitted him for the part he was to play in the history of England. He was for thirteen years under the training of a great conqueror, administrator, and civiliser of mankind. He marched with his armies against Lombards and Huns, and took part with great hosts who swept the countries from the Rhone to the Danube, and came down in conquering force from the Alps on the plains of Lombardy. When peace came after victory, Egbert was doubtless a learner in the school founded by the great king who, as we have seen, borrowed Alcuin from Offa of Mercia. At last the exile's day arrived, and, recalled by the nobles of Wessex, he ascended the throne of his ancestors, in the year 802.

The new king of Wessex had before him the task of reducing many discordant elements to a state of harmony and order, and bringing all to submit to one dominant power. In 815 and following years he was at war with the Britons of Cornwall and Wales, and the rule of Wessex was extended in name to the Land's End, but the country was not occupied in force, and the people of Cornwall kept their Celtic tongue for centuries. In Mercia, a state of anarchy existed, and Egbert seized the chance presented. In 823, he defeated a Mercian army at Ellandun (Wilton) in Wiltshire, and became virtual master of the centre of the land. In 828 Northumbria yielded to him without a struggle, and East Anglia also was helpless against his arms. He was already ruler of all the south, by annexation of Kent, Sussex, and Essex, and thus, for the first time, we have something like the reduction of the whole land from the Channel to the Forth under the power of one ruler. East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria were allowed to elect tributary kings, who were vassals to Egbert as their overlord. In some of his charters he styled himself simply "king of the West Saxons," but in others he claimed, as *Rex Anglorum*, to be ruler of all the English.

The common belief that the Celtic population of Britain was exterminated, or driven into Wales and Brittany by the Angles and Saxons,

has no historical basis. Some fanciful writers, and many credulous readers, have held that the conquerors made an end of all the Britons, slaying man, woman, and child, and carrying on throughout the land a work of havoc and desolation. Our Teuton forefathers, with all their fierceness, were not so reckless, foolish, and cruel as this belief would imply. We hear, indeed, of great slaughter on fields of battle where the Britons were stricken by the invaders, but no massacres, after the fight was done, are recorded, except in the single case of Anderida, when it was stormed by the Saxons in 491. The people who had come to possess, if they could, and to settle down in the land, were not likely to make it a desert. It is probable that, from the first, they made wives of many British women. It is certain that, as the work of conquest proceeded, large numbers of Britons remained among the conquerors, at the least as slaves and drudges, and it has been thought that many of these, who held the Christian faith, made it known in some measure to the women and children of their masters, and so prepared the way for the teaching of Augustine and his colleagues and successors. When the British kingdoms of West Wales, Cumbria, and Strathclyde were, in the later period of the English conquest, incorporated with Wessex and Northumbria, the result was, in the end, a considerable admixture of Celtic with English blood. The Celt is still amongst us, unextinguished, not destroyed, in spite of the pressure and domination of the stronger race. The blending of the Celt and Teuton began from an early date in the north. The Britons of Northumbria were not driven wholly away into Wales and the north-west. Bede, who wrote early in the eighth century, and is a writer to be fully trusted for matters within his own knowledge, describes the Britons of Northumberland, where he lived all his life, as being in his day partly free and partly subject to the Angles. The legends, the language, the customs, the fairy tales, in many parts of England, prove the large Celtic admixture. In the hills of Cumberland and Westmoreland, and in the five south-western counties, Britons remained, for centuries after the conquest, the more numerous dwellers in the land. We are told that in the time of Athelstane, in the first half of the tenth century, Celts and Teutons, Britons and Englishmen, held divided and equal rule in Exeter. In the west and in the north, it does not appear that the Britons, though subdued, were enslaved. They accepted the fact of conquest, and lived as fellow-citizens with those who had won the day. If we come to the test of language, we find that we still retain a large number of Celtic words, not only in the local names of natural features of the country, but also for things belonging to the ordinary arts of life, such as agriculture, carpentry, and general indoor and outdoor service. When we look at the intellectual and moral side of this matter, we shall find the Celtic element still at work in our midst. An eminent writer has declared that "the

Celtic
element
in the
English
nation.

true glory of the Celt in Europe is his artistic eminence," and that, without his intervention, we might not have had in modern times a church worthy of admiration or a picture or a statue that we could look at without shame. As the Teuton was practical and political, so the Celt was, above all, poetical. In the fusion of the two races he brought to the common stock the gift of genius. Stories borrowed from the Celtic times still hold their place in the most popular forms of English literature. By the Celt the poetical imagination of the English race was fired, and to Celtic influence is due some of the best matter in our literature.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY ENGLISH CIVILISATION.

The home-life of our ancestors. The social system. The clergy and the monks. Literature and learning.

RUDE simplicity marked the English way of life in the ninth century. The land was the great source of wealth, and few of the necessities or luxuries of life were obtained, as now, by trade with other lands or districts. The cups of silver and gold, the furs and the silks of kingly houses, would be mostly presents from abroad. Every great household, whether of king or noble, was dependent on itself for what its people ate and drank, and wore. Thus the life even of the highest would not be free from cares and labour, but it called forth human ingenuity in many forms not thought of in states of society where every want is commercially supplied, where stores are abundant, and communication ready and rapid. Let us take as a sample the home of a Wessex noble (or *eorl* or *ealdorman*) in some fertile valley lying south of the Thames. The rich arable land yields ample store of wheat and barley, and the green slopes of the chalk-downs maintain the flocks and herds. The surrounding woods give the needful fuel, and food from oak and beech to the lord's herds of swine. Forest and moorland are rich in game, and here the noble and his sons and servants chase the deer and the wild-boar with trusty hound and spear, or hunt down the wolf that preys upon the lambs. The chief dwelling, mainly of wood, bears little likeness to the splendid modern house. It is a series of low buildings, extended from time to time, according to the wants of the family, and with nothing grand or beautiful about it. No well-tended lawns or picturesque trees, in avenues and clumps, give to its surrounding pastures the charm of our parks. Every arrangement is marked by a rough utility. The cattle feed in stalls close to the house, and the dogs and the hawks have their

kennels and their mews hard by the ladies' bower and the priest's chapel. The grinding-slaves at their hand-mills are working near the bakery, and the fragrant wort of the brewery mingles its steam with the thin blue smoke of the wood-fire in the hall. In huts round about are the rude tables, stools, and pallets of the serfs who till the ground and tend the flocks, and work at handicrafts to meet the wants of all. There dwell the ploughmen, woodmen, herdsmen and shepherds, and there are the forge of the smith and the carpenter's bench. The women ply the spindle and throw the shuttle, making the yarn and weaving the cloth for the coarse garments of the household. Adjoining lands belonging to the lord are leased out on a tenure of rent-dues or of service. Rents come in, not in coin, but as fitches of bacon, barn-door fowls, geese, cheese, eggs, honey, and casks of ale. Hedging and ditching, ploughing and shearing, road-making and fishing, are done for service. The chief fare of the workers of the household consists of pork, fish, and game, eaten with barley-bread, and washed down with draughts of ale or of mead, a drink fermented with honey and water, and flavoured with the juice of fruits. Only the richest nobles and the king indulged in beef or mutton, wine and wheaten bread. That there were vineyards once in England is proved both by the names that linger yet in some cathedral-towns, and by the early English name for October, which was *wyn-monat*, or wine-month. The cultivation of the vine came to an end when commerce brought, at a cheap rate, the produce of lands better fitted than our own for such a tillage. Our ancestors were fond of hospitality and feasting, and the banquet was enlivened by singing and the music of the harp, which was handed round the board for each to take his turn. The refinements of more modern days were quite unknown. No forks were used, and servants carried round the roasted joints for every guest to cut his portion for himself with his own knife, and lay it on the wooden platter that stood on the bare board. Manners were rough, and, in the lack of the resources of the modern drawing-room, the drinking was prolonged, often until deep draughts caused loud brawls, and knives were drawn and blood was spilt upon the rush-strewn floor. The ladies of the household used much time in embroidery and in spinning, and we find king Alfred calling the female part of his family "*the spindle-side*," in distinction from the *spear* or male side of the house.

In Alfred's translation of Boetius we have an interesting passage of his own, in which the good king writes thus:—"These are the materials of a king's work, and his tools to govern with— that he have his land fully peopled, that he should have prayer- men, and army-men, and workmen." With the workmen we have dealt above, and the "army-men" will be hereafter noticed. The peopling of the land went on by natural increase and systematic occupation. The *hide* of land was the estate of one family, but we find the amount of this to have varied locally from thirty to one hundred acres.

Develop-
ment of
the land.
The
Church.

As families multiplied, generation after generation, the enclosed land grew by degrees on every side. With regard to the "prayer-men," there were not only the monastic establishments and parish churches in large number, but resident priests in the houses of the rich and powerful. The services of the clergy were, in that age, essential to the temporal welfare and preservation of the state. The Church kept the island in touch with the European community under the ecclesiastical authority of Rome, and thus prevented it from halting while other lands were advancing. In their own localities, the monks did much for the practical arts of life. It was they who kept alive the emulation of tillers of the soil. They had the trimmest gardens and the most productive orchards. Their ponds were stored with the choicest fish. They practised the healing arts before medicine and surgery were professions. They were the transcribers of books, and their breviaries and chronicles were adorned with illuminations and pictures, often more powerful than words. They were the musicians, the architects, and the only teachers of the time. From the Abbey of Whitby, on the cliffs that frown above the North Sea, where Hilda had ruled in strength and wisdom the house that she had founded, and from the cells of Jarrow, with its six hundred monks, the light of learning streamed forth upon the darkness of the age.

The early English poet named Cædmon was a tenant on the abbey-lands of Whitby, who became a lay-brother in the monastery, at the time of Hilda's rule as abbess. He had the inborn gift of song, and in his *Paraphrase*, as it is called, he turned into rude verse the Biblical accounts of the Creation and the Fall, the Exodus from Egypt, the story of Daniel, the incarnation of Christ, and other like subjects. In thought and in expression some passages resemble parts of *Paradise Lost*, for which they are supposed to have been the rough model.

Bede, or Bæda, known as *the Venerable Bede*, and justly called by Burke "the father of English learning," studied from the age of ten at the monastery of Jarrow. There he passed his whole life of youth and manhood, for over fifty years, in what to him was the delightful work of ever learning, teaching, writing. He was our earliest theologian, scholar, and historian, and may be regarded as the pioneer of English education, as the instructor of six hundred learners whom his fame drew to the southern bank of the Tyne. He was possessor of all the knowledge of the time, including Greek and Latin, and every kind of scientific lore. The language in which he, like all the men of learning of his day, expressed his thoughts, was Latin, and in this he wrote text-books on every subject for the monastery school. The most important of his works is his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, written in easy Latin. It is a book of great research, authority, and value, and tells us nearly all we really know of the history of England for about one hundred and fifty years before the date of its completion in 732.

Literature.
Cædmon,
circa 660.

Bede,
672-735.

Bede was a man as good as he was clever, and not less modest than he was learned. He would never leave the abbey and his scholars; he refused the dignity of abbot at Jarrow itself because, as he said, "household care would hinder the pursuit of learning," and he died, as he had lived, a simple unbeneficed priest, still learning and still writing, engaged on a translation into English of the Gospel of St. John.

We have already seen something of the great scholar Alcuin, who maintained the fame of his country for learning after the death of Bede. Alcuin was brought up in the monastery at ^{Alcuin,} 735-804. York, and became there head of the school whose renown spread to the court of Charles the Great at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle). Under the fostering care of Alcuin and his friends, the Archbishops Egbert and Albert, the library and school both grew in value and repute. On his return from a journey to Rome in 781, the English scholar met the Frank king in Italy, and in 782 he quitted York to become Charles the Great's minister of public instruction. He had charge of several monasteries, in which he caused the sciences to be taught, and was the founder or improver of most of the schools in France. One of the best known of these was the school in the Abbey of St. Martin at Tours, where Alcuin himself was chief instructor. He was the most learned man of his time, and understood Greek and Hebrew, and he rendered special service to literature by his efforts to increase the production of good books. The *scriptorium*, or writing-room, of the monastery was the printing-office of that age. In order to get skins for parchment, monks who were fond of hunting were allowed by Alcuin to go to the chase until the supply met the demand. He was great rather as a teacher and organiser than as an author, but, in addition to his many theological writings, he left behind him letters describing great events of his day and the inner life of the court of Charles.

Joannes Scotus, known also as *Erigena* (which is variously explained as *a native of Erin* or *of Ayrshire*), was of Celtic blood and birth, either in Scotland or Ireland. He is remarkable as a learned layman in an age when few indeed but monks could read, and as a good scholar in Greek, which was then known to few men in the Western world. He was a writer of originality and power on the subjects of reason and revelation, which he strove to harmonise, thereby incurring the charge of heresy. For thirty years onwards from 845 he lived at the court of Charles the Bald of France, as head of the palace school. The man's bold nature and fearless wit, as well as the manners of the time, are shown by his reply to a jest of his royal master. The scholar sat at table opposite the king, and was asked, on breaking some rule of etiquette, "the difference between a Scot (then meaning a native of Ireland) and a sot?" "Just the breadth of the table," cried Erigena.

Erigena,
circa
801-886.

BOOK III.

THE DANES IN ENGLAND—(832-1042.)

CHAPTER I.

THE EXPLOITS OF THE NORTHMEN.

The northern Teutons. Attacks on England. Conquest and settlement. Alfred and the Danes. Treaty of Wedmore.

EGBERT of Wessex had scarcely brought the land under a fair semblance of unity in submission to a single ruler, when his work was broken up by the last great migration of the barbarians of Northern Europe. These were the Danes, whose name was one of terror for many years to peaceful dwellers in the north. In the year 830, Egbert had marched in victory as far as Snowdon, and had subdued the men of Anglesey. His power seemed complete and secure, but in 832 the Northmen or Danes appeared in the land, and the fair prospect was shrouded in gloom. It is in Norway as well as in Denmark that we must look for the Danes of that age. They were the dwellers in Scandinavia and on the northern Baltic coasts. All the territories now called Denmark, Sweden, and Norway supplied these dreaded invaders, but England was chiefly assailed by men from Denmark, and the Norwegians made their descents mainly on Scotland and Ireland. The Danes were closely akin in race and language to the English and Saxon conquerors of these isles. They were sea-warriors and pirates, distinguished by strength, courage, merciless ferocity, and hatred of the Christian name and religion. England, from her position, was the chief sufferer, as her coasts lay near to the ports whence they sailed, nor was any part of the land so far distant from the sea as to be secure from attack. They had pillaged the coasts of France even during the lifetime of the great Charles, and once, in the south of his empire, as he gazed from a port on the Mediterranean upon some Norman cruisers, he had shed prophetic tears over the coming fate of his peoples. This formidable foe, destined to make two successive conquests of England, came at first for pillage only to the estuaries of France and the British Isles. In a few years, the Dane or Northman came to both lands for territory, and in both lands his efforts were crowned with success. The

great point of difference between the English and their invaders lay in the maritime skill of the Danes. It is believed that the younger sons of the Scandinavian chiefs were driven to sea-robbery for a livelihood by the law of primogeniture, under which the eldest son inherited all the land and other family property. The term *Viking* or *Wiking*, applied to the leaders of the pirates or to the whole body, means men of the bays and creeks, in reference to the countless fiords or inlets on the west coast of Norway. The English had by this time, in their devotion to a life of tillage and pasture, lost their olden love for maritime pursuits, and were thus unprepared with a fleet to meet their foes on the seas. The pirates bore, as their national flag, the effigy of a black raven woven on a blood-red ground, and were armed with long heavy swords and battle-axes of formidable keenness and weight. The Danes, having kept both to the worship of Odin and to their life of roving and robbery, felt a bitter contempt and hatred for the men of their own kin who had deserted the gods once worshipped in common by the race, and had quitted the free and independent life of sea-pirates for the growing of corn and breeding of cattle.

We hear of ravages of the sea-robbers in Northumbria even before the end of the eighth century, but the first attack of the Danes in the south occurred when, in 832, a body of rovers came up the estuary of the Thames, plundered the Isle of Sheppey, and went off again in their ships with their booty. In the following year, they landed on the coast of Dorset, and in 834 a great danger came when they joined the Britons of Cornwall. Egbert was equal to the crisis, and routed the allies with great slaughter at the battle of Hengestendun, now Hingston Down, to the west of the Tamar. The English ruler died in 837, and left the care of the country to his son Ethelwulf, who reigned till 858. The new king fought hard against the foe with varied success, and also drove back the Britons of North Wales, but the danger and mischief increased yearly. The coasts of Wessex and Kent were ravaged, and London, Rochester, and Canterbury suffered from pillage. In 855 a body of Danes, for the first time, wintered in the land, within a strong fort which they made in the Isle of Sheppey. In their hatred of the Christian faith, and their desire for plunder, they made the churches and abbeys special objects of attack. The priests were slain at the altar, and the rich vestments and vessels of silver and gold were carried off. The danger to religion roused some of the bishops to take up the sword, and lead armies against the ferocious pagans.

Under three sons of Ethelwulf the Danes came over in greater force. The time of mere forays was over, and great hosts arrived of men resolved to settle in the land. In 866 they came to East Anglia, and in the next year, after a victory under the walls of York, they overran Northumbria. The monastery once ruled by Hilda was burnt at Streoneshalh, and then the place, becoming a

First
doings of
Danes in
England,
832-858.

Ethelwulf
to Alfred,
858-871.

Danish settlement, received its present name of Whitby. Æthelred, the third son of Ethelwulf, reigned from 866 to 871. The Danes marched down from the north, and in the country of the fens the rich abbeys of Crowland, Peterborough, and Ely were plundered and burnt in 868. They then turned on East Anglia, and made a conquest of the country. The king, Edmund, who ranks as a martyr for the faith, was shot to death with arrows when he refused to turn pagan, and the place of his interment has the name of Bury St. Edmunds, or the town of St. Edmund. An abbey was afterwards built over his remains, and his name was long revered in the region where he fell. In 870 Mercia submitted to the invaders, and consented to pay tribute. The whole of England north of the Thames had thus fallen under their power. At last, in the year 871, Wessex itself was in danger. The invaders made their way up the Thames to Reading, and then pushed forward into the Vale of the White Horse. The king and his younger brother, Alfred, met them in a fierce battle at Aescesdun, or Ash-tree hill, a place not clearly known, in Berkshire, and, in the greatest conflict yet fought, the Danes suffered defeat. They could only, however, be driven back to the river; and the arrival of fresh forces up the Thames made their position stronger than ever. At this juncture Æthelred died, and the rule of Wessex came to Alfred.

Before this time, bodies of Norwegians and Danes had occupied the Shetland Isles, the Orkneys, and the Hebrides, and had made settlements on the coast of Ireland. In 852 a Danish chief ruled in Dublin, and others held sway in the south and west. In 860 one of the Vikings discovered Iceland, and ten years later it began to be colonised by exiles from Norway.

Alfred, justly named *the Great*, stands first for real merit and glory in the line of English kings. He had not the large arena which to play his part that has been the lot of those who are held to be the foremost of the great men of history. No grand career of conquest gives him fame, nor did his policy and performances, as if with superhuman power, "shape the ends" and decide the future of any large part of the human race. It is in moral greatness that, after the lapse of a thousand years, he stands without a peer in all our history. He ruled for thirty years without a thought of self, wholly and solely for the good of others—the people whom he loved, the land which he rescued and restored. He was a warrior who fought always on the right side. His noble equanimity never left him in the hour of his darkest or his brightest fortune. No word or deed of pride, or cruelty, or injustice, has left a stain upon his memory. His calm and steadfast energy of will and work were shown as a ruler, a lawgiver, a scholar, a writer, a promoter of enterprise and trade, a doer of all good, a queller of all evil, that came within his reach and ken. In his relations with others as a private man, he comes before

Other conquests by Danes and Norwegians.

Reign of Alfred the Great (1) 871-878.

the view as spotless. He declared towards the end of life that "he had ever striven to live worthily," and that his great ambition was "to be remembered for good works." It is for his good works that his name is still held in the highest reverence by his countrymen, as that of a Christian hero of the noblest and purest kind. This good and great king was born at Wantage in 849, the youngest son, as we have seen, of Ethelwulf. In boyhood he passed some time at Rome, and beheld the glories of that city in the ninth century, when the Coliseum yet stood whole, and many of the other noble monuments which have since been destroyed or defaced still retained their pristine magnificence. Of his early youth and education we know little, and here, as throughout his life, we have to reject many legendary stories which the admiration and affection of his own and later ages have gathered round his name. Much has been ascribed to him which had either long existed when he came to power or had its birth in a later age than his; and we must never, if we wish to be historical, regard him as the founder of the University of Oxford, or the divider of England into shires, or the inventor of trial by jury. He returned to England from Rome while yet a boy, to live with his reigning brother, Ethelbert. We are told that the lad was devoted to the work of self-improvement, and sought the knowledge of all arts of life. His weak health was not allowed to keep him, who was learning to be a king, from hunting, reading, working as a craftsman in gold and wood and iron, and getting skill in management of dogs and horses. At twenty years of age, in 869, he married Ealhswyth or Elswitha, the daughter of an Ealdorman of Lincolnshire, and of a lady of the royal house of Mercia. In 871 he took the throne, in the hour of his country's darkest fortune. The Danes had now wintered seven years in England, and held by far the larger part of the country. From his brother's grave at Wimborne in Dorsetshire, Alfred marched to attack the enemy at Wilton, and an indecisive battle, with some payment of a tribute, caused the Danes to leave Wessex for a time. For some years the south was at peace, but in 875 Alfred won, against some Danish pirates, what is believed to be the first of our long and glorious roll of naval battles. In Swanage Bay "he fought seven ships, and one of them he took, and put the rest to flight." In 876 the Danes marched again into Wessex, headed by Guthorm or Guthrum, king of East Anglia. The chronicle is obscure as to the events which followed, but we find that early in the year 878 the king had been driven to seek safety in the spot called by himself *Æthelinga-eigg*, or Isle of Princes. The modern *Athelney* shows us, from the line of railway, a region of fertile meadows dotted over with thriving homesteads, and crossed by roads which join the villages and towns of West Somerset. In Alfred's age, it was a tract of fen-land, formed by the inundations of the rivers Parret and Tone, and surrounded by forest that made all access most intricate and difficult. In the centre of this solitary

place the king and a small band of followers fortified a little piece of firm ground, and for some months carried on a war of sallies and surprises against the foemen, who were masters of the open country. We must suppose that meanwhile his friends and subjects were gathering themselves up for a great effort, provoked by the rapacity and insolence of the Danes. Seven weeks after Easter, Alfred came forth to meet the men of Somerset and Wiltshire, and a part of Hampshire, at a place called Egbert's stone, near Warminster. He then suddenly attacked the enemy in their camp at Ethandun, which has been probably identified with Edington, near Westbury, in Wiltshire. The Danes were utterly defeated in the open field, and fleeing to their fortress, were hemmed in for fourteen days and starved into submission. It was now that the king showed the wisdom of a statesman in knowing what it was possible to do. The Danes, he felt, were far too strong to be expelled from England. Let them remain in peace as permanent possessors of a portion of the land. Already they were becoming settlers and cultivators, and were beginning to be a part of the nationality of the country. It was likely that, with possession of the land secured by treaty, they would not be tenacious of their pagan faith. The result of his proposals was that Guthrum, with Alfred for his sponsor, and many of his chief men were baptized, and in becoming Christians, they were but following the example set them by many of the Danes of East Anglia.

The treaty of peace made at Wedmore, near Athelney, between the king of Wessex and the Danes—"Alfred's and Guthrum's Treaty of Wedmore, Peace"—was a full recognition of Danish equality with Englishmen as possessors of a large part of the land. They had for some time already occupied the towns of Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, and Nottingham, under the name of the "*Five Boroughs*," each town being ruled by its own earl, with an armed force, and each having Danish law administered by twelve judges, with a common court of justice for the whole. By the Peace of Wedmore they became independent dwellers, with their own laws, usages, and institutions, in the great tract of country embracing all the east side of England from the Thames to the Tweed, and stretching far into the Midlands. Alfred, as king of Wessex, kept the south and west. The *Danelagh*, as the Danish portion of the land was called, meaning *Dane's Law* or community, thus lay to the east and north of Watling Street.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND UNDER ALFRED THE GREAT.

Restoration after ruin. Legislation, learning, progress, peace. Alfred and Hasting the Dane. The good king's example to Englishmen of all time. Literature. Alfred's own books.

AFTER the making of the treaty of Wedmore, England was, in the main, at peace for about fifteen years. The task which Alfred now had before him comprised the most arduous, glorious, and beneficial work which could fall to the lot of a ruler. The land had been sorely troubled for many years. Provinces had been wasted, churches and convents plundered and burnt, whole towns razed to the ground. Amid the conflicts of the time, peaceful industry had gone to decay, law and justice had been driven from their seats, and the only light of learning and the higher civilisation had suffered eclipse in the dispersion of the monks and the burning of the libraries. The repose which the king had won by his courage and policy was devoted by him to two great objects, the establishment of order and the enlightenment of ignorance. The first matter, however, was to provide for the safety of the realm. After rebuilding some of the ruined cities, among which London had been destroyed by the Danes in the time of his father Æthelwulf, he took measures to establish both an army and a navy. A militia was obtained by the division of the country into districts, each required to send its supply of men for the king's service, on the king's summons, duly equipped with arms, and furnished with food and pay. He also, towards the end of his reign, reinforced his fleet by vessels far superior to the Danish craft in size and stability and speed, and trained the crews in all the work of sailing, rowing, and effective movement for naval warfare. The coast was guarded by 120 ships of war, furnished with the rude artillery of the age, and the number and power of the vessels, and the expertness of the crews, outmatched all efforts of the roving squadrons from the North and Baltic Seas who had so long kept the seaboard in alarm. In the work of legislation, and the administration of justice, he took and made the best of what he found ready to his hand. His code of laws was a selection of what seemed good to him in those "which our forefathers held," whereby is meant, as he declares, the laws of Ina of Wessex, Offa of Mercia, and Æthelberht of Kent. To these were added many of the enactments of the law of Moses, and the precepts of Christ. In the religious sanctions of these laws of Alfred some have seen the beginnings of the union of Church and State, and in the increased importance given to the person of the king we find that a real monarchical power had grown out of the mere chieftain-

Alfred's
reign, (2)
878-893.

ship of earlier rulers. The work of the judges in the courts was watched by Alfred with unceasing vigilance, and sharp rebuke and punishment were given to those who failed in knowledge of the law or in its just administration. In 885 the peace was broken for a time by a body of rovers from the ports of northern France, who sailed up the Thames and passed up the Medway to Rochester. Some of the Danes in Guthrum's kingdom helped their kinsmen, but Alfred handled the invaders and their allies with such vigour, that a peace made in 886 gave him fresh territory in southern Mercia and half of the old kingdom of Essex. He then resumed his work of restoration. He had already sent for scholars from all parts of the land and from abroad to teach himself and others, that they in turn might give instruction to the people. His literary work will be hereafter noticed. He set up schools, encouraged all the arts and manufactures of the time, invited from abroad men of industry to work at and to teach their trades, rewarded all inventors and improvers, and prompted men to travel far and near by sea and land in search of wealth to be won by way of commerce. Bands of workmen were maintained, largely at his own cost, to rebuild the ruined towns and abbeys. The restless activity of his intellect, and of his Christian care for others, are shown in the eager ear which he would ever lend to the accounts of travel, and in the despatch of envoys taking presents to the churches of Palestine and India. Add to all this the building of fortresses, the repair of roads, his private devotions and studies, and we wonder how such toil could be accomplished by a single man. It was by method and a strict economy of time. Every hour, every minute, had its allotted labour. Ingenuity came to the aid of industry. In his famous lantern-clocks, whose sides of horn screened the flame from wasting gusts of air, he burnt wax candles made of equal weight and size, so that six would burn for four-and-twenty hours. The half and quarter hours were marked upon each candle, and thus the time was measured with a fair degree of accuracy.

A remarkable specimen of the goldsmith's work of that age has been preserved to the present day, and it gives a very favourable impression of the state of art at that period, and of the skill and ability of the artist. The beautiful relic called *Alfred's jewel* was discovered in the year 1693, at Newton Park, in the lowlands of Somersetshire, near the river Parret, somewhat to the north of the spot where the island and fortress of Athelney were formerly situated. There the king, in perhaps the most sorrowful days of his life, lost this token of his sovereignty, and it remained hidden in the marshes for over eight hundred years, until it was accidentally brought to light once more. It is now preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford as a most precious memorial of the olden time and of the good king. It consists of a polished crystal of an oval form, rather more than two inches in length and half an inch thick, inlaid with a mosaic enamel

of green and yellow. The enamel represents the outline of a human figure, which seems to be seated, and holds in each hand a sort of lily-branch in blossom. It may perhaps represent a king in his state attire. The reverse is covered by a plate of fine gold, on which a flower is engraved. The oval sides are bordered by beaten gold of admirable workmanship, and bear around them words showing, beyond all doubt, who was the former possessor of the jewel: AELFRED MEC HEHT GEWYRCAN, *i.e.*, *Alfred had me made*. The form of the letters entirely agrees with that of the capitals in the authentic manuscripts of Alfred's time, and the form of the two middle words, in their primitive orthography, bears witness to the age claimed by the motto. At the lower end, where the crystal and its border join the gold, is a well-worked dolphin's head in gold, whose empty eye-sockets must have once contained precious stones, while from the open jaws a small golden pin protrudes, which probably served as a fastening to some beautiful staff, possibly Alfred's sceptre, on the point of which the jewel was placed.

Thus passed, in peace and progress and incessant labour for his country, the life of Alfred from his thirtieth to his forty-fourth year. He had married young, and his elder children were by this time men and women. His eldest daughter, Alfred's
reign, (3)
893-901. Æthelfæda, was married to the Ealdorman or Earl of western Mercia, a portion of his realm which Alfred had placed in charge of an able and courageous deputy. Some of the closing years of his reign were now to be disturbed by attacks of the old foe. During the years of rest which England had won by Alfred's efforts, France had been buying off the Danes by paying tribute. The countries of the Rhine, the Scheldt, and the Meuse were overrun. Trèves, Cologne, Maestricht, Liège, Aix-la-Chapelle, and many other strong and wealthy cities, that had flourished since the Roman times, were sacked and burnt. In 893 the northern provinces of France were suffering from famine, and a Danish leader named Hasting, who had made his way thither, turned his thoughts to England. He sailed with a fleet and army from Boulogne, and landed near to Romney Marsh, at the eastern end of the wild district called Andreades-wald. Wide-spreading ruin again threatened the land, but Alfred was, as ever, at his post. There was an end for him of quiet studies and of conference with Asser upon literary topics. The king took the field, and for a year the Danes in vain tried to force the strong position in which Alfred barred their way into Wessex. They then marched north across the Thames, and in the course of a further struggle of two years, they were defeated in the east in Essex, where their camp was stormed, upon the Severn in the west, and at Exeter in the south. By the year 896 the spirit of the invaders was broken, and Hasting left the country. The strengthened fleet of Alfred swept the coast, and a just severity was exercised against the pirates who were taken. The crews

of two ships were brought to Winchester and hanged. The Danish flag, with the dreaded raven, was seen no more in Alfred's time upon our shores. The remaining four years of the reign were spent in peace, and Alfred died in 901, at the age of fifty-two, and was buried at Winchester. The character of one ruler never influenced more strongly the position of his country. He saved England from foreign domination, raised her in the scale of nations, and maintained her in the fellowship of Christian peoples. He was the first monarch in the land who clearly saw that there was a people to be civilised and taught. His exertions had a far-reaching effect. True that, in three generations after his death, the English people were subdued by successors of the men whom he had mastered. True that, in a century more, a kindred people came and made a yet greater conquest and imposed a yet heavier yoke. None the less had Alfred, in delivering Wessex from the Dane, rescued an England for the glories of the future. The indomitable courage, the religious endurance, the heart and hope of this great man, proved by every kind of trial, were a precious bequest to the crown and to the nation. He presented to his own age, and to all coming time, a model of our national character in its union of reflection with action. The world of thought and the world of deed are, in a high degree, combined in the achievements of our race. The leading principle of duty as the end of life, which was so strong in Alfred, survives amongst us still. No more vivid or more engaging personality than his, bright as it was and frank in feature and expression, dignified in form and in demeanour, kindly, humorous, truthful, simple, and at all points noble, ever won the affection and esteem of posterity.

We learn from Alfred's own words what was the state of intellectual darkness in Wessex when he came to the throne. He ^{880-900.} laments that "aforetime people came hither to this land in search of wisdom and teaching, and we must now obtain them from without, if we are to have them." He declares that there were very few priests on his side the Humber who could understand their daily prayers (*i.e.*, explain their breviaries or service-books in English) or translate any writing from the Latin. The king sent for some learned men from among the Franks, and also sought the help of a Welsh churchman named Asser, who became Bishop of Sherborne, and died there about 910. Asser tells us that "he came into Saxony (as he calls Wessex) from the extreme limits of Western Britain (St. David's), summoned by the king." "After I had set out, I arrived in the country of the South Saxons, which is called in Saxon *Suthseaxe* (Sussex), guided by some of that nation. There I first saw him in the royal *vill* (villa) called Dene. After being kindly received by him he earnestly entreated me to devote myself to his service, and for his love to relinquish all my possessions on the other side of the Severn. He promised to compensate me richly, as he actually did." The learned

Welshman would not forego his native cloister, but he promised to return, and give half his time to the king's companionship. A *Life of Alfred* from the pen of Asser is one of the results of this acquaintance formed between the king and scholar. With Asser as his guide and instructor, Alfred first improved and extended his own knowledge, and then, with pen in hand, became the diligent teacher of his people. He translated from Latin into the English of his day a book called *Gregory's Pastorals*. The author was Pope Gregory the Great. The object of the book was to show what the mind of a true spiritual pastor ought to be. A copy of this was sent to each bishop, with the injunction that it should remain in the minster, unless the bishop took it with him on his journeys, "or it be lent somewhere until somebody write another copy." In his preface he tells Bishop Wulsige his wish that "all the youth that is now in the English nation of free men, such as have wealth to maintain themselves, may be put to learning till at first they can read well English writing." He then urges strongly the further instruction of priests and others in the Latin tongue. By his own hand, and by others at his order, translations were made and published of the best existing works on history. It was thus that *Bede's Ecclesiastical History* was first made known to those who could not read it in the Latin, and then a work on general history was taken in hand. The manual used in the monastery schools, which had almost ceased to exist during the Danish incursions, had been the *Universal History* of Paulus Orosius. This Spanish priest, a native of Tarragona, and a friend of St. Augustine (of Hippo) and St. Jerome, wrote a book against the pagans in which he traced the history of the world from the creation down to A.D. 417. Modern criticism would make havoc of the work, but it was the best thing of the kind in that age. The controversial parts were omitted in Alfred's edition, and it was greatly altered and improved in order to provide a good summary of history and geography. Two northern navigators, from their personal narratives, enabled Alfred to prepare a clear and concise account of the parts of Europe which were the homes of the Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples. One of these men was Ohthere, a rich Norwegian, who made voyages for the love of discovery and adventure, not without an eye to the profits of the capture of the whale and walrus in the northern seas. From his account of voyages round the North Cape into the White Sea and on the southern coast of Norway, much interesting matter was obtained about the Lapps and their reindeer, and the natural wonders of the farthest regions of the north of Europe. From Wulfstan (or Wulstan), who travelled in the Baltic Sea and on its coasts, sailing from Schleswig to a place called Truso, probably in modern Prussia, Alfred heard of the Finns who lived by hunting and by fishing, and of the manners of the people of Eastland or Esthonia, where there were many towns, and the rich drank mare's milk, while the poor and the slaves quaffed mead. The chief historical

monument of the time is the national record, which was continued down to a later age, known as the *English or Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It is through this valuable book, either in his own person, or by his inspiration of others, that Alfred ranks as the creator of English prose-writing. The ballads and the songs of battle had now for their competitor a narrative of originality and vigour in another style. The *Chronicle* includes a set of seven parallel records, kept in different monasteries, of which three were at Canterbury, while the others were the work of monks at Abingdon, Worcester, Winchester, and Peterborough. This last comes down to the year 1154. Most of the records begin with the landing of Cæsar, and, after the time of Bede, the document becomes one of the great sources of knowledge for the early history of England. It is at the year 851 that we have the beginning of original contemporary authorship in the use of the first person, and of the phrase "the present day." Alfred appears to have gathered the different accounts into the one book, which was published by authority at Winchester, and "fastened by a chain, for all who wished to read it." The account of his own reign was added in the lively narrative which showed that the language had gained a new power of expression. For the moral instruction of his people the king turned into English the famous Latin book of Boetius, entitled *De Consolatione Philosophiæ*. This Roman statesman, early in the sixth century, was imprisoned by the Emperor Theodoric the Great for his resistance to oppression, and it was in his dungeon that he wrote, in five books of prose, intermingled with verse, the noble work which has given him a lasting renown. The author was the latest Roman of any note who understood the language and studied the literature of Greece. The work translated by Alfred is pure in style and of a high tone of thought. No allusion is made to Christianity, but the writer had a real belief in Providence and prayer. He was executed by Theodoric about 525, and the Church claimed him as a Christian martyr, and canonised him as a saint in the eighth century. Through this book, rendered into English, the king taught his people to recognise a wise God as ruler of the world, to fix their minds and hearts upon what does not fade and die, and to remember that, as viewed from above, only the good are happy.

CHAPTER III.

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS.

The landed system. Origin of towns. Orders of society. The early form of Parliament. The courts. Criminal law. Civil officers. The army. The poor.

THE laws and customs, like the language and people of England, were mainly of Teutonic origin. The germ of all was the family bond. In the early times, each family had a *hide* of land, supposed to consist of thirty acres fit for tillage. This private property in land was called *boe-land* or book-land, because its possession was secured by a writing or deed. It was free from all public burdens except liability to military service and to the repair of bridges and fortresses. Part of the land remained the property of the state, and was called *folc-land*, land of the folk or people. It was either common land, or might be assigned to individuals for a term, at the end of which it reverted to the state. The *tithing* is supposed to have been a cluster of ten families, and the *hundred* a community of a hundred free families, sending a hundred fighting-men for the militia, and a hundred men to sit in a court presided over by the Ealdorman. There was a system of surety, for the securing of justice against an offender, which was known as the *peace-pledge*. By an early mistake of one Saxon word for another, the name became corrupted into *frank-pledge* or free pledge. A body of ten neighbours guaranteed to bring to justice any one of their number who should break the law. If he fled, compensation for the wrong was made, first out of his property, and then, if needful, out of that of the guarantors. Thus each member of a community had an interest in the due administration of justice, and in this system we see the origin of the modern statute by which the *hundreds* are made liable for damage done by rioters acting feloniously. The division into *shires* or *counties* is certainly older than the time of Alfred, as we find it in connection with Wessex and the laws of King Ina. The smaller kingdoms became shires as Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Essex, and Middlesex. In part of the Saxon period there were, it seems, but thirty-two counties in England; but the present number existed at the time of the Norman Conquest. The county of York had three divisions called *trithings*, still existing under the name of *ridings*. The division of Wales into counties only began under Edward I., and was completed in the reign of Henry VIII.

A cluster of homesteads formed a *village* (*vicus*, *wick*), and, with regard to its enclosure, the *town* or *township*. *Townships* seem to correspond to what, after the Norman Conquest, were called *manors*. The early

English *tymen* meant, to enclose, and *tân* was originally the enclosure or hedge, whether of the single farm or of the enclosed village. (2.) **Township.** The terminations *-ham* and *-by* contain the same idea. The (3.) **Borough.** term was gradually extended to the whole of the land which formed the domain; and out of these townships, when an increasing population gathered, grew the *towns* of later date. The word *burgh* meant at first the fortified house of the powerful man, and was then used for the fortified town in the form of *burgh*, *borough*. A high authority holds that "the basis of our political organisation must be sought in the township. The historical township is the body of *allodial* (freehold) owners who have advanced beyond the stage of land community; or the body of tenants of a lord, who rules them, or allows them to rule themselves, on principles derived from that stage of social existence." The towns of England of a later date arose from the gathering of numerous poor settlers around the dwelling of a great landowner. These people obtained a living by work upon the land. Then came the idlers who were attracted by his luxury, ostentation, and ambition. These were followed by the craftsmen who supplied the wants of the lord and his family and friends, and then by slow degrees found a new market for their wares at a distance. In like manner, around the cathedral and the abbey, bodies of men gathered who were glad to claim the protection of the religious corporation, to share in their charities, and aid in supplying their wants. It is probable that when the town grew in size and importance, different trades occupied different portions of the area, named from the occupations of their inhabitants. In the earlier times, these several parts of the town or city were often fortified, and served as strongholds, behind whose defences, or sallying forth from which, the craftsmen fought the battle of democracy against the burgesses or the neighbouring lords.

In crossing the sea from Germany to his new home in the Britain (4.) **The king.** which he was about to make an England, the Angle or Saxon chieftain became a *king*. The word is a corruption of *cyming*, and means "Father of the Family." The old Teutonic chief, elected by the tribe as a leader in war, now presents himself to view as invested with a higher and more exclusive power. Although chosen from a royal race, the sovereign was of old little raised above his ealdormen. It was as *ealdormen*, indeed, that Cerdic and his son Cynric came in 495; but in 519 Cerdic erected the *rice* or kingdom of the West Saxons, and became king of Wessex. Moreover, the office now received a certain hereditary character, with which it had not once been invested. If it was nominally still elective, the crown was kept in the royal house, though with no fixed rule of succession. If the eldest son were the fittest to rule, he would be chosen by the great council or *Witan*: if not, he might be set aside, and another choice made from among his brothers or other kinsmen. The "hallowing"

of the king gave a religious sanction to his office and authority, and included coronation and unction, performed by bishops of the Church. The king took an oath to govern rightly, and at a later date, as the royal power grew, an oath of allegiance was taken by the people. The king, like the great body of the freemen, was a landowner. He had larger hereditary possessions than others, and was at the head of the state, as highest of the nobles and as the chief magistrate. Under the system of *wer-gild*, to be noticed hereafter, meaning *man-money* or *man-payment*, the king, like his subjects, had a fixed price for his life. This was put at a higher value than any other, and Alfred increased the payment for the king's life, and made the compassing of his death a capital offence, attended with confiscation. The royal princes, or the next heirs, were called *athelings*, or nobles. The king's consort was called *cwên* (queen), meaning *the wife*, or was styled *hlaefdige*, the lady.

The royal revenue was derived from tolls upon markets and dues upon mines; also from voluntary gifts, and a portion of the fines levied upon offenders. The crown-lands which he held were, of course, distinct from any private estates which he might purchase for himself. His duties lay in presiding over public deliberations, calling out the militia or national levies for attack or defence, and calling together the *Witan* and laying before them measures concerning the welfare of the state. His privileges included a distinction of dress in wearing his golden circlet or crown, and the right of maintaining a force of household troops.

The *ealdorman* (alderman) was originally the *elder* of the Teutonic tribe, and so the title meant *chief*. He ranked, in our early (5.) Ealdor-monarchy, next to the king. He was the leading man or gov-
ernor of the shire, invested with both judicial and executive authority. The title corresponds to the *dux* (duke) of the Latin chroniclers and the *comes* (count) of the Normans. One of his most important functions was that of leading the armed force of the county. His chief civil duty was that of holding a *shire-moot* (*shire-court*, *county-court*) twice in a year, and presiding therein along with the bishop. We may notice here, in anticipation, that under the Danish kings in the eleventh century, the word *eorl* lost its former sense of good birth, and became an official title, equivalent to ealdorman, applied to the governor of a shire or province. The word *eorl* and the Danish *jarl* both were lost in *earl*, and *earl*, as a title of nobility, was supplanted by *thane*, so that *thane* became opposed to *ceorl*, as *eorl* had been opposed in earlier times. The modern sense of the word alderman, as magistrate of a city or borough, came after the Norman Conquest.

The *thane* came next in degree to the ealdorman. The name has been derived from *thegnian*, to serve, as if it meant *the king's*
servant. Others give the sense as *warrior*, and then, as the (6.) *Thanes*. king's attendants in war, the idea of service comes in. Both ealdorman and king had thanes in attendance, the *king's thanes* being the highest

class. The lowest class of thanes possessed, as a qualification for the rank, some hundreds of acres (the number is not certain) of land. This class of minor nobles was one arising from office or service, but at last property alone qualified, and a *ceorl* became a thane if he had the needful amount of land, and a dwelling-house duly supplied with chapel, hall, kitchen, and bell. The thane was liable to military service, in which he would rank as an *equus* or knight. His duties also lay in the king's personal service and in the administration of justice.

The *ceorl* (Norman-French, *villain*) was a freeman who came in rank (7.) *Georls* between the thane and the serf or slave. Such a man was, or *churils*. in general, not an independent freeholder, but under the protection of a large landholder, whose ground he helped to till, not in the state of a labourer, but as a kind of tenant-farmer. He was obliged, however, to remain on the estate. A *ceorl* might acquire land, and by becoming owner of the legal number of acres, he would rise to the position of a thane. If a *ceorl* obtained possession of a smaller amount of land, and became an independent freeholder, he was in the rank of those called *socmen* in Domesday Book. These men are regarded as the social ancestors of the English yeomanry, or class of farmers tilling their own land, a body of men whose independence has stamped with peculiar features both our constitution and our national character.

The serfs (*theowas*) or slaves were of two classes—penal and hereditary. (8.) *Serfs*. The larger number were probably Celts taken in war, or their descendants; the free Angle or Saxon could only become a slave by the commission of crime or by default in paying the money penalty of crime. The serf had no redress against his master for any violence, including injuries causing death, but his master could exact a money penalty from another man who had injured his "property" or "chattel." The work of the country was almost wholly done by serfs. The ploughman was the highest labourer on the soil; the smith was the most valued craftsman. The Church stepped in to soften the hard lot of the slave, and often maintained old and outworn men whom their masters had set free when they became useless. The Christian day of rest was another boon procured for this class of men by the authority of the clergy. On the whole, it is not probable that the lot of the serfs was so bad as it might appear. They were often set free by the will of their master at his death, and were allowed to make savings by working for other masters, so as to be able to buy freedom for themselves or their children.

The influence and power of the clergy were very great in an age of (9.) *The* ignorance, when they were almost sole possessors of knowledge, *clergy*. and the veneration paid to their priestly character and office was heightened by superstition. The higher clergy had a share, as now, in the deliberations of the national council, and the bishop took part with the ealdorman and thane in the administration of justice.

This *Wise-men's assembly*, as the name means, was the great national council. It had no representative character, in the modern sense, as its members were not elected, but became such by blood, rank, and office. Its members comprised the æthelings or royal princes, the ealdormen, the bishops and abbots, the king's thanes, and perhaps the sheriffs. It is quite certain that, in the earlier time of our monarchy, before the Norman Conquest, the *Witan* possessed an elective power as regarded the king, and that, in consequence of the use of this power, the strict hereditary succession to the crown was not always kept. The *Witan* had a consultative and advising voice with the king in great public questions, such as peace or war, making new laws, levying taxes, raising armaments, making grants of land, and in civil and criminal jurisdiction. In these and other affairs, they had, as a deliberative body, a concurrent authority with the king. It would seem that the assembly was of small number, and that the time and place of meeting depended on the king's pleasure. It is obvious that the power wielded by such a body would vary greatly with the force of character and the ability of the sovereign.

The highest court, apart from the *Witan*, which was a high court of appeal, was the *shire-mote* (shire-court, county-court), held twice a year, in May and October. In this all the thanes had a seat and a vote. Its duties were judicial, and it was presided over by the ealdorman or earl and by the bishop, the dioceses at that time being of the same area as the counties. The *hundred-court* had monthly meetings as a court of justice for the settlement of minor causes. It was held under the writ of the sheriff, and was for suitors who lived within the limits of the hundred. Its duties became at last confined to dealing with small offences and the maintenance of the peace by a system of local police. As to the methods adopted for the administration of justice, we find that in the county-court the finding of a verdict was intrusted to a committee of thanes, consisting usually of twelve, but sometimes of twenty-four or thirty-six, and the verdict of two-thirds of the number sufficed. Their decisions were revised by the whole court. There was nothing that at all resembled a modern jury, an institution of much later date. There was no evidence, circumstantial or direct, for the jurors to balance. The accused person, if he chose to rest his case upon testimony to character, made oath as to his innocence, and called upon a certain number of neighbours, whose *worth*, or money-value, was duly assessed, to give the like testimony. These persons were called his *compurgators*, or fellow-clearers, and if a certain number made oath of their belief in the innocence of the accused, he was acquitted of the charge. The accuser also produced *compurgators* to swear that he did not prosecute from vindictive or interested motives. Trial by *ordeal*, which was held to be a Divine judgment in the case, was resorted to when the accused could not produce *compurgators* or when his previous character was against him. There were many kinds of *ordeal*. In

that by boiling water, the accused had to plunge his naked arm into it, and if the wound were perfectly healed by the third day, he was pronounced innocent; if not, guilty. In that by fire, the decision as to innocence or guilt rested upon the accused being able to walk with bare feet, uninjured, over red-hot ploughshares, or to carry for nine paces a red-hot bar of iron. It is hard to see how any person could escape, except by collusion of his judges, and the whole system seems to be one open to the grossest frauds.

A peculiar feature of these early times in England was the *wer-gild*, or life-price, which was established for the settling of feuds. (12.) The punishment. A sum, paid either in kind or in money, was placed upon the life of every freeman, according to his rank in the state, his birth, or his office. A corresponding sum was fixed for every wound that could be inflicted on his person; for nearly every injury that could be done to his civil rights, his honour, or his domestic peace, and greater or lesser fines were appointed according to aggravating or extenuating circumstances in the offence. From the operation of this principle no one was exempt, and the king as well as the peasant was protected by a *wer-gild*, payable to his kinsmen and his people. The sum paid in amends was called *bōt*, whence our phrase *to boot*. In all cases of default of payment the remedy was prompt and effective. The offender became a penal slave. By this principle of compensation for all offences, however rude it may seem, society was preserved from the evils of private feud, which may be seen still existing in Corsica and Albania. The *wer-gild* was a substitute for personal vengeance by members of the family of the slain or injured man or woman. As to the value put upon the lives of different classes of men, we find in one code of early English laws that the ceorl's life was estimated at 200 shillings (a sum equal at least to £200 now); for the smaller thane the *wer-gild* was 600 shillings, for the royal thane 1200, for the ealdorman double this last sum; for an ætheling, three times, and for the king six times the price of the royal thane. The value of a man's oath was in accordance with that of his property. The evidence of a thane in a court of justice was equal to that of twelve ceorls, and that of an ealdorman counterbalanced the oaths of six thanes. In cases of wilful murder, arson, and theft, capital punishment might be inflicted, if the relatives of the slain person, or the injured person himself, declined to accept the *wer-gild*. The punishment for treason was death, and banishment was a punishment for great crimes. The person so punished became an outlaw, and was said to have a wolf's head; he could be killed by any one with impunity if he returned from exile. One cruel punishment for theft was the amputation of hand or foot.

The *scir-gerefa* (shire-reeve, sheriff) was, in a great degree, the deputy (13.) officials. of the ealdorman or county governor, and he was also subject to the control of the bishop. He was the executive officer and fiscal officer of his shire, and his duties were to carry out the decisions

of the county court, levy fines, and collect taxes. In virtue of his office, he had a portion of land allotted to him, known as reeve-land. The sheriff was in that age a very important official, as presiding in the shire-court along with the ealdorman and bishop, or alone, in their absence, and he was, practically, the shire-court judge. He was appointed by the king, and was subject to his removal. The chief magistrate of a town was the *town-reeve*, and we hear also of *burgh-reeves* and *port-reeves*.

The only regular army known to the early English times was the militia referred to above as organised by King Alfred. It was a development of the *posse-comitatus*, or *power of the county*, the body of citizens summoned to assist in suppressing a riot or executing any legal process. The national levies were headed by the king, his ealdormen, and the thanes. The freemen, as a body, constituted the armed force of the shire, and the ealdorman of the shire was their chief. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we constantly read of the ealdorman winning or losing a battle, of the ealdorman being slain, or of the king and the ealdormen being engaged in warfare with each other. The divisions of the country into shires, hundreds, and tithings, made the calling out of these levies a matter of well-ordered arrangement. During a period of alarm, such as existed in Danish times, every town and village must have had its band of army-men organised and disciplined, ready to follow the summons of their legal chief. The burghers were associated in their guilds under their port-reeve or their bishop.

There was no poor-law in England until the time of Henry VIII. As the serf was obliged to remain in one place and one service, his lord was also obliged to provide for him. All other persons who had no resources of their own depended on private benevolence. There was, indeed, a fund for the poor which was a part of the tithe of the Church, and there were the oblations at the altar. The Church, by food given at the doors of the monasteries, played a large part in the relief of the indigent. In times of general or local distress, the *lord* and the *lady* distributed alms at the hall-door. An old illumination, rude in style but of undoubted authenticity, shows us a royal or noble house, with its attendant warriors, its priests, and its chapel, with the poor receiving food from the heads of the household.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND IN THE TENTH CENTURY.

The Lady of Mercia. Power of Edward the Elder. Athelstan's strong rule. Dunstan great in Church and State. Edgar's rule. Ethelred and the Danes. The Danes again strong in England.

EDWARD, the eldest son of Alfred, succeeded to his father's power and office. He is known as *Edward the Elder*, by way of distinction from kings of the same name who came at a later period of our history. The new king had been carefully trained for his high position, and was as good a soldier, though not so good a scholar, as his illustrious sire. He had already won distinction in battle against the Danes, and was readily chosen by the *Witan* to hold the royal dignity. His cousin, Ethelwald, son of his father's elder brother, Ethelred, claimed the throne, and gave trouble in a civil war for some years, but fell at last in a battle in East Anglia. King Edward then set himself to the work of bringing the whole country under his sway, and herein he had the able and vigorous help of his sister, Æthelflæda, who had been left a widow by the death of her husband, the Ealdorman of Mercia. An innovation, probably due to the energy, wisdom, and courage which she was known to possess, left her the holder of an ealdorman's authority, and she takes a place in history as "The Lady of Mercia." She ruled her land in perfect accord with her brother, and furthered his plans by the erection of fortresses at various points. The city of Chester, which had been left desolate for three hundred years, became again a place of strength to guard the north-west. Bridgenorth, Stamford, Tamworth, Warwick, Hertford, Witham (in Essex), and other points were fortified with works of stone; and not only were Danish risings quelled, but the king and his sister made steady encroachments on the dominion of the *Danelagh*. In 917 the Lady took Derby, and in 918 she forced the garrison of Leicester to surrender. In 920 her death came at Tamworth, and Mercia was then annexed to Edward's kingdom of Wessex. The king had already gained the towns of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Northampton, and after reducing East Anglia, he became master of Nottingham and Lincoln. The whole of the *Five Boroughs* and their territory were thus in his hands, and, as he advanced to attack Northumbria, a conflict was made needless by the willing submission to his power of all the Northumbrians and the Britons (Welsh) and the Scots of Strathclyde. Edward the Elder died in 925, and the kings who came after him took the title either of *King of the Angles* or *King*

of Britain, or assumed some style which implied the lordship of all the land.

Athelstan, son of Edward, had been a pet of his grandfather, Alfred, who dedicated him, as it were, to war and dominion, by bestowing on the handsome boy a scarlet cloak, a diamond-studded belt, and a Saxon sword in a golden scabbard. He reigned Athelstan. for fifteen years (925-940), and was an able and vigorous ruler. The glory and power of England under native rulers before the Norman Conquest now reached their highest point. Athelstan had a name across the seas, and appears, in the earlier part of his reign, as the protector and defender of deposed and exiled princes from Brittany, Norway, and France. A treaty of alliance between France and England is a remarkable fact in the history of the two countries. Foreign potentates approached the king with splendid presents, amongst which we read of perfumes, jewels, caparisoned horses, and a ship from Norway with golden beak, purple sail, and gilded shields. A confederacy was formed against him of some peoples who had felt or were jealous of his power, and in 937 the English king had to meet the united forces of the Danes, the Strathelyde Britons, and the Scots. The great battle of Brunanburh, fought at an unknown spot in Northumberland, was a complete victory for Athelstan, and his success was sung in a poem to be found in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. He also waged vigorous war with the Welsh of Wales and Cornwall, forcing the princes to do homage at Hereford, and to pay a tribute of gold, silver, hunting-dogs, hawks, and oxen, and fixing the Wye as the boundary between England and Wales. He drove the men of West Wales out of Exeter, and made the Tamar the boundary between them and the English. Among his many laws was one which gave the rank ofthane to any merchant who had made three lengthy voyages as a trader on his own account. Athelstan died in 940, and was buried in the Abbey of Malmesbury, where his memory even now lingers as the giver of the common rights of pasture and the founder of the town-school. A copy of the Gospels in Latin which he presented to Canterbury Cathedral is to be seen in the British Museum.

Athelstan's half-brother Edmund, surnamed *the Elder*, reigned from 940 to 946. He had much trouble with the revolted Danes Edmund of Mercia and Northumbria, but had the better of them in the Elder. the end. The circumstances of the young king's death give a picture of an age of physical force. He is keeping in his hall at Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire, the festival of St. Augustine. An outlaw whom he had banished dares to come and seat himself among the guests. The wine-cup goes round; Edmund espies the intruder and orders his removal. The man resists; the king rushes at him, seizes him by the hair and flings him to the ground. The outlaw draws a dagger and stabs Edmund to the heart. The bystanders draw, and hack the assassin, whose name was Liofa, to death. The murdered

king was buried in the Abbey of Glastonbury by the care of Abbot Dunstan.

The mention of this canonised saint, around whose name so many legends gathered, presents us with the greatest man of the age. Dunstan was an able statesman and ecclesiastic, who, like Becket and Wolsey, Lanfranc and Laud, played a great part in the events of his time. Born at Glastonbury and educated in the famous abbey, he became a man of learning in theology and philosophy, and an artist skilled in music, painting, carving, and working in metals. He made a figure at the court of Athelstan as a precocious youth of noble birth, and then embraced a monastic life, and took the vows at Glastonbury. He lived, according to some stories, an ascetic life in a wretched hut near the abbey, and at an early age for such a charge, became head of the house by the appointment of King Edmund. He had many of the gifts of a courtier in a quick wit, a strong memory, a pleasant address, and ready and fluent speech. For thirty years he was virtual ruler of England. Edred, the brother of Edmund, became king in 946, and Dunstan was appointed his chief minister in affairs both of church and state. There was much trouble with the Danes of Northumbria and other parts, but they were finally subdued by the year 954. The vigour of the administration of affairs was shown in the imprisonment of Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, who had taken part in a rising, and Northumbria was placed in charge of a governor, with the Danish title of *Earl*. Edred died in 955, leaving infant children, and the *Witan* chose his nephew, Edwy, son of Edmund, as his successor. Dunstan had already planned, and begun to carry into effect, a revolution in the affairs of the Church. His object was to establish in England the full strictness of the monastic rule and the concurrent supremacy of the power of the Pope. The celibacy of the clergy was the leading principle to be striven for in making the Church Romish instead of national. Dunstan strove to enforce celibacy on the *secular* or non-monastic clergy, and also to get the cathedrals and other great churches into the hands of monks, instead of secular priests or canons, who had taken no monastic vows. His object was to reform the lives of the priests, and to raise the power of the monks, or *regular* clergy, as they were called from the strict rules of life laid down by their founder, St. Benedict. Such a policy as this could not but raise up many foes for the active reformer of abuses, and Dunstan was banished by Edwy. A revolt in Mercia and Northumbria followed, and at this juncture the king died in 959, and was succeeded by his brother Edgar.

Under King Edgar the power of Dunstan was at its height. The new sovereign gave him the sees of Worcester and London, and in 961 he became head of the Church as Archbishop of Canterbury. Whatever may be thought of his policy in replacing the married parish priest by the monk from his cloister, there can be no

Dunstan,
lived circa
925-988.

Edgar,
959-975.

doubt as to the services rendered by Dunstan in civil affairs. During the sixteen years of Edgar's reign, he kept the country free from external attacks and from domestic disturbance. It was a time of peaceful supremacy for the king, who is said to have caused eight vassal princes of Wales to row him in his barge on the river Dee. The rovers of the sea were kept at bay by a fleet of armed cruisers. The Danes in the land were settling down to a life of quiet industry, and Dunstan gave some of them high posts in the service of the king and the Church. Laws were enacted for the settlement of weights, measures, and coinage, and the growth of trade made the streets of London busy with traffickers from Germany and France. Edgar gave his minister a zealous support in all his measures for the revival of monasticism, in which one of the chief objects of Dunstan was the promotion of literature and learning. The favour shown by Edgar to the monks, who were then the only historians, has been thought to have secured for the king too high a meed of praise for his share in the good work of the reign.

It is of more moment to notice two facts of the time. These are the decline of slavery through the influence of the Church, and the increase of the power of the king. Many of the higher clergy, by precept and example, brought about the manumission of slaves on a large scale. The wider dominion which had come to the ruler of England in the person of Egbert had, in succeeding reigns, raised the sovereign far above the nobles, who had once been nearly on a level with him.

The old nobility of blood, in the persons of the ealdormen, was being fast pushed aside by the new nobility of thanes, who held office about the king's person, and were rewarded with high posts in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. At the same time, the old English freedom and independence were dying out for the bulk of the smaller landowners and free tillers of the soil. The days of Norman feudalism were being, in a measure, forestalled when the free farmer, in order to live safe amid troubles caused by the Danes, gave up his freehold to some lord, and received it again as a *feud* or *fief*, with service to be rendered in place of rent. Edgar died in 975, leaving two sons by different wives. He was succeeded by the elder, named Edward, then aged thirteen.

Edgar had left a younger son, Ethelred, and a strong party of the nobles demanded that the choice between him and Edward should be determined by election. Dunstan, by one of his vigorous movements, quelled the dispute, and presenting Edward to the assembled thanes and ecclesiastics at Winchester, consecrated him on the spot. The question for Dunstan, between Edward and Ethelred, was the question, not of one brother or the other, but of a secular or monastic Church. A reaction in favour of the married priests began. The Benedictines had expelled the secular

The king.
The slaves.

Other changes.

Edward the Martyr, 975-979.

clergy from the conventual churches, and the married priests had been driven from their parishes. Now one ealdorman expelled the monks from the monasteries, whilst another upheld them in their possessions. Many of the secular clergy returned from exile in Scotland. At Calne, in Wiltshire, a Witan was assembled in 978 to debate the points which divided the Church and threatened the kingdom with civil war. An accident occurred to the room of assembly. The floor gave way, and many of the opponents of Dunstan were killed and injured. The Archbishop was left safe, standing on a beam which kept its place, and all his friends cried out that a miracle had been wrought in his favour. In that age superstition gave great weight to such an occurrence, and the enemies of Dunstan's reforms were driven to desperation. It was determined to attack the young king, who was under the minister's control. The opponents of monastic domination applied to his step-mother, Elfrida, who hated him for standing in the way of her son's elevation. He was murdered in 979 by her orders at Corfe Castle, in Dorsetshire, a royal manor, where she and her son resided. It was his youth, innocence, and cruel death that procured for him the surname of *Martyr*.

With the death of the young king the career of the great Archbishop came to an end. His enemies were now triumphant, and Ethelred II., 979-1016. Dunstan, after placing the crown on the new sovereign's head at Kingston, retired to Canterbury, and died there nine years later. Ethelred II., who now came to the throne at the age of ten, has been the victim of an attempt at wit made by some of his later historians. His name means *noble in counsel*, and in his policy as regards the Danes he has been accused of ruining the country by *unraed*—*want of counsel* or *evil counsel*. Hence comes the epithet of *the Unready*, meaning *counselless* or *of bad counsel*. Certain it is that his reign was a time of disaster and disgrace which might well arouse the anger and shame of those who had to record its troubles. The realm raised to greatness by the wisdom and energy of Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edgar, and Dunstan was now to be assailed, and in the end subdued, by the old foes of the land. The Danish troubles since the days of Alfred had been mainly caused by the restless spirit of Danes long settled in England, or, at the worst, by inroads of their kinsmen who came over from Ireland. The time had now come for the Northmen to appear again from over the North Sea in ever-increasing force. The Scandinavian peoples had been lately growing in political strength and cohesion. The subjects of many petty chiefs had settled down into the three kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. New strength begat new ambition and restlessness, and the rovers were once more abroad. In 980 Southampton was "ravaged by a ship-force, and the most part of the townsmen slain and led captive." In 981 "was much havoc done everywhere by the sea-coast, as well

amongst the men of Devon as amongst the Welsh." Thus far the Chronicle. In 982 three ships of pirates landed among the men of Dorset and ravaged the Isle of Portland. In the same year London itself was burnt. No effective resistance was made, for the men of Dorset, like the men in other parts of the unhappy country, were quarrelling about the occupation of the monasteries, instead of arming for the defence of their homes. The invaders took back news of the defenceless state of England, and in 991 a body of Norwegians landed in East Anglia. There a sturdy resistance was made, but the invaders won a battle fought at Maldon, and the town of Ipswich was plundered. The cowardly device was adopted of paying the Northmen to go away, or, if they pleased, to settle quietly in the land. Ten thousand pounds of silver bought a respite, and then, in 993, Sweyn, king of Denmark, and Anlaf or Olaf of Norway came in great force up the Humber, and ravaged on every side. The next year London was assailed by a fleet sailing up the Thames; but the citizens were united, and their brave defence drove off the enemy. Attacks in other quarters were bought off by payment of larger sums, and the price of redemption was ever rising. It was the payment of this shameful tribute that gave rise to the tax called *Dane-geld* or Dane-money, which became a source of revenue to reckless kings long after the Danish period. For a quarter of a century, the history of England becomes one of treachery, cowardice, imbecility, and bloodshed. The truth is, that the energies of a martial race were paralysed by national discord, by treachery and rivalry in court and camp, and by the failure of discipline in the army. The impoverishment of the land by the payment of tribute to the invaders may be seen when we contrast the old with the present value of money. In twenty years one hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds of silver were paid to the Danes. A pound of silver then would purchase eight oxen or fifty sheep. The Danish tribute was equal in value to the fee-simple, at the prices of that day, of nearly-one tenth of the whole acreage of England. This enormous charge represents, of course, but a part of the loss sustained. The invaders, wherever they went, lived at free quarters, and famine followed their steps. In the year 1002, Ethelred was threatened with a new invasion by Sweyn, who was now ruler of both Norway and Denmark. The English king sought help in a marriage alliance with Normandy, and wedded Emma, sister of Duke Richard the Good. She was a beautiful and clever woman, who was to take an active part in the next fifty years of our history. With this notable marriage Norman influence in England began. The Norman-French tongue was first used at court, and the friends of Emma were put into high civil and ecclesiastical posts. The king of England was now to resort to a method of defence against his foes more shameful than the weakness of paying tribute or the cowardice of fleeing from battle. There were many of the old Danish settlers who had become a part of the

nation, and had intermarried with the English. It would seem that the Danish element, in the new successes of their kinsmen from abroad, had become insolent and overbearing, so that, as a chronicle declares "the common people were so oppressed, that for fear and dread they called them, in every house as they had rule of, Lord Dane." There were also Danish mercenaries whom our kings had long had in their pay, and these men were guilty of many acts of violence near their quarters up and down the country. A feeling of strong resentment had been roused in the breasts of the English, and Ethelred took advantage of this to give secret advice or orders for a general slaughter of the Danes in Wessex. The perpetration of the crime began in November, on the feast-day of St. Brice. The extent of the murders committed has been grossly exaggerated by the writers who represent the massacre as carried through England. In Northumbria and East Anglia, to say nothing of Mercia, the Danes were in far too great numbers for such a thing to be possible. In Wessex, some thousands of Danes may have perished, and amongst the victims was Gunhilda, sister of Sweyn of Norway and Denmark. She had become a Christian, but this did not save her from seeing her husband, who was a Danish earl, and her little children, butchered before her face. With her dying words she warned her murderers of vengeance to come from over the seas for this great national crime. One form of retribution came on our forefathers in the fact that, when William the Conqueror wished to rouse Normans against Saxons, his frequent cry was "Remember St. Brice's day." Sweyn swore, when he heard of the terrible event, that he would make himself master of England. The retaliation denounced by Gunhilda was being wreaked from the year 1003 to 1007. One ravaging followed another, and tribute after tribute was exacted. At last the people would pay no more *Dane-geld* to buy off the hosts sent and led by Sweyn. Some attempt at armed resistance was made, and a soldier was to be furnished for every eight hides of land, and a vessel for each three hundred and ten hides. The claim for *ship-money* in later days, which became so prominent under Charles I., is held to have had its precedent in the latter contribution. But men and ships are of no avail without faithful hearts and able leaders, and the king and his people were ruined by incapacity and treachery on every hand. One of the few brave and loyal subjects in high place was Ælfheah, Archbishop of Canterbury, commonly known as St. Alphege. He encouraged the people of the episcopal city to make a good defence for twenty days; but treachery was again at work. The gates were opened to the enemy. Many people were slain, the city was plundered and the minster was burnt. Ransom was demanded for the life of the primate, but he nobly said that he had no goods of his own to offer for ransom, and that the goods of the Church should not be given up for his own life. He was dragged from his prison, and done

to death by drunken Danish revellers, who pelted him with stones and with the bones and ox-horns of their coarse banquet, and then finished the work with the stroke of an axe. The Church of St. Alphege at Greenwich, where this cruel deed was done, is the memorial of the event. At last, in 1013, the king of Denmark and Norway sailed up the Humber, not only to plunder and destroy, but to conquer and to hold. Ethelred drove him off from London, with the help of his Danish officer, Thurkill, and Sweyn retired to Bath. All the Danish part of England, however, to the north and east of Watling Street, had already submitted, and Ethelred found himself helpless. He fled first to the Isle of Wight, and then over to Richard of Normandy. The thanes of Wessex submitted to the conqueror, and then London opened her gates. Winchester and Oxford were in Danish hands, and the efforts of Wessex, like those of Mercia and Northumbria, to form a united England under the sway of a Wessex king, had finally and signally failed. Sweyn of Denmark died a few weeks later, in 1014, before he could be crowned, and he is not reckoned among the Danish kings of England, being called by the Chronicle *Sweyn the Tyrant* or the *Usurper*. His army proclaimed his son Cnut (Canute) as king, but Ethelred was recalled by the *Witan*, and promises of good behaviour were exchanged by king and people. Cnut was in possession of a large part of the land, and the only real helper for the English king was his son Edmund, surnamed *Ironsides* for his bodily strength and his courage and energy. Cnut sailed away for a time to Denmark, but treachery was again at work in the person of Edric, an old betrayer of his partial master, Ethelred. In 1015 Cnut returned with a large force, and ravaged much of Wessex, being joined now by Edric. In April 1016 King Ethelred died, leaving the country forlorn.

The citizens of London at once proclaimed Edmund king, and a council at Southampton took the oaths to Cnut. Edmund fought hard, and with no small success, but the Danish and English nobles caused the rivals to divide the kingdom. Cnut was to keep Northumbria, East Anglia, and Mercia, and Edmund take the rest. A month later the brave Edmund died, through foul play, it is said, at the hands of Edric. Cnut was thus left in sole possession of the long-harassed land.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND UNDER DANISH KINGS.

The good rule of Cnut. The influence of the Danes on English nationality and character. The last Danish king.

THE *Witan* were induced by Cnut to annul the division of the kingdom and set aside the infant sons of Edmund Ironside, who were named Edmund and Edward. The Danish king tried to get rid of them, but in the end they reached a safe asylum in Hungary, and both grew to manhood. Edmund became the father of the prince whom we shall see hereafter as Edgar Atheling, and of Margaret, the queen of Malcolm of Scotland. There were two other claimants in the persons of Edward and Alfred, sons of Ethelred by his wife Emma of Normandy. Duke Richard asserted their rights, but Cnut settled the dispute by marrying their mother with Richard's consent. The new king wielded his power at first with a masterful hand. His Danish followers were rewarded with the lands of proscribed Englishmen, and severe measures were used to prevent the assassination of Danes by the English, who were now under their yoke. Cnut soon showed, however, the policy of a statesman, and of a king who knew that solid strength for a ruler lies in the attachment of the governed people. One of his first measures was to make a new division of the country for administrative purposes. He divided the whole into four great earldoms. Leofwine became ruler of Mercia, Eric the Dane was Earl of Northumberland, Thurkill, also a Dane, of East Anglia, and in 1020 Godwin, an Englishman, was made Earl of Wessex. Cnut had already become by profession a Christian, and he now sought to conciliate the clergy by liberal gifts to minsters and by showing favour to monks. He made at least one pilgrimage to Rome, with staff in hand and wallet on back, and was diligent in enforcing payment of Peter's pence and other dues of the Church to the Pope. In a remarkable letter addressed from Denmark to his English subjects, he declares that he is resolved "to govern his kingdoms with justice, and to observe the right in all things. Therefore I beg and command those unto whom I have intrusted the government, as they wish to preserve my good-will and save their own souls, to do no injustice either to poor or rich. Let those who are noble, and those who are not, equally obtain their rights, according to the laws, from which no deviation shall be allowed, either from fear of me, or through favour to the powerful, or for the purpose of supplying my treasury; I want no money raised by injustice." Cnut ruled England with a firm hand, and the country, after the long and

Danish
kings in
England.
Cnut, 1016-
1035.

terrible troubles of the past, gained much from internal peace. Towards the end of the Danish king's reign, Malcolm II., king of Scots, invaded Northumberland and won a battle, but Cnut marched north and brought him to thorough submission. He died in 1035 at Shaftesbury, leaving three sons, among whom his dominions in Norway, Denmark, and England were divided.

In writing of the time when we find Danish kings ruling in England, we are led to inquire into the probable extent of the Danish element in our composite race. There can be little doubt that, ^{Danish influence on England.} in order to give the constituent parts of the English nation in their due order of importance, the poet's line should run "Saxon and Dane and Celt are we." Beyond all question, the main bulk and body of our nation is English and Saxon. At the period which we have now reached, the contest of two centuries between Saxon and Dane has come to an end, and the Danish population may be regarded as a part of the great English or Anglo-Saxon family. In blood and language, the Danes had been kinsmen from the first of those whom they had subdued, and were now by degrees becoming identical, in intermarriage ever growing more frequent, and in the possession of a common country and a common religion. Yet the local nomenclature of England bears very strong marks of the presence of the Dane in every region in which he settled. At the end of Alfred's reign, the Danish or Scandinavian immigrants, as we have seen, had full possession of a large tract in the north and north-east of England. Even as late as the twelfth century, the language of laws shows the difference of this district from the rest of England in respect of dialect, law, and nationality. A statute of Henry I. says that "all England is divided into three parts, *Wesser*, *Mercia*, and the *province of the Danes*." In the north and north-east, we have words and endings of words which are almost unknown in the southern and south-western parts of England. The terminations *-by*, meaning first a farm, and then a town or village; *-thorpe*, a village; *-thwaite*, a cleared spot; *-ness*, *-ey*, an island; *holme*, *beck*, *dale*, and *foss* (or *force*), a waterfall, are all Danish; and a common map shows nearly three hundred such names in Lincolnshire alone, and above four hundred in Yorkshire. The fact is good evidence of there having been a considerable proportion of Danish inhabitants in the neighbourhood of such places at the time when the names were bestowed. The strength of the Danes in East Anglia is proved by the number of Danish names in Norfolk. Derby and Rugby show the Dane in the Midlands, Denbigh in North Wales, and Tenby in South Wales. In Cumberland and Westmoreland the like evidence proves Danish settlement in great force. *Dale*, the Scandinavian *daal* or *dal*, is found throughout the Scotch lowlands. The result of such an examination of the map shows that the Scandinavian area includes the eastern coast district from the Wash northwards, and the western side of the country from the Dee to the Solway Firth, with the greater part of lowland Scotland, and a narrow

strip along the east, between the hills and the sea, northwards to the extremity of the island. The Danish element of the nation is also found, as a main constituent, in the Orkneys and Shetlands, the southern Hebrides, the islands in the Firth of Clyde, and parts of the Welsh coast. It is a more difficult task to attempt to decide what the moral influence of our Danish ancestors has been upon our race. If to the Angle and the Saxon we owe quiet energy, a spirit of stubborn resistance to wrong, love of freedom and of monarchy, and respect for law, it may well be that to the Dane are due a fierceness of courage in our soldiers as assailants, and an enterprise, a daring, and an adaptation to their element, the sea, in our sailors, which have contributed not a little to the extension and maintenance of the empire.

The successors of Cnut did not sustain the repute of their father. Harold I., The *Witan* decided that Harold, surnamed *Harefoot*, should 1035-1039. have Mercia and Northumbria, with London, and that Hardicanute (or Harthacnut) should take Wessex. Edward, son of Ethelred, came over with a Norman force, but was soon glad to retire, and his brother Alfred was enticed over by a forged letter, and then seized and murdered. Harold's character and reign are without significance, and he died in 1039.

Hardicanute now became king of all England. He was a mere tyrant, who began his reign by disinterring the body of his half-brother Harold, and then having it beheaded and flung into the Thames. He behaved, however, with some kindness and courtesy to his half-brother Ethelred. His chief vice was that of drunkenness, and he died soon after a heavy bout of drinking at a marriage-feast in Lambeth. The bride was the daughter of one of his chief thanes, Osgod Clapa.

BOOK IV.

COMING OF THE NORMANS—(1042-1100.)

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNING OF NORMAN POWER IN ENGLAND.

Early history of Normans. Norman character. Earl Godwin and Edward the Confessor. Their quarrel. William of Normandy. Harold, son of Godwin. His oath to William examined.

At the death of Hardicanute the English people had been under foreign domination for a quarter of a century. The glories of the race of Cerdic had vanished amid intestine conflicts, exhausting war, payment of tribute to rapacious foes, and subjection to Danish rulers. There was still, however, a people with the memories of Alfred, and the first Edward, and Athelstan, preserved in their national traditions and songs. A man of the race of Cerdic was at hand, and by the general voice, backed by the powerful influence of Godwin, the old line of English monarchs was restored in the person of Edward the Confessor. The distinctive name is derived from his mild religious character. He was the second son of Ethelred and his second wife, Emma, the Norman princess. If strict hereditary rule had been followed, the new king would have been Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, who was an elder son of Ethelred; but he was away in Hungary, and Emma's son was chosen at once in London. The choice was confirmed at a meeting of the *Witan* held at Gillingham, in Dorsetshire, early in 1043, and at Easter the new king was crowned at Winchester, the capital of Wessex. His chief adviser and minister was the eloquent and powerful Earl Godwin, who in January 1045 became also the king's father-in-law by the marriage of his daughter Edith to Edward. Little love existed between Edward and his mother, Emma, who had always shown a preference for the children of her second husband, Cnut, and one of the first acts of the new king was to make her powerless for harm. A meeting of the *Witan* was held at Gloucester in November 1043, and then the king and his three great earls, Godwin of Wessex, Leofric of Mercia, and Siward of Northumbria, rode to Winchester and seized her treasures of gold, silver, and jewels. She lived on at Winchester in a kind of honourable captivity until her death in 1052.

Edward
the Con-
fessor,
1042-1066.

The people of England had chosen an English king in blood, at least on his father's side, but the man of their choice was really a foreigner in language, tastes, and policy. The repute of this last king of the old English stock gained much in after time by contrast of his day with the period of Norman domination and the harsh rule of the two Williams. Men talked of the "good old times of Edward the Confessor," and told stories of his piety and meekness until they fancied him a saint, and made his tomb within the walls of his abbey-church of St. Peter at Westminster into a shrine for pilgrimage and prayer. For twenty-seven years Edward had lived in exile among his mother's relations in Normandy. He had no vigour of character, and his training had been rather that of a monk than one fitted for the descendant of a long line of kings who was himself to reign. He was a stranger now among his English people, a man familiar with other customs and another language than theirs. In his mind the great idea of nationality had but little place. There was, however, at his side an Englishman of high ability and of almost supreme power, who had an intensely national feeling. Earl Godwin knew that on the opposite shores there had grown up a nation that would be a more formidable enemy to England than any of the Scandinavian peoples. He knew that the conquest of England had long been the secret aspiration of the Norman. He saw his royal master, who spoke the Norman-French tongue and was a Norman in ideas and sympathies, putting Norman favourites on every occasion into high places in Church and state. English sees and English estates were bestowed on Normans. The court at Westminster was full of Norman speech and Norman fashions, and the court of Rouen became to the court of Edward the Confessor what the court of Versailles was, over six centuries later, to that of Charles the Second. The conquest of England by the Normans had begun in the holding of place and power by men of Norman race.

The Northmen or Normans were the very pick and flower of the Scandinavian peoples. What the Aryans were to the primitive races of mankind in the plateau of Central Asia, what the Hellenes were to the Pelasgic tribes who came into the olden land of Greece, that were the Normans to their brethren on the coasts of the northern sea. They had in their highest form all the best qualities that were inherent in the race. They were the foremost in courage, military discipline and skill, and in the power of embracing and improving on the culture with which their conquests soon made them familiar. They had now become the foremost people in Christendom. Towards the close of the ninth century, a party of Northern rovers, led by their chieftain Rollo, had sailed up the river Seine. In the Latin of the Chronicles, *Rollo* is the form of the Danish name *Rolf*, and this man was called *Rolf the Ganger*, that is, the *Goer* or *Walker*, because he was too tall to ride the small steeds of his country. The

invaders carried their arms even as far as Paris, but they were unable at first to get a firm footing in the land which they coveted. At last one of the feeble heirs of Charles the Great made a compact with Rollo. The rover was to settle down in the province called Neustria, a land of fertile soil, watered by a noble river, and with an extensive coast on the favourite element of his people. He was also to become a Christian and cease to ravage the country. In return for these concessions, Rollo should marry the daughter of the French king, Charles the Simple, and hold the province in fief of him, by homage done to Charles. Thus was founded, in 913, the Duchy of Normandy, and it soon became a powerful state. Its influence was spread by degrees over the neighbouring principalities of Maine and Brittany. Rollo obtained fresh grants of land from his suzerain, and, on his death in 931, he had firmly settled his people in the country. The hardy Northmen, established in a fertile region, under a warmer sky than that of their former home, adopted at last the speech, usages, and faith of those whom they had subdued. They did not lay aside the dauntless valour which had made them the terror of their foes on every coast from the Baltic to the Mediterranean. They gained and absorbed all the knowledge and the culture which they found existing in their new home. They were safe by their courage and arms from all foreign assailants, and they brought peace and order to the land of the Franks. They became almost fanatical holders of their new faith, and they improved and polished their new language, called from them the Norman-French, into the most refined tongue of the age, well adapted for high uses in legislation, poetry, and romance. The chief delight of their fathers, next to the conflicts of war, had lain in deep potations. The new Frenchmen of Normandy exchanged a coarse intemperance in meat and drink for the refined luxury of delicate banquets, where the products of skilled cookery were seasoned by the flavour of exquisite wines. A tribe of pirates became a nation of civilised people, devoted to tillage, handicrafts, trade, letters, and arts, but skilled also and courageous in war, and full of the chivalrous spirit which has worked with such power and effect on the morals, manners, and politics of the chief nations of Europe. The pride and magnificence of life in this formidable nation were shown by their nobles in large, strong, and stately castles, rich armour, fiery steeds, choice falcons and hawks for the chase, and in the mimic contests of armoured knights with couched spear in hand, where warriors and courtiers strove in tourney for the smiles of graceful dames. The gentlemen and nobles of Normandy were famed for their polished manners and winning demeanour, for elegance of speech and diplomatic skill. But the chief renown of the Normans came from their military exploits. On the field of battle none could withstand their skill and valour, and an improvement which they made in the art of war set their gentry to fight on horseback, defended by heavy armour and armed with swords and long heavy spears.

Such were the men whom, as Godwin felt, England had now to dread. He headed the English party that was jealous of Norman influence and encroachments, and, in his own person and through his family, was far more wealthy and powerful than the king. At the accession of Edward, Godwin held the greatest earldom of the south, including Sussex, Kent, and part of Wessex. He and his sons, Sweyn and Harold, were the lords of all the land from the Humber to the Severn. They had thus the command of the richest half of England. Sweyn had an earldom which made him governor of the north of Wessex and the south of Mercia, and Harold, the second son, was earl of East Anglia, including Essex. Earls Leofric and Siward looked askance at the growing power of Godwin, but they joined him, at the beginning of the reign, in upholding the throne of Edward. They drove traitorous Danes from the country, and asserted the English supremacy against Magnus, king of Norway, who claimed the throne as successor of Hardicanute. The king went on promoting Frenchmen and other foreigners. A Norman monk, Robert, Abbot of Jumièges, was made Bishop of London. The see of Dorchester (in Oxfordshire), a diocese which reached from the Thames to the Humber, was given to another Norman. In 1050 the Archbishopric of Canterbury was bestowed by Edward on Bishop Robert of London, in spite of Earl Godwin's prayer for the appointment of an Englishman named Ælfric. Since the earliest days of the Church in England, there had been no foreign Archbishop of Canterbury, and scarcely a foreign prelate at all. At the same time, numbers of Normans flocked hither from across the Channel, in search of booty to be made by way of favour at court. The king's sister was the wife of a Frenchman, Drogo, Count of Mantes, and an earldom was made for their son Ralph out of a part of the province of Mercia. At this time, too, Norman nobles began to prepare for the coming days of their power and oppression by building the first of the strong stone castles of which the ruins may still be seen. Normans held the chief posts in the king's household, and were appointed to the command of troops and fortresses. They "directed" the royal conscience and held the richest abbeys. Even the seal of wax, which Edward was the first to affix to his charters, instead of the mark of the cross made by earlier kings, was an offence to the English party. In the palace where Edith, daughter of Godwin, was queen, her father and brothers spoke their country's speech and wore their country's long mantle, whilst Edward gathered around him the short-cloaked Normans, and bade his subjects address their petitions to his clerks or secretaries, who only understood Norman-French. The Norman favourites made jests at the expense of the English earls, and the English looked for a day of vengeance on the Norman courtiers.

The other earls had come, as we have stated, to regard with suspicion

the influence of Godwin and his family. The eldest son, Sweyn, had been guilty of atrocities which indicate a period when violence is the ready instrument of power. He carried off an abbess, and for this crime he was outlawed. He then took to the old trade of piracy, and became a terror on the sea. His brother Harold and his cousin Beorn opposed the king's wish to pardon him, and then Sweyn seized and murdered his cousin. Even after this, the weak-minded Edward restored Sweyn to his honours and estates. The matter was not forgotten, and the character of Godwin's family was sensibly lessened in influence. Their strength was now to be measured, not merely with the envy of rivals, whether Norman or English, but with the authority of the king. Eustace, Count of Boulogne, had married Edward's sister, widow of the Count of Mantes. He came over with a great retinue to the court of his brother-in-law, and appears to have thought, from what he there saw and heard, that England was a mere tribute-land for the Normans, and the Saxon a born slave. On his way back to Boulogne, he was to stay a night in Dover. Before entering the town, he ordered his men to put on their hauberks, and in this guise, at the head of his followers, he demanded quarters of the householders. The burghers resisted the insolent Norman, and one of them, who refused entrance to his house, was cut down by the foreigners. A cry for vengeance arose, and the Count charged the people with his spearmen, so that many fell under the French lances. But their ringed mail could not save the intruders from the swords of the infuriated men of Kent. The townsmen armed in haste, formed in military order, attacked the Normans, and killed about twenty. In the end, Count Eustace and his men were driven out of the town. They rode off to the king, who was then staying at Gloucester, and gave their own version of what had occurred. The mild Edward was, for once, roused to great wrath. He sent for Godwin, in whose earldom the affray had taken place, and bade him visit the men of Dover with summary vengeance. The Earl told the king plainly that he would do nothing of the kind. They should have legal trial in their town-court, and he would see that justice was done, but he would not punish, without a hearing, those whom the king was bound to protect. For the moment, awed by the demeanour of his powerful subject, the king sullenly yielded. Then his Norman advisers came round him, and won him over to the belief that Godwin was acting as a rebel. He was summoned to appear before a *Witan* at Gloucester. There can be no doubt that, as the law then stood, the Earl had done his strict duty in defending the people of Dover against an illegal chastisement. The eloquent outburst of Lord Chatham was as true for Englishmen in the eleventh century as when the words were uttered seven centuries later. "The poorest man in his cottage may bid defiance to all the forces of the crown. It may be frail, its roof may shake, the storm may enter it; but the king of England cannot

Rupture
between
Edward
and God-
win, 1051.

enter it. All his power dares not cross the threshold of that ruined tenement." The Anglo-Saxon had the legal right to resist, even to the death, any one who presumed to intrude into his dwelling, as follower either of baron or of king. Godwin resolved to obey the king's summons before the *Witan*, but to go to the west in arms for defence against the king's Norman followers and friends. A great host under Godwin and his sons, Earl Sweyn and Earl Harold, assembled on the top of the Cotswold Hills. The demand was made that Count Eustace and his men should be delivered to their custody. Edward appealed for help to Earls Siward and Leofric, and to his nephew Ralph, the Norman earl. They raised what forces they could, and a civil war seemed at hand. The advice of Leofric and others averted armed strife, and it was agreed that, with an exchange of hostages, Godwin and the king should meet and confer in London. The only object of the king's party was to gain time for raising larger forces. Godwin fell into the trap, and disbanded most of his army. When the *Witan* met in London, Edward was there with a host of men wholly under Norman command, and Godwin and his sons, Sweyn and Harold, refused to attend without a safe-conduct, in the pledge of the king's word, and the delivery of hostages to secure the observance of the promise of safety. This demand was refused, and they declined to come at all. Then the *Witan* declared Sweyn an outlaw, and sentenced Godwin and Harold to banishment, to depart out of England within five days. Harold and his brother Leofwine sailed from Bristol for Ireland, and passed the winter in Dublin with Dermot, king of Leinster. Godwin and his wife Gytha, and their other sons, Sweyn, Tostig, and Gyrth, took refuge in Flanders at Bruges, with the famous Count Baldwin. The most powerful subjects of the king were thus driven from their homes and possessions. The saintly Edward now turned in revenge on his own wife, the daughter of Godwin. The innocent Lady Edith was stripped of money and lands, and robbed of every womanly ornament. From the court she passed away to a virtual prison in the monastery of Wherwell, where Edward's own sister was abbess, and might be trusted to keep her safe. The Norman influence in England was fast ripening into Norman despotism.

The departure of Godwin had left the way open for the coming of an

Duke
William
of Nor-
mandy,
1051.

illustrious visitor to the court of Edward the Confessor. This was the king's cousin, William, Duke of Normandy, a natural son of Duke Robert, and born at Falaise in 1027 of a woman named Herletta or Arlotta. The death of his father in 1035 left him a child-ruler, surrounded by turbulent nobles, some of whom disputed his right to the dukedom. When he grew to early manhood, he had to fight in the assertion of his claims, and he so bore himself both in action and in council as to give the world assurance that a new star of the first rank had risen above the political horizon. William the Norman was the greatest man of his time, and one of the great

men of all time. His bodily size and strength, and the fierceness of his courage, made him a prodigy of achievement in an age abounding in warriors brave and strong. No man could bend his bow, no man and horse could resist his lance. With iron mace in hand, either on horse or on foot, he would smite his way through a crowd of men, and, when a battle seemed lost to his best and bravest followers, his desperate valour rose to its height, rallied the fainting hearts, and bore them on to a final victory. As a ruler and a man, he was, on occasion, fierce of look, fearful in wrath, pitiless in revenge. His skill in strategy and tactics proved him to be a great general, and his manner of dealing with the political difficulties of his position and his age showed the able statesman. When he was twenty years of age, in 1047, he beat his rebel nobles in a fierce cavalry-battle at Val-ès-dunes, near Caen, and in a year or two more had strengthened his position into a complete mastery of his duchy. It was in 1060 that William reached his full greatness among the princes of France. His genius, and the rapid growth of his power, had excited the jealousy of his neighbours, and Geoffrey Martel, Count of Anjou, roused against him the enmity of the king of France. Normandy was invaded in 1054 by a powerful French army, but William met the attack with a cautious skill which soon rid him of danger. One division of the enemy was destroyed at the battle of Mortemer, and the other was glad to retire. In 1058 another French army was utterly defeated at the battle of Varville. Geoffrey Martel died in 1060, and then Maine and Brittany fell, almost without a struggle, into William's hands. He had reached this high position by the exercise of a fixed purpose and unbending will, and by a display of wonderful ability in mastering great and varied difficulties. He had had against him insecurity of title to the duchy, youth and inexperience, rival claimants, a turbulent people, envious neighbours, and a jealous, suspicious, and finally hostile suzerain; and over all he had won a signal and complete triumph. His country, from a divided state open to the attacks of every foe, became under him a loyal and well-ordered land, respected by all its neighbours, and putting most of them to shame by its prosperity. Tillage and trade were protected and encouraged, the Church was reformed in the appointment of fit men to high positions, and, under Lanfranc of Pavia, the school of the Abbey at Bec became the most renowned in Christendom. The virtues of William's private life as a husband, brother, and father are most highly esteemed by those who best know the profligacy and cruelty of the age in which he lived. Such was the man who, in the year 1051, came and saw the land which he was thereafter to conquer. There can be little doubt that what he then beheld convinced him that the country was well worth the winning, and that he resolved that, when the time came, he would undertake the enterprise. He would believe, too, that his work was in great part done. Godwin and his sons, the heads of the English or national party, were banished. The king had a Norman court about him.

Most of the few strongholds had Norman governors, and were garrisoned by Norman men-at-arms. The policy of the English did not repress foreign settlers, and there were Normans in every town. The nobles and the franklins or free farmers, the burghers and the churls, were large feeders and deep drinkers, and here was a people to be first surprised and conquered, and then plundered and oppressed.

If such were the thoughts of Duke William, he was for once wide of the mark. The subjection of England was to prove neither so near nor so easy as he might suppose. Godwin and Harold and his brethren were not forgotten in England, and their exile was not lasting. In 1052 Harold and Leofwine sailed from Ireland into the Severn. They landed at Porlock, in Somerset, and defeated the opposing thanes. Godwin came with a fleet from Flanders, and met with a warm welcome from the people of his old earldom of Wessex. Harold came round the coast and joined his father at Portland. They sailed for the Thames, and, on reaching London, found a strong popular feeling in their favour. The forces of the party of Godwin were drawn up in order of battle on the ground where the Strand now roars with the ceaseless traffic of men and wheels. In that day, the silent wavelets of the tidal river broke gently on a pebbly beach, with field and forest stretching far inland. Edward found himself helpless, and the *Witan* decreed the restoration of the earls to their offices, dignities, and estates, and declared them innocent of whatever treason had been laid to their charge. The Norman bishops, and Norman laymen who held civil and military offices fled in haste abroad, and the national cause, for the rest of Edward's reign, was secured against the foreigner. Godwin did not long survive his return to power, but died in 1053, while dining at the king's table in the royal house at Old Windsor.

Sweyn, the eldest son of Godwin, was by this time dead, and Harold, the second son, succeeded his father as Earl of Wessex. The earldom of East Anglia, now vacated by Harold, fell to Harold, son of Godwin, 1053-1066. Ælfgar, son of Leofric, Earl of Mercia. Harold, who was as ambitious as his father, and his superior in ability and tact, soon became the greatest man in the kingdom, and was the real ruler in Edward's name. He gained the king's goodwill by his quiet demeanour and skilful management, and Edward was glad to leave to him the chief conduct of affairs, while he devoted his own time to the building of churches, the gathering of relics, and the reciting of prayers, varied only by the pleasures of the chase. In 1055, the death of Earl Siward of Northumbria removed from Harold's path his most important rival. The earldom was conferred by the king and the *Witan* on Harold's brother, Tostig.

The matter of the succession to the throne had begun to trouble the childless king, and in 1057, by his invitation, Edward, son of Edmund

Ironside, arrived in England from Hungary, bringing with him his young children, Edgar, Margaret, and Christina. The uncle and nephew did not meet, for Edward the Ætheling died in London a few days after his arrival, leaving the young Edgar, who now became Ætheling, the sole male survivor of the old line of Cerdic. In the same year, the deaths of Earl Leofric of Mercia, and Ralph, the French earl, increased the influence and power of Harold. Herefordshire, the government of Ralph, was intrusted by the king to Harold himself, and Harold's brother Gyrrh had most of the earldom of East Anglia, on Ælfgar's succession to his father Leofric in Mercia. Essex, Kent, and the other shires about London were made into an earldom for Harold's other brother, Leofwine, and thus the sons of Godwin had most of England in their hands. In 1063 Harold did good service against a powerful chief in North Wales, who had much troubled the adjacent English territory. His palace at Rhuddlan and his ships were burned, and, after being thoroughly beaten in the field and pursued to the recesses of the mountains, he was deposed and killed by his own people. In the end, the land of Wales was, for the time, thoroughly subdued. In the year 1065 Harold gained more popularity by supporting the cause of the Northumbrians against his brother Tostig, who had driven them to revolt by his tyranny. Morcar, grandson of Leofric, became the new earl, and Tostig took refuge with Count Baldwin of Flanders.

In the year 1065 we find Harold the foremost man in England, enjoying the confidence of the king, full of ambition, idolised by the English for his generosity, and for the courage and military skill displayed in conflict with their old foes, the Britons of Wales. He was not only possessed of the energy of the warrior, but of the forethought of the statesman, and the suppleness of his policy was shown in his gentle and submissive demeanour to the king, whom he managed and swayed to his own purpose and will. It was but the natural result of Harold's character and position that he looked for the crown of England to become his on the death of Edward. His possible rivals were young Edgar the Ætheling and William of Normandy, and here we meet with one of the vexed and insoluble questions of history. We are told by some of the Norman chroniclers, who are by no means to be trusted in such a matter, that Edward the Confessor, when his death drew near, sent a message to William, by Harold's own mouth, that William was to fill the throne of England. William always declared that Edward promised him the succession, and this promise has been ascribed to the time of William's visit in 1051. As regards the right conferred by such a transaction, it is enough to say that an English king could not, by the law of custom and usage, appoint his successor. He could only recommend the *Witan* to choose this man or that, and the real choice rested with them, the nobles and prelates of the land. The Norman chroniclers

The suc-
cession.The suc-
cession:
Harold's
oath to
William.

are also the sole authorities for the story about Harold's oath to William, that he would support the Duke's claim and receive him as king of England on Edward's death. The English writers say nothing whatever about the matter, and the lack of their contradiction has been held to give consent to the substance of the Norman assertion. The affair of the oath was the chief ground on which William afterwards based his claim, and justified his invasion of England. The story is well known, but the Norman writers are at variance in details of time, circumstance, and place. The accounts state in effect that Harold was driven by a storm on the coast near the mouth of the Somme. Guy, Count of Ponthieu, was lord of the territory, and he claimed Harold and all the effects which he and his retinue had about them as his own property under the law of wreck which held in the county of Ponthieu. There would be goodly store of armour and jewels, embroidered mantles, and well-filled purses. Harold was held to ransom, and William of Normandy paid the money and invited Harold to his court at Rouen. Then, as the minstrel sang, to the strains of the lute, of the gallant deeds of Roland and Charlemagne, or as host and visitor rode forth to the chase, with hawk on fist and the dogs leaping before them, William told Harold his story of Edward's promise of the succession, and induced his guest to give his support. Harold was then required to swear, and he did swear, placing his hands to right and left upon two cabinets called reliquaries, which Harold supposed to contain some relics of a common sort, such as parish priests in England kept upon their altars. When the cloth of gold, which had hidden the relics from view, was removed by William's order, Harold found, to his horror, that he had taken his oath over the bones of certain saints and martyrs, which gave it a peculiar sanctity and force. As to the right of William to the English throne conferred by such a transaction, it is sufficient to say that Harold was not a free agent. He was in name a guest, and in fact a prisoner. He well knew what ambition in those days was capable of doing with men, however highly placed, whom it had within its grasp. The peculiar sanctity of the oath taken was bestowed on it by a kind of fraud, and, lastly, Harold's promise and oath, with whatever moral force invested as regarded Harold himself, could not bind, either morally or legally, King Edward and the *Witan*.

Edward the Confessor died on January 5, 1066, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and twenty-fifth of his reign. He was buried in the old Westminster Abbey, the first Norman church erected in England, which was consecrated only a few days before his death. It was almost demolished in the thirteenth century, when Henry III. cleared the site for his new minster, the present Abbey, built in honour of the Confessor, whose tomb was placed in what is still called "The Confessor's Chapel." About a century after his death, he was canonised, with the surname of "*The Confessor*," by

Edward
the Con-
fessor's
death,
1066.

a bull of Pope Alexander III. He was the sovereign who first used "the healing benediction," known as "touching for the king's evil," by which persons suffering from the disease called scrofula were brought for the king to give the touch which was believed to effect a cure. The practice survived until the days of Queen Anne, and the special service may be found in the prayer-books of her reign. This pious king deserves honour for his regard to the due administration of justice, and for the help which he gave thereto in the compilation of a code from the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. It is admitted that, on his death-bed, Edward commended Harold to the choice of the *Witan* as his successor, though some authorities state that this nomination was only wrung from him by the importunity of Harold and his friends. The only royal personage in the way of the great earl was the Ætheling Edgar, who was quite unfit from his youth, and his lack of other qualities. The *Witan*, for the first and only time, chose an Englishman not of royal blood, and on the day of Edward's burial, Harold was crowned and anointed king, in the new West Minster, by Archbishop Ealdred of York.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIGHT FOR THE ENGLISH CROWN.

William's claim and preparations for conflict. Harold at Stamford Bridge. Harold's march to Senlac field. The great wager of battle. Harold's death and burial.

WHEN the news of Harold's accession reached William at Rouen, he was moved to the deepest wrath. None dared speak to or approach him, as he clenched his teeth, strode up and down his palace-hall with unequal and hurried steps, and half-drew his sword from its sheath. But his anger did not make him forget his political craft. His first object was to gain to his side, so far as might be, the public opinion of Europe. He actually claimed the English crown as his by right of kin, through his cousinship with Edward. This, however, could impose on but few, as William was not of the royal house, as a descendant of Cerdic, or Egbert, or Alfred, and his kinship was only through Edward's mother, Emma. Then he put forward Edward's promise of the crown, and Harold's profanation of his solemn oath. Complaints were also made about Ethelred's massacre of the Danes, and of the injustice done to Normans in England by Godwin and his sons. The result was, that very many people, more distinguished by ready sympathies than by clear heads, had a strong impression that William was the victim of grievous

wrong. The Duke proceeded from words to actions, and sent an envoy to Rome to lay the matter before Pope Nicholas II. He called for an interdict to be laid on England—the England that had chosen a perjurer for king, that had expelled a Norman archbishop whom Rome had consecrated, that had ceased to pay the Peter's pence, which her pious kings of old had willingly yielded. The Pope was asked to bless his enterprise, and William promised, in case of success, to attach England more loyally and closely to the Roman See, and to pay again the regular dues. The moving spirit in the councils of Rome at this time was Archdeacon Hildebrand, afterwards the famous and powerful Gregory the Seventh. The prospect of the increase of the Papal power in England was just the bait to catch Hildebrand, and a solemn decision was given by the Pope and the cardinals that England belonged to the Norman duke. A banner blessed by the Pope was sent to head the invasion, and a hair of St. Peter in a ring gave further strength to the hearts and arms of the faithful. Two separate envoys had previously come from William to Harold to remind him of his oath, but the English king replied that he had taken it under constraint, and that he had promised that which it was not in his power to perform. Then William publicly denounced him as a perjurer, and proclaimed his intention of asserting his own rights by the sword before the year should expire.

The clergy throughout the Continent preached up William's enterprise as one undertaken in the cause of God, and the Duke's proclamation of reward to all who should serve him with spear, sword, or crossbow gathered together all the adventurers of Western Europe. They came in crowds from Anjou and Maine, from Brittany and Poitou, from Burgundy and Aquitaine, from Flanders and France. They were all inspired with the hope of getting land and money, of wedding English heiresses, and rising to the rank of "gentleman." William had at first some trouble in persuading his own Norman nobles to follow him to the war. They contended that their "knight's service" bound them only to the defence of their own country. They were slowly won over by the eloquence and craft of William's great supporter, Fitz-Osbern, seneschal of Normandy, and by a judicious expenditure of gold as a helper in private conference with William. Throughout the spring and summer of 1066 the axe was ringing in the woods of northern France as trees were cut down to furnish vessels for the troops, and all the seaports of Normandy, Brittany, and Picardy were busy with the building and equipment. At last a fleet of nearly one thousand small vessels was ready, and the armament, long detained by contrary winds, was mustered, in the last days of September, at St. Valery on the Somme. Many of the craft had been forced ashore by a gale, and the coast was strewn with the bodies of the drowned. The Norman host began to murmur that Heaven was against the enterprise. They

The in-
vasion
prepared.

little knew that the north-east wind which had for a month hindered their passage, and the westerly gale which had driven them into St. Valery, had both alike been working well for the issue.

Harold had gathered for defence the greatest naval and military force that had ever been known in England. The coast was strongly guarded at all points where the Norman Duke might attempt to land, and if he had not been detained for a month by the wind, William would have met, in August, with an opposition that would probably have changed the whole course of events. But Harold's army was mainly composed of militia or the general levy of soldiers, who could not long be kept from their homes. The farms were being left untended, and when September came, the host was disbanded, either to reap the later portion of the harvest, or to perform the usual autumn ploughing. The fleet which had been cruising in the Channel to intercept the Normans had also been obliged to disperse for the time in order to refit, and to fill up with fresh stores of provisions. This was the great crisis in the history of England, and thus did the elements work for the success of William of Normandy, and for the ruin of Harold, son of Godwin.

The Norman Duke was not the only foe who was threatening the peace of the country. The banished Tostig, eager for revenge on the brother who had preferred justice to the oppressed before the fraternal claims of the oppressor, had been ravaging the southern coast in the spring. He then sailed off to Scotland, and spent part of the summer with King Malcolm. He next engaged the king of Norway to join him in a fresh and formidable attack on the north of England. Harold Hardrada was the greatest warrior of northern Europe in that age, and had won wide repute as a man who had served in the hosts of the Greek Emperors of Constantinople, had warred in Sicily and Africa, and seen as a pilgrim the Holy City. Hardrada met Tostig near the mouth of the Tyne. He had brought with him the most powerful fleet that ever left the Norwegian ports, and all the best fighting men of his country. The very north-east wind which had kept William on the coast of Picardy brought the invaders of Norway to the coast of Yorkshire. When Harold heard of their landing, he hurried north with the only regular force of the country, his *hus-carls*, or household troops, and gathered on the way all the men who were able to join him. After a severe battle at Fulford, near York, Earls Edwin and Morcar, the governors of Mercia and Northumbria, were completely defeated by the Norwegian king and Tostig. York opened her gates, and the whole of Yorkshire submitted to the invaders. When Harold of England came upon the scene, a desperate battle was fought at Stamford Bridge, on September 25th. It is remarkable that Harold won the day by the same stratagem as proved fatal to his men a few days later. He tempted the Norwegians, by a pretence of flight, to break their ranks and pursue. The English

faced round, and a complete victory was won. Harold Hardrada and Tostig fell, and the slaughter of nearly all the chief nobles made it a kind of "Flodden field" for Norway.

The splendid success which had saved the north had been bought **William's** by Harold at the price of fatal mischief to north and south **landing.** alike. On the morning of September 28th the Norman fleet arrived at Pevensey Bay in Sussex. There was no man there to oppose the landing, and the invaders were soon quartered within and around the walls of the old Roman city of Anderida, stormed by the Saxons under Cissa nearly six hundred years before. On the next day they marched along the shore to Hastings, and there an entrenched camp was formed. The whole country for miles inland was ravaged to procure rations, in order to save the food brought over in the ships, and also to provoke Harold to risk an early encounter.

The English king was seated at a banquet in the city of York, after **Harold's** his victory over the Norwegians, when a thane, who had seen **march.** the Normans land, arrived in hot haste. He had ridden day and night with his news of fearful import, and he was soon followed by a churl who had seen the invaders erecting a timber fort at Hastings. The king started at once for London, after sending out men in all directions to summon troops to his standard. He had lost many of his best officers and men in the fight at Stamford Bridge, and now, at this most critical time, he was to feel the effects of the jealous disunion and the treachery which had often, in the time of Danish attacks, been so baneful to the interests of England. The men of Wessex and East Anglia came readily to join him, and many parties were picked up from the midland shires, as Harold sped on his way south. But the Earls of Mercia and Northumbria, Edwin and Morcar, who had just been saved from destruction by Harold's victory, left him now in the lurch, with the base hope that William of Normandy might conquer Wessex, and leave them to independent rule in the north. His brothers Gurth and Leofwine gave him a loyal support, and were at his side in the hour of peril. The king rejected the advice of some of his captains to lay waste the country between the Thames and the coast, and then await William's attack in London. It might have been the safer course, but Harold's blood was up, and, moreover, he could not bear the thought of burning the houses and ravaging the land of his own people. He resolved to fight a defensive battle in a position of his own choice, and he knew that the conflict could not be long delayed. The English fleet had now re-assembled, and cut off the invader's communications with Normandy. William's store of provisions was slender, and his only alternative was to defeat the army which barred his way inland, or be starved out in his intrenchments at Hastings and Pevensey.

On October 13, 1066, the army of Harold was encamped near a place then called *Sentac*. From the high ground north-east of Hastings, a

They were marching in three divisions along the ridge of hills beyond the valley at the foot of the ground held by Harold. They moved down to the lower ground, and there formed with a view to assault the English position from one end to the other. The air rang with trumpets, horns, and bugles as the Norman army prepared for attack. Of the numbers in each force we have no certain knowledge. In equipment and method of warfare the great advantage lay with the Normans. They were far better armoured, and a main part of their force was made up of cavalry, horse and man defended by mail, and the rider armed with heavy lance, sword, and mace of steel hung at the saddle-bow. This mounted part of the force included the Duke, his chief officers, and all the barons and knights. William's army also contained a large number of excellent archers, firing heavy arrows with great force from powerful bows. On the left were the men of Brittany, Maine, and Poitou, led by the Duke's nephew, a Breton noble named Alain. On the right were the hired troops and adventurers from Picardy and other provinces. The leader of this wing was a famous Norman hero named Roger de Montgomeri. The centre, composed of the Norman mail-clad knights and barons, with their men-at-arms, and the Norman armoured foot, was led by the Duke himself, riding a powerful Spanish steed. By his side rode his half-brothers, Robert, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the latter armed only with a mace, as fighting priests were not allowed to slay with either sword or spear. Close at hand, a knight carried the holy banner sent by the Pope.

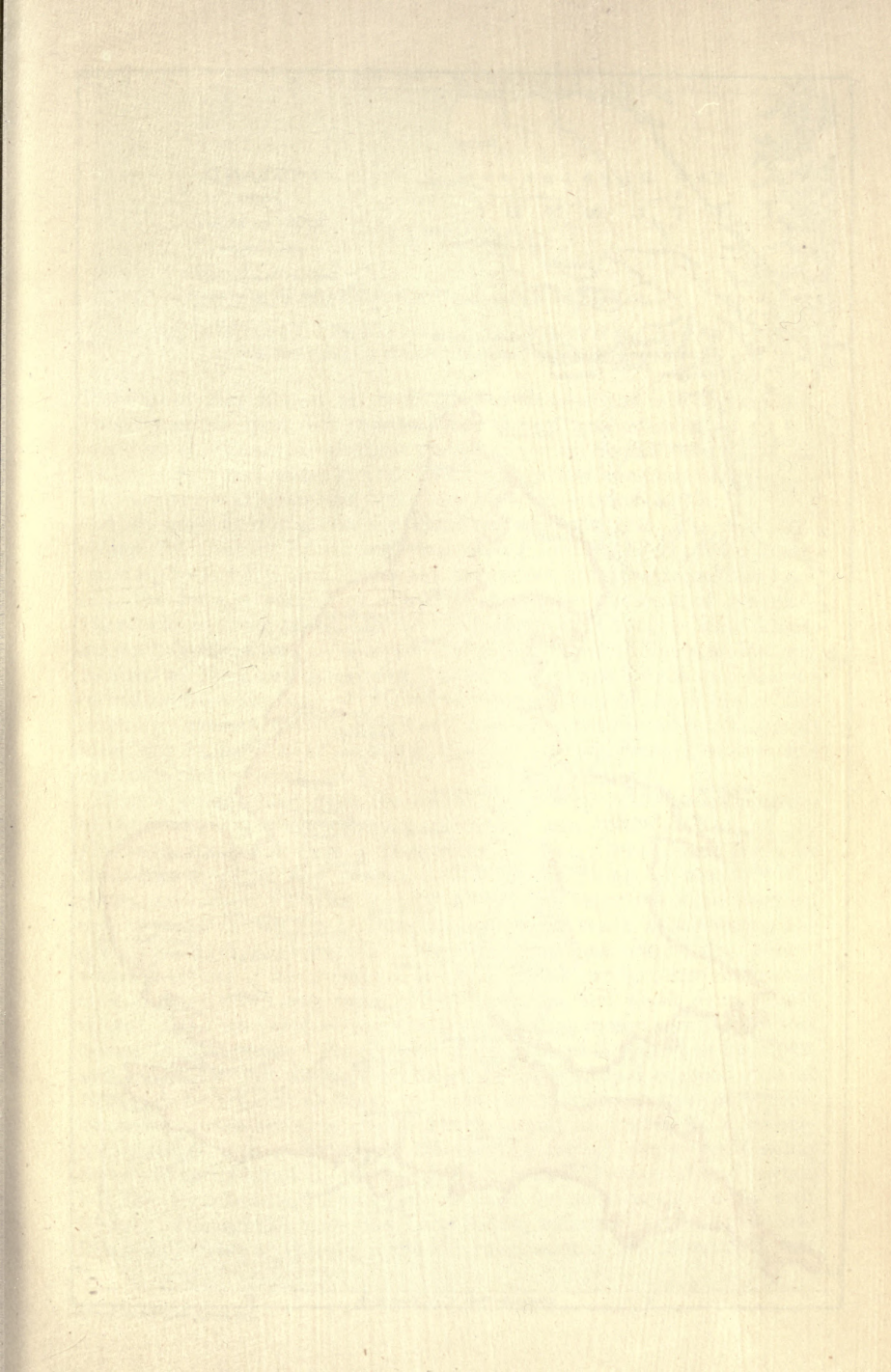
The battle began with volleys of Norman arrows, followed by the advance of the armoured foot, in whose rear came the horsemen. In front of all rode a minstrel and jester named Taillefer, who had gained leave from William to strike the first blow. He came on, singing of Charlemagne and Roland, and of the paladins and peers who died in fight at Roncesvalles; then, putting his horse to the gallop, he struck an Englishman dead, pierced through by the lance; then he laid on another with his sword, but was soon hemmed in and slain. The Norman host pressed on at all points, with shouts of "*Dex aide*," or "*God help us*," and a furious battle arose along the front of the barricade. The utmost courage and efforts of the enemy could nowhere force an entrance against the English defenders. Every man who came within reach was cut down by their axes. Hour after hour the contest raged, and no impression was made by the assailants. In vain did the Norman archers fire their volleys of arrows. The English shields repelled them all, and the lines of the assailants, at one time, turned and fled, rashly pursued by some of the English. A cry arose among the Normans that the Duke was killed, but he pulled off his helmet to show his face, crying, "I live, and by God's help I will win the day." William and Odo then rallied their men, and the pursuing English were severely handled before they regained their place on the hill. It is hard to elicit the truth from confused and conflicting accounts, but it seems that an

English charge at one time drove back the Norman horse upon a ditch or fosse which crossed the plain. Men and horses were rolling over, and much slaughter of the enemy was made. The Norman Duke reformed his men for another determined assault on the post held by Harold and his best troops. Again and again William had tried to force his way to the standard and meet the king face to face. In this new attack he came so near that Gurth killed the Duke's horse with a javelin, and then William pressed forward on foot, and slew Gurth in a hand-to-hand encounter. Earl Leofwine was the next English leader to fall, and Roger de Montgomeri, with the troops on the right, cut down with swords and hatchets a part of the English barricade. Harold and his men, however, still made so desperate a defence that the Normans again withdrew, and then William gave the order for the famous pretended flight which mainly secured him the victory. Another assault was made, and when the Normans turned, a large part of the English rushed out in pursuit. The line was at last broken, and the hill at many points was left without defence. The Norman horse charged up the slope, but again the brave Harold formed his men with their wall of shields, and the English axes still did great execution. At many parts of the field, a confused fight of single combats and small parties was now going on, with varied success. It was no lost battle yet, and, while Harold lived, none could say that the English would not win the day. The twilight was coming on, after nearly nine hours of conflict, when a device of the Duke's invention brought a sudden turn in the fortunes of the fight. The Norman archers began to fire in the air, so that the arrows fell like hail on the heads of the troops round Harold. Some were pierced in the neck and face, and all were driven to hold the shield above the head, so as to expose the body, and prevent the free use of the axe. At last the English king, as he moved his shield aside to make a blow with his axe, had his right eye pierced by an arrow. In the agony of his wound, he plucked at the shaft and broke it off, and then fell helpless between the royal standard and the Dragon-flag of Wessex. With a furious cry of joy a score of Norman knights rushed on to grasp the standard, but most were at once cut down. The royal banner was beaten down by the survivors, and the Dragon was borne off. Harold, as he lay on the ground, was killed with several strokes, and the last hope of the English was gone. Even then the stubborn English courage which has given splendour, in rare defeat and in many a final victory, to our hard-fought battles, held out against the Normans. The royal guard died, as it seems, to the last man; the Abbot of Winchester and his twelve monks perished, and Abbot Leofric of Peterborough only left the field when disabled for fighting by a wound, of which he soon afterwards died within the walls of his own abbey. The remnant of the English at last dispersed, and even in flight caused much loss to the Norman horse by enticing them on, here to steep, and there to swampy ground, where many broke

their necks, or were choked in the marsh, or fell by the hand of the pursued.

The conquering Norman Duke had fought like a hero throughout the day. He had lost three horses killed under him, and could show his shield and helmet dented in by blows. He ate and drank at night among the dead, and slept upon the scene of action. He had gained one of the great and decisive battles of history, after a struggle honourable to victors and vanquished alike, in which the leaders had shown the utmost skill and valour, and had been supported by the finest courage and endurance in the men whom they led. It was fought out to the very end, and it was worthy of its great and far-reaching political and social results. The old historian Daniel well sums up this momentous event: "Thus was tried, by the great assize of God's judgment in battle, the right of power between the English and Norman nations; a battle the most memorable of all others, and, however miserably lost, yet most nobly fought on the part of England." Two years later, William founded an abbey on the ground where Harold and the standards had been posted during the day. The old name of Senlac was changed, and the foundation was called *L'Abbaye de la Bataille*, whence we have the modern *Battle Abbey* and the little town called *Battle*.

The body of the English king had been much disfigured by blows inflicted after death by the fury of his slayers, and it was with some difficulty that it was found on the day after the battle. Two of the monks of Waltham Abbey, which Harold had founded not long before his election to the throne, had followed him to the battle, and they begged his corpse for burial in his own minster at Waltham. Harold's mother, Gytha, widow of Godwin, joined in this request, with the offer of the body's weight in gold for its ransom. The Duke refused to allow a perjured and excommunicated man to be buried in holy ground, and for a time the body lay on the sea-coast at Pevensey under a great cairn of stones. At a later date, after his coronation, William permitted its removal to Waltham, where the tomb could be seen until the dissolution of the monastery in 1540. The place was then pulled down, and the monument of the brave Harold vanished from mortal view amid the destructions and desecrations of the time.





ENGLAND
from
1066 to 1455

Scale of Statute Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 60

Longitude West 2° of Greenwich

CHAPTER III.

AFTER THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

Coronation of William I. English revolts. Completion of the conquest. Effects of the conquest on English institutions and character.

THE fall of Harold and his brothers had decided the fate of England. There was no man left to lead the brave and stubborn islanders in effective resistance to the victor of Senlac field. Nearly five years were to pass away before the conquest of the country was complete, but there was no pitched battle, and no general opposition made by the whole nation in arms. The ungrateful traitors Edwin and Morcar, on hearing of Harold's death, came up to London, and found the people not prepared to acknowledge that the foreign winner of one field should be the king of England. There was in their midst the lineal descendant of their ancient kings, Edgar the Ætheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside. The Archbishops, Ealdred of York and Stigand of Canterbury, joined Edwin and Morcar in calling together some of the surviving members of the *Witan*. The assembly, backed by the citizens of London, chose the young Edgar as king, but he was never crowned, and his position from the first was that of a mere puppet.

The conquest completed, 1066-1071.

The Norman Duke, after the battle, took steps to secure his position in the south-east of the country. While he was encamped at Hastings, he heard that a portion of his army which had landed at Romney had been attacked by the people of the place, and driven off with much loss. Stern measures were needful, and he marched in force to Romney, and made much havoc among the townsmen as a punishment. The next point of attack was Dover, where a strong castle stood on the cliff. The garrison surrendered at once, but the town was fired by the Normans, and much damage was done. The Duke showed his wisdom in paying the owners for the loss caused by his troops. He claimed the throne of England as his right, and, while he had severely punished those who had opposed him at Romney, he treated as loyal subjects the submissive men of Dover. There was much sickness among his men, and he waited for reinforcements from Normandy. Then he marched inland, along the Watling Street, towards London. The people of Canterbury opened their gates, but the Duke's advance was now delayed for some weeks by his own illness. During this time the Lady Edith, widow of Edward the Confessor and sister of Harold, made her submission to the Norman Duke,

William's march to London.

and agreed to pay him tribute for her dower-city of Winchester. The next move was straight to London, where his advance-guard of five hundred horse drove off some of the citizens, and burned, on the south side of the river, the suburb or outwork called Southwark. The people of London saw the flames with dismay, and the arch-traitors, Edwin and Morcar, were already planning another crime of cowardly desertion of duty. As William had no vessels by which to cross the river, he led his army up the south bank as far as Wallingford, where he crossed without resistance at either the ford or the bridge. He then moved on into Hertfordshire, and pitched his camp at Berkhamstead, with the view of cutting off the two Earls from the north. Edwin and Morcar at once hurried away with their forces, and left their young king and the men of London to their fate. They may have still thought that the kingship of Wessex would satisfy William, and that they would thus divide the country with him. How they fared will be shortly seen. They enjoy the rare distinction of having been faithless to four successive kings—Edward the Confessor, Harold, son of Godwin, Edgar Ætheling, and William the Norman.

There was nothing left now for the people of the south but to submit. Stigand and Ældred gave in their adhesion to William, and then the chief nobles and the young Edgar came to his camp and acknowledged his authority. Other bishops and many thanes, with the chief citizens of London, also swore oaths of allegiance, and thus, by such a show of consent from the semblance of a *Witan*, the Duke of Normandy became king of England. He was anointed and crowned by Archbishop Ældred on Christmas day, 1066, in the new church of the late King Edward, called the West Minster. He received soon afterwards the submission of other chief nobles who had not been present at his coronation, including Edwin and Morcar. Harold's standard was sent to the Pope, with other gifts of value, and rich presents were made to the churches and religious houses of Normandy, where the clergy and monks had offered prayers for the success of William's arms.

The position of the new king of England was one of great difficulty. The victory at Senlac was not the conquest of the realm. He had to satisfy the greed of his followers, and also to win, if he could, the affection of his new subjects. The estates of the crown were his, and he had confiscated the possessions of all the family of Harold, and of those nobles and thanes who had fought against him in the great battle near Hastings. It is said that he claimed from the first, by right of conquest, possession of all the public land (*folc-land*), and also of all the estates of the conquered. It is certain, however, that the lands, in many cases, were either left from the first in the hands of their owners, or were returned to them upon submission, or on payment of a fine or a sum of money for purchase. In fact, only the southern part of England was yet at his disposal, and it was needful to be wary, and give no wanton provocation. Edgar Ætheling was kindly received

William's
early
policy.

at court, and other nobles were welcomed as they came to give in their adhesion. Peace and order were restored, trade resumed its activity, and no change of the laws and customs of the realm was made. The liberties and privileges of London and other cities were maintained by royal writ. But, with all these wise proceedings, the king could not, from the very nature of his position, resist the employment of a stronger arm of government than mere conciliation. It was at this time that arose the beginning of the venerable fortress, hereafter to become also a palace and a prison, known to all the world as the Tower of London. Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, was the architect of the castle now known as "the Keep" or "the White Tower," which was built by William's order to overawe the chief city. Like fortresses were built at Winchester, Hereford, and other important places, and Normans were put in command of these and other strongholds. William Fitz-Osbern, as lieutenant of the south, lived in the castle of Winchester, and Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, was at Dover Castle, as governor of Kent. The title of *Conqueror*, which was now given to William, did not involve the modern sense of the forcible subjection of a people. It simply meant "an acquirer," whether by bequest of property or by purchase, or in any other way apart from regular inheritance. William had always said that Edward, the late king, had left the crown to him, and so he became its "conqueror" in a legal sense. Later events made the first Norman king William *the Conqueror* in the popular meaning. The conduct of the new ruler, on his assumption of power, had already begun to give confidence and hope to the English people, and quiet was maintained as long as the king was present to control his Norman adherents.

In the spring of 1067, William took ship at Pevensey, in order to keep the festival of Easter in his own country of Normandy. The rule of the south of England was left in the hands of Fitz-Osbern and Odo, and, in order to lighten their work, some of the chief Englishmen were taken over the Channel in the king's train. They would thus at once swell the pomp of the victor by the splendour of their equipage, and be hostages in his hands for the peace of the country which they were quitting. Among these leading men were Edgar the Ætheling, the Earls Edwin and Morcar, Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury, and Waltheof, son of Siward. This last noble had been created Earl, in 1065, of the shires of Northampton and Huntingdon, and he became, through David I. of Scotland, an ancestor of our royal line. The festival was kept at Fécamp with great splendour, and the Norman historian, William of Poitiers, who was present on the occasion, tells us of the admiration excited by the English nobles for their graceful persons, flowing hair, silver plate, and rich embroideries. The summer and autumn were passed by the king in the administration of his Norman affairs, and then evil tidings brought him back in haste to England. The Normans there

William
in Nor-
mandy:
begin-
ning of
troubles,
1067-1068.

had taken advantage of their master's absence to let loose their evil passions upon the conquered people. Odo and Fitz-Osbern paid no heed to the constant complaints of robbery and of gross insult and wrong inflicted on men and women alike. The tyranny of the conquerors drove many of the best and bravest English into exile. The Anglo-Saxon of Kent and East Anglia became the Varangian of Constantinople. *Varangians* (a term supposed to mean *confederates*) was a name given first to the Norwegian vikings, and then applied to those Saxon and Danish exiles who entered, as household-guards, the service of the Greek Emperor at Constantinople. These men had quitted their country for ever, but other Englishmen were looking for deliverance to themselves or to foreign aid. Sweyn, king of Denmark, was invited to come and re-possess the land of which Cnut had been king. The people of the south-west rose in arms, and, with the help of the men of Wales, held out against Fitz-Osbern. William left the rule of Normandy to his queen Matilda and his son Robert, and sailed from Dieppe for Winchelsea on December 6, 1067. He kept his Christmas in London, and then prepared to take the field in force, and act with vigour against all who opposed his sway.

In the four years which succeeded his return from Normandy, the subjection of the English people was completed. We are henceforth to see a dark change in the moral aspect of this great man. At the same time our admiration for his intellectual power, for his skill as a statesman and a soldier, will rise higher than ever. None but a man like him could have mastered both conquerors and conquered, and have made his will the only law for Englishmen and Normans alike. Both conspire and rebel against him, and the king holds his own against revolters at home and invaders from abroad. He quells all opposition by fire and sword, but, when order is once restored, he allows none other to disturb it. To chastise the robber by any means, by any punishment however merciless, was then held to be the first duty of a ruler, and William fulfilled it well. No man who was not of the greatest of mankind could have passed with success through such a career as that of William, but we shall now see in full play the unscrupulous and cruel part of his character. He never appears as one of the hateful tyrants who delight in oppression and injustice for their own sakes, but he stuck at no injustice or oppression which was needful to carry out his purpose. His will was fixed to keep the crown of England at all hazards and at all cost, and he was driven by opposition and revolt into the establishment and exercise of one of the most tremendous tyrannies on record. Oppression, exaction, and confiscation make up much of the history of the time. He could be merciful when mercy was not dangerous, but he could shed innocent blood without remorse if its shedding seemed to add safety to his throne. The repeated revolts of the harmless Edgar Ætheling are forgiven as often as they

William's
char-
acter.

occur, but Waltheof, caressed, flattered, and promoted, is sent to the scaffold on the first convenient pretext, because he is held to be dangerous. From that hour, we shall see the first Norman king's prosperity forsake him, and he passes through ignoble quarrels with his son, and petty, inglorious warfare, to a lonely bed of death from an injury caused by his own savage cruelty. The four eventful years in which William completed the subjugation of the English fill us with wonder at the surpassing energy of the man. He is in his forty-second year, capable of enduring the most severe fatigue, regardless of seasons or weather; marching with unheard-of swiftness from south to north, and west to east; leaving the high-roads to lead his men by shorter paths over barren mountains and through dangerous fords; always fearless and self-confident. At the Christmas of 1067 he is feasting in London. In those days the climate of England—then covered with thick forests and dreary marshes, and intersected by rivers that often overflowed their banks—was far colder in the winter and spring than in the cultivated England of our day. Yet in January his army is before Exeter, a walled city which had been growing great since the days of Athelstan. In eighteen days, after a stout defence, the place surrendered, and was saved from pillage, but henceforth was held by a garrison. Cornwall made no resistance, and the king returned to keep Easter (1068) at Winchester. At Whitsuntide his queen, Matilda, who had now for the first time come over from Normandy, was crowned in that capital of the south. She had brought with her the famous Bayeux tapestry, wrought by the hands of herself and her ladies, as a picture-history of the great events of the time. It is a roll of brownish linen, two hundred and fourteen feet in length, and twenty inches broad. It is worked in coloured thread with figures and letters perfectly bright and distinct, as may still be seen in the Hôtel-de-Ville of Bayeux. Odo, the Bishop of Bayeux, is supposed to have presented it to the cathedral of the town, where it was discovered in 1728. This valuable relic of mediæval art supplies several details of the invasion of England by William which are not found in the chroniclers, and gives an exact picture of Norman manners and garb.

When Edwin the Earl had gone in William's train to Normandy, he saw and loved at Rouen one of the king's daughters, and her father had promised to give him her hand in marriage. It has been thought that the Norman nobles looked upon such an alliance as debasing to a civilised lady. In their eyes the Englishman was a barbarian, and, though the Norman might well marry the Englishwoman, if she had beauty or wealth, it was a dangerous precedent to allow the Englishman to marry the Norman woman, and that woman a princess. From whatever motive, William, in 1068, refused to fulfil his promise, and allow the marriage to take place, and Edwin and Morcar left the court of Westminster in wrath.

The great
revolts of
1068-69.

They summoned the English and Welsh to their standard, and sent messengers in every direction to rouse the people to rebellion. Gospatric, Earl of Northumbria, beyond the Tyne, and Malcolm, king of Scotland, were ready to give help. The provinces beyond the Humber were the first to rise, but the prompt vigour of the king put down the insurrection before it became general. He marched northwards into the heart of the Midlands, and Edwin and Morcar dared not face him in the field. Then York was taken, and Gospatric, with the Ætheling Edgar, and his mother and his sisters, Margaret and Christina, fled to the court of Malcolm, where they were received with much kindness. The sons of Harold had landed on the western coast, but were driven back to Ireland. In 1069 a far more formidable effort was made against the Normans. Robert de Comines, a Norman baron, had been made Earl of Durham, and held the bishop's palace and the city with a body of five hundred men. In the stillness of night, the English assembled in great force outside the town, and, bursting in before day-break, they fired the palace and slew nearly all the Norman garrison. The people of York then rose upon the Norman holders of the city. The king again took the field in person, and this premature rising was put down with great slaughter. Amid the troubles of the time, the queen, Matilda, had given birth to a prince at Winchester, who afterwards became Henry I. She now returned to Normandy, and was safe from the worse evils which were to come. Sweyn, king of Denmark, became a chief ally in the cause of freedom. He had for two years been preparing for invasion, and the appearance in the Humber, in August, of a powerful Danish armament was the signal for a general revolt in the north, the west, and the south-west of the country. Edgar Ætheling and Gospatric came from Scotland to join the Danes, and the whole army marched on York. A new Norman castle had been erected there, and a garrison of three thousand Normans held that and the town, under the command of a knight named William Malet. Archbishop Ældred was there, his heart filled with anxiety for the issue of affairs. Malet declared that he would hold out to the last, and that the castle could never be taken, nor the walls of the town forced by men without engines. Ældred, however, well knew the temper of the townsfolk, and feared for what they might do. Malet had just sent forth a messenger to ride to the king, and tell him that the Normans could hold York for a year, if needful, when the enemy's masses came rushing up in columns at every gate of the city. The townsmen rose, attacked and overcame the Norman guards, and flung one of the gates open. A wave of helmets, spears, and axes came surging down the street, and Malet sent his men out *en masse*, with orders to clear the place. It was a brave act, but a fatal mistake. The Norman soldiers were hampered in the narrow streets, and the houses, closed against them, were held by the English and Danes. A shower of missiles from above and around, and the

attacks in front and rear of overwhelming numbers, slew the greater part of the Normans. A poor remnant escaped to the castle, where they were closely besieged by the enemy. Then the Normans, in their rage, shot fire into the wooden houses. The Archbishop died of grief, as the flames were spreading through the city, and, on the eighth day of the fire, the Minster itself was alight over his new-made grave. The town was reduced to ruin, and Malet, with the few remaining men-at-arms, made his escape by night.

William was hunting in the Forest of Dean when the terrible news arrived. He swore that not a Northumbrian should escape **William's** his vengeance, and started for the north with a great army. **success.** But with force and anger he joined craft and cool policy. He sent agents amongst the Danish chiefs, to try the power of gold, and their men soon retired to their ships and sailed away. The English fell back to the Tyne, and, after much delay caused by swollen rivers, the king and his army entered the abandoned remains of York, where the festival of Christmas (1069) was kept. The insurgents of the south-west, where the men of Somerset, Devon, and Dorset had come in swarms round Exeter, were repressed by William Fitz-Osbern, and the Welsh on the westerly border of the midlands had been already put down by the king. Waltheof and Gospatric submitted, and Edgar Ætheling again sought refuge with Malcolm of Scotland, who soon afterwards married Edgar's sister Margaret. She was a woman of admirable character and culture, who did much to civilise the Scots. She became the mother of Matilda, whose marriage with Henry I. united the English and Norman royal lines.

In the early spring of 1070, William issued his orders for the wasting of the whole country between the Humber and **Events of** the Tees. Every living man was to be destroyed, and every **1070.** article that could help to sustain life. Houses were to be burnt, the implements of husbandry to be broken up, and the whole land made a desert. In the famine which came thereafter, it is believed that one hundred thousand innocent persons perished. This ruthless deed has been regarded both as an act of mere vengeance and terrorism, and as a military measure of precaution against the invasions of the Danes and the Scots. So completely did the commanders of the separate divisions of troops carry out the king's orders, that, when the survey for Domesday-book was completed, fourteen years later, the lands of all the lords, and of the sees of Durham and York, were entered in the record as *wasta*—laid waste. The chronicler William of Malmesbury, writing half a century afterwards, tells us that "the ground for more than sixty miles remains bare to the present day."

The king then turned to the west, to make an end of resistance and revolt on the northern border of Wales. In March he **Complete** led his army to Chester, and his conduct on this expedition **conquest.** displayed the character of the man. The weather encountered was

fearful, and hardship amid the snows and rains, on hills and moors, with scanty food that drove the troops to eat their horse-flesh, brought the men to the verge of mutiny. Some of the mercenaries from Brittany and Anjou were sent home, and William pressed on with the Normans who were faithful. In every difficulty, he showed the indomitable energy and vigour of his body and spirit, and his arrival at Chester quelled the last hopes of the revolt. The bulk of the land was now thoroughly subdued, and the work next taken in hand was the erection, at all commanding points, of the strong stone castles which are still the most vivid memorials of the time. At Oxford, Nottingham, Warwick, Stafford, Shrewsbury, and Cambridge, and at many another borough doomed for a time to feel the Norman power, rose a castle, with its tall square tower or keep within, its bailey around, and all the appliances of the science and art of fortification, of which Dane and Saxon were alike ignorant. The general insurrection against Norman power had now rendered a large part of the lands of English lords liable to confiscation, and they passed by the king's gift into the hands of Normans and other foreigners. William also began to make great changes among the holders of office, and many posts, both civil and ecclesiastical, were now held by Normans instead of Englishmen. At Easter, 1070, three legates from the Pope presided at a council of prelates and abbots held at Winchester. Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was deprived of his high office, and the learned and able Lanfranc became primate in his place. Most of the other English bishops were by degrees replaced by Normans, and Norman monks took possession of the monasteries and expelled the Saxon clergy. We are not to suppose that all the Norman barons and clergy were men of mere greed and oppression. The spirit of Christianity had some power over the evil of the age. When Ingulphus, one of the king's secretaries, became head of the rich Abbey of Croyland, in the south of Lincolnshire, in 1076, he behaved with a brotherly kindness to his ejected predecessor. Many of the Norman bishops and abbots stood between the conquerors and the people, to mitigate oppression and to save the property of the Church for charitable uses from the grasp of private rapacity. If the wicked and cruel Ivo Taillebois, a Norman lord in the fen-country, hunted the conquered English like wild swine, another baron of the same parts enclosed the marshes of Deeping, shut out the overflowings of the Welland by a great embankment, and made a waste of impassable bogs into a pleasure-garden of fertile fields. Such were some of the healing influences of a time of trouble and wrong.

The restless Edwin and Morcar joined in a last English struggle made in 1071. Edwin was killed, in some obscure way, on his journey to Scotland, where he would again have sought aid from King Malcolm. Morcar fled to the *camp of refuge* of Hereward in the Isle of Ely. This hero of romance, styled "*the*

The last
struggle.
Hereward,
1071.

last of the English," had called around him there the bold spirits of the time, and made a final and most determined stand against the subjugators of his country. He drove away from Peterborough the foreign abbot and his monks, and repulsed again and again Ivo Taillebois and large bodies of Normans. The district which he held was then really an island, amid a waste of morasses and reed-beds. The gallant Englishman, a man of rank, who had returned from a long exile to defend his patrimonial lands against the conquerors, had the honour of drawing to the scene of action the greatest general of the age. No inferior man to William himself, and he only by the exertion of his utmost energy and skill, could subdue this last brilliant effort of the champions of English freedom. The king gathered a large naval force in the Wash, and blockaded every arm of the sea that was an inlet to the fens. Wherever a road led into the district, he closed all access by his troops. The camp of Hereward was entrenched in the midst of waters, in some places stagnant and thick with reeds, in others swiftly running, but in all places dangerous for the passage either of horse or foot. The assailant began the building of a great causeway, but at every pile which the workmen drove, Hereward came suddenly upon them, and the work made slow progress. After a blockade of three months, William was helped to subdue Hereward by treachery. The monks of Ely began to feel the scarcity of wheaten bread and fresh meat, and they made terms with the king for the discovery of a passage into the fens. The Norman troops entered the isle and occupied the monastery, and finally stormed the entrenchments. Hereward escaped to his own lands, and long kept up a guerilla warfare, but his after-fate is uncertain. Morcar became a prisoner, and died long afterwards in Normandy. Edgar the Ætheling submitted, and lived in quiet as a pensioner at Rouen. Malcolm of Scotland gave way only when William, at the head of his whole force, marched northwards to the Tay. He then came into camp and swore faith as William's vassal-king. The work was done at last, and the Norman conquest, in its outward form of military possession and subjection, was finished after five years of fitful warfare and resistance.

For a century and a half after the Norman Conquest, there is, in the proper sense, no English history. England becomes, for the time, annexed to the Norman dominions of her foreign kings. The Conqueror and his descendants to the fourth generation were not Englishmen. They were mostly born in France: there they passed the greater part of their lives: they spoke a foreign language, and almost every high office in their gift was held by foreigners. The more territory the foreign kings of England acquired in France, the more estranged they became from their dominions on this side of the Channel, and if they had succeeded in becoming rulers of all France, the whole future of these islands might have been changed. The total loss of territory in France under the worst of these alien monarchs was

Effects of
Norman
Conquest.

the turning-point in our history. Thenceforth the Norman nobles had to choose between England and France as their home, and, as they finally settled down in the country where their chief material interests lay in the shape of their lands, their castles, and their retainers, they became English in feeling, in language, and in all their aspirations and hopes. By intermarriage of the races the Norman element became by degrees blended with the English, and thus a great people was formed, with all its national peculiarities of character, and our forefathers became what we are, a nation of islanders, not merely in geographical position, but in politics, feelings, and manners. Two hundred years after the Conquest, the amalgamation of the races was all but complete, and the English nation was at last formed by the mixture of three branches of the Teutonic family of mankind with each other and with the aboriginal Britons. We have dealt with all the other elements in their places, and have now to consider what were the effects of the Norman Conquest upon the land and the people whom the foreigners subdued, and by whom the foreigners were finally absorbed. The temporary effect was bad, the ultimate and permanent results were highly beneficial. Even from the first, good was effected in the enforcement of political unity. There was an end of the jealousies and struggles of provincial rulers against each other and against the crown. William the First and several of his successors were strong men, who kept the barons in check, and maintained an internal peace which was of great benefit to the country. We have, indeed, for a time, the spectacle of two nations, as it were, living side by side on the same soil, a nation of conquerors and a nation of conquered people. They keep aloof from each other, the one in haughty scorn, the other in sullen abhorrence. There is no animosity worse than that of nations which, morally separated, are yet locally intermingled. On the one side we have, for a long time after the Norman conquest, the race of the rich and the idle, men of the army and of the court, knights and nobles, and dames of high degree. On the other part we see the poor and serving English, vexed by heavy dues, men of pain and labour, small farmers and artisans. On the one side are luxury and insolence, on the other misery and envy—not the envy of the poor at the sight of opulence to which they cannot attain, but the envy of the despoiled in presence of the despoilers. The Norman Conquest planted far and wide, as a dominant class in the land, a martial nobility of the bravest and most energetic race that ever existed in modern times. They came at first as oppressors. A hundred and fifty years pass away, and the descendants of these “iron barons” are English nobles, who stand forth as the champions of freedom for every class of the nation, and, sword in hand, extort the nation’s rights from the vilest of tyrannical kings. It is thus in a large measure true that England owes her liberties to her having been conquered by the Normans. The Saxon institutions were indeed the primitive cradle of

English liberty, but by their own intrinsic force they might never have founded the free English constitution. The Conquest infused a new virtue into those institutions, and the political liberties of England arose from the situation in which the English and the Norman populations found themselves placed in this island relatively to each other. They had a common interest against a common foe in the person of an evil ruler who sought to plunder and oppress them both, and they combined to wring, from the wickedness of John and from the weakness of his son Henry, first the Great Charter, and then the germ of the House of Commons. The latest conquerors of this country were also the bravest and the best. It was not merely by extreme valour and ready subordination to military discipline that the Normans were pre-eminent among all the conquering races of the Gothic stock, but also by their instinctive faculty of appreciating and adopting the superior civilisation which they encountered. They thus became the foremost race of the mediæval world, and though the brilliant qualities of their chivalrous character were sullied by pride, cruelty, craft, and contempt for the rights and feelings of those whom they held to be people of a lower class than themselves, they must be considered, on the whole, as noble specimens of mankind. Their gradual blending with the English softened these harsh and evil points of their national character, and in return they fired the duller English mass with a new spirit of animation and power. One of our great lyric poets has declared that the Normans "high-mettled the blood of our veins," and this witness is true. The field of Senlac, won with glory and lost with honour, was the first step by which England was led towards her height of greatness and fame.

CHAPTER IV.

ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAN RULE.

Norman feudality. The conquerors and the conquered. The new Councils. The legal and financial systems. The Church of England. Domesday Book. Norman way of life. The Forest Laws.

FEUDALISM, or the feudal system, was the most strongly marked feature of society during the Middle Ages, and the completion of the system in England, in its peculiar Norman form, is one of the chief facts connected with the Conquest. It was of mingled Roman and Teutonic origin. The Roman government used to grant possession of lands, in the military colonies or settlements, on condition of military service. The Teutonic tribes had the custom of men following a chief as their personal lord. The warriors who went with him to fight against other chieftains,

or to make forays on the lands of neighbouring tribes, devoted their lives to his service, and were ever ready to meet his summons to the field. In the earliest times, these companions, called in German *Gesellen*, whence comes the mediæval Latin *vasallus*, received no pay except their arms, horses, and provisions, with a share of booty made in garments, arms, furniture, and slaves. When the Roman Empire broke up under the invasions of Teutonic tribes, and vast territories were conquered by their inroads, large districts fell into the hands of the chiefs, and they gave certain portions of the territory to their followers, to enjoy the possession for life. These estates were called *beneficia*, and in these we have the first *fiefs*, *feuds*, or *fees*, which were the basis of the feudal system. A fee, feud, or fief was a piece of land held on certain conditions, which always included that of doing military service when required. The holder of the fief was his lord's *man* or *vassal*, *liegeman* or *retainer*, and the feudal lord was his *suzerain* or *liege*. As the son of a vassal commonly devoted himself to his father's lord, he received the father's fief on his death, and thus between the ninth and eleventh centuries fiefs became hereditary. The system was extended to the Church, and bishops and abbots held fiefs from the king, the right of succession belonging to those who succeeded the last holders in their ecclesiastical office. The feudal lords, barons, or tenants-in-chief, who held their lands directly from the king, made grants of land in turn to under-tenants, also called their *vassals*, on the like condition of military service. This feudal militia was the predecessor of the modern standing army, and it was the only means at the king's disposal for maintaining order in his dominions or for waging war against foreign foes. The vassals who held lands under a baron or tenant-in-chief could, in turn, sublet portions of land to inferior vassals, and thus there was a system of concentric circles of landholders, each under the influence of the next inner circle, and all moving in theory around a common centre, the king, as the supreme feudal lord. By the eleventh century, the whole of France and the German Empire had thus become one vast feudal possession. The system was well suited to the maintenance of right and privilege against the power of the crown. It ensured to a brave and free nobility, when the people were poor and disunited, the support, in a moment of need, of a powerful military force, and this fact had, in England, a most important effect upon the development of the liberties of the whole nation. Besides his claim to military service, the feudal lord had other rights and privileges touching the time and money of his vassal, in the shape of service from him as assessor in his courts, of various fines and payments, and of confiscation of his lands for crime. A great source of profit was laid open to him in the fact that he held the wardship of all minors, and the right of disposal of heiresses in marriage. The vassal could in his turn claim protection from the feudal lord in case he were attacked. When the

tenant was invested with possession of his feud or fief, he acknowledged his dependence on his lord in a ceremony called *homage* (from *homo*), by which he declared himself to be his lord's *man* for help and service. An oath of *fealty* or fidelity was taken by the vassal in a kneeling posture. He wore no spurs or sword, and placed his hands between those of his lord while he repeated the words of the oath. It is an error to suppose that the Norman Conquest was the first introduction of feudalism into England. We have seen that an approach to the system had already been made in the status both of the *thanes* and *ceorls*, holding land with liability to service; the thanes from the king, as officers of his armed force, and the free farmers, or *ceorls*, as fief-holders under a lord, to whom service was rendered in place of rent.

The Conquest had made the king the supreme lord and owner of all the land, and most of the manors were bestowed upon the Normans. The whole territory of the kingdom was divided into 60,215 fiefs, of which half were granted to the king's civil and military servants and followers, and half reserved for the crown and the Church. The possessors of these fiefs were required to equip and support a number of heavy-armed horsemen, in proportion to the size of the estate. The term of free service, without pay, was forty days in the year. There were about 1400 tenants-in-chief, or great vassals, of the crown, including the monasteries and other religious foundations. They were absolute proprietors of the land, which, in the words of the royal ordinance, was granted to them in fee, with right of inheritance. All their sub-vassals had the same right of holding in perpetuity. The estate, however, reverted to the crown, if the race of the original feoffee, or first holder, became extinct, and this reversion was called an *escheat*. Forfeiture to the crown also occurred in cases of treason or of *felony*, the proper meaning of which is, a refusal to perform feudal service, or any other violation of the vassal's sworn fealty. The tenure of their lands by the *tenants in capite* or *tenants-in-chief*, who held immediately of the king, was known as *knight-service*, and every estate of £20 yearly value was considered as a knight's fee, and bound to furnish one mounted soldier or man-at-arms. The peculiarity of the Norman system of feudality—one of great importance—was, that the vassals of the great barons, or tenants-in-chief, were required to take an oath of allegiance, not only to their immediate feudal superior, but also to the king as the superior of the whole country, and thus all the vassals were bound together by the common obligation of military service to the crown. The vassals of the great barons consisted chiefly of proprietors of middle rank, who had formed the gentry or inferior thanes among the Anglo-Saxons. The greater thanes had been mostly expelled from their holdings by the Norman invaders. The result of the special Norman arrangement was, that the Norman

king of England had a far greater power than that possessed by the feudal sovereigns of the Continent. An army of sixty thousand mailed horsemen could, with little delay, be called into the field. This military organisation, however, effective as it was to enable William to keep in subjection the land which he had won, might be used against the crown by the haughty and jealous nobles whom he had with difficulty controlled in their native Normandy. The wise statesmanship of the first Norman king devised a means of precaution against this danger. Whenever he granted large estates to any noble, he gave them in the form of manors dispersed in different counties, and thus no baron could have a great number of hereditary vassals gathered in one mass around his castle. The great earldoms of Anglo-Saxon times ceased to exist, and the counties were placed under the government of sheriffs appointed by the crown. The barons of England thus never obtained the excessive power wielded by those of Continental countries, nor did they attempt to exercise the right of carrying on private war amongst themselves, and thus setting at defiance the royal jurisdiction.

We find in Domesday Book, below the Norman vassals, two classes of men who were also liable to military service. These were the *freemen (liberi)* or *franklins* and the *soc-men*. The book gives their numbers as respectively 12,000 and about 23,000 in the year 1085. They were the small English freeholders or *ceorls*, below the rank of thanes, but it is not possible now to determine what was the precise status of each class under the Norman kings. What is certain is, that their condition became now semi-servile, and they were the subjects of great oppression and extortion at the hands of the Norman landowners. The petty *ceorls* of Anglo-Saxon times became little better than slaves, under the name of *serfs* and *villeins*. They became at last incapable of holding any property of their own, and were liable to be sold by their masters; one class of them, however, being only transferred to a new owner along with the lands to which they were attached, the other being liable to sale in open market, like any goods or chattels. This degraded class of villeins, by means hereafter to be told, became, at a later stage, the free peasantry of the land.

The old English *Witenagemot* was now replaced for legislative purposes by the Great Council of the Norman kings. This body was called *Curia Regis*, or the king's court, and *Commune Concilium Regni*. To this council of state were summoned the archbishops, bishops, and greater abbots, and the barons called *greater barons*. They were those who held lands from the crown on a form of tenure called *grand serjeantry*. They had thereby the right of both civil and criminal jurisdiction over their vassals in their own courts, while the lesser barons had only the civil jurisdiction. It was they alone who attended the king in his court (or, as we should now say,

The con-
quered
English.

(2.) The
Great
Council.

were peers of parliament), as well as with their companies of knights in war. The position of the *lesser barons* in this regard may be illustrated by that of the peers of Scotland and Ireland who are not "representative peers," or elected by the whole body to sit in the House of Lords. The Parliament of the Norman and early Plantagenet kings was therefore composed of a House of Lords alone. It is very important to notice that, by the constitution of old usage, the Norman kings could not levy money on the immediate tenants of the crown, or on their tenants, without the consent of the barons obtained in this Great Council. We here have the principle, which becomes of supreme importance under the Stuart kings, that taxes cannot be levied on the subject without the consent of Parliament. It is impossible to determine what legislative authority was possessed by the members of this council. The degree of control which it could exercise would vary, no doubt, with the amount of force of character possessed by its president, the king. There was, however, in these times little or no legislation in our sense of the word. Charters bestowing new rights, or conferring ancient privileges, were granted by the king, but it is not till the time of Henry II. that we find what we should call enactments.

The highest administrative and judicial business of the realm was carried on by the king with the assistance of a council, called also *Aula* or *Curia Regis*, the king's court. It was in attendance on the sovereign's person, and included the chief officers of state. These were the steward, treasurer, chamberlain, marshal, constable, chancellor, and chief justiciary. This last was the most important official under the Norman and early Plantagenet kings. He was president of the council, and, *ex officio*, regent of the kingdom in the sovereign's absence or incapacity from illness. There were other members specially appointed by the sovereign, and the whole body was the original of the present Privy Council. As the supreme court of justice in the realm, it answered, in some measure, to what is now the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

William had come to be king of England, according to his own claim, as the legal successor of Edward. As such, his policy was to retain, as far as might be, the olden judicial and administrative system. In accordance with the oath which he had taken when he was crowned, that he would maintain the good and approved laws of Edward, he appointed men who had a knowledge of the law to ascertain what laws and customs had been in use in the time of the Saxon kings. He then commanded that the law should be administered according to the same forms and principles as before the Conquest. Along-side of the county-courts and hundred-courts, there were now the courts of the barons, as lords of the manors, and from these an appeal was allowed to the *Aula Regis*. The old practices of *compurgation* by the oaths of friends and of *trial by ordeal* were retained under the Norman kings, but the latter was gradually replaced by the *judicial combat* or *wager*

(3.) The king's council.

(4.) Courts of law.

of battle in criminal cases, in which the result of the duel was held to settle the question of guilt or innocence in the accused.

One of the chief elements of the power possessed by the Norman kings was their large, fixed, independent revenue. The royal demesnes or crown-lands were their first source of income. In addition to the fixed rents, an extravagant king oppressed those who lived within his demesne by levying, at his own pleasure, heavy taxes called *tallages*. If any of the tenants *in capite* failed to furnish a man-at-arms for every knight's fee of land which he held, he was obliged to pay the king a money-fine called *escuage* or *scutage*. The tax called *Danegeld* was also levied upon all estates at the king's discretion long after all fear of the Danes had passed away. The sovereign raised a large revenue from the feudal fines to which his tenants were liable. A *relief*, which corresponds to the Saxon *heriot*, was a sum of money paid by the heir to his feudal lord on succession to a fief. The king was entitled to an extra payment of this kind, called *primer seisin*, on the death of any of his tenants-in-chief, provided the heir had reached his majority. This payment amounted to one year's profits on the land to which the heir succeeded. If a tenant transferred his fief to another holder, he was obliged to pay his lord a *fine upon alienation*. The *escheat* was the reversion of a fief to the superior lord, when no heir to the estate was left. One great grievance of the feudal system was the *aids*, which were contributions demanded by the lord from his vassal whenever he found himself subject to any extraordinary expense. *Magna Charta* retained three of these *aids*, being payments made by the vassal to the lord when the lord's eldest son was made a knight, or on the marriage of his eldest daughter, or to ransom his person from captivity. By *wardship* the feudal lord took charge of the vassal's estate and person during the minority of the heir, and was entitled to certain payments from the estate. Another source of great abuse and extortion was the right of the feudal lord over an heiress in her minority. As her guardian, he could offer her a husband, and, if she declined to take him, she forfeited whatever sum the greedy suitor had been prepared to pay the guardian for the honour and pleasure of the alliance. This was in time extended to male wards.

In the ordinance issued by William on the subject of *free service*, we find the words, "We will that all the freemen of the kingdom possess their lands in peace, free from all tallage and unjust exaction." This excellent theory almost utterly failed in practice. The exorbitant *reliefs* and *aids* extorted by the crown from the great vassals were demanded by them, in turn, from their feudal dependents. The estate of inheritance, which looks to be so generous and equitable an arrangement, was a constant grievance to the possessor, who could neither transmit his property by will, nor transfer it by sale. The only legitimate successor was the heir, however remote in blood. The *wardship* and *marriage* grievances lasted down to the

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time of the Stuarts. A gigantic system of oppression existed, in which the crown strove to grind down the greater vassals, and they, in their turn, made worse victims still of their tenants. If the freemen thus suffered in the tenure of their property, the landless were still worse off, and their whole personal property was at the mercy of their lords. This whole system was the working out of the theory, that the entire land of the country was the property of the king. The great body of the people was held in entire subjection, and it required the struggles of six centuries to cast off the chains which were riveted on the land by the success of William the Norman.

We have seen that the English Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury was replaced by William's friend Lanfranc, and that most of the higher English ecclesiastics made room for Norman bishops and abbots. It seems that the new monarch, judged from his appointments, really desired the religious improvement of the kingdom, and strove to secure good and wise men to fill the higher posts in the Church. One great change, the future evil effects of which were not foreseen, was made by William. In the times before Senlac, the bishops sat in the shire-courts along with the earls and thanes, and civil and spiritual causes were brought before the same tribunal. Separate courts were now established for the trial of all cases affecting ecclesiastical persons or things. The king's intention may have been to efface the idea of the original equality of the religious with the civil power. The king, at all points, kept a firm grasp on his ecclesiastical subjects. Every bishop, as a feudal lord holding lands from the crown, was obliged to do homage to the king, and he was not permitted, without the royal leave given, to excommunicate any of the king's tenants. The king's permission was required for any Church synod to be held, and his assent was needed for the validity of its legislation.

It is most important to observe that no change was made by the Conquest in the status of the Church of England as regarded the Papal power. The Normans did not introduce a new Church, or new methods of discipline or worship, but brought over their own Norman clergy, as they had brought their Norman nobles, and these men simply stepped into the places of English nobles and ecclesiastics. The churches in England were administered according to the ancient customs. Little change of the holders of office took place in the smaller benefices of the Church. The records of the time prove two important facts—that up to the coming of Duke William, and all through his reign, perfect independence from foreign jurisdiction was maintained by the English Church, and that the English Church, before the Conquest, was the possessor of vast estates, which the new king did not interfere with beyond appointing Norman clergy to benefices. The great inventor and promoter of the theory of Papal supremacy was the able and energetic Hildebrand, who became Pope, as Gregory VII., in 1073.

The purpose of his life was to give effect to principles which he thus expressed:—"There is but one name in the world, that of Pope. He alone can use the symbols of empire. Every prince ought to kiss his feet. He alone ought to nominate and degrade bishops, and assemble, preside over, and dissolve councils. No one can sit in judgment upon him." Hildebrand had been able to extend this spiritual autocracy over most of the Continent, but Britain had kept out of his grasp. We have seen above that the hope of increasing Papal power in England had induced Hildebrand, before his elevation to the Papal chair, to urge Pope Alexander II. to bless the enterprise of the Norman Duke. The conquest of England promised fair for his hopes with regard to the extension of the Papal power beyond the Channel. Three legates were sent to England, who demanded homage from King William in respect of his new realm, as he had already rendered homage for his Norman dukedom. The Conqueror's reply to Pope Gregory VII. is worthy of note. "Homage to thee I have not chosen, nor do I choose, to do. I never made a promise to that effect, neither do I find that it was ever performed by my predecessors to thine." It is clear from this that, prior to the reign of William, and during that reign, "the Bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction in this realm of England," but that English kings were supreme in their own dominions. Before the twelfth century, English primates always considered themselves ecclesiastically supreme in their own province, and no Papal decrees exist which can show that the Popes even claimed jurisdiction in the British Isles before the date of the Conquest. We see that William the Conqueror gloried in this independence, and he took care that the Norman clergy who were appointed by him to vacant bishoprics and abbeys in England should loyally maintain it. The Norman clergy realised their new position as Englishmen by adoption. They entered at once on all the claims of their English predecessors, and declared that, so far as their power went, the churches under their charge should suffer no detriment. Just as the Normans adopted the English codes of civil laws, amalgamating and re-stating them without material change, so the Norman prelates strove to consolidate, but not to supplant, the numerous and often diverse forms of public worship which they found in use in different parts of the land. The service-book called *the Use of Sarum*, drawn up by Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1080, became more generally used than any other liturgy. It was not a new prayer-book introduced from Normandy, but a compilation, for the use of his own diocese, out of the existing *Uses* of Britain. Thus did the Church of England, for long after the Conquest, remain what it always had been, an independent branch of the Catholic Church. The creation of a separate tribunal to judge ecclesiastical delinquents proved, however, to be one of the few mistakes of the policy of William, the wise and strong Norman king. The clergy were thereby raised into a distinct caste, not amenable to the common law of the land. The new court

should have been confined to purely spiritual matters, and then the serious trouble which arose between Church and State in the reign of Henry the Second would have been in large measure avoided.

The document called *Domesday Book* is one of the most famous memorials of the reign of William I. At Christmas, 1084, *Domesday Book* the king called together his Great Council at Gloucester. Much discussion ensued concerning the land, how it was held, and by what men. As a methodical and sagacious administrator, the king determined to know all about his subjects and territory. His main object was to have a sure basis for the purposes of his revenue, and the information acquired for this end is still most valuable in showing us the state of England at that epoch. There are really two books, one a folio, the other a quarto, written on vellum, in characters beautifully clear. The division into counties proves that this arrangement of the country was then universally established. The survey does not include Northumberland, Durham, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, nor any part of Wales or Monmouthshire. Commissioners were sent out to make inquiry, upon oath, from the sheriff of every county, the lords of each manor, the presbytery of every church, the *reeves* of every hundred, the bailiff and six *villeins* of every village, into these particulars:—the name of the place, who held it in the time of King Edward, who was the present possessor, the amount of land in the manor and in the demesne, how many *homagers* (free vassals bound to do homage to a feudal lord), how many *villeins*, how many *soemen* and serfs, what quantity of wood, how much meadow and pasture, what mills and fish-ponds, what the gross value in King Edward's time, what the present value, and how much property each freeman and soeman has or had. All was to be triply estimated—first, as the estate was held in the time of Edward; secondly, as it was bestowed by King William; thirdly, as its value stood at the time of the survey. The jurors were also to state whether any advance could be made in this value—an instruction which seems to reveal what was a main purpose of the whole work. The descriptions of land mentioned in the books are arable land, open country, wood, feeding of hogs, pasture, meadow-land, marsh or fen, and vineyards, of which thirty-eight at least are mentioned, belonging to most of the great monasteries. Other particulars refer to mills, salt-works, iron-works, lead-works, stone-quarries, and fisheries. The work was not intended to record population, like a modern census, so that we can form from it no precise estimate of the numbers of people in the whole country, or in particular counties or towns. We gather, however, that the counties of Lincoln and Norfolk had then the largest population, that York may have had 10,000 inhabitants, and London at least three times that number. Many curious glimpses are afforded of the condition of the people in cities and towns. Dover was an important place, commanding the use of four hundred and twenty

mariners for the king's service in war. At every turn, we meet with petty or serious exactions made by the king or the nobles. The city of Hereford was the king's demesne, and when he went to war or to hunt, men were to be ready for his service. If a burgher's wife brewed her husband's ale, he had to pay a tax of tenpence. The smith who kept a forge was forced to buy his iron from the king's iron-works. In Hereford there were seven *moneyers* or coiners, who were bound to coin as much of the king's silver into the pennies of the period as he demanded. At Cambridge, the burgesses were compelled to lend the sheriff their ploughs. Leicester was bound to find the king a hawk, or pay ten pounds. In Shrewsbury, there were two hundred and fifty houses belonging to burgesses; but they complained that they were called upon to pay as much tax as in the time of King Edward, although Earl Roger (de Montgomeri, a hero of Senlac field) had taken possession of extensive lands for building his castle. Chester was a port in which the king had his dues upon every cargo. A wholesome provision there was that the king had a fine paid by every trader detected in using a false measure. The modern lover of a draught of sound English ale will approve the regulation by which the fraudulent female brewer of adulterated beer was placed in the cucking-stool. This was an arrangement for ducking the offender in dirty water, a degradation afterwards reserved for scolding wives. In that day of wooden houses, particular care was taken against fire, as we see by the *Curfew*, which has been ignorantly denounced as an instance of Norman oppression. At Chester, the owner of a house which caught fire not only paid a fine to the king, but forfeited two shillings (equal, probably, to forty shillings now) to his nearest neighbour. We also remark, that in all the cities and towns, the inhabitants are described as belonging to the king, or a bishop, or a baron. This survey of 1085 gives the most complete evidence of the extent to which the Normans had possessed themselves of the landed property of the country. The ancient demesnes of the crown consisted of fourteen hundred and twenty-two manors, and, in addition to these, William held as his own, by confiscation, the properties of Godwin, Harold, Edwin, Morcar, and other great Saxon earls, and thus his revenues became enormous. Ten Norman nobles who held land under the crown are mentioned in Domesday Book as possessing among them two thousand eight hundred and twenty manors. With the era of peace and order in the land, came the time of castle-building, and Domesday contains notices of forty-nine castles, whereas only one is there mentioned as having existed under Edward the Confessor. Repeated mention occurs of houses destroyed, and lands wasted, for the erection of these strongholds of Norman domination. At Cambridge, twenty-seven houses were demolished to clear a site for the fortress which was to overawe the fen-districts. At Lincoln, a hundred and sixty-six houses were destroyed, "on account of the castle,"

In the ruins of all these castles we may trace their general plan. There was an outer court, an inner court, and a keep. Round the whole area was a wall, furnished with parapets and loopholes. The entrance was defended by an outwork, or barbican. The most remarkable thing about these fortresses was the prodigious strength of the inner keep or citadel, and thus many of these towers remain, stripped by time of every interior fitting, but as untouched in their solid construction as the mounts upon which they stand. When we mount the steps which lead to the ruined keep of Carisbrook, our minds are full of recollections only of its helpless captive Charles I., but this fortress is registered in Domesday Book.

The life of luxury in the royal and baronial castle and demesne, as well as the life of labour in the town and in the field, is vividly presented in the naming of the offices and occupations of men which occur in this interesting record. There we read of the king's lord-chamberlain, lord-steward, and chief butler, of the "providers of the king's carriages," and of his standard-bearers. The sports of the supreme feudal lord, and of his barons, were provided for by hawk-keepers, bow-keepers, foresters, and hunters. The stern work of warfare, and the sportive, though often rough and dangerous, contests of the tournament, come before us in the persons of the farriers and "armourers." The minstrels made more gay with song the hours of revelry, and the goldsmiths used their skill in framing plate for the banquet, and jewels for the persons of the Norman ladies. The wants of all were met by smiths, carpenters, potters, millers, bakers, tailors, and barbers. The list of occupations includes lawmen, *mediciners*, *launders*, *salters*, and *moneyers* or coiners. The country-life is seen in ditchers, bee-keepers, ploughmen, shepherds, neat-herds, goat-herds, and swine-herds. This last class of men was one of much importance in that age. Bacon and pork were favourite kinds of food, largely consumed by all classes, and in this connection we notice the exactness with which the amount of woodland upon every domain was registered. The timber was, of course, largely used for building, but it had no great commercial value, from the lack of means of ready transport. The value of the woods lay largely in their production of acorns and beech-mast, upon which great herds of swine subsisted, so that the trees were of essential importance for keeping up the supply of food. We constantly, in Domesday Book, meet with such entries as "a wood for pannage of fifty hogs." There are woods described as capable of feeding from a hundred hogs to thrice the number, and on the Bishop of London's demesne at Fulham a thousand hogs could fatten. In the Saxon time, the value of a tree was determined by the number of hogs that could lie under it, and in this survey of the Norman period we find entries of useless woods, and "woods without pannage," which to some extent were held to mean the same thing. The entries show that in some woods there were patches of cultivated

ground, where the tenant had cleared the dense undergrowth, and had his corn-land and his meadows. The fen-lands were of value because the rents were paid in eels. We find that the fisheries, in general, were important sources of rent. Payments of eels by hundreds and thousands are mentioned. The monasteries consumed vast quantities of herrings. Sandwich, which was then a town upon the coast, yielded forty thousand herrings yearly to Christ Church in Canterbury. The great seats of the fishery were then Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk. The Severn and the Wye had their salmon-fisheries, whose produce furnished rent to king, bishop, and baron, and the religious houses had their well-stocked *piscine* and *vicaria*, their stews and fish-ponds. There is little mention of forests in the record, because they were no objects of assessment for taxation. The New Forest is one of the few which are named, and the mention of this famous piece of territory, still so charming in its sylvan beauty, brings forward what has been held to be an instance of the wanton selfishness and cruelty of the great king. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle declares that William "so much loved the tall deer as if he had been their father." It is not likely that he, or his successors, would have much scruple about clearing a district, if the presence of human beings interfered with their sport. There is, however, good reason to believe that much exaggeration has been used in reference to the destruction of buildings, and the unhousing of men and their families, in order to form the New Forest. We hear of William's having "laid waste more than sixty parishes, compelling the inhabitants to emigrate to other places," and that "he substituted beasts of the chase for human beings, that he might satisfy his ardour for hunting." The district between Winchester and the sea was woody from of old, and there was no forest artificially planted by William, as some have imagined. The chases through the ancient thickets were opened up, and hamlets and solitary huts were demolished, but it is not likely that a large population ever existed in that quarter of the country, as the soil is generally barren, and fitted for little else than the growth of timber, the lower lands consisting of marsh, and the upper of sand. Domesday Book proves that the rental value of the cultivated parts of the district decreased, owing to the extension of the forest, from £363, under Edward the Confessor, to £129, at the time of the Norman survey, and this fact does not point to any great "devastation" of cultivated lands or of human habitations. The *Forest Laws* were, beyond doubt, of great severity. William increased the force of the penalties which had existed before the Conquest, so that the killing of a deer, or boar, or hare was punished with the loss of the slayer's eyes, at a time when manslaughter could be atoned for by a money-fine. These laws soon created the race of adventurous and gallant outlaws described in song and legend dealing with the names of *Robin Hood* and *Little John*; men who led bands of skilful bowmen, waging ruthless war against the king's or barons' deer, and plundering all the

wealthy travellers, whether laymen or ecclesiastics, who came within their reach. A careful register of mills in Domesday Book is a matter of some interest, as connected with the oppression of the time. They were invariably the property of the lords of the manors, and the tenants could only grind at the lord's mill. We are reminded here of one of the grievances of rural France before the Revolution, and of the pilfering attributed, in popular belief and proverb, to the whole race of millers. There is a repeated mention of salt-works, which were either pits upon the coast for procuring marine salt by evaporation, or were established in the places of inland salt-springs. The most numerous works of this kind, then as now, were in Cheshire, and their name of *wiches* gave us *Middlewich* and *Nantwich*. The Domesday register was completed by July 1086. William was now possessed of an exact knowledge of the possessions of the crown; a complete list of all land-owners; a means of knowing precisely the military strength of the country; a knowledge of the extent to which, if needful, the revenue might be increased; and an authoritative document to which appeal might be made in cases of disputed property. It was in the following month (August 1086) that William received the oath of fealty from all the holders of land in the kingdom, enforcing thus direct homage to himself, as well as to their immediate lords. The Great Council was assembled for this purpose at Salisbury, and the Norman form of feudalism was there and then established.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM I. AND HIS SUCCESSOR.

William I. and his nobles and sons. War with France. Death of William I. William II. and the barons. Character of Rufus. Dealings with his brothers. Archbishop Anselm. The king's mysterious death.

THE completion of the conquest of England did not bring repose to William. In 1073 he was quelling a revolt in Maine with william I. an army composed both of Normans and English. Then his 1071-1087. barons in England (1075) began to plot against him. The king, with the tyranny over the domestic rights of families which lasted down to Stuart times, had forbidden the marriage of Emma, sister of Roger Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford, and son of the minister William Fitz-Osbern, to the Breton noble Ralph de Guader, a warrior created Earl of Norfolk for his services at Senlac. No heed was paid to the prohibition, and, in the king's absence abroad, the bridal-feast was held at Norwich. Saxons and Normans united in murmurs which ended in a conspiracy. The English Earl Waltheof refused to take an active part,

but his wife Judith, the king's niece, basely betrayed his private knowledge of the matter, and inflamed William's mind against him by every kind of false suggestion. Lanfranc induced Waltheof to go over to Normandy and confess his knowledge of the plot, but his wife's wickedness had already destroyed him, in the king's secret purpose. The conspirators took the field, but were utterly defeated in Norfolk before William's return, and the ordinary prisoners had their right feet cut off, "in order to mark them for the future." William then came over from Normandy to decide the fate of the chief rebels. De Guader had escaped beyond the sea. The Earl of Hereford was thrown into prison, and all the estates of both were forfeited. Waltheof had been kindly received by William in Normandy, but was arrested on his return, and, after a year's imprisonment, he was tried, condemned, and executed at Winchester in 1076. The monks of Crowland Abbey, enriched by the Earl's benefactions, received his body for burial. Waltheof, who was regarded by the English as their last hope and defender, was greatly mourned by them, and regarded as a martyr and a saint. Men observed that from that time the career of William was attended by trouble and comparative ill-success. His half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, was the next offender who plotted against the royal power. He was arrested by William's own hands, when the officers shrank from seizing a prelate, and he expiated his treason by loss of all his treasure and imprisonment till the king's death. Then trouble arose with William's children. Richard, the second son, was killed by an accident while he was hunting in the New Forest. The eldest son, Robert, had been named, before the Conquest, as heir to the dukedom of Normandy, and he wished to succeed to power during his father's lifetime. The French king, Philip I., urged him to open revolt in 1078, but Robert was soon driven from the field by an English army under William and his old Norman officers. Later on, father and son met in a single combat under the walls of the castle of Gerberoi, and William was unhorsed by Robert, who then begged forgiveness. In 1079, Robert commanded an army against Malcolm of Scotland, and built the fortress on the Tyne which gave its name of *Newcastle* to the flourishing modern town. Then a new quarrel with the king sent Robert over to France, and they never met again. To the last, William maintained a stern rule over his nobles and the land which he had won. To resist his will with defiance was to court immediate ruin. Layman or priest, earl, abbot, or bishop, was stripped of lands and power. With all this, England found good in this hard sway. The country was kept in peace, and, amid all the legal and illegal exactions of the feudal barons, the householder and the wayfarer, under William the First, had little to dread from burglars or brigands. It is only here bare justice to record the king's humanity in matters not concerned with the maintenance of his despotic rule. He made an end of the punishment of death under sentence of a law-court,

and the only man executed in his reign was the weak and hapless Waltheof. He also abolished, for his time, the cruel and disgraceful traffic in slaves which was carried on at Bristol. In 1086, the king held his court at Westminster, where his youngest son, Henry, now eighteen years of age, was knighted by his father. He was called *Beau Clerc*, as being the lettered and cultured prince of the family, and he had been brought up under the tuition of the learned and sagacious Lanfranc, the king's faithful subject and friend. Early in 1087, William went over to Normandy, where he had to settle a long-standing dispute, concerning a piece of territory, with Philip I. of France. The English king had been growing stout of late, and for some time he was kept in bed by sickness. A coarse jest of Philip's roused William to fury, and he mounted his war-horse, and took the field with his army. As he marched from Rouen along the Seine in August, the ripe corn was burnt by his troops, and the laden vines were trodden down. The town of Mantes was taken by assault, and all within was given up to fire and sword. The king's horse stumbled and fell with him, as he rode among the smouldering ruins, and the injury done to the rider sent him back to Rouen to die. His sons William and Henry were with him. To William the dying king handed his ring, with the injunction to start at once for England, and engage Lanfranc's aid to secure for him the succession to the crown. To Henry was bequeathed a sum of five thousand pounds weight of silver—a fair fortune, in that age, even for the son of a king. Robert, the eldest, was at the court of the king of France, and now became Duke of Normandy. Earl Morcar and Odo were released from prison by William's order, and the chroniclers tell of a death-bed repentance for cruelty in England, and of atonement made by rich presents to churches and abbeys. On the 9th of September 1087, as the minster-bell of Rouen sounded at dawn the hour of prime, the great Duke of Normandy, who had gained the English crown, suddenly passed away. He was in his 61st year of life, in the 21st of his reign over England, and in the 54th of his rule over Normandy. A moral that needs no enforcement lies in what has now to be told. The moment the breath was out of his body, the late mighty king's servants set to work at plundering the room. Robes and linen, plate and armour, were seized by greedy hands, and the body was found by some humble friends lying bare on the floor. At their cost he was borne for burial to the church of St. Stephen at Caen. The scanty dust now left lies under a stone in front of the high altar, bearing in Latin an inscription to "William, Duke of Normandy, king of England." At the great French Revolution the republican mob, in their fanatical hatred for all kings, broke open the grave, and the bones of him who had been the terror of all men of his time were scattered to the winds. In passing finally away from this proud, stern, cruel, brave, and most sagacious warrior and monarch, we must record that, harsh as he ever was with those

who resisted, he was ever gentle and gracious with meek and pious souls like Anselm, and the Saxon chronicler contrasts his ferocity to rebels with "his mildness to good men who loved God." William the Norman needs, like all other men of great mark in the world, to be judged with a sober regard to the times in which he lived, and the material and moral forces with which it was his lot to contend.

William II., surnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red King*, from the colour of his hair, was crowned by Archbishop Lanfranc at Westminster on September 26, 1087. Lanfranc, the firm friend of the father, had moved the whole power of the Church in behalf of the son, or there would have been serious difficulty in the second William's succession. His own prompt action had helped to clear his way to the throne. He arrived in England before the news of his father's death, and in his name took command of the fortresses of Pevensey, Hastings, and Dover, and also secured the large treasure lying in the royal coffers at Winchester. According to the hereditary principle recognised by the Normans, the elder brother, Robert, had a clearer title, and, beyond this, the severance of the crowns of England and Normandy was greatly disliked by many of the barons. The known weakness of Robert's character would have made him a much more acceptable ruler than William, in the choice of whom as successor the wisdom of his father was once more displayed. Bad as he was, the Red King was a man who much resembled his father in the bold, haughty, and energetic part of his character, nor was he wanting on the crafty side of policy and rule. The separation of England from Normandy was very grateful to the conquered people, as a recognition of their nationality.

This division of rule was, on a special ground, odious to the Norman barons. They had large possessions in both countries, and would now owe allegiance to two feudal lords. If they clung to William, their suzerain in England, their Norman estates were exposed to severe exaction, or even to confiscation, from Robert: if they held rather with Robert, they were still more likely to incur ill-treatment from the rapacious and masterful William. The more powerful barons also envied the influence of Lanfranc, and at once engaged in a conspiracy to overthrow king and primate alike. The plot was headed by the Conqueror's half-brothers, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, and Robert, Count of Mortaigne. The pretext put forward was that of adherence to the claims of Robert, to whom Odo and some of his supporters made a formal tender of their allegiance. When the insurrection broke out in various quarters of the country, the king found his safety in the strong and almost unanimous support of his English subjects. They had learnt to hate the oppressive Norman barons, and the cunning William had already promised general mildness of rule, with a special reference to an amendment of the severe forest-laws. The English retainers of the crown and of many of the barons came

Conspiracy of barons.

William II., 1087-1100.

forward in great numbers to join the king's standard, and he was soon at the head of a powerful army. Odo, Eustace of Boulogne, and other leaders of the plot, with five hundred Normans, were besieged in Rochester Castle. It was the height of summer (1088), and the crowded state of the garrison, with the lack of due sanitation, soon produced an outbreak of disease, along with a fearful plague of flies. The rebels gave in their surrender, and marched out to the cry from the English of "A gallows for the bishop!" The king allowed his uncle to disappear from the country for ever, and confiscated all his vast estates. A rising in the west of England was suppressed by Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester, now the only prelate of English race, and the whole trouble was quickly ended.

In 1089, Lanfranc died, and the king's adviser was gone, whose influence had secured the throne for his master and former pupil, and whose firmness had for a brief space kept in check the more prominent evils of the king's character. William appointed no successor to the archbishop, and began a system of Church-plunder by holding the revenues of the see in his own hands. The treasure left by his father had been dissipated by the son's profligate and wasteful mode of life, and see after see, and abbey after abbey, were left without rulers, that the king might have the incomes for his own use.

The promises of good rule, made to the English upon his accession, were flung aside by a resort to the old oppressive exactions, and the tyranny now set up was intensified by the violence of the ruler's temper. William had soon found a more congenial minister than Lanfranc. There was in his court a Norman clerk, of the name of Ralph. He was handsome in person, fluent of speech, sensual in life, and ambitious in his aims. He received the nickname of *Flambard*, or *the Torch*, because, as the chronicler says, "like a devouring flame, he tormented the people, and turned the daily chants of the Church into lamentations." This man had a genius for inventive and extortionate finance, and contrived to swell the royal revenues by a stricter assessment of lands, especially those of the Church, than the commissioners had used in compiling *Domesday Book*. The laity were regarded by Flambard and his master as mere objects of spoil. The robber could loose the halter from his neck by the promise of gain to the king in disclosure of ill-gotten hoards. The barons made prey of the substance of the people, and the court was a scene of vice and of the most effeminate folly in dress.

From his own subjects, in search of fresh objects of plunder, William turned to his brother Robert of Normandy. He invaded his dominions in 1090, and captured some of his fortresses, but the nobles on both sides brought them to terms, and in the end an arrangement was made that, if either brother died without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions. The youngest brother, Henry, had been so using the money bequeathed to him by his father as to become an object

of some jealousy to his elders. Amongst other fortresses, he became master of the formidable Mont St. Michel, where the castle, on its lofty rock, stood twice a day amidst a plain of sand, and twice encompassed with tidal waters. He was there besieged by Robert and William, and the characters of the king and the duke are illustrated by an incident which occurred during the blockade. Henry could defy assault in his stronghold, but had no resource, after a time, against famine and want of water. When Robert heard of his distress, he allowed Henry to obtain a supply of water, and sent in some casks of wine. William expressed his disgust at such misplaced tenderness, but Robert exclaimed, "What shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst? and where shall we find another if we lose him?" Henry was forced at last to surrender from want of supplies, and was brought for the time to a state of poverty. Amid all these quarrels between the brothers, the people of England were the chief sufferers. The taxes levied for the contest in Normandy took away the very means of tillage, in compelling the people to use the seed-corn, and in 1092 the lands were left without cultivation. A severe famine followed, and pestilence came upon that. As a soldier, the Red King was, on occasion, an able and energetic leader. In the year 1092 he marched against Malcolm of Scotland, who had invaded the northern counties, and imposed on him terms of peace. Malcolm did homage to the English king, and Cumberland passed from the position of a Scottish fief to that of an English county. The castle of Carlisle was built as a fortress to hold the new acquisition.

In 1096, a new arrangement was made between the rulers of Normandy and England, which was destined to unite England and Normandy again under one king. The great stirring of the mind and heart of Europe, caused by the preaching of Peter the Hermit, had issued in the organising of the expedition known as the *First Crusade*. Robert was eager to join the enterprise, but lacked money for the equipment of a force, and so agreed to pawn his Norman dominions to William for the space of five years. The mortgage-money of ten thousand marks was raised, of course, by further taxation of William's unhappy subjects. He thus became virtual possessor of Normandy and Maine, but he had some trouble with his new subjects. An old quarrel of his father's with the king of France was renewed, and one of the chief barons of Maine resisted William's authority.

In 1099, the Red King was hunting in the New Forest, when the news arrived that the baron had defeated the Norman troops and surprised the city of Le Mans. The occasion was a trifling one, but it enabled the king to show his inherited energy and self-confidence. He galloped off at once to the coast, and jumped into a vessel lying at anchor. The day was stormy, and the sailors feared to put to sea. "Sail instantly," cried Rufus, "kings are never

drowned." On reaching the opposite coast, he put himself at the head of his troops, and his enemy fled without a battle.

We go back in the narrative for a few years in order to trace William's further dealings with the Church. In 1093 he had been, for four years, appropriating the revenues of Canterbury and of other vacant sees. In that year, he fell dangerously ill, and fear of death did what conscience had striven in vain to effect. The remorseful king resolved to fill up the vacant see of Canterbury. There was a man ready for the post, who happened then to be staying in England. Anselm, Abbot of Bec, in Normandy, was the brightest ornament of the Christian Church in his own day, and ranks among the most illustrious saints of all ages of Christendom. He was born at Aosta, in Piedmont, in 1033, and in 1060 became a monk at the Abbey of Bec, then under the rule of his famous countryman Lanfranc. Eighteen years later, he was raised to the dignity of abbot, and during the fifteen years of his administration the abbey became the chief seat of learning in Europe. Anselm's acuteness of intellect was matched by his tenderness and largeness of heart, his gentle manners, and sincere piety. As a thinker and a scholar, he may be regarded as the founder of the scholastic mediæval theology. All his efforts as a writer are directed towards the foundation of a reasoned system of Christian truth. Such was the man who, with great reluctance, accepted from William in 1093 the charge of the highest post in the English Church. He made it a condition that the king should acknowledge Urban II. as Pope, instead of the anti-pope Clement, whose cause William had espoused.

When health returned, the rapacious king dealt with the Church in his olden fashion. He kept benefices vacant, in order to appropriate the revenues, and was guilty of the grossest simony in the sale of spiritual dignities. From the first, he kept in his own hands the revenues of the see of Canterbury. The meek and patient primate cared nothing for his own worldly interests, but he could be bold and firm in behalf of his order, and of the independence of the Church, which in that day represented, in no small degree, the cause of national freedom. He protested against the brutal despot's lawless exactions from ecclesiastics, and when William, as feudal superior, demanded from Anselm, as baron and vassal, his quota of soldiers for an expedition into Wales, the Archbishop replied by a request that the revenues of the see of Canterbury should be restored. Anselm appealed in person to Pope Urban, and also thought it better for his own safety to remain out of the kingdom until William's death. It was during this absence from his see that the great theologian wrote his famous treatise on the atonement, entitled *Cur Deus Homo*. The book has ever since been esteemed the standard-work on one of the cardinal doctrines of the faith.

The King
and the
Church.

William
quarrels
with
Anselm.

The rule of William the Red King had been such as to arouse against him general hatred, and it has been supposed that he owed his death to assassination by the hand of one of his victims. The scene was the New Forest, the cause was an arrow-shot in the breast. As the sun went down on the evening of August 2nd, and shone with level rays of red amid the ferns and leaves of the woodland, the king fell from his horse a dying man, on a spot, as tradition tells, where now is seen a sweet sequestered glade, open to the west, but sheltered on the east by a grove of beech. The contemporary chronicler, Florence of Worcester, ascribes the occurrence to an accidental shot of Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, who was hunting that day in the king's retinue. The arrow, it is said, was aimed at a stag, and glanced from a tree upon the king, who had just fired a shot, and was shading his eyes from the sunlight as he looked at the stag which he had wounded. Tyrrel made off at once to the coast, crossed to France, and joined the Crusade. The body was carried to Winchester for burial, on the cart of a charcoal-burner named Purkess, who lived in the village of Minstead, where his descendants were still residing in the memory of the present writer. The only useful acts recorded of the monarch who thus perished are connected with the builder's art. A new bridge was erected by Rufus across the Thames at London, with a wall around the Tower, and a great room, with its roof supported by pillars, on the site of the present Westminster Hall, whose walls encase some of the old timbers.

Death of
William
II., 1100.

BOOK V.

THE GREAT CHARTER.

CHAPTER I.

THE STRONG RULE OF HENRY THE FIRST.

The first charter. The King's marriage unites Norman and English lines. Henry's conquest of Normandy. The King and the Church. Henry and his family-affairs. The Angevin marriage.

THE death of William was the lucky chance of the ready and unscrupulous younger brother Henry. He was in the hunt on **Henry I.** that eventful day, and, as soon as he certainly knew the fact **1100-1135.** of the king's death, he started at full speed on a ride of twenty miles to Winchester. His mark was the royal treasure stowed away in the castle, and a mixture of persuasion and force obtained for him the key from the treasurer, William de Breteuil. He then hurried off to London, and was saluted there as king by some barons and bishops of his party. On August 5th he was crowned at Westminster by the Bishop of London, and thus became king of England by a plain act of usurpation. The rightful heir was Robert, by the arrangement made between him and Rufus. He was now on his way home from Palestine, provided with ample moneys, obtained by marriage with a Norman heiress, to redeem his mortgaged dukedom of Normandy. The barons in general were greatly opposed to Henry as their ruler. They preferred the character of Robert, and were specially desirous of an unity of rule which would bring their Norman and English estates under the sway of the same supreme feudal lord.

The shrewdness of the new king, who had some of his father's higher qualities, showed him that the path of safety for an usurper, **Henry I's** who was unwelcome to the Norman barons, lay in the con-**charter.** ciliation of his English subjects. Their support was essential to a king who was to be in conflict, not with English resistance, but with Norman disaffection. In the reign of Henry I. we have a period of gradual progress towards the blending of the two races into one nation. A strong and sagacious ruler did much to raise the subjected, and to keep in check the dominant, class of the people, and a long rest from war greatly helped the towns to grow into wealth and importance.

One of the first acts of the new sovereign was to purge the realm of the evil ministers to his brother's vicious pleasures, and of the corrupt administrators of his tyrannical exactions. The hated Flambard, now Bishop of Durham, went as a prisoner to the Tower, whence his friends helped him to escape to Normandy. The next step was to recall the good and popular Anselm. In 1101 Henry made a large concession to the national good, in the publication of a *Charter of Liberties*. To the people he made engagement that he would govern by the laws of Edward the Confessor, a vague expression, which meant that he would rule in all things well. The Church received the promise that he would not keep in his hands any vacant benefices, nor sell them, nor farm them out. To his own immediate vassals the king promised a future freedom from arbitrary exactions in the form of *reliefs* or *aids*, and from feudal interference with the marriage of their daughters, and with the matrimony of heiresses and widows. The barons were enjoined to grant, in their turn, the same benefits to their sub-vassals. A charter was granted at the same time to the city of London, and this is held to have been the first step towards the place becoming a municipal corporation.

The choice of a wife made by Henry was such as to prove to all his **Henry's** strong desire to earn the goodwill of the great body of his **marriage.** people. The Princess Maud, or Matilda, was daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and of Margaret, sister of Edgar Ætheling. She thus, as a descendant of Edmund Ironside, was heiress of the old royal race of England, and her union with Henry I. joined the Norman and English lines. She had worn the veil of a nun in the convent of Romsey, as a protection from the violence of Norman barons, but had not taken the vows. Anselm made inquiry at a council of bishops and barons, and judgment was then solemnly given that "the lady Edith," as the English called her, was not bound to celibacy. The good Archbishop performed the ceremony, amid a scene of great splendour, and with the strong approval of the English part of the nation. The haughty Norman barons gave offensive nicknames to both bride and bridegroom, whose union they regarded much as a Southern planter, in the slavery-days of the United States, would have looked on a marriage between one of his class and a coloured girl of African origin.

Towards the end of 1100, Robert returned to Normandy, and was **Robert** encouraged by the exiled Flambard, and by Norman barons **and** in England, to assert his claim to the English crown by force **Henry.** of arms. On hearing of the threatened invasion, Henry carefully disciplined a large force of English troops, whom his own wise policy, backed by the influence of Anselm, had gathered under his standard. When Robert landed at Portsmouth in August 1101, he found himself confronted by this hostile array, and for some days the armies lay encamped in sight of each other. Both brothers shrank

from a contest which might prove ruinous, and the interposition of Anselm brought about a conference. Robert agreed to relinquish his claims upon England for an annual pension of 3000 marks, or 2000 pounds sterling, and it was settled that, if either died without issue, his dominions should fall to the other. A general amnesty was accorded to the adherents of each party, and a treaty of amity was made between the brothers.

When Robert had retired with his forces to Normandy, the English king, in despite of the amnesty, turned upon the barons who had favoured his brother's cause. One of the chief offenders was Robert de Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury, son of Roger de Montgomery, who had fought under William at Senlac. Of all the Norman chieftains in England, he was the most rapacious, cruel, and powerful, and when he refused to meet Henry's charges in a formal trial, and fled to his strongholds on the Welsh border, the king followed him with the whole military force of the country. Bridgenorth, after a long siege, surrendered to the royal troops, and then the king marched, with sixty thousand English foot, to attack the rebel at Shrewsbury itself. A wood which protected the town on one side was cut down, and a sound broad road was made for the passage of the troops. De Belesme was prudent enough to save his life by a prompt surrender, and the banishment of the oppressor, with the confiscation of all his lands, was received with joy by the English throughout the country. For the rest of his reign Henry had no more trouble with discontented nobles.

The weak character and dissolute life of Robert soon laid him open to his brother's ambitious schemes. Under the Norman Duke's rule, his country had become a prey to every kind of disorder. De Belesme, ruined in England, had vast estates in Normandy, and defied the Duke's power. He and other mailed freebooters ravaged the land, and made themselves a terror both to ecclesiastics and to laymen. The traders were great sufferers under Robert's feeble administration, and the king of England was called upon to give help and redress to the peaceful classes. The state of things across the Channel was a perpetual danger and trouble to Henry. Many of the Anglo-Norman barons were also vassals of Robert for their estates in his territory, and there was thus a conflict of interests and a discord of policy in the two countries. In 1105, Henry landed with an army in Normandy, and was soon master of Bayeux and Caen, the one by assault, the other by surrender. A conference was held between the brothers, but no agreement was made, and the state of Normandy was worse than ever for the people. Henry returned to England for reinforcements, and, landing again across the Channel in 1106, he gained a decisive victory over Robert at the *battle of Tenchebray*. Thousands of prisoners were taken, and the unhappy Robert became a captive in Cardiff Castle until his death in 1134. This event shows us the last of the English heir, Edgar Ætheling. Ever fighting in a feeble way

Henry
and the
barons.

Conquest
of Nor-
mandy,
1106.

against the established power of some *de facto* king of England, always failing and always forgiven, he now became Henry's prisoner, and at once received his freedom and a pension. He lived to a great age in England, in peace, comfort, and contempt. He had the gift of personal courage, but his lack of all other resources of character made his career one of ignominious length and safety.

The victory of Englishmen over Normans on the field of Tenchebray was gained on September 28th, the anniversary of the great William's landing near Hastings forty years previously. The coincidence of date was of happy and significant omen for the future of our country. The discomfiture at Senlac was already, in a measure, wiped away from our military annals, and the spirit of the lately subjugated islanders, who saw a queen of their own royal race on the throne, was stirred with a new and wholesome pride in the prowess of their own right arms. This revival of English feeling came at a time when the towns of England were beginning, by slow and silent steps, to prove their importance in the history of English freedom. An influx of Norman traders and craftsmen had been raising in commercial importance the cities of London and Norwich, and the charter which Henry granted to London was the first formal recognition, since the Norman conquest, of the old borough rights. The citizens now had the privilege of trying their fellow-townsmen, by old English law, in the weekly *hustings* or town-court, and we begin to hear of *wards* and *aldermen*, in the modern sense, and of the merchant-guilds and craft-guilds which played so important a part in the Middle Ages. In England, they were closely connected with the democratic element of the constitution, and came afterwards to possess a strong influence in the choice of representatives, and in the municipal administration. Other charters, modelled upon that of the city of London, were granted by Henry during his reign to the townsmen in several boroughs, and the rights thus conceded became the basis of a claim for the purchase of greater freedom in the time that was to come.

The dispute between Henry, on the one side, and Anselm and Pope Paschal II., on the other, respecting the right of investiture, marks an epoch in the history of the English Church. Investiture, in the feudal law, was the open delivery of a feud by a lord to his vassal. The ceremony consisted in the presentation, before witnesses, of some symbol of the property to the person who was invested with its feudal possession. In the primitive Church, after the election of a bishop, the early Christian emperors claimed the right of confirming the appointment, and Charles the Great seems to have introduced the practice of investing the newly-consecrated bishop by placing in his hands a ring and a crozier. The estate and honours of a bishop were held to be of the nature of a *fief*, and for these prelates were required to do homage to the sovereign. These claims of the supreme feudal lord were of great political moment.

The
English
revival.

Henry I.
and the
Church.

When the chapter elected a bishop, the king might refuse to grant investiture or to receive homage, and thus practically veto the election, and keep in his own hands the power of appointing bishops. In 1075, Pope Gregory VII., whom we have seen as a sturdy supporter of the ecclesiastical power, issued a bull forbidding, under penalty of excommunication, all lay-investiture. Anselm refused to do homage to Henry for his see or to receive investiture at his hands, and Pope Paschal strongly supported the English primate. After a long dispute, the matter was settled by a compromise, in which Henry agreed to forego the ceremony of investiture, by which the spiritual office was held to be conferred, and the Pope allowed bishops to do homage for their temporal property. Anselm only survived by two years the arrangement thus made in 1107.

The conquest of Normandy was a troublesome gain to the king of England. The cause of the young William, son of the captive Robert, was taken up by the French king Louis, and ^{Henry and Nor-} open war came at last between France and Normandy. In ^{mandy.} 1119, the French were defeated at Noyon, between Rouen and Paris, but trouble did not cease till the death of the king's nephew in 1128, and the English people were greatly burdened by exactions to support the expense of Henry's warfare.

The private life of Henry was not such as a wife like the "good Queen Maud" could regard with approval, or continue to share with self-respect, and, at the time of her death in 1118, ^{The king's domestic affairs.} she had long retired from the palace to reside in the monastery of Westminster, where she spent her revenues in the relief of the sick, and her time in acts of penitence and piety. The issue of her union with Henry had been a daughter and a son. The daughter, Matilda, known as "the Empress Maud," was married in 1114 to the Emperor Henry V. of Germany, who left her a childless widow in 1125. The son, Prince William, perished by drowning in 1120, in the terrible and well-known catastrophe of the loss of the *Blanche-Nef* or *White Ship*. A gang of drunken rowers, and a steersman full of wine, were the agents in driving the vessel upon a rock as she left the harbour of Barfleur. She filled and went down at once, taking with her the young prince and nearly a hundred and fifty young nobles of the chief families in England and Normandy. The event was a dreadful blow to the king, and he felt it to the end of his life. In 1121, Henry took a second wife in Adalais, daughter of the Duke of Louvain, but no children were born, and the question of the succession began to trouble the king, as the next male heir was his nephew William, the son of Robert. He therefore took measures to secure the throne for his daughter Matilda, and at Christmas, 1126, a council was held at Windsor of barons, bishops, and other great tenants of the crown. The ex-empress Maud was declared next heir, if the king died without any male children, and all swore to maintain her succes-

sion. Amongst those who took the oath were Stephen, Count of Boulogne, a nephew of the king, as son of his sister Adela, and Robert, Earl of Gloucester, one of Henry's natural children. David, king of Scotland, was there as an English earl, and also swore to maintain the succession of his niece Matilda. In order to further his daughter's cause, Henry procured her marriage with the young Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk, Count of Anjou. He was one of a line of men remarkable for a combination of intellectual power as statesmen with great moral depravity. Fulk the Black, the greatest man of the Angevin house, died in 1040, after fifty years of successful wickedness, which left Anjou the most powerful of all the provinces of France. The Count Fulk of Henry's time was the most formidable of the foes of the English king, and it was for this reason that he sought to disarm the father by a marriage-alliance with the son. The young Geoffrey had already become Count of Anjou by his father's cession of the province and title, and his habit of wearing in his helmet the common broom of Anjou (the *planta genista*) had gained for him the surname *Plantagenet*, destined to become immortal in its connection with our history. The marriage of Matilda with Geoffrey of Anjou took place at Rouen in 1127, but did not prove a happy one, and was a constant source of trouble to the father-in-law, Henry. A son, however, was born in 1133, and received the name of Henry, after the king, his grandfather. The oath to maintain the succession was again taken by the barons, and the king then appeared to have firmly secured a peaceful succession to his daughter and her son.

The chief advantages derived by England from the rule of Henry I. were that, along with his own arbitrary and oppressive conduct, he maintained peace in the land, and restrained the tyranny of the barons. A new class of nobles arose, whom the vigorous administration of Henry made use of as sheriffs of the counties and judges in the courts. The Norman system of government, which had been inaugurated by William I., was extended into the complete form which has been already sketched. The king's severe treatment of thieves and marauders gave him the popular name of "the lion of justice." In 1124, forty-four robbers were put to death, after trial and conviction at a court held in Leicestershire. The coin was much debased and worn, and the currency was greatly imitated by coiners of sham silver. The counterfeiters were dealt with by mutilation, and, at one trial, out of fifty accused persons, four only escaped the loss of the right hand. The evil side of Henry's government was the severe taxation of all classes. The small tiller of the land suffered along with the baron, the bishop, and the monastic bodies. We are told that the very doors were taken off the houses, when the people could no longer pay; and a writer of the time relates that a troop of wretched cultivators came once to the king's palace, and flung down their ploughshares, as the capital was all exhausted

Henry's
general
adminis-
tration.

which alone could set the ploughs to work. Henry added to the severity of the forest-laws which had been enforced by his two predecessors. The chronicler tells us that "he reserved for his own sport the beasts of chase in the forests of England, and even caused all dogs that were kept on the verge of the woods to be mutilated by having a claw cut off," and that it was "with reluctance that he licensed his own particular friends, and a few of the greater nobles, to have the privilege of hunting in their own forests." The high position attained by London is shown by the fact that, among those who had this privilege, were the nobles, bishops, and burgesses, who, according to Henry's charter, were warranted to "have their hunting-grounds, as was best and most fully enjoyed by their predecessors, that is, in Chiltern (the wooded hilly district in Bucks), in Middlesex, and in Surrey."

After a reign of nearly five-and-thirty years, in which the country had made undoubted progress, largely due to the effective way in which a despotic and rapacious ruler had put down all petty tyrants, Henry I. died on December 1, 1135, at his favourite hunting-seat near Rouen, known as the Castle of Lions. He was in the 67th year of his age, and the cause of his death was a fit of illness following upon over-indulgence in lampreys, a fish resembling the eel, and well known, according to Pliny, to the epicures of Rome. Henry was buried at Reading, in the abbey of which he was founder.

CHAPTER II.

THE REIGN OF ANARCHY AND CIVIL WAR.

Stephen the usurper. Matilda and her supporters. Battle of Northallerton. The King and the Church. Matilda's brief rule. Feudal characters. Horrors of the civil war. Archbishop Theobald. Literature of the age.

THE internal tranquillity which had existed during most of the reigns of the three first Norman kings was now to come to an end, and to be followed by a period of disorder and misery so dreadful, as to transcend all that would be invented by the most daring writer of fiction. The late king had, by his will, left his daughter Matilda, or "the Empress Maud," heir to all his dominions. No mention was made of her husband, Geoffrey Plantagenet. The late king's nephew, Stephen, Earl of Boulogne, son of the Count of Blois, was the nearest male heir to the throne, with the exception of his own elder brother, Henry. Robert of Normandy had died in 1134, still a captive at Cardiff, and his son, the cousin of Stephen, was also deceased. Great favour had been shown to his two young kinsmen by

the late king. Henry of Blois was appointed Bishop of Winchester, and Stephen became a great landed proprietor. He had lived much in England, where he was an universal favourite. The chronicler states that "from his complacency of manners, and his readiness to joke, and sit and regale even with low people, he had gained so much on their affections as is hardly to be conceived." Stephen was now to show how little of moral principle went along with his charming good-humour, and his lavish generosity to boon companions and friends. He had sworn, as we have seen, to support the succession of Matilda. From the death-bed of his uncle he started at once for England, and landed, with great propriety, as an omen of his reign, during a winter-storm of thunder and lightning. He had come to carry out a long-prepared and well-organised plan, and, when the gates of Dover and Canterbury were closed against him, he went boldly on to London. His brother Henry had been working in his favour on the minds of the dignitaries of the Church, but the first people to welcome Stephen as successor were the citizens of London. Their aldermen presided at a meeting of the people, and he was by them chosen and hailed as king amid tumultuous applause. Oaths of allegiance and of good government were interchanged, and this irregular proceeding seems to have been confirmed by a certain number of bishops and barons. There is no doubt that many of the nobles, and of the English people also, felt a strong objection to the rule of a female sovereign. The idea of a lady as ruler was out of harmony both with old traditions and with warlike habits. Under the feudal system, the king was the great military chief, as well as the dispenser of justice and the guardian of property. Two hundred and fifty years had passed since Alfred's sister, *the Lady of Mercia*, had shown her energy and wisdom as a ruler, and no thane or baron had yet knelt before a queen, and sworn to be her "liege-man." Many of the barons, who had been kept in check by the strong hand of Henry, hoped now to have a better time under a king of easy temper and generous disposition. In order to give a show of legality to usurpation, and to make excuse for flagrant perjury, it was pretended by the partisans of Stephen that the oath to support Matilda had been extorted by Henry, and that on his death-bed he had revoked, by word of mouth, his appointment of Matilda as successor, and declared Stephen heir to all his dominions.

The sovereign who thus obtained the throne was crowned on December 26th, the day sacred to the memory of Stephen the first martyr. The new king had become possessed of great wealth in Henry's I.'s accumulated treasure, and with these resources he hired a large mercenary force from Flanders, Brittany, and other parts of the Continent. The evils of despotism had been already followed by the worse mischiefs of anarchy. The forest-laws had been the chief grievance of the late king's reign, and the news of his death was the signal for an outburst of fury against the animals whom those

Stephen's
first pro-
ceedings.

harsh enactments had protected. A general rush to the woods was made, and for a time the deer and boars and hares seemed, in their sudden disappearance, to have suffered utter extirpation. Stephen went in person against these and other marauders, but he soon had to deal with troubles far more serious. David, king of Scotland, came forward as the champion of the wronged Matilda, whose claim he had sworn to uphold, and his troops made their way to Carlisle and Newcastle, but they retired on the approach of Stephen with a great army at his back. In Normandy, all went well at first for the new sovereign, as the nobles gave him their allegiance on hearing of his succession to the English crown. In order to secure his position in England, Stephen made a lavish distribution of crown-lands to a large number of tenants-in-chief, who were intended by him to counteract the power of the greater barons. These new nobles were permitted to build castles as their strongholds, and in every quarter rose the keeps of men who became, in the coming evil time, mere robber-chiefs, surrounded by gangs of their armed vassals, or of mercenary soldiers attracted by regular pay or by the hope of booty. The land soon became a prey to disorder, in which bands of marauders sallied forth from towns to seize the cattle at the farms, and every highway swarmed with brigands, who kidnapped wealthy travellers, and held them to heavy ransom under pain of torture and death.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a son of Henry I., had done homage to Stephen, but he soon began to intrigue against his power, and **The civil** to gather round him partisans of Matilda. In 1138, a rising **war.** of the barons in the south and west of England was put down by Stephen, but a more formidable attack upon his power came in the north. David of Scotland again took the field, and crossed the border into England with a tumultuous array of forces, largely composed of men from Galloway and the Highlands, who were of the original British stock. They were little better than savages, and the worst cruelties marked their advance into Yorkshire.

These "Scottish ants," as a chronicler calls them, swarmed over the whole country, and fire and bloodshed were ever the signs of **Battle of** their presence. Thurstan, Archbishop of York, an aged but **Northal-** vigorous man, gathered a large force to resist them, and, in **lerton,** appealing to the people of his province, he called them to join the **1138.** banners of their old English saints. The warlike Bishop of Durham headed the army, which included Norman mailed horsemen and English archers. In their midst was a tall cross, raised upon a car and surrounded by the banners of St. Cuthbert of Durham, St. Wilfrid of Ripon, St. John of Beverley, and St. Peter of York. The struggle which ensued has hence been called *The Battle of the Standard*. The enemy's host had within its ranks many Norman knights from the Lowlands, and at their head charged Prince Henry, the king of Scotland's son. The Scots were generally armed with darts and long spears,

but all their fierce attacks made little impression on the solid mass of Normans and English who were gathered round the standard. Repulse was followed by successful counter-attack, and the invading army fled, leaving thousands of men on the field. King David himself and his son narrowly missed capture.

The character of Stephen was merely that of a gallant feudal warrior, **Stephen's** and his lack of a statesman's qualities brought him into diffi-
quarrel
with the
Church. culty. For four years he had been kept on the throne mainly by the influence of the Church, and prudence would have caused him to refrain from giving offence to the clergy. The rapid and steady growth of ecclesiastical power in England from the time of the Conquest is one of the remarkable facts of that age. Nearly all the great offices of the Church were held by Normans, and for more than seventy years the Church possessions had been ever growing in value. Not only had the bishops and monasteries large endowments from the lands of the crown and the confiscated estates of the English earls, but it was a passion with Normans, both laymen and "clerks," to erect stately churches and abbeys, and provide the means of maintaining them. The court-jester of Henry I. erected the priory and hospital of St. Bartholomew on a part of the king's market of Smithfield. Flambard, the rapacious minister of Rufus, built the great priory of Christchurch. A religious revival had been of late stirring the minds of men in England. Late in the reign of Henry, the Cistercian order of monks had begun to settle here. They sprang from the Benedictines, and had their name from their first religious house at Cîteaux (*Cistercium*), near Dijon. Their rule was austere, their lives being wholly given to labour and prayer, and their one frugal daily meal was eaten in silence. Whilst other religious orders had their abbeys amidst large communities, the Cistercians asked for grants of land in the most solitary places, where the recluse could meditate undisturbed by aught except the cry of birds on the desolate moors, and the voices of the woods and the waters in the wild gorges of the hills. In such a spot Walter l'Espée, who had fought at Northalerton, founded for the new order Rievaulx Abbey among the Yorkshire hills. The Norman knight had lost his son, and he found solace in seeing the monastic buildings rise under his munificent care, and the waste lands become fertile under the labours of the devoted monks. The Norman prelates were men of learning and ability, magnificence and taste, and much of the vast revenues of the great sees was applied to noble uses. After the lapse of seven centuries, we still tread with reverence those portions of our great cathedrals in which the early Norman architecture is visible. It was in this age that the massive grandeur of the rounded arch was shown in the stately cathedral of Durham, the building of which, begun under Rufus, continued through the reign of Henry I. Eleven years after the Conquest, Rochester Cathedral was built, and its present nave is an unaltered part of the

original structure. Norwich Cathedral was founded in 1094, and its erection was carried forward so rapidly, that in seven years sixty monks were located there. Winchester, in its oldest parts, dates from the same period. The grand conception and solid execution of these noble structures suffice of themselves to show the wealth and activity of the Church during the reigns of the Conqueror and his sons. It was with this powerful body that Stephen now, in his rashness, ventured to quarrel. The bishops were not only priests and lawyers, but were often also military leaders, as we have just seen in the fight at Northallerton. As barons of the realm, they were surrounded with armed retainers, and a king had always reason to fear lest provocation should make a prelate put forward the proud feudal baron instead of the priestly side of his character. Some of the bishops had, in self-defence, been erecting strong castles like so many of the lay-barons. Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, once a parish priest at Caen, had become chancellor and chief justiciary under Henry I. He had helped Stephen to the throne, and received from him lavish rewards. Besides his castle of Salisbury, the bishop had lately built strongholds at Devizes, Sherborne, and Malmesbury. The bishops of Lincoln and of Ely were his nephews, and the former, almost as powerful a man as his uncle, had built castles at Sleaford and Newark. In July 1139, a great council was held at Oxford, and the three bishops arrived with a large military escort. A quarrel and a fight ensued between their retainers and those of Alain of Brittany, and the king arrested the bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury, while the Bishop of Ely fled to his uncle's castle at Devizes. The prelates were forced to surrender their fortresses, and indignant shame caused the death of the justiciary, Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, before the year was over. Stephen's action turned against him his brother Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who was now Papal Legate in England, and the result was an invasion of the country by Matilda, and Robert, Earl of Gloucester.

They landed at Arundel in September 1139, with a small force, and the adherents of both parties prepared for what proved to be a long and stubborn contest. The strength of Matilda lay in the west, while Stephen was supported by the eastern shires and the men of London. During 1140, a war of partisans and plundering went on, and bodies of freebooters came over from Flanders to take their part in the general pillage. The Legate and the bishops hurled curses and excommunications at the plunderers of churches and abbeys, but the lawless ruffians who filled the land laughed at all anathemas. The atrocities of the time are almost beyond belief, but rest on good contemporary evidence. One baron rubbed his prisoners over with honey, and then exposed them naked to the stings of bees and the burning shafts of the sun. The treachery of friend against friend caused nobles who came as guests to be detained as prisoners, and feudal barons hanged like serfs men of their own rank.

The civil war, 1139-1146.

In 1141 the castle of Lincoln, held for the king, was seized by surprise, through the gross treachery of two nobles who had supported Stephen, and then turned to Matilda's side. The king marched to Lincoln, and laid siege to the fortress, and Robert of Gloucester and other barons went to its relief with a great army. A terrible fight ensued, in which Stephen, one of the bravest men of feudal times, fought like a lion amidst a host of foes. His heavy battle-axe rose and fell until it was shattered to pieces. Then he drew his long sword, and smote away till that was broken, when he was surrounded and made prisoner. He was closely kept at Bristol Castle, and for eight months Matilda was queen.

The defeat of Stephen was a triumph for the bishops, and it was used by them with great arrogance. In a council held at Winchester, Henry the Legate denounced his brother, falsely declaring that the right of choosing a sovereign chiefly belonged to the Church, and hailed Matilda as queen of England and Normandy. The men of London, who vainly asked for Stephen's release, gave a reluctant allegiance to Matilda, and she entered London with great state. Her rash and imperious conduct soon gave great offence, and Stephen's brave and faithful queen, also named Matilda, daughter of the Count of Boulogne, raised an army and marched on London. The citizens took up arms to assist her, and the ex-empress fled to Winchester Castle. Henry had now changed sides, and, holding his palace at Winchester, carried on a contest with Maud which caused the destruction of the ancient capital of Wessex by fire. Thus the rivalry of Winchester with London was brought to an end, and from this time London may be regarded as the capital of England. Maud was forced by famine to flee from Winchester Castle, and in the retreat her great supporter, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who was also her half-brother, fell into the enemy's hands. He was then exchanged for Stephen, and the war went on as before during 1142.

The four chief characters of the time are specimens of the feudal age. In Matilda, brave, haughty, vindictive, and cruel, we have a striking picture of the proud feudal dame, who shrank from no peril by reason of her sex, but made the homage of chivalry to woman a powerful instrument for enforcing her absolute will. In Robert of Gloucester we see the feudal baron at his best. Brave he was, of course, but he was also of a free, generous, loyal, and steadfast nature. Wise in counsel, and a lover of literature, he had as few as might be of the vices of that age, and most of its higher and engaging qualities. Stephen himself may claim the merit of being able, not merely to win, but to keep firmly the love and admiration, both in good and in evil fortune, of the great body of the nation. After the struggles of six years, in victory, in defeat, amid the hostility of the Church, in capture and imprisonment, the attachment of the people of the great towns to his person and government remains unshaken. In

Henry, Bishop of Winchester and Papal Legate, we have the mingled churchman, statesman, and soldier of the time, a determined supporter of his clerical order and of the Pope's authority in England. The whole panorama unrolled before us in the reign of Stephen justifies the remark of the philosophical historian, Sir James Mackintosh, that "it perhaps contains the most perfect condensation to be found in history of all the ills of feudality."

In 1142, Matilda was besieged by Stephen in the strong castle of Oxford. After three months' leaguer, as the year drew to its close, famine pressed the garrison, and Maud was forced to escape by night over the frozen snow that covered the ground, and the ice that made a road of the river. The great fact of the time was the universal misery of the people. Famine was rife, towns were deserted, and foreign mercenaries, left unpaid by their baronial employers, pillaged the farms and the monastic houses. A change in the fortunes of Matilda's family had meanwhile occurred. Her husband, Geoffrey of Anjou, had become master of Normandy, and its barons had given their allegiance to her son Henry as their duke. The lad was now in England, under the care of his uncle, the Earl of Gloucester. This wise guardian was lost to him by the Earl's death in 1145, and the next year Matilda gave up the contest in England and retired to Normandy, leaving the land in extreme misery.

Henry, the king's brother, had been superseded as Papal Legate by the excellent Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury. He was strongly opposed to Stephen, and in this he had the support of the powerful Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. This great prelate now came forward in the interests of peace. In 1150, Stephen desired that his son Eustace should be recognised as heir to the kingdom. Theobald absolutely refused this claim in the interests of Henry of Anjou. This young prince, in courage and prudence, toil and tact, was already giving assurance to his party of the great eminence he was hereafter to reach as a ruler and a statesman. He was seventeen years of age in 1150, and was already Duke of Normandy. His father Geoffrey's death, in 1151, gave him the rule of Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. In 1152, he made a marriage of ambition, rather than affection, with Eleanor, divorced wife of Louis VII. of France. This lady was the daughter and heir of William, Duke of Guienne and Count of Poitou, and the alliance with Henry gave him control of those territories and of Aquitaine. He was thus master of all the western side of France, from the Somme to the Pyrenees, with the sole exception of Brittany. At the end of 1152, he came to England with an army, and some fighting had taken place with the forces of Stephen when the Archbishop, and Henry, brother of Stephen, interposed to prevent further bloodshed. The death of Stephen's son Eustace in August was an important factor in the arrangement. In 1153 the *Treaty of Wallingford* brought peace to the land. Stephen

led the young prince in solemn procession through the streets of Winchester, and, as the chronicler tells us, "all the great men of the realm, by the king's command, did homage, and pronounced the fealty due to their liege lord, the Duke of Normandy, saving only their allegiance to King Stephen during his life." On October 25, 1154, Stephen himself died, preceded to the tomb, three years before, by his constant and heroic queen.

The monastic chronicles, due to the brains and pens of the monks in the *scriptorium* or writing-room of the monastery, are found at their best in the reign of Henry I. In these valuable independent records, made from personal knowledge, or based on the evidence of eye-witnesses, we have our authorities for the history of England at that date. *Florence of Worcester*, a brother of the monastery in that city, continued another man's chronicle from 1082 to 1117, the year before his death. *Ordericus Vitalis* was son of a married priest from Orleans, who came over to England with Roger de Montgomeri, Earl of Shrewsbury. He was born in 1075, at Atcham, on the Severn, and was educated at a Benedictine abbey in Normandy. There he became a monk, and spent all his life devoted to literary pursuits. His work was an *Ecclesiastical History of England and Normandy*. The last half of the book gives a trustworthy account of the political events of his own time in the kingdom and the duchy. He has no literary skill, but is valuable for his facts and genuine copies of documents. The work is brought down to 1142, which is the supposed date of the author's death. In *William of Malmesbury* we have a writer of a much higher stamp. He was born in Somersetshire near the end of the eleventh century, and was of Norman-English parentage. He became a monk of Malmesbury Abbey, and was there made librarian. His *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* is a general history of England, from the coming of the invaders in 449 to 1126: he also wrote an account of events from that year to the escape of Maud from Oxford in 1142. The *De Gestis* was dedicated to his patron, Robert, Earl of Gloucester. He shows great diligence, modesty, and good sense as a writer, and in his grouping of events and liveliness of style rises far above the mere annalist or chronicler, and takes rank as our earliest historian after the Conquest. *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, a Welsh monk of the Benedictine order, became Bishop of St. Asaph in 1152, and died in 1154. His Latin *History of British Kings* was dedicated to the cultured Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and became very popular from the introduction of a large element of romance and fiction. The writer had the poetic genius of the Cymric race, and to him we are indebted for the legends of Arthur and his knights, for the fiction of Sabrina, "virgin daughter of Lochrine," in Milton's *Comus*, for the subject of *King Lear*, and for the story of *Gorboduc*, the theme of the first English tragedy. The historical part of the book was extracted into an abridgment made

by *Alfred of Beverley*, and the full work was turned into French verse for those who could not read Latin. *Wace* was a man born at Jersey, who was writing romances at Caen towards the end of Stephen's reign. He also turned Geoffrey's chronicle, with additions of his own, into a French romance in verse called *Brut*. Another work of his was *Roman de Rou*, a picturesque and animated adaptation in French verse of a Latin chronicle about the deeds of William the Conqueror. *Henry of Huntingdon*, born near the end of the eleventh century, was an English historian who became archdeacon of the town whence he has his name. He compiled a chronicle ending with the death of Stephen, and at the end of his life produced a little work entitled *De Contemptu Mundi*, containing many curious contemporary anecdotes of kings, prelates, and nobles. In the time of Stephen, we have the earliest extant *Miracle Plays*, the acting of which was probably begun in this country soon after the Conquest. The authors and performers were ecclesiastics, and the name arises from the fact that the miracles of the first founders of the faith, and of the saints and martyrs, were set forth in a dramatic form. They were represented at church on occasion of solemn festivals. *Hilarius*, an Englishman living in France, wrote two such dramas in the time of Stephen. A similar kind of plays was that called *Mysteries*, because they represented the mysterious doctrines of Christianity. We have one *Mystery* of Hilarius, called the *Raising of Lazarus*, composed for the enforcement of the doctrine of resurrection.

CHAPTER III.

THE PLANTAGENETS BEGIN TO REIGN.

Henry II.; his person and character. Thomas Becket as statesman and churchman. The great conflict between Church and State. Becket's exile, return, and death.

THE first monarch of the famous line which reigned in England for over three hundred years was the greatest king of his own **Henry II.**, age, and one of the ablest rulers who appear in all our annals. 1154-1189. Henry II. and his two sons and successors are known as the *Angevin kings*, from their origin in Geoffrey of Anjou, and their close connection with France, where that territory formed a part of their inherited possessions. The new king, at twenty-one years of age, was welcomed to the throne by all classes of a nation which had hopes of a quiet future in receiving a ruler possessed of an undisputed title. He was crowned at Westminster on Sunday, December 19th, with his queen, Eleanor of Guienne. The extent of his Continental dominions has been already

shown. They comprised nearly a half of France, and were far superior in wealth and size to the territories under the real control of the French monarch.

The intellectual powers of the king, as a shrewd and prudent statesman, were well matched by his athletic form, expressive face, lively speech, restless energy, and wonderful capacity for work. He was a thorough man of business, pleasant in demeanour, strong of memory, vigilant, firm, and methodical. He was tenacious in his likes and dislikes, and would, when provoked, give way to furious bursts of rage. His reign forms a memorable period in our history, when a cruel and turbulent baronage was subjected to the solid power of an energetic and able monarch, and a great advance was made in the equal administration of justice. Under his sway, the English and Normans were more closely drawn together in the bonds of commerce and intermarriage, and a new national feeling arose. Henry had no poetical regard for any of the traditions of his elders. His sole object as ruler was to work out a system of good government, in which privilege would be swept aside if it barred the way to the end in view, and public administration would be carried out by men acting under the eye and by the orders of the sovereign who chose them. The great contest in which he engaged was that for maintaining the supremacy of the civil power over that of the Church. A dramatic interest is given to his reign by the contrast of the brilliant morning of his career with its dark and stormy close.

The work ready to Henry's hand was that of restoring internal peace, law, and order, after the late dreadful anarchy. Herein he was well backed by the help and advice of the good Archbishop Theobald. The foreign mercenaries were driven from the land; the castles lately made the abodes of mere robbers and rebels were demolished. The crown-lands alienated by Stephen were resumed, and the coinage of the realm, grievously debased, was restored to a proper form by the abolition of the private mints of the barons, and the issue of new money as the exclusive right of the sovereign. In 1158, Henry added the county of Nantes to his French dominions, on the death of his brother Geoffrey, and seven years later took possession of the duchy of Brittany, as lord and guardian of his third son, Geoffrey, who had married the Duke's daughter.

Gilbert Becket was a citizen of London in the reign of Henry I., and his son Thomas was born there in 1119. He was educated in boyhood in the Abbey of Merton, and then passed, for instruction in logic and rhetoric, to one of the schools of London. He went to Paris to complete his training in the accomplishments of the time, and acquired there a knowledge of philosophy and divinity, with a thorough mastery of the French language, and a conquest of the English accent distasteful to the Norman ear. His abilities soon attracted notice, and he became Archdeacon of Canterbury, by the

Charac-
ter of
Henry II.

The king's
first pro-
ceedings.

Thomas
Becket,
Chancel-
lor, 1157.

patronage of Theobald. Henceforth his rise was swift and sure. He was twice sent on important diplomatic business to Rome, and was the right hand of the Archbishop during the troubles of Stephen's reign. He had all the qualifications for a successful courtier in a fine person, a cultivated mind, a pleasing address, readiness of wit and speech, and a taste both for the sports of the field and the revelry of the banquet. In 1157, he became chancellor, and was ever about Henry's person as the sealer of his writs, and as his secretary and adviser in affairs of the highest moment. He was now the first subject of the kingdom in influence, and held several baronies, which brought him great wealth. Like other churchmen of the age, Becket did not shrink from active service in war, and in 1159 fought bravely at the king's side, leading the knights of his own household in a campaign against King Louis of France. In 1162, Becket became Archbishop of Canterbury, and there can be no doubt that, in making the appointment, Henry reckoned upon finding him a supporter in the battle which he had resolved to fight with the Church.

We have seen that one of the rare mistakes of William the First's policy had been the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical tribunals. The power of the Church, backed by Papal influence, had long been encroaching on the civil authority, and The king and the Church. it was a special scandal of the time that those who belonged to the priesthood were not subject to the laws of the state for the punishment of crime. They claimed to be tried by their own courts, and those courts were partial. This was one of the inequalities which Henry had fully resolved to redress. We learn that Becket paused a year before he accepted the primacy, and expressly warned the king not to expect from him, as archbishop, the same devotion to the royal interests which he had shown in his office as chancellor. When Becket at last became the leading man in the Church, his conduct came upon the king as a most unpleasant surprise. Becket had made up his mind to bring about a contest between the Church and the State, and he relied for final victory on the support of the see of Rome. He well knew the character of the king with whom he would have to contend, and could form a just estimate of the power of the nobles who would be banded against him. But the authority of the Church Catholic had already made kings hold the Pope's stirrup, and Gregory VII. had excommunicated an emperor of Germany, and forced him to wait his pleasure, for three winter days, in his outer court at Canossa, with all the humiliation of naked feet and the penitent's woollen shirt. What Pope Gregory was in the eleventh century, Pope Alexander would be in the twelfth, if Henry were contumacious. With these views, Becket at once resigned his office as chancellor, and exchanged his life of luxury for one of extreme asceticism. The gay attire of a courtier was laid aside for a monk's frock and a hair-shirt, and the pomp of a train of nobles, and belted knights for a body-

guard, gave way to the feeding of the poor in his private chambers, to waiting on them, and washing their feet. The friendship between Becket and the king was at an end, and they both prepared for the inevitable struggle. The importance of the matter to be dealt with in the separate jurisdiction of the courts may be judged from a few facts. The clergy claimed an exemption from all civil judicature. Whilst the murderer and robber were punished with death, if tried in the courts of the crown, the vilest offender, if a clerk or clergyman, escaped often with a mere fine. The number of persons in holy orders was enormous. The great increase of religious houses, and of ecclesiastical revenues, had opened the doors of the Church, as a profession, even to the Saxon serf. The bishops and abbots, as feudal lords, had men in their retinues who were half-priest and half-soldier, and many of these were guilty of conduct most shameful to their priestly character. After the appointment of Becket to the primacy, a flagrant case of murder by a priest came to light in Worcestershire. The offender was demanded for trial in the king's courts. Becket shielded the criminal in the interests of the Church, and passed on him only a sentence of degradation from the priestly office. The king then called a council of prelates at Westminster in 1163, and asked them "whether they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the realm?" The reply, framed by Becket, was that they would observe them "saving the privileges of their order." Becket, at the instance of his friends, afterwards gave his assent to the demand of the indignant Henry, but the king resolved to have a more formal assertion of the principle which he maintained—the equality of the clergy and the laity before the law.

A Great Council was summoned in January 1164, to meet at Clarendon, near Salisbury, and there was passed a series of resolutions which have since been known as the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. They formed, in fact, a statute, and had the force of law. After three days' earnest debate, the consent of Becket himself was obtained, upon what pressure from within or without the council, it is now difficult to determine. The Constitutions were a formidable attack upon the power of the clergy at home, and upon the interference of the Papal See with the affairs of the English Church. The preamble declares them to be a record and recognition of the ancient laws and customs which ought to be observed in the kingdom. The great point of contest—that of clerical exemption from the secular arm or civil law—was thus decided:—"Ecclesiastics accused of any matter shall, upon summons of the king's justiciary, come into his court, to answer there concerning what shall appear to the king's court to be there cognisable; and shall answer in the ecclesiastical court, concerning what shall appear cognisable there; and if an ecclesiastic shall be convicted, or confess his crime, the Church ought not any longer to give him protection." All pleas of debt were to

belong to the king's judicature, as well as rights of advowson, and questions of the tenure of property arising between ecclesiastic and layman. Another clause provides that no dignified ecclesiastic should leave the realm without license of the king. It was also provided that none of the king's chief tenants or officers should be excommunicated without the king's permission. The clauses which enabled the king to send for the principal clergy of a church, upon the vacancy of a bishopric or abbacy, and, with the advice of such prelates as he should choose, to give his assent or otherwise to the election of a new bishop or abbot, and to receive homage from the person chosen—all these were a distinct assertion of the principle for which Henry I. had contended against Anselm. The Constitutions were sent to the Pope for confirmation, but Alexander III. refused to ratify them.

Immediately after giving a reluctant consent at Clarendon, Becket had repented of his action, and he refused to affix his seal to the Constitutions. He was the victim of a vacillation of ^{Conduct} of Becket. mind due to his fear of the king and the barons on the one hand, and to his zealous regard for the interests and dignity of the Church on the other. He took an oath to observe the Constitutions, and then imposed on himself a penance for taking the oath, suspending himself from offering mass, and writing to the Pope for absolution. When the Pope refused to ratify the statute, Becket grew bolder, and began a course of determined hostility. He twice endeavoured to leave the kingdom, but was intercepted and detained. Henry saw him, and tried to pacify him, but Becket returned to his see at Canterbury, and began to set the statute at defiance.

The king, on his side, was just as firmly resolved as the Archbishop. In the Council of Northampton Becket was arraigned for having broken his fealty to the sovereign, in not having ^{Council of Northampton, October 1164.} appeared in person to a suit against him concerning certain lands. On this charge he was condemned, and all his possessions were confiscated. Henry was not satisfied with this, but pressed Becket for large balances of money declared to be due to the crown in connection with his former administration as chancellor. As the danger grew, the boldness of Becket increased. On the last day of the council, he preached at the morning service from the text, "Princes sat and spake against me," and then went in solemn procession to the king's house, bearing the archbishop's cross in his own hands. As the primate entered the hall, the king retired, followed by the bishops and nobles, and Becket took his seat, with a few of the humbler clergy grouped around him. The wrath of Henry was roused, and, in fear for what might happen, the Bishop of Exeter came, and flung himself on his knees before Becket, beseeching him to have pity upon himself and his brethren. His answer was "Fly, then, thou canst not understand the things that are of God." The other bishops then came and renounced their obedience to him, on the ground that he had sworn falsely

to observe the Constitutions, and had then resisted them and broken his fealty. "I hear what ye say," was the only reply. The barons then pronounced a sentence of imprisonment against him, and the Earl of Leicester came into the hall to read it. The Archbishop broke in with "Sir Earl, hear you first," and then he disclaimed the king's judgment, and that of the barons, "being only to be judged, under God, by our lord the Pope." He then cited the bishops (who had chosen, as he said, to obey men rather than God) to appear before the Pope. As he rose to depart, a cry of "traitor" was heard, and the man's old warrior-spirit flashed out in the words, "If my holy office did not forbid it, I would make answer with my sword." Thus Becket passed out of the king's hall, and at dead of night left Northampton, in the garb of a monk, with but two attendants. Fifteen days later he embarked in a small fishing-boat at Sandwich, and was set ashore near Gravelines. He had a narrow escape, for Henry had given order that all the seaports should be watched. Thus the bold Archbishop went into a voluntary exile of six years. The king at once banished several hundreds of his adherents and kinsfolk.

The Archbishop was received with the greatest distinction by Louis VII. of France and by the Pope, and then took up his abode at the Abbey of Pontigny, in Burgundy. He abated nothing of his rancorous hostility to Henry, and in 1166, on the festival of the Ascension, he made a striking display of feeling at Vezelay, near Auxerre. Mounting the pulpit, he denounced all those whom he called the enemies of the Church. Then the bells tolled, the crosses were inverted, the priests stood around with lighted torches, and the dreadful form of excommunication was pronounced against certain dignitaries of the Church in England, against Jocelin de Baliol, the king's chief justiciary, and against all who should abet, enforce, or obey the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. This sentence was not pronounced by Becket against Henry himself, but he was called upon, by name, to repent, and to atone for the usage which he had offered to the Church, on pain of all the curses included in excommunication. Then the torches were extinguished, in token of the utter perdition of the souls of those cut off from the Church. The Abbey of Pontigny, where Becket was residing, was a Cistercian house, and Henry replied to Becket by a threat that he would confiscate all the estates of the Cistercians in England, if the Archbishop were still harboured in their monastery abroad. Becket then withdrew to another asylum at Sens, whence he kept up the contest by fervent appeals to the Pope, to Henry, and to various English prelates. It is believed that Henry kept himself free for a time from a Papal interdict, which might have shaken the allegiance of his subjects, by the free use of gold at the Papal court, where the metal proved more potent than the letters of Becket, in which the king of England was denounced as a malicious tyrant. At last the scandal was brought to an end by the intervention of Louis of France.

Becket's
further
proceed-
ings.

In July 1170, Becket and the king met in conference abroad, and an outward reconciliation was made. It was observed, however, that Henry, though he held Becket's stirrup when he mounted his horse, did not give him "the kiss of peace." This token of amity, dating from early Christian times, was invested with a peculiar solemnity when given by the lips of a king in the feudal age. The Archbishop was to be restored to his see, with all his lands, benefices, and honours, and Henry was content with Becket's agreement to love, honour, and serve him "in as far as an archbishop could render in the Lord service to his sovereign." Thus they parted to meet no more on earth.

At the time when Henry was looking for excommunication at the hands of the Pope, he had thought it well to provide the realm with another to rule in case of need. In June 1170, his eldest son, Prince Henry, fifteen years of age, had been crowned, and, during his father's absence in France, he was acting in England with royal authority. To him the king sent a letter commanding that Becket, and all his people who had been banished, should now peaceably and honourably have all their possessions. When Becket landed at Dover on December 1st, he came provided with a new quarrel. The ceremony of consecrating Prince Henry as co-king had been performed by the Archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury, and they had thus usurped an office pertaining to the see of Canterbury. Thomas Becket was not the man to endure the least encroachment of this kind, and he had previously inhibited all the bishops from assisting at the ceremony, and had backed his inhibition by a Papal mandate. As these were disregarded, he came to England armed with a sentence of suspension from his office against the Archbishop, and of excommunication against the two bishops. The returning exile was received at Canterbury with acclamations by the burgesses and the poor, but none of the nobles or higher clergy came forth to meet him. The same reception awaited him at Rochester and other towns, but in Southwark he was met with the warmest welcome from the clergy and laity of all classes. It is impossible to know the exact feelings and intentions of the king towards the Archbishop, but it is clear that Becket, by his aggressive and arrogant demeanour, rushed upon his fate. He was a man of such ardent temperament, that he preferred death to indignity, and the excommunication of those who gave him offence was to him as the breath of life. On Christmas-day (1170), he preached in his cathedral, and then delivered the curses of the Church against a man named Ranulph de Broc, whom he charged with wasting, as sequestrator, the property of the Canterbury see. In the meantime, the Archbishop of York and the two bishops had crossed over to Normandy, and laid their grievances before the king at Bayeux. Henry flew into a violent rage, and cried, "Is there no one to deliver me from this turbulent priest?" We may or may not believe that the angry monarch meant the imperious sub-

The murder of Becket, 1170.

ject's death, but the zeal of some of his courtiers turned the words into a sentence of doom. Four knights of Henry's court at once formed their plans, and started by different routes for Kent, all failing to be overtaken by the messenger whom the king sent after them, with a charge to do no personal harm to Becket. Their names were William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, Richard Brito, and Reginald Fitz-Urse. They met at Saltwood Castle, the residence of De Broc, on the night of December 28th, the Feast of *the Holy Innocents*, and there made their final arrangements. On the next day they hurried to Canterbury, and had a stormy interview with the Archbishop at his palace. Becket refused either to leave the country or to withdraw the excommunication of the bishops. In the evening he went to vespers in the cathedral, passing from the conventual buildings into the cloister, and, as he entered the church, the tramp of armed men was heard mingling with the slow tread of the monks. As he stood before St. Bennet's altar, De Tracy cried, "Where is the traitor? where is the Archbishop?" Becket replied "Here am I, the archbishop, but no traitor!" "Thou art a prisoner," said the other, and took him by the sleeve, but the old martial temper was roused, and the Archbishop threw him off with violence. The assailants tried to drag him from the place, in order to escape the guilt of murder upon holy ground, but Becket resisted all efforts, and Fitz-Urse then used his sword. As it came down on the prelate's head, his faithful cross-bearer, Edward Gryme, received the blow upon his arm, which fell severely wounded, and the stroke spent its last force on the side of Becket's head and on his left shoulder. Then blow after blow brought him to his knees, and to the ground, where he fell flat on his face, after murmuring his readiness to die for Jesus and the Church. A tremendous blow from Brito came down upon the skull, and the frightful crime was complete. The martyrdom of "St. Thomas of Canterbury" brought pilgrims for many a year to worship at his shrine, and gave to England's first great poet the framework of his finest poem. A foul murder had ended the contest between the fanatical churchman and the able statesman. The result appeared to be a drawn battle between the powers of Church and State. A natural reaction of feeling, compounded of pity for the dead man, and horror at the worst of sacrilege, wrought on the public opinion of the age, and forced Henry to make submission to the Pope, and formally annul some of the provisions of the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. The election of bishops and abbots became nominally free, but was practically still in the king's hands, and the ecclesiastical courts remained subordinate to the *Aula Regis*. The time was yet distant when, between Crown and Church, should arise the majestic form of an enlightened and powerful nation, to teach them that both existed for the common good of all, that the reign of brute violence was at an end, and that piety could exist without superstition, and freedom reign along with law and order.



CHAPTER IV.

HENRY'S REIGN AFTER BECKET'S DEATH.

Early history of Ireland. State of the country. The nominal conquest. The King and his family. Rebellions in England and France. War with Scotland. Great legal reforms. Henry's later troubles and death.

IN the reign of Henry II. began that direct connection of Ireland with the government of England which has lasted nearly seven hundred years—a connection which has involved as much ^{England and Ire-} misrule and oppression, misery and revolt, as ever belonged to ^{land, 1172.} a struggle between alien races and rival creeds. We have seen that the Celts of Ireland were early converted to Christianity, and before the ninth century the people had famous schools of learning, and were becoming slowly civilised. The invasions of the Danes then drove them back into a state of semi-barbarism. Learning had all but vanished, and the Church, devoid of a proper system, had ceased to influence the people for good, or control the disorders of rival clans. There was no central kingly authority, and now, towards the end of the twelfth century, we see five kings of Munster, Leinster, Ulster, Connaught, and Meath, besides many small tribes. The towns of Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork were of Danish origin, and the people were usually in a state of hostility with the Celtic tribes around them. They had some intercourse with England towards the close of the eleventh century, acknowledging the supremacy of the see of Canterbury, and seeking thence ordination for their bishops. We learn something of the state of the country from a chronicler who travelled there in the train of Henry's son, Prince John. The people preferred pasture to tillage, and disliked all sedentary pursuits. They were brave in an impetuous way, very excitable, and fond of music. Lands descended to all the sons of a family in equal shares upon the death of a father, and, upon the death of each possessor, they were thrown into the common stock, and a new division was made. Under a system so absurd, no improvement could take place in the cultivation of the soil; there could be no accumulation of capital, and no profitable industry. At an early part of his reign, Henry had thought of the subjection of Ireland, and in 1155 he had obtained a bull for the purpose from Pope Hadrian IV., whose lay-name was Nicholas Breakspear, and who was the only Englishman that ever reached that exalted post. In theory, the enterprise was to be a kind of crusade, in which Henry was to implant a real Christianity, win the land for the Papal see, and enforce the payment of Peter's pence. Many causes prevented the immediate execution of the plan, and it was not until 1168 that the opportunity came. Dermot, king of Leinster,

driven out of the island by a rival chief, had gone to Aquitaine in 1167, rendered homage to Henry, and obtained leave to enlist adventurers for the recovery of his dominions. He obtained the help of a Norman noble, Richard de Clare, Earl of Chepstow, who bore the name of *Strongbow*, and of two knights of South Wales, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. De Clare was a man of ruined fortunes, who, in return for the use of his sword, was to marry Dermot's daughter, and become heir to the kingdom of Leinster. Fitz-Stephen was the first to cross, with a small force of knights and men-at-arms, and a few hundred Welsh archers. He easily scattered the ill-armed Irish rabble, and took the town of Wexford. In 1169 Fitz-Gerald arrived with fresh men, and in the next year Strongbow landed near Waterford with a large force, captured that town and Dublin, married Dermot's daughter Eva, and, on her father's death, became king of Leinster (1171). The jealousy of Henry was aroused, and he recalled Strongbow and his followers, but the Earl appeased him by doing homage for his kingdom. In 1172, Henry went to Ireland with an army, and received homage from most of the chiefs, but soon returned. In 1175 he claimed the lordship of Ireland, under Pope Hadrian's bull, and then the king of Connaught was made his deputy, with rule over the other chiefs, all paying tribute to Henry. In 1177 a lord-deputy named Hugh de Lacy was sent over from England, and had much success in reconciling the natives to a foreign sway. In 1185 he was succeeded by Prince John, who went over with a large force, and proved a thorough failure. His wise father, during his six months' stay in Ireland, had placed the native chiefs at his own table, and treated them with all the courtesy of chivalry. The wanton insolence of the king's youngest son, when the chiefs of Leinster came to do homage, encouraged his silk-clad attendants to ridicule their dresses of home-spun wool, and to pluck their bushy beards. The country was soon roused to revolt by combined insult and oppression, and the prince was recalled in less than a year. The country was in no wise really made subject to England at this early period. A small amount of territory was held by the newcomers round the towns of Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, Drogheda, and Cork, and this was known as the *English Pale*, while outside these limits the chiefs were virtually independent.

The king, in 1172, had four sons living. Henry, the eldest, was in his eighteenth year, Richard, in his fifteenth, Geoffrey, in his fourteenth, and John, in his sixth. These were the children of Queen Eleanor. A lady named Rosamund Clifford, known as *Fair Rosamund*, in connection with whom we have the romantic stories of the secret bower at Woodstock, and the queen's revengeful visit with a dagger and a bowl of poison, as a choice of the means of death for her rival, was the mother of William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, of whom Henry was father. The eldest son had been named by the king as his successor in England, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and

Henry II.
and his
sons.

Touraine; Richard was to have Guienne and Poitou; to Geoffrey was assigned the duchy of Brittany; to John was given the shadowy possession of Ireland, which gained him the taunting surname of *Lackland*. The king had offended the barons by measures designed to enable him to become independent of their military support. The smaller feudal vassals of the crown were allowed to make a money-payment called *scutage*, or shield-money, in lieu of their personal service, and with the resources thus acquired Henry kept under arms a body of mercenary troops. In 1173, a powerful confederacy was formed against him, and in this plot the Queen, provoked by Henry's domestic conduct, and the princes Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, were involved. Henry was married to the daughter of the king of France, and now demanded that his father should resign to his control either England or Normandy. Richard also claimed possession of Aquitaine, and Geoffrey that of Brittany. They fled to the court of the French king, and were about to be followed by their mother, but her husband arrested Eleanor, and kept her a close prisoner.

The rebellious sons of Henry were backed by Louis of France, and by many of the nobles of Normandy, Brittany, and Aquitaine. In England itself, some of the nobles were disaffected, and William the Lion, king of Scotland, and Philip, Earl of Flanders, were parties to this formidable league. Henry had need of all his great qualities to avert the severance of his dominions. He quickly gathered an army of twenty thousand adventurers, soldiers of fortune, who were ready, for pay and plunder, to support any cause. He soon routed his foes in Normandy, but England, meanwhile, was itself in danger. The Scots invaded it from the north, and there were revolts in Yorkshire, and the Midlands, and the east. The northern incursion was repelled by Richard de Lacy, the justiciary, and Humphrey de Bohun, the lord-constable, and then they turned south to encounter the Earl of Leicester, who had brought over the seas a large body of Flemings. The rebels met the royal forces in October 1173, at Fornham, near St. Edmundsbury, and suffered entire defeat. In 1174 the trouble was worse than ever. The Scots again entered England in great force, and the risings in the counties were renewed. A fleet was ready at Gravelines to bring over the young Henry, and all seemed crumbling into ruin. On July 8th, the king took ship in Normandy, and crossed the Channel during a heavy storm. During the long and difficult passage, his usual gaiety of heart and demeanour was overclouded by deep thought. He was well aware that many of his subjects held him responsible for the murder of Becket, and that they believed the disasters now coming to be Heaven's judgment upon him for crime. Free from superstition himself, he was too wise a statesman to disregard its power over others, and he now resolved to do his best to recover the good opinion of the faithful. The man who had fallen dead at the shrine of St.

Troubles
of the
king.

Bennet at Canterbury had just become, by the Pope's act, a canonised saint himself, at whose tomb miracles were wrought which noble and churl equally believed. On arrival at Southampton, Henry rode off to Canterbury, and entered the city barefoot in penitential garb. Then he knelt at Becket's tomb in deep humiliation. The Bishop of London preached, and called on all to observe that the king had thus avowed his freedom from blood-guiltiness. Then the king, before the assembled monks and chapter, poured forth his contrition for the passionate utterance which his knights had so rashly and wickedly misapplied, and next he was scourged with a knotted cord. After spending the night in the dark crypt, he rode fasting to London, and there he fell ill.

On the fifth night of his fever he received good news from his minister, Ranulf de Glanvill, commanding in the north. On the very morning when Henry was before the tomb of Becket, William of Scotland had been surprised at Alnwick, and taken prisoner in a lost battle. The insurrection was soon at an end in England, and the rebels hastened to renew their allegiance. Then the king took his army of mercenaries over to Normandy, raised the siege of Rouen, and brought his sons to obedience. The king of Scotland was a prisoner for several months in the castle of Falaise, in Normandy, and, by the advice of his nobles and prelates, he rendered homage to Henry as liege-lord. The Scottish clergy and barons were also to take an oath of fealty to the English king. This treaty was ratified at York in 1175, and the acknowledgment made to the English king of his being lord-paramount of Scotland becomes of importance in the future relations of the two countries.

When he was once more firmly established in power, Henry began a series of reforms which may be regarded as the foundation of our judicial legislation. The *Curia*, or *Aula, Regis*—Court of King's Bench—is held to have been confirmed and fully established by Henry, if not first instituted by him. In the reign of Henry I. there were itinerant justices of assize, with occasional commissions, but it was Henry II. who set on foot the present system. In 1176, a Great Council was held at Northampton, and there the kingdom was divided into six regular districts or circuits, each having three itinerant justices or judges. When it was found, three years later, that these men were guilty of corruption in their office, the king removed from their posts all the justices *in eyre*, as they were called, except Ranulf de Glanvill, who held assizes, with five others, to the north of the Trent. This able man afterwards became chief-justiciary, and we shall see him hereafter as a writer on law. The old Saxon principle of *bot*, or pecuniary compensation for crime, had been superseded by criminal laws, administered with stern severity. We have now some approach to the mode of trial by jury. An enactment at Northampton in 1176 orders the king's justices to make inquiry by the oaths of twelve knights, or other lawful men, of each *hundred*, together with four men from each

Henry
and Scot-
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Henry II.
and legal
reforms.

township, into all murders, robberies, and thefts, since the king's accession to the throne. But these men did not, like modern jurors, decide upon the credibility of evidence, or hear questions of law and fact discussed and argued. They were both witnesses as to the facts, however their knowledge might be acquired, and judges as to the value of the charge, and bore some resemblance to the modern "grand jury," whose business it is to present prisoners for trial, after hearing evidence in favour of the prosecution only. At the same time, the old English practice of *compurgation* came to an end, while the *ordeal* was retained until its abolition by the Council of Lateran in 1276.

In 1183, the tranquillity of the king was again disturbed by the conduct of his sons. The unquiet Plantagenet blood was again asserting what Richard called "the birthright of their race to be at variance." The king had commanded Richard to do homage for Aquitaine to his elder brother Henry. On his refusal, Henry invaded his territories, but they were reconciled by the father, and then Henry and Geoffrey rebelled against him. Then the young prince, or king, Henry fell ill, and died penitent, pressing to his lips a ring which his father had sent him in token of love and forgiveness. Next came a war between Richard and Geoffrey, and, when this was settled, the worthless Geoffrey made war upon his father. In 1186, he was killed at a tournament in Paris, and Richard and John alone remained to show "how sharper than a serpent's tooth" is filial ingratitude. Religious affairs in the East were now drawing the attention of the whole Christian world. The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem, founded in 1099 by the great Godfrey de Bouillon, pattern of all chivalric virtue, had fallen under the assaults of the famous Sultan Saladin. The Holy City fell into his hands in 1187, and a new Crusade was planned. In England there were already two powerful bodies sworn as defenders of the Cross—the Knights-Hospitallers and the Knights-Templars. In 1185, Heraclius, patriarch of Jerusalem, consecrated the church of the new house of the Templars in London. In the quiet courts, now so changed in character of buildings and of dwellers, but looking out upon the placid stream of the same broad river, lived the prior, the knights, and the serving brethren of the great order of Templars. In that round church, restored now to its primitive beauty, the chaplains of the community prayed for the fall of the infidel. There the knights who had fought for the Cross against the Crescent were buried with monumental honour—as they were in other churches—distinguished by the crossed legs which showed that the Holy Land had witnessed the performance of their vows. The special mission of Heraclius to England had been to urge King Henry to rescue the sacred city. The Great Council decided, on the king's reference of the question, that it was his duty to remain and govern the nations of which Heaven had given him the charge. In 1180, Louis VII. of France had been succeeded by the great Philip Augustus,

and this monarch, in 1188, after the fall of Jerusalem, engaged Henry at last to accompany him to Palestine. The king returned to England, and raised a great sum by taxation, of which about one half was extorted from the Jews. Just at this crisis, trouble came again from his rebellious sons. Richard had been intriguing with the French king, to whose sister he was betrothed, and a dispute about some lands ended in their making a joint war upon Henry in 1189. The English monarch's health was failing, and he was unable to show his usual energy in conflict. He lost fortress after fortress, and was obliged to make submission to King Philip. Then came a final blow. He was lying on a bed of sickness when he signed the treaty with Philip, and he then asked for the names of those of his barons who had joined the French king. The written list was handed to him, and the first name that met his eye was that of his youngest and favourite son, John. He looked no further. The world and all its hopes and troubles faded from his view. Turning his face to the wall, he cried, "Let everything go as it will." He was then carried on a litter to his pleasant castle of Chinon, near Saumur, where he died on July 6, 1189. One son, Geoffrey, afterwards Archbishop of York, the offspring of Fair Rosamund, had watched over his death-bed with real affection. On the next day the king's body was carried out for burial in the church of the nuns at Fontevraud, and his late rebellious, now remorseful, son Richard met the sad procession. He shed bitter tears and uttered many penitential words for what he could never undo. One atonement for the past he could and did make. He drove from his presence with disgust all persons, clerical or lay, who had sided with himself against his father, and richly rewarded those who had been Henry's faithful servants.

CHAPTER V.

RICHARD OF THE LION HEART.

The Jews in England. Richard's character. His part in the Third Crusade. Richard's noble foe, Saladin. Conduct of Prince John. Richard's return to England. His warfare in France. Literature of the time.

RICHARD was crowned at Westminster on 3rd September 1189. The spirit of the age is shown in the treatment accorded to the Jews by the Christians of the time. At the coronation, their chief men in London came to offer presents to the king, in spite of an order issued against their attendance. Some of the mob attacked the heretics, and "cast them forth out of the king's hall, with wounds and blows." The citizens of London then fell upon the Jews in the

Richard I.
1189-1199.
The Jews.

city, murdered a number of them, and burnt their houses. Some of the offenders were hanged, by the king's command, but the chronicler informs us that he punished the rioters "not for the sake of the Jews, but on account of the houses and property of the Christians which they had burnt and plundered." Under Henry II., the Jews had only been robbed. A number of Jewish traders had followed William I. from Normandy, and, under royal protection, they and other immigrants of their race settled in separate quarters, or *Jewries*, of the chief English towns. There, as in other countries, they were deprived of the civil rights of Christians, and could hold no public office. They had no right of domicile, nor could they belong to any guild or corporation, but, in consideration of the payment of certain sums of money, they enjoyed the immediate protection of the sovereign, who resorted to their aid in his financial troubles. The Jew's life and goods were entirely at the king's mercy, and for law he was obliged to resort to a royal judge, as he had no standing in the local courts. The Jews were the great accumulators of personal property, as lenders of money, for which they charged a high interest in times so insecure, and it is probable that their own usury and the rapacity of the Christians, rather than religious hatred, were the true causes of persecution. Vulgar prejudice ascribed to the race all kinds of hateful opinions, and they were believed to be cruel murderers of innocent children, as well as rapacious plunderers of insolvent barons. In the Russia of the present day we may behold, in this respect, our forefathers of the Plantagenet age. The mastery of commerce attained by this people, as well as their command of money, enabled them to render substantial service, not only to kings and nobles, but to the nation at large. A great impulse was given to trade, and the sovereign had in the Jewish capitalist a ready resource for the needs of foreign war or domestic revolt. Nor must we forget the culture which distinguished the mediæval Hebrews. Astronomy, philosophy, mathematics, and medicine were eagerly studied by them in the schools of Spain and the East, and the twelfth century was ennobled by the learning of the great Rabbi Maimonides, a native of Cordova, who studied Jewish and Arabic literature, and was acquainted with Greek philosophy in an Arabic version of Aristotle. Some of this learning found its way to England, and the skill and energy of the race were also shown in the improvement of domestic architecture by the building of the first stone houses in our towns, in place of the wooden or lath-and-plaster huts of the period. Under the Angevin kings of England, it is likely that a fanatical feeling against the Jewish race was aroused by the events which were the cause of the Crusades. After the riot in London, the spirit of persecution spread through the kingdom, and in many a town the Jews were ill-treated and massacred. Richard and Philip of France had agreed to start for the Holy Land after the Easter of 1190, and large bodies of Crusaders were already gathering in England. As they marched to the coast for embarkation,

they incited the people to plunder and murder the Israelites. At York, the persecuted people showed a sublime heroism, worthy of the best days of the ancient children of Zion. A body of armed men, emulating the deeds of rioters at Lynn, Stamford, Lincoln, and Bury St. Edmunds, entered the city, and began to plunder and murder the Jews. The leaders of the mob were some thriftless profligates, who wished to cancel their debts by killing their creditors, and to recover their bonds deposited in the public office. Some priests and monks were hounding on the mob, and five hundred of the Jews, including women and children, took refuge in the castle. The dreadful issue was partly due to the suspicious fears of the besieged, who distrusted the protection given to them by the Norman governor, and, in his absence, overpowered the guard and closed the gates against him. The fortress was attacked on all sides, and offers of ransom were refused. Then the desperate men put their wives and children to death, and nearly all fell by their own hands. The few survivors were at once butchered, and the instigators of the riot went to the register office at the cathedral, and committed to the flames the bonds there deposited.

Richard's first object was to raise money for his great adventure in the East. The crown demesnes were put up to auction, and earldoms and public offices were sold. For the paltry sum of ten thousand marks the king disposed of the claim of homage which his father had asserted against, and won from, the king of Scotland. "I would sell London," cried the fighting monarch, "if I could find a chapman." It is only fair to his repute for practical wisdom to state, that, on his return from the East, he forcibly resumed the crown-lands which he had sold, and turned out the public officers who had purchased their places. Of all the Norman line there was none who cared so little for the duties of a king as this brave and reckless Crusader. He passed but a few months in England during the ten years of his reign, and is hardly worthy of consideration in any character but that of a feudal knight. He was, like all his race, an unscrupulous, crafty, and violent man, but in personal beauty, physical strength, courage, and other attractive qualities, he was a noble specimen of a warrior. He had one large, passionate idea, which he carried out with surpassing bravery, and with the loftiest contempt of danger and privation, nor was he incapable of bursts of generous feeling. He appears in romance as the great hero of chivalry, but, as king of England, his chief value lies in the fact that he hastened, by his prodigal expenditure and useless warfare, the separation of England from the continental dominions of her kings, and so promoted the union of Normans and English into one powerful nation. Kings Philip and Richard, with an united host of a hundred thousand men, met on the plains of Vezelay, near the borders of Burgundy, in July 1190, and then, on quitting Lyons, took different routes to the East. We have little concern with the English monarch's adventures by the

The king
and the
third
Crusade,
1190-1194.

way. He soon began to quarrel with his powerful ally. Richard had been betrothed to the French king's sister Adalais, but he now deserted her for the daughter of the king of Navarre, a lady named Berengaria. Her mother and she sailed for Palestine, and the marriage took place at Limasol, in Cyprus, of which the Crusader made conquest by the way, as a punishment for ill-treatment of his stranded sailors by the king. On reaching the Holy Land in July 1191, the English hero found work ready to his hand. Acre had been for two years vainly besieged by a Christian host. The army of Saladin was posted on the distant hills, but Richard's arrival changed the course of events. The troops of Philip were repulsed in an assault, and then Richard, on recovery from a fever, took the siege in hand with vigour. The battering-ram and the rude artillery of the age were used against the walls, and the besieged rained "Greek fire" upon the assailants. All the attacks of Saladin from without upon the Christian lines were repulsed, and he failed to throw supplies into the famine-stricken town. At last the place surrendered, and then the French king, jealous of Richard's exploits, and offended by his haughty demeanour, returned to France in pursuit of his own schemes. The generalship of Richard was now put to the test in a march of a hundred miles along the coast from Acre to Ascalon. His army had been reduced to thirty thousand men, and for eleven days they were exposed to incessant attacks from the host commanded by Saladin. On September 7, 1191, Richard gained a signal victory over the Saracen hero, and Ascalon and Jaffa fell into his hands. He was almost within sight of Jerusalem, when he was forced to abandon the enterprise. The autumn rains were beginning, provisions were scarce, and sickness rife. Disunion had arisen in the Christian army. Richard had quarrelled with and grossly insulted the Duke of Austria, and the Duke of Burgundy had deserted the cause. Saladin was still in the field at the head of a great army, and there was nothing left but retreat. It was fortunate for Richard's repute as a Crusader, and perhaps for his personal safety, that his prowess had won the respect, and almost the personal affection, of his gallant and powerful foe. Saladin was the greatest Mahometan ruler of his time, and is one of the noblest characters in the whole history of Islam. Pure in life, just in judgment, courteous in demeanour, boundless in liberality, brave as a lion in battle, he presents us with the brightest example of Eastern knighthood. Crescent against Cross, keen and gleaming sabre against heavy battle-axe and mace, he had met Richard in battle, and learnt to admire and esteem him. In the hour of his enemy's need, he accorded generous terms, and a three years' truce was concluded in 1192. The honour of the English king was saved by stipulations that Acre, Jaffa, and other seaports should remain in Christian hands, and that pilgrims should be unmolested in their visits to Jerusalem. On October 9th he sailed from Acre on his return to England.

The cowardly Prince John had begun to play his brother false as soon as he left England. The government had been left mainly in charge of William de Longchamps, Bishop of Ely, who was also justiciary and Papal Legate. Against him John formed a party, and at a council held in London he was removed from his office as justiciary, and sentenced to banishment. It was a remarkable assumption of authority, and is regarded as the earliest instance of ministers being made responsible to Parliament. John was chosen as justiciary in October 1191, and a great popular meeting of the citizens of London took a significant part in the movement. Philip of France had also been intriguing against Richard, and the English king's misfortune on his homeward journey gave his rival great opportunities for mischief.

Richard became the captive of his enemy Leopold, Duke of Austria, and was by him sold to the German Emperor, Henry VI. A letter of the Emperor's to Philip made Richard's captivity known in England, and general indignation was aroused. His deeds in Palestine had won the admiration of his subjects, and they hated Prince John, who was now openly hostile to his brother. He gave up to Philip some parts of the Continental dominions, and did homage to him for the rest, and then returned with a band of mercenary troops, and a story that Richard had died in prison. The prelates and barons stood firm against John, and Longchamps, the exiled justiciary, took up Richard's cause, and succeeded in having him brought before the Imperial Diet at Hagenau in March 1193. Richard's eloquence greatly impressed the German princes, and they forced the Emperor to set the captive free for a large ransom raised in England. It needed some months to get together a hundred thousand pounds, but at last John received a letter from Philip with the words, "Take care of yourself, for the devil is let loose." In March 1194, Richard landed at Sandwich, and was received with joy by his subjects. The barons in council deprived John of all his English possessions, and Richard was again master of his realm. He had come back to an impoverished land. The churches had been stripped of their sacred vessels, the traders taxed to the utmost, and the tillers of the land had sold their stock, to gather the amount of the king's ransom.

The Continental dominions were in danger, and loudly called for the presence of the warrior-king. His visit to England, on his return from Palestine and his German captivity, only lasted two months. For the first fortnight of this time, he was engaged in taking castles held by the partisans of John. Then came the Great Council at Nottingham, when judgment was given against the treacherous brother, and a land-tax was decreed, and knight's service demanded, to enable Richard to carry an army to Normandy. About the middle of May, he landed at Harfleur, and was soon in the field against Philip. In a few months his enemy's troops

Events during Richard's absence.

The king's return.

Richard in France, 1194-1199.

were driven out of Normandy, Touraine, and Maine. The government in England was in charge of Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose chief duty, as a civil ruler, was that of raising money, by persistent and crushing taxation, to supply the wants of the king in his foreign contest. Year after year, with occasional truces, when both combatants were for the time drained of resources, the inglorious war went on. The military skill of Richard was shown in the erection of a fortress designed to protect the borders of Normandy on the south, and to bar the approach to Rouen from Paris. At the bend in the Seine where Les Andelys lies with its green valley, the English king constructed a series of works, forming, in conjunction, the greatest of mediæval strongholds. The river itself was barred by a bridge of boats, a stockade, and a fort on an island in mid-stream, and near at hand, on the hills three hundred feet above the Seine, towered up the mighty castle known as Château Gaillard. Its remains still attest the grandeur and the solid strength of its construction, and the security which was afforded to Normandy aroused the wrath of Philip and the just exultation of Richard.

It is well to note the devices by which the "lion-hearted" king raised money from his wretched subjects to pay the cost of exploits which surround his name with a halo of military and chivalric fame. The modes adopted by his ministers, and approved by himself, appear to combine the attributes of the tyrant and the swindler. In the name of the "magnanimous" Plantagenet king, the great seal was broken, which had been affixed to deeds of grant, and then it was declared that no grant made under that seal should be valid, unless the fees due to the crown were paid a second time for affixing the new seal. The undoubted fact is symbolic of much besides itself that concerns the "age of chivalry." To look steadily at the solid and real through a blaze of glory and success, is to discern sordid crime and atrocious cruelty alongside of much that does honour to human nature.

The death of Richard was not worthy of the past of the great Crusader. A vassal of the king's in Aquitaine, the Viscount of Limoges, had discovered on his estate a treasure of silver and gold. The king claimed it all, and the Viscount offered a large part, and then suffered siege in his strong castle of Chaluz. Richard was wounded in the arm by an arrow, and the clumsy surgery of the day failed to extract the barbed iron head. Gangrene of the wound ensued, and the king felt his end approaching. He bequeathed England and all his other dominions to John, and died on April 6, 1199. His remains were buried at the feet of his father in the abbey-church of Fontevraud.

The accumulation of wealth by the Church, and the idleness engendered by riches, had given rise to a corruption of morals among the clergy which provoked the shafts of satire. *Walter Map*, or *Mapes*, a native of the Welsh Marches, was born about 1150, and studied at the University of Paris, then in its earliest

The king
of chi-
valry.

Death of
Richard.

Literature
of the
period.

days of repute. He became a favourite at the court of Henry II., and was appointed Archdeacon of Oxford in 1199. Map was a man of the world, a royal chaplain, judge, and ambassador, endowed with high purpose, and with the Celtic genius for literature in a vein of wit and poetry. The *Confession of Bishop Goliath* is a sharp attack on the evil-livers among the clergy, in the shape of some Latin poems, wherein the bishop, a glutton and a wine-bibber, now glories in his self-indulgence, and then, with despairing candour, exposes his moral condition, and declares that he will die drinking at his inn. Map's book entitled *De Nugis Curialium*, "On the Trifles of the Courtiers," is a note-book of court-gossip, valuable as an illustration of the times, and containing satirical remarks against zealous Crusaders who left home-duties undone, and attacks on the vices of the court of Rome, and even on the forest-laws of his patron, Henry II. He also has the credit of important additions to the cycle of romances connected with the story of the British hero Arthur, including *Lancelot of the Lake* and the *Quest of the Holy Graal*. *Sir Galahad*, the spiritual knight, son of Lancelot, and *Mort Artus*, the "Death of Arthur," are inventions of the same bright fancy. *Ranulph*, or *Ralph, de Glanvil* or (*Glanville*), has been seen as a Norman warrior and justiciary in the reign of Henry II., and as the captor of William the Lion of Scotland at Alnwick. He went with Richard I. to the third Crusade, and died at the siege of Acre in 1190. His Latin work *Upon the Laws and Customs of the Kingdom of England*, completed towards the close of Henry's II.'s reign, is the earliest treatise upon English law. It contains a sketch of the forms of procedure in the king's courts and of the most common principles of law there arising.

Among the chroniclers of the time we find *William of Newbury*, a Yorkshireman of Bridlington, who became a monk of the abbey of the Austin friars at Newbury, in the North Riding. His Latin chronicle, the "History of English Affairs," is a trustworthy account of events under Henry II. and Richard I. The historian *Roger de Hoveden*, or *Howden*, was also a Yorkshireman, having his name from a village in the East Riding. He flourished under Henry II., was a lawyer and professor of theology, and was employed by the king to collect the revenues of religious houses on the death of their abbots or priors. His Latin work called "Annals" was begun under Richard I., and brings down affairs from 731 A.D. (the last year of Bede's History) to 1201, the third year of John. He was a diligent and faithful writer, who acquired such authority that Edward I. caused careful search to be made in all the libraries for copies of his book, in order to ascertain the homage due from the Scottish crown to England. At the close of the reign of Henry II., and during the reigns of Richard and John, we have a notable writer of history in *Gerald du Barri*, or *Gerald of Wales*, usually known as *Giraldus Cambrensis*. He was the son of a Norman noble settled in Pembrokeshire, where Gerald was born about 1146. He

studied at Paris, entered the Church, and became Archdeacon of St. David's. In 1184 he was appointed chaplain at the court of Henry II., and in the following year accompanied Prince John on his visit to Ireland. He retired to Lincoln in 1192, and devoted himself to literature, dying at some period after 1220. His Latin "Topography of Ireland" has much valuable information, along with many proofs of the writer's ready credulity. The best of his writings is the *History of the Conquest of Ireland*, a critical and careful work in its narrative of events, and having much shrewd and lively observation of character. The novelty of his style, and the vivacious way in which he uses the Latin tongue, give a strangely modern air to his descriptions of travel, and to the controversial pamphlets on matters of Church and State, in which he pours forth jest, quotation, and anecdote in audacious and pungent satire.

We go forward a few years, into the reign of John, in order to mention the earliest noted writers of English after the Conquest. Nearly all writing had hitherto been in Latin or Norman-French, but at last books appeared in the language of the people. *Layamon*, a Worcestershire priest, who flourished under John, was author of the *Brut*, a metrical chronicle of Britain, from the fabled arrival of Brutus until the death of King Cadwalader in 689. It is mainly a translation, with additions, of the French work of Wace. The book came forth early in the thirteenth century, and is chiefly linguistic in value. The English belongs to the period of transition, in which the groundwork of Anglo-Saxon phraseology and grammar still existed. We are helped by it to trace the process by which the Anglo-Saxon was gradually turned into the English of Chaucer. In over thirty thousand lines but fifty Norman words appear, and we see the tongue of the conquered, unaffected by over a century of subjection, beginning to triumph over that of the conquerors, whom the speakers and readers of English were soon to absorb in the mass of the nation.

CHAPTER VI.

THE WICKED KING AND THE GOOD CHARTER.

Character of King John. Effect of his doings upon England. John and the Pope. England under interdict. The king's tyranny. The Barons take arms for freedom. The meeting with their sovereign at Runnymede. Provisions of the Great Charter. The royal vengeance and timely death.

ON May 27, 1199, John was crowned king at Westminster. By strict hereditary succession, the kingdom would have gone to John, Arthur, Duke of Brittany, now twelve years of age, son of ¹¹⁹⁹⁻¹²¹⁶ Geoffrey, the third son of Henry II., instead of to John, the fifth son

of Henry. The interests of the young prince were overpowered by the fitness of age in John, who was now thirty-two; by the promises previously made by the justiciary and the Archbishop at a Great Council held at Northampton; and by respect for the will of Richard.

The reign of the new king forms an epoch of great importance in the history of England. The utter badness of the man is in a wonderful contrast to the good wrought out by the thorough failure of all his clever and wicked schemes. The island was now to be separated from France, and the interests of her ruling classes were to be concentrated under one monarchy. The interest of England had been quite at variance with that of her first six French kings. Their talents, and even their virtues, had been only a curse to her, in enabling them to maintain their Continental sway. The follies and vices of John made the House of Plantagenet succumb to the strength of mind and the ability of the first great monarch of France. The loss of Normandy forced the Norman nobles of England to look upon this as their country, and upon her people as their fellow-citizens. The two races, so long hostile, had now common interests and common foes, and thus the descendants of those who had fought at Senlac under William, and of those who had maintained the brave contest under Harold, began to draw together in friendship. The *Great Charter* was the fruit of their common hatred and united exertions against a bad king, and, as it was framed for their common benefit, so it was the first pledge of their amity.

In his outward presence and demeanour, the new king had a large share of the charming qualities of his race. He was the cleverest of the Angevin kings, and a careful and diligent ruler in the details of government. His inner character, as revealed by conduct, has no lights and shades. It is the blackness of utter depravity, unilluminated by one gleam of virtue. In all relations of life, he was bad as man can be. Treacherous, false, cruel, profligate, impious—he cared naught for the lives or the honour of either men or women, and his utter want of moral principle caused his intellectual quickness to lead him ever into deeper infamy. A man of his own time, who knew of what he was writing, declares that the presence of John after death would be a defilement to the region of lost souls. In Normandy, Aquitaine, and Poitou, John was readily admitted as ruler, but Maine, Anjou, and Touraine did homage to Prince Arthur, and the English king, alarmed at the position of affairs, was in Normandy before the end of June. Philip of France had taken up the cause of Arthur, solely with a view to his own advantage, and had invaded Normandy, and placed garrisons in the towns and fortresses of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. Constance, the mother of Arthur, having her suspicions of Philip, took her son out of his hands, and placed him in the care of John. At the same time, she took measures to rouse revolt against the French garrisons, and John was soon in

possession of the three disputed provinces. In May 1200, peace was made between the two kings. The cause of Arthur was abandoned by Philip, and the young prince was compelled to do homage to John for the duchy of Brittany. All seemed to be safe, but the wicked passions of the English sovereign soon involved him again in trouble. John had been married for nearly twelve years to the daughter of William, Earl of Gloucester. He now fell in love, if the word may be so abused, with another man's betrothed. Isabella, daughter of the Count of Angoulême, was betrothed to the Count de la Marche. John had been struck by the lady's beauty when he met her in Aquitaine, and persuaded her father to violate honour and decency, and give his consent to a match. The English king procured a divorce from his wife, who was connected with him in blood, on the usual plea of consanguinity, and Isabella was crowned as queen of England in October 1200. The nobleman robbed of the lady appealed to Philip for redress, and headed a vain revolt against John in Poitou and Aquitaine. In 1202 Philip took the field again, along with many barons and knights of Poitou, who demanded redress for the infamous wrong done to the Count de la Marche. Constance, the mother of Arthur, was now dead, and Philip induced the young Duke of Brittany to join him against John. He married the French king's daughter, and was invested anew with Anjou and Maine. The quickness of John, who had all the military skill of his house, brought the revolt to an end. Arthur was besieging his grandmother Eleanor in the castle of Mirabeau, near Poitiers, and an ill watch was kept against relief from the outside. John suddenly appeared at the head of a large force, took the town by surprise, and captured his nephew Arthur, along with two hundred nobles and knights who had followed his unhappy fortunes. Another chance of security was now offered to the English king, and he flung it away with the reckless wickedness which was ever betraying its perpetrator. Arthur, with perfect safety, might have been released, and sent back to his duchy of Brittany, to ponder the lesson lately received in the art of war at the hands of his elder relative. The course taken by the uncle was to cause the nephew to be murdered, at or near Rouen, in 1203. Of the details of this foul deed nothing certain is known. The other prisoners of rank taken at Mirabeau were treated with a cruelty that rarely disgraced the times of chivalry, which generally dealt fairly by men of the dominant order. They were loaded with irons, and kept in Norman and English dungeons. Twenty-five of the number were confined in Corfe Castle, and most of them were there starved to death. Arthur's eldest sister wore out her life as a prisoner at Bristol. The gathering hatred of all mankind soon found a reward for the brutal and cowardly despot. A meeting of the states of Brittany at Vannes demanded justice against John from Philip, their and his feudal lord. He was summoned to appear as a vassal of France, and, on his refusal, was declared guilty of felony and treason in the

murder of Arthur, and adjudged to forfeit all the lands which he held by homage. The king of France at once invaded Normandy, and carried all before him. Town after town surrendered at the first summons, while John, amusing himself at Rouen with his young wife, looked on disaster with indolent levity, as if he fancied that he could recover with ease the power that was slipping from his grasp. The Norman people, in their failure to resist, appeared to welcome French rule, and John did not stir until the enemy were drawing near to Rouen, and about to capture, after a long siege, the stronghold of Château Gaillard. Then he took the field at last, and showed great military skill in the plan which he formed for raising the siege. The assault on the French lines failed from lack of concert in the two attacking bodies, and the grand fortress erected by Richard fell into Philip's hands. John's last hope was gone. His resources were at an end, his troops passed over to the enemy, and his ignominious flight to England was followed by the capture of Rouen. The whole duchy of Normandy was thus reunited to the crown of France, about three centuries after its cession to Rollo by Charles the Simple. Anjou, Maine, and Touraine were soon reduced by Philip, and most of Aquitaine followed the same course. In 1206, John made a vain attempt, after a landing at Rochelle, to recover his lost dominions, and with this ended English rule in France to the north of the Garonne.

The rise of a new spirit in the English Church, after its subjection by Henry II., had been shown in 1205, when Hubert Walter, the primate, joined the powerful baron William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, in a vigorous protest which withheld John from a renewed effort in France. A short time later, the see of Canterbury became vacant by Hubert Walter's death, and John saw a chance of asserting himself against the Church. A dispute arose between him and the chapter as to the appointment of a new archbishop. Some of the monks elected their sub-prior, Reginald, and at once dispatched him to Rome to have his election confirmed by the Pope. The king caused the chapter to elect a friend of his own, John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, and a deputation of monks was sent off to Rome in support of the new choice. John was to find himself now in collision with a power beyond that of monks, bishops, or barons. The Pope of the time, Innocent III., was one of the most resolute and ambitious men that ever filled the Papal chair. His design was to use the spiritual power as an instrument for controlling temporal power in every Christian state. He declared that "regal dignity should be but a reflection of the Papal authority (as the moon owes its splendour to the sun), and entirely subordinate to it." He had already decided between rival claimants to the imperial crown of Germany, setting up one prince and then deposing him. He had, by the dreadful weapon of excommunication, punished Philip of France for an unlawful marriage, and forced him to take back his repudiated

John's
quarrel
with the
Pope,
1205-1213.

wife. The Pope now decided that the right of election, as against the king, lay with the monks, and he set aside both choices, commanding the deputation there and then to choose, as the new Archbishop of Canterbury, the illustrious Stephen Langton. This blow, aimed at the rights both of the Church and the crown in England, was delivered by the Pope in 1207. Langton, an Englishman by birth, was educated at Paris, and rose by sheer merit to be Chancellor of the University. On his going to reside in Rome, his learning, talents, and virtues raised him so high in Innocent's favour that he became Cardinal in 1206. John turned against the monks of Canterbury the anger aroused in him by the Pope, and drove them from the place, with the loss of all their revenues. In March 1208, Innocent placed the whole kingdom under an interdict. Nothing more terrible can be conceived than such a sentence in such an age. The consolations of religion were eagerly sought for by the great body of the people, who earnestly believed that a happy future would be a reward for the patient endurance of a miserable present. They were also firmly persuaded that the blessings conveyed by religious rites could be suspended by the mysterious power which the Pope wielded as head of the Church. Under an interdict, no knell was tolled for the dead, for the dead were committed to unhallowed ground without the office of a priest. No merry peals welcomed the bridal procession, for no couple could be joined in wedlock inside the church. The mother might have her child baptized, and the dying receive extreme unction, but public worship, and the use of all other sacraments, were in a state of suspension. After pronouncing the sentence of interdict in Passion Week of 1208, the Bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely fled from the country, and were followed by other prelates, till only one was left in the land. The weight of this crushing blow fell mainly on the laity. The monks and nuns had their religious offices within their own walls, but all the churches were closed to the people, though sermons were preached on Sundays in the churchyards. This anomalous condition of society lasted for more than six years. The English king retorted by seizure of the property of all clergy who observed the interdict, and was threatened in 1209 with excommunication. When this sentence fell three years later, John treated it with defiance, but soon found himself face to face with a new danger. The Pope declared his deposition, absolving his vassals from their fealty, exhorting all Christian princes and barons to unite in dethroning him, and excommunicating those who held any intercourse with him. We shall see that the conduct of John towards his subjects, during the years of the interdict, had not been such as to enable him, with the least feeling of confidence, to call on them for resentment against such an attack as this. John looked on and listened with contempt when Cardinal Pandulf, the Papal Nuncio, proclaimed his deposition in 1212, before a Great Council held at Northampton.

Then Innocent called upon the French king to carry into effect the sentence of deposition, and promised to grant him the king-
 War with France, 1212. dom of England. Philip prepared a great army at Rouen, and a vast number of ships in the Channel, for the invasion of the country. John was roused to exertion by mingled wrath and fear, and gathered a great fleet at Portsmouth, while every man that could bear arms was summoned to the coast of Kent. The threat of invasion had roused the spirit of Englishmen. The fleet, instead of waiting for Philip, crossed the Channel, destroyed many ships at Fécamp, burnt Dieppe, and dispelled all danger for a time. The diplomatic skill of John was then shown in forming against France a powerful league, including Flanders, Germany, and the barons of Poitou, but, in the moment of apparent triumph, he was forced to give way.

Pandulf the Legate again appeared in England, and revolts in
 John's submission to the Pope. Wales, plots among the barons, and the hostility of Scotland, placed John in a helpless position. On May 13, 1213, he subscribed a deed in which he promised to obey the Pope, in admitting Langton to the see of Canterbury; to recall the exiled bishops, and all other opponents; to reverse outlawries, and restore property unlawfully seized. On these terms, the interdict and excommunication were to be revoked. May 14th was spent by the king in secret council with the Legate, and the next day witnessed an act without parallel in all our history. In the hope of turning the spiritual thunders of Rome against his rebellious barons, John had resolved upon a complete and most degrading submission to the Pope. He laid the kingdom of England at his feet. He did homage to Pandulf, as representative of the see of Rome, and took an oath of fealty as the Pope's vassal. He put an instrument into the Legate's hands, granting to Innocent and his successors the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and agreed to hold these dominions of the Church of Rome in fee, by the yearly payment of a thousand marks.

During the six years of the interdict, John appears to have conducted
 John's rule from 1205-1213. affairs with more vigour and decision than at any other part of his reign, but his tyrannical and licentious behaviour towards all classes of the people, especially towards the baronage, made him the object of general hatred. The partial conquest of Ireland had only increased the evils under which the country suffered. The semi-barbarous natives were at war among themselves, and showed the utmost hatred for the small body of adventurers who kept them at bay, outside the narrow limits of the Pale. The feudal conquerors sank in character almost to the level of the natives, and, in conflict with each other, and cruelty both to the Irish and to the English settlers within the Pale, created a scene of anarchy which was a practical defiance to the English sovereign. In 1210, the king took a great army over, and his stern measures created for a time a state of order. He also

made some useful reforms, in dividing into shires, each having its sheriff and other officers, the portions of the country held by England, in the coinage and circulation of English money, and in the establishment of English law. John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich, a man of wisdom and ability, was left there as chief-justiciary, and for the rest of the reign the country had something like peace and prosperity. The expedition to Ireland was followed in 1211 by an attempt to repress the incursions of the Welsh over the English border. A powerful prince, named Llewellyn, had received homage from the other Welsh chiefs; and he aimed at complete independence of the rule partially established by the early Norman kings of England. John had once before advanced with his army to the foot of Snowdon, but was unable to reach the enemy in his fastnesses, and was at last obliged to retreat before the assaults of climate and famine. In a second attempt, he again reached Snowdon, and forced Llewellyn to make a nominal submission and to give hostages. The Welshmen, however, rose again when John became embroiled with his barons, and the country was not subdued until near the end of the thirteenth century. In 1209, an important work was completed in London. This was the London Bridge which stood against flood and frost for more than six centuries, until it was replaced by the present solid and stately erection in the reign of William IV. The architect of the old structure was a London priest, Peter, chaplain of St. Mary Colechurch, in the Poultry. The oppression of the nobles by John was such as, in the end, to rouse the proud barons to a resistance of the highest value to the cause of English freedom. Not only were they plundered by heavy and illegal taxation, but their honour was outraged by the wicked king's gross behaviour to their wives, their sisters, and their daughters. Their jealousy had also been aroused by the favour shown to smooth-tongued, greedy Frenchmen, refugees from Anjou, Maine, and Poitou, with whom the king had filled the court, and on whom he bestowed the lands and offices within his power. For their benefit, rightful owners were robbed of their possessions, and the king used in their behalf his own feudal rights as to wardship and marriage.

Upon the absolute submission of John to the Pope's authority, it was notified by Pandulf to Philip of France that the king of England had been received as a repentant son of the Church, ^{John and Philip, 1214.} and that no attempt must be made upon his dominions. Wroth as a wolf robbed of prey, Philip proposed to invade England without Papal sanction. He was foiled in this design by the courage of Englishmen. A fleet under William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, attacked the French in their own ports, and gained a signal victory over their fleet in the Flemish harbour of Damme, near Bruges. The ships were either taken or burnt, and all fear of invasion came to an end. In 1214, John landed at Rochelle, in Poitou, gathered the nobles around him, and, after crossing the Loire, succeeded in taking Angers, the

capital of Anjou, the land of his own ancestry. At the same time, the members of the league formed by John began to act against the king of France. Philip's country was invaded from the north by a great combined army under John's nephew, Otto IV., emperor of Germany. The Emperor's own troops were aided by the men of the Count of Flanders and the Count of Boulogne, and by a body of English mercenaries under the Earl of Salisbury. The united forces exceeded a hundred thousand men, and the case of France was one of great peril. But the men of France were equal to the need, and their great king came safely out of this crisis of his fate. The *battle of Bouvines* was fought on July 27, 1214, at a village between Lille and Tournay. A complete and glorious victory was gained by the French army. The Flemings, the Germans, and the English were all broken in the shock of battle, and the Earl of Salisbury was taken prisoner. It was by far the greatest conflict of those times, but its interest to us lies in the lasting effect which it produced upon the fortunes of our country. Never was battle more beneficent to the sacred cause of freedom. The hopes of John for successful coercion of the baronage of England were staked upon the issue of the fight. The discomfiture of Philip would have meant for John the restoration of all his French dominions, and the vengeful tyrant would have returned to England with a force at his back that would have put baronage and people alike at his mercy. When the fatal news reached Poitou, the nobles at once abandoned the king, and in October he returned in a helpless state to England.

Two great men were the leaders of the English nobles and the English nation in the enterprise now undertaken. Stephen Langton had come to assume his office as Archbishop of Canterbury, and already, before the king's departure for Poitou in 1214, he had stood forward in the cause of freedom. The barons had refused to sail with John, on the just ground that their term of feudal service was expired, and at a Great Council held at St. Alban's they issued a proclamation in the royal name, commanding the laws of Henry I. to be observed. When John threatened vengeance on those whom he called "traitors," the Archbishop told him that it was not for a king to punish any man without trial, and that the barons were ready to answer in the king's court. The other chief champion of English liberty was William Marshal, eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke. They and other bold and earnest churchmen and laymen saw that the time was come when no man should be "king and lord in England" with a total disregard of the rights of other men; a time when a king should rule in England by law instead of by force, or rule not at all. They knew the difficulties in their path. The restored position of John in Papal favour might greatly influence the clergy. The royal castles were held by mercenary troops. They would have to deal with the most crafty, cruel, and violent of despots. But these great patriots shrank from no danger that seemed to lie in the way

The
barons
banded
against
the king.

of duty, and they quietly formed a league that would be strong enough to enforce their just demands, even if the issue were put to the arbitrament of civil war. On November 20, 1214, the barons met at St. Edmundsbury. There, with hands on the altar, they solemnly swore to withdraw their allegiance from the king, if he should resist their claims to just government. Then they marched to London, where John had shut himself up within the precincts and sanctuary of the Temple. In a meeting at St. Paul's in London, before the battle of Bouvines, Langton had produced a copy of the charter of Henry I., and it was resolved to use this as a basis of further reforms. On the present occasion, January 1215, when the deputies of the barons came before John, he first mocked at their claims, and then asked for delay. The Archbishop, Pembroke, and the Bishop of Ely undertook that a proper answer to the barons' demands should be given before Easter. The king used the interval in trying to win over the clerical magnates by promising a free election of bishops, by vowing to go to the Crusade, and by seeking help from the Pope. The Pontiff ordered Langton and his associates to make their peace with the king, but they disregarded the command, and, soon after Easter, met in great force at Stamford. John was then at Oxford, and Langton and Pembroke were with him. They were dispatched to ascertain the demands of their peers, and they brought back the written articles afterwards signed by John. He flew into a violent rage, and vowed he would never grant liberties that would make himself a slave. The barons girded themselves up for war, and choosing Robert Fitz-Walter as general, gathered a force which they styled *The army of God and Holy Church*. With this they marched on London, whose gates were thrown open to welcome them on May 24th. At this time John was at Winchester, and passed to and fro between the old capital of Wessex and Windsor. Exeter and Lincoln followed London in adherence to the patriotic cause, and the barons of the north took the field against John. The tyrant was forced, in sheer helplessness, to capitulate to an armed nation, and the result was seen at Runnymede.

To that long low plain, bounded on one side by the Thames, on the other by a gentle line of hills, King John summoned the barons in council. The very name of this spot, of sacred and undying memory in the history of freedom, proves that it was not then used for the first time as a place of solemn deliberation. In this council-meadow—for *Rune-med* means the "mead of council"—king and earl had often met in *Witan*, before the Norman planted his foot on the island. A great mixed race had kept the old traditions of liberty, which belonged to the days before the Conquest. The spirit of the ancient institutions had blended with the feudal principles, and this coalition, of excellent use for varying states of society, was now to become the priceless inheritance of generation after generation of Englishmen. The barons encamped on the marshy

The Great
Charter,
June 15,
1215.

field of Runnymede, and the king on the opposite side of the river. The deputies of both met in conference on a little island between them, which still bears the name of *Magna Carta Island*. There was no need for long discussion. The barons could neither be coerced nor cajoled, and on that one great day, June 15, 1215, the *Great Charter* was accepted and signed by the king. Its surpassing and supreme importance in our history has not sufficed to save it from misconception of its essential meaning. It is commonly regarded as the original basis of English freedom. It is, in reality, a code of laws, expressed in simple language, and embodying two principles. The first of these principles includes such limitations of the feudal claims of the king as would prevent their abuse. The second involves a statement of the general rights of all freemen, derived from the ancient laws of the realm, however these rights had been neglected or perverted. The Great Charter contains no assertion of abstract principles of freedom or justice, but meets unquestionable evils by practical remedies, and is based, as all English freedom has been based, upon something which went before it. It was, therefore, not a revolution, but a conservative reform, demanding no limitation of the regal power which had not already been admitted, in theory, by every king who had taken the coronation-oath. It made that oath, hitherto regarded, at least by some kings, as a mere form of words, into a binding reality. It defined, in broad terms of practical application, the essential difference between a limited and a despotic monarchy, and preserved all the proper attributes of kingly power, whilst guarding against all tyranny. In the clauses which concerned the barons of England as a feudal aristocracy, the charter limited the royal practice of exacting arbitrary sums under the name of *reliefs*, of wasting the estates of wards, of disposing in marriage of heirs and heiresses during minority, and of choosing husbands for widows. One clause declared that the consent of the Great Council of the tenants-in-chief was necessary for the levying of an *aid* upon the tenants of the crown, in any case beyond the legal ones of ransom for the king from captivity, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter. The chief tenants also agreed that "every liberty and custom which the king had granted to his tenants should be observed by the clergy and laity towards their tenants." Other clauses secured the freedom hitherto enjoyed by the city of London and other cities and boroughs, and enacted that no *aids* were to be required of London, except by consent of the Great Council. One weight and one measure were to be used throughout the kingdom, and freedom of commerce was granted to foreign merchants. An important clause provided for the regularity, accessibility, and independence of public justice by requiring that the Court of Common Pleas should be stationary, instead of following the king's person as he moved about the country. The great glory of this famous document

shines forth in the clauses which, in language of noble simplicity, secured to Englishmen the two chief rights of citizens in any free society of men—personal freedom and security of property. The 39th article runs thus :—“NO FREE MAN SHALL BE TAKEN, OR IMPRISONED, OR DISSEISED (*i.e.* dispossessed), OR OUTLAWED, OR BANISHED, OR ANY OTHERWISE DESTROYED : NOR WILL WE PASS UPON HIM, NOR SEND UPON HIM (*i.e.* inflict upon him or cause him any harm) UNLESS BY THE LEGAL JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS (*i.e.* equals), OR BY THE LAW OF THE LAND. TO NO MAN WILL WE SELL, TO NO MAN WILL WE DENY OR DELAY, RIGHT OR JUSTICE.” In a revised version of the charter, as issued by Henry III., the word *disseised* is followed by the words “*of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs.*” This article really contains the writ of *habeas corpus* and the trial by jury, which are the most effectual securities against oppression that the wit of man ever devised. It also asserts the great principle that justice is a debt of every government, a due which cannot be paid to the people governed, unless law be cheap, prompt, and equal. A general and a particular proof may be given of the corruptions of the time in the administration of law. The rolls of the Exchequer afford constant evidence of sums of money received by the king, to procure a hearing in his courts. Some suits, through this corruption, were made as lengthy and ruinous as Chancery-suits became, in times yet recent, through neglect and vicious formalities. There was a dispute about a marsh between the Abbot of Croyland and the Prior of Spalding. This matter lasted through the reign of Richard I. and a great part of John’s reign. The Abbot and the Prior went on, during these years, outbidding each other to obtain a hearing, and security was at length given for the payment of the bribe, as if the transaction were perfectly regular.

Not only did the barons of England provide for their own security and that of the body of the nation, but even the *villeins* were not forgotten. The 20th section of the charter provided that the freeman should be amerced only according to the degree of the fault, saving always to the freeman his tenement, and to a merchant his merchandise. After this security against excessive and ruinous fines, the clause proceeds, “And a villein shall be amerced after the same manner, *saving to him his wainage*, if he falls under our mercy.” The expression, *salvo wainagio suo*, in mediæval Latin, saves to the villein his implements of husbandry in the shape of carts and ploughs.

When the king’s assent and signature to the terms of the Charter were given, the next work of the barons was to provide for its execution and continuance. Copies were sent to every diocese, and the most accurate and complete copy now existing is that preserved in Lincoln Cathedral. The document was ordered to be publicly read twice a year. The king was compelled to surrender the city and Tower of London, to be held by the barons till August 15th, or until he had completely executed the charter, which was at present

Baronial
care for
others.

The
barons
and John.

only in the form of a rough draft of its articles. John was also obliged to consent that the barons should choose twenty-five of their number to be guardians of the liberties of the kingdom, with powers, in case of any breach of the charter, and the delay or denial of redress, to make war on the king, to seize his castles and lands, and to distress and annoy him in every possible way (saving only the persons of himself, the queen, and children) until justice was done. The character of the man, as judged by those who had the best means of knowing it, comes out in strong colours in this most stringent and insulting provision.

No sooner had John submitted thus to the barons in arms, than he cast about, with his usual treachery, for the means of evading the performance of what he had undertaken. He appealed to Pope Innocent for aid, and he sent persons abroad to enlist foreign troops. The king now found the benefit which he had looked for in becoming the Pope's vassal. A bull was issued by the feudal lord of the kingdom, in which the Charter was annulled, as being obtained illegally, and on the ground that the king had no right to surrender the privileges of the crown without the consent of his feudal superior. The barons were also made subject to excommunication. Langton, the Archbishop, was a thorough patriot, as well as a great statesman, an honest churchman, and a good man. He refused to excommunicate the barons, and was suspended from office by the Pope. The interference of Innocent in temporal concerns was generally held by the nation to be without warrant, but John found a stronger ally in the foreign mercenaries, who began to arrive in the autumn. Troops were landed from Flanders and Brabant, Gascony and Poitou, and gathered in great force round the king at Dover. The barons appear to have been taken by surprise, and the king, after revoking the charter in accordance with the bull sent from Rome, was able to give full vent to his passion for revenge. He marched on Rochester Castle, reduced it by famine after eight weeks' siege, and put to death a part of the garrison. The country was then overrun by his fierce hirelings. He marched to the north with fire and sword, and entered Scotland, to punish her king, Alexander II., for the alliance which he had formed with the barons. The abbeys were burnt without distinction, and John, after staying the night at a village, would set fire, with his own hand, to the house in which he had rested. His half-brother, the Earl of Salisbury, was committing havoc in England upon the estates, tenants, houses, and parks of the barons. Neither age nor sex, nor things sacred nor profane, were spared by the ferocious soldiery. The nobles, in their despair, sought help from France, offering the crown to Louis, the eldest son of Philip. In May 1216, Louis came over with an army, reduced Rochester, and marched upon London, where he received homage as king from the citizens and barons. The position of affairs was one of great danger for the freedom of Englishmen. The tyrant still held most of the castles, and the fortresses at Dover and Windsor offered a

John
and the
barons,
1215-16.

stout resistance to the troops of Louis and the barons. The great support of their cause lay in the character of John and the universal hatred which he had aroused in the hearts of the nation. The proceedings of the foreign deliverer then began to arouse doubt and suspicion. He was dispensing honours and lands to his own countrymen, and there was disunion in the camp of the confederates.

From the danger of foreign subjugation and the horrors of civil war the country was now happily delivered by the sudden death ^{Death of} of John. He had been reduced at first in strength, on the ^{John, 1216.} arrival of Louis, by the desertion of his French mercenaries, who would not fight against their own prince. He retired, first to the west, and then to the north, and showed his military skill in puzzling his opponents by swift and eccentric movements, and in raising the siege of Lincoln. On October 11th, he was at King's Lynn, whence he marched to Wisbeach, in order to cross the Wash for a new movement to the north. The passage over the sands was safe at low water, and part of the army had crossed, when the inflowing tide and the strong descending current of the Welland cut off the baggage. At a spot still known as King's Corner, between Lynn and Cross Keys Wash, the waggons and sumpter-horses, with the treasure, provisions, armour, and clothes, were swallowed up by the waters, and the king, on the northern shore, looked on in helpless despair. That night brought him to the Cistercian Abbey at Swineshead, where fatigue and anguish of mind laid him low with a fever. He was borne in a litter to Sleaford, and thence to the Castle of Newark, where he died on October 18, 1216, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His body was buried at Worcester Cathedral, where his tomb stands in the midst of the choir. He left two sons, Henry, a boy of nine, and Richard, Earl of Cornwall.

BOOK VI.

RISE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY THE THIRD AND SIMON DE MONTFORT.

The French expelled from England. Pembroke and Hubert de Burgh. Character of the king. Des Roches and the foreign intruders. Royal and Papal plundering. The barons roused to resistance. Simon de Montfort a national leader. A curb put on the king.

THE boy-king Henry came to the throne at a critical time. A foreign **Henry III.**, prince and army were in the land. Louis would not readily **1216-1272.** forego the power which he had attained, and the barons were seen in separate camps. A long civil war was in prospect, but an able, faithful, and patriotic man was at hand for the direction of affairs. William Marshal, now Earl of Pembroke, was official head of John's army, and to his hands the rule now passed. He took the young king to Gloucester, where he was crowned by the Papal legate on October 28th, in the presence of a few bishops and barons. Homage to the Pope was exacted, and the rendering of fealty to the Papal see gained an ally of great importance at such a juncture. On November 12th, at a Great Council held at Bristol, Pembroke was chosen Regent of the kingdom, and the Great Charter was re-issued and confirmed, with the omission, for the time, of certain clauses.

The first business of the new government was to free the land from the foreigners. The barons began to leave the camp of Louis, **The French intruders.** inspired by a national feeling which now began to show its strength, and by pity for a young king, devoid of share in his father's guilt. Gualo, the Papal legate, put the ban of the Church on Louis and all his adherents, and the young king's cause daily gained strength. Early in 1217, the French prince crossed the Channel and returned with reinforcements, but Pembroke, in the meantime, had been winning over the barons, and a general confidence was felt in his honour and sagacity.

Battle of Lincoln, 1217. The Londoners, however, adhered to the foreign prince who had come to help them against the tyranny of John, and the prospect was still doubtful, when the vigour and skill of Pembroke brought matters to a happy issue. In April 1217, a large French army, under the Count of Perche—"wicked French freebooters," as a chronicler calls them—with some English barons and

knights under Robert Fitz-Walter, marched from London to besiege the castle of Lincoln, which was held by the king's party. Pembroke called out the tenants of the crown, and gathered a force from the garrisons of the royal castles. He was in far inferior strength, and might have been crushed in the open field. The French, however, remained within the walls of Lincoln, where the castle held out against all their attacks. Pembroke boldly entered the town while a sortie was made from the castle, and in the narrow streets the French cavalry were unable to act. A complete victory, called, from its easy accomplishment, *The Fair of Lincoln*, was won by the assailants, on May 20, 1217. The Count of Perche fell, with thousands of his men, and the rest became prisoners.

The contest at Lincoln was followed up by a great naval success. Under the command of a famous pirate, known as Eustace the Monk, an armament of eighty large vessels put to sea from Calais on August 24th, bringing reinforcements to the Thames for Prince Louis. Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary, a resolute and able man, gathered forty vessels in the Cinque Ports, and set sail from Dover. He met the enemy off Sandwich, and the battle was soon over. The French were blinded by showers of quick-lime thrown by the English, shot down in heaps by their arrows, and brained by the axes of the boarders. The ramming of the French vessels by the strong prows of the English ships completed the foe's discomfiture, and the invading fleet ceased to exist. The cause of Louis was hopeless, and he quitted the kingdom, under treaty, in September 1217. The country was soon pacified, and Pembroke completed the work of the Great Charter by causing the king to issue a *Charter of the Forests*, in which the terrible penalties for destroying the king's deer were abolished, and fine or imprisonment were appointed.

The death of this excellent statesman in 1219 was a great misfortune for the country and the king. He left a noble example of the principle upon which alone the blessing of just laws can be made permanent—a constant reparation, instead of a sweeping change. The Great Charter and its subsequent improvements were essentially practical reforms, and thus they resisted every attempt to overturn them during a coming century of struggles, and stood boldly up either against a weak Henry or a powerful Edward. One of the services of Pembroke was a provision that the charter should live in the popular mind of England, by being read periodically in the county-courts. His monument is still to be seen in the Temple Church in London.

Pembroke was succeeded in power as regent by Hubert de Burgh, aided by a prelate of Poitevin birth, Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and by Cardinal Langton, the primate, who had now made his peace with Rome. Pandulf resided at court as Papal legate, and for a part of the reign, Papal interference

Defeat of
French
fleet.

Death
of Pem-
broke,
1219.

Hubert de
Burgh,
1219-1231.

greatly hindered good government. De Burgh was a man of English independent spirit, with a strong prejudice against foreign interlopers and Continental wars. He had high notions as to the royal prerogative, and the omission, from Henry's version of the Great Charter, of the clause against the imposition of *scutage* or *aid* without the consent of the Great Council, gave the crown an opening for illegal exactions. But a spirit had been aroused in the nation, which exercised a restraining influence. Money was often obtained by the sovereign only on redress of some grievance, though many arbitrary taxes were levied upon the industrious classes, especially in London. In 1223, De Burgh obtained a bull from the Pope, declaring Henry competent to do all royal acts, and in 1224 a war occurred in Poitou, where the king's uncle, the Earl of Salisbury, checked the forces of Louis VIII., who had succeeded Philip Augustus. England had been reduced to peace by the stern measures of De Burgh against turbulent barons and lawless foreigners. The Earl of Chester, a powerful rebel, yielded to Hubert's armed forces and Langton's threat of the ban of the Church, and Faukes de Breauté, a Frenchman who held possession of several royal castles, was quelled by the hanging of four-and-twenty knights, with all their retainers, who had held for him the fortress at Bedford.

The good Archbishop Langton was a staunch and valuable champion of freedom in the earlier part of the reign. He watched with care over the Great Charter, of which he was so largely the author, and on two occasions, in 1223 and 1225, he headed the barons in demanding its solemn confirmation by the king. He died in 1228, to the great grief of all lovers of liberty, and his removal from the scene opened the way for exactions from the clergy, which the Pope demanded on the basis of feudal right, according to the surrender made by John, and continued by his son and successor Henry.

At twenty years of age, Henry declared himself fit to rule, and began his independent course by stating his power to "interpret, enlarge, or diminish the aforesaid statutes, and their several parts, by our own free will, and as to us shall seem expedient for the security of us and our land." The "statutes" here mean the charters. This cool assumption of the suspensory and dispensing power, which became familiar in Stuart times, has a formidable look, but there was, even in the thirteenth century, a national spirit which deprived it of its fangs. In addition to this, the king who put forth the claim was a thoroughly weak man in character—the tool of the last favourite, unstable, capricious, frivolous, fond of display, void of control over temper and tongue. His chief aims in home and foreign policy were quite beyond his reach, but his efforts to attain them were productive of much temporary harm, issuing in permanent good for the nation. In England, he strove for the exercise of absolute power: beyond the Channel, he dreamed of regaining the lost French dominions. He was a man of taste in literature and art, and to him

Arch-
bishop
Langton.

Henry
assumes
power,
1227. His
character.

we owe the larger portion of the existing Westminster Abbey, which he began to erect in 1220, and almost completed in 1245.

In 1229, the king was at issue with his able and faithful minister. De Burgh had felt bound to oppose the king's designs against France, and Henry, in wrath, accused him of treason. In 1230, the king received homage in Poitou and Gascony, but failed there and in Brittany in his military efforts. De Burgh was blamed for this, and just at this time the Pope charged him with having contrived an outbreak of popular wrath against the Papal tax-gatherers, who were mercilessly robbing the clergy. The justiciar was driven from office in 1231, and a brief imprisonment in the Tower left him without future influence for good.

Des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, now held power for a time, and the court was soon filled with his countrymen from Poitou, and with other greedy Frenchmen, on whom the king bestowed offices, castles, and lands, to the great disgust of English knights and barons. In 1236, Henry took a wife in Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence, and this event brought over hosts of her relatives and friends to plunder the unhappy country. Her uncle, Peter of Savoy, became the king's chief counsellor in 1241, and built the splendid palace in the Strand, called after his country's name. On the death of Edmund Rich, in 1240, Peter's brother, Boniface of Savoy, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, but his gross insolence and violent conduct roused a riot in London, which drove him for safety out of the country. A few years later, the king welcomed another tribe of hungry aliens. These were children, by a second marriage, of his mother Isabella of Angoulême, who died in 1246. One son, William of Valence, was created Earl of Pembroke; another, Aimar de Valence, received the rich bishopric of Winchester, though he had not yet arrived at the canonical age for the office. Never was royalty more degraded, apart from gross vice, than in the rule of Henry III. Kingship with him was a mere trade for extracting money from the people, to supply his own extravagance, and to shower favours on worthless foreign dependants. He appears on the page of history as an extortioner, or as a beggar. The records of the Exchequer prove that, for forty years, there were no contrivances for obtaining money so mean or so unjust that he disdained to practise them. When his son Edward was born in 1239, Henry sent out all over the country, asking the rich for presents. "God gave us the child," a Norman was driven to exclaim, "but the king sells him to us." In 1249, the king exacted New Year's gifts from the citizens of London. "Lend me a hundred pounds," said Henry to the Abbot of Ramsay, and the poor man was forced to go to the money-lenders, and borrow the sum demanded. When the sovereign did not beg, he turned robber under the old system of *purveyance*, by which the king's officers took, at their own price or at none at all, all kinds of neces-

Fall of
Hubert
de Burgh,
1231.

The king's
rule, 1231-
1253.

saries for the use of the royal household. This abuse was expressly regulated by the Great Charter, yet we learn from a remonstrance made by the Great Council in 1248 that the king "seized by force on whatever was used in the way of meat and drink—especially wine, and even clothes—against the will of those who sold these things." Even justice was poisoned at its source, in order to raise money. The judges went forth on their regular circuits, not for the punishment of offenders, but to compound for offences, real or falsely imputed, by the payment of great fines. The Jews, according to the ideas of the age, were legitimate objects of plunder, and Henry spared them no more than his wicked father John. The rich merchants of London also received the costly attentions of the king. On one occasion he asked the abbots of all the Cistercian houses for a year's value of their wool, and when they refused the payment, he forbade them to export it. The fleeces remained in the monastery-lofts, and the monks were obliged to forego their share of the wines of Germany and of the broadcloths of Flanders. Under the royal prerogative of interference with trade, Henry, in 1248, sought to punish the Londoners by holding a fortnight's fair in Westminster. During that time, all traffic in the city was suspended by royal proclamation, and traders were forced, in October, to expose costly merchandise in booths around the new Abbey-church. It was a time of wind and rain, and the soaking of the canvas caused the rotting of the goods. The hatred of the citizens was roused by such tyranny as this, and a mean apology made to them by the king in 1250, at Westminster Hall, did not at all mend matters. Queen Eleanor was also at feud with the burgesses of London. She claimed that all vessels navigating the Thames should unlade at Queenhithe, and there pay her heavy dues. During Henry's absence in Gascony, in 1253, she was Lady Keeper of the Great Seal, and, armed with this power, she vigorously enforced payment, and committed the two sheriffs to prison for resisting her demands.

In all the violations of the letter and spirit of the Great Charter, in **Papal ex-** which the king indulged himself, he also aided and abetted **actions.** the Pope and his officials. At the Council of Lyons, held in 1250, the English representatives declared that the number of foreigners to whom the Pope had given preferments in England was so great that 60,000 marks (or forty thousand pounds, equal to about eight hundred thousand of present value) were carried out of the country yearly by foreign clergy. The best bishoprics and livings were bestowed on Italians, and sometimes on mere boys, and on men of evil life. The excellent Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, was suspended for refusing to induct, to a rich living in his diocese, a boy from Italy presented by the Pope. The clergy were harassed by constant demands for money as a gift or on loan. Appeals to Rome on all Church-disputes were encouraged and expected, and heavy fees were extorted in the Papal courts. The Pope claimed the goods of all intestate

ecclesiastics; all legacies left for pious purposes; and all property unjustly gained, if the true owner could not be found. The Papal collectors were ever passing through the country, and arousing the deepest hatred by their insolence and greed.

The arbitrary acts done and permitted by the crown, by which the Great Charter was broken at every turn, were not committed without remonstrance from Parliament, as the Great Council had now begun to be styled. In 1242 they refused a supply of money for Henry's war in Poitou. In 1244 they sent messengers to Rome to remonstrate with Innocent IV. against the doings of "Master Martin," who in the Pope's name was demanding rich gifts and seizing vacant benefices. In 1248 another Parliament rated and threatened the king about his lavish gifts to foreigners, his abuses of *purveyance*, and his appointment of evil men to rule. Sometimes the barons vented their wrath in another fashion than by mere words or refusal of supplies. In 1245 a powerful baron named Fulk Fitz-Warrenne presented himself before Master Martin, and ordered him at once to leave the country. The Italian demanded in whose name the order was given, and was answered, "I speak in the name of all the barons of England. If you are wise, do not stay till the third day, lest you and all your company be cut in pieces." Martin went off to the king in great fear and trembling, but got scanty comfort there, being told by Henry that he could scarcely keep the barons from rising against himself. The Italian then put spurs to his horse, and made his way to Dover.

The foreign enterprises of Henry had no such measure of success as might have caused any class of his subjects to endure misgovernment at home with patience. In 1242, he was engaged in a quarrel with Louis IX. of France respecting the county of Poitou, which the French monarch had bestowed on his brother Alfonso. Henry III. had assigned the same territory to his brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall. The English king's mother, Isabella, after King John's death, had married her former lover, the Count de la Marche, one of the most powerful of the Poitevin nobles, and they persuaded Henry to take up arms. In May 1242, he landed at the mouth of the Garonne, and met his mother at Saintes. Louis came against him, at the head of a much greater force, and on July 19th the armies were both close to the town of Taillebourg, on opposite sides of the river Charente. The English king had none of the military skill or courage belonging to some of his ancestors, and he shrank from an encounter. At the request of Henry's brother, Earl Richard, who had just returned from the Crusade, Louis granted a truce for a day and night, and Henry fled to Saintes with all his men. The French followed, and drove him from the town, the king only escaping capture through the courage of Earl Simon de Montfort and a few English nobles. His treasure was all taken, and he retired to Bordeaux. There he concluded a five years' truce with France, on condition of giving up all claims to

The
barons
and the
king.

Henry's
foreign
wars.

Poitou, and returned to England in September 1243. Humiliation did not teach him prudence, and at a later date he was involved in trouble through accepting the kingdom of Naples and Sicily for his son Edmund, a boy of nine. Pope Alexander was the bestower of this territory, which needed to be conquered, before it could be held, from the son of the German emperor, Frederick II. The only result was that the English king became largely in debt to the Pope for expenses incurred, and the nation was insulted by a Papal agent coming before the Parliament, with a demand for instant payment, and threats of excommunication and interdict.

In 1253, the aspect of the kingdom was becoming serious. A Parliament was held, at which the king asked for a grant to enable **Growing discontent of the nation.** him to undertake a Crusade. A part of it was given, and afterwards lavished in expenses at Bordeaux, beyond which Henry did not proceed. The king was forced, before receiving promise of the money, to undertake, with great solemnity, that he would observe the charters. The prelates, abbots, and nobles all held burning tapers, and the Archbishop of Canterbury pronounced excommunication against "all violators of the liberties of the Church, or the ancient and approved customs of the kingdom, and especially the liberties and free customs which are contained in the charters of the common liberties of England and of the forests." Then the lights were all flung down, with a frightful curse on whoever should incur the sentence just declared. The king arose, and said, "So help me God, all these terms I will faithfully observe, as I am a man, a Christian, a knight, and a crowned and anointed king." The money obtained on false pretences was employed as we have seen, and more Parliaments, more false promises, and more ill-spent grants of money went on for some years longer. It was clear that some change was impending. Not only was the burgh class rising into importance, but the great tenants of the crown, the barons, the natural leaders in any strong expression of resistance, or any sweeping measure of reform, had now wholly become English. They might not be English yet in language or in feeling, and the courtiers might still call the citizens "rustics," implying that the Saxon blood of the tillers of the soil flowed in their veins. The laws might still be administered in Norman-French, but the tenure of property was making an undivided nation. In 1244, the king of France had declared that "as it is impossible that any man living in my kingdom, and having possessions in England, can consistently serve two masters, he must either inseparably attach himself to me, or to the king of England." Those who had possessions in England were thus called upon to relinquish them, and keep those they had in France, or to give up their lands in France, and keep their English domains. The separation made the barons of England patriots, and we are now to see a great and good man of French birth standing forth as a champion of English freedom.

Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was a man of rare ability, lofty purpose, resolute mind, and keen political foresight. The ^{Simon de} Simon de Montfort who, in the first decade of the thirteenth ^{Montfort.} century, had led, at the command of Pope Innocent III., the Albigensian crusade against the heretics of Provence, became, through his mother, Earl of Leicester. His fourth son, born in France, at Montfort, between Paris and Chartres, about 1208, was also called Simon. Forced to leave France for England by political troubles, he was kindly received by Henry III., always ready to welcome French immigrants, and in 1231 he did homage to the king as Earl of Leicester. The young man was a fine specimen of the feudal noble in face and in athletic frame, in warlike skill and courage, and in 1238 he married the king's sister Eleanor, Henry himself giving the bride away in the royal chapel. She was the widow of the famous William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and was in character worthy of both her husbands. The English barons were indignant at the high position thus acquired by a foreigner, and trouble was averted only by De Montfort's submission to Earl Richard of Cornwall, the king's brother, whose anger was soothed by soft words, lavish promises, and hard cash. The king presented the castle of Kenilworth to his sister, and in June 1239 De Montfort was one of the godfathers of the king's eldest son, Edward. A few weeks later, the fickle Henry, for some unknown reason, showed such anger against Simon, that he went with his wife into voluntary exile. He had the happiness of knowing that he left behind him a faithful friend in the noblest man that England then contained, Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln. This learned, wise, holy, and independent prelate was an honour to the Church which he served, and his friendship is a high testimony to the character of the Earl. In 1240, Simon went to the Crusade with Richard, Earl of Cornwall, and gained repute in Palestine for military skill. The service which he rendered to Henry in Poitou in 1242 restored him to full favour, and the royal castle of Kenilworth was now bestowed on De Montfort himself. From 1243 till 1248 he dwelt there in peace, with his devoted wife, the Princess Eleanor, and five sons were born, intrusted in due time to the care of Bishop Grosseteste. Through the prelate Earl Simon and his wife became known to the famous Franciscan friar, Adam de Marisco, whose faithful friendship made him offer the soundest advice to the noble amid the difficulties of his life. The three men, bishop, baron, and friar, were devoted to the common aim of social and ecclesiastical reform. They were firmly united against regal and Papal oppression, and the Earl became, through the great friar, known to the reforming party among the burgesses of the towns, who were to serve him well in the coming time of trouble. During his retirement at Kenilworth, De Montfort had quietly watched the king's gross misgovernment, and was forming resolves for future action. In 1248, he was appointed governor of Gascony, the only remaining French possession of the English crown. The province was

wavering in its allegiance, but the firmness and energy of De Montfort did much to reduce the turbulent barons to submission. He was, however, ill-supported by the king, whose weakness and caprice forgave too readily those whom the Earl had punished, and listened too eagerly to complaints and false charges from disorderly nobles. At last the ungrateful monarch's violence and injustice to a faithful servant caused an open rupture. One of De Montfort's few faults was a quickness of temper which made him resent fiercely all imputations upon his honour. Early in 1252, he was put on his trial before the Great Council on charges of oppression brought by Gascon barons. He defended himself with great ability, and the judgment was given in his favour. The king for the time acquiesced, but the next day, in the course of a dispute, called Simon to his face "a swindler and traitor." The Earl, hot with passion, gave the king the lie direct, and rebuked him severely for unchristian conduct. De Montfort then returned to his command, and took a noble revenge in a severe defeat given to the rebel barons, five of whose leaders were sent captives to Henry. Late in the year, he retired into France, whence he returned in the autumn of 1253, and with troops raised at his own expense rescued Henry from a position of danger and distress in Gascony. Such was the man who at last headed the barons in strong action against an evil rule which had become intolerable.

By the year 1258, the state of affairs in England was very menacing. The Prince Edward, the king's eldest son, married in 1254 to Eleanor of Castile, and now taking an active part in public life, had lately been defeated by Llewellyn on the Welsh border, and the English lands near the frontier were turned by ravages into a mere desert. The harvest of 1257 failed, owing to excess of rain, and the price of corn went up from two shillings to twenty shillings a quarter. A severe famine followed, and thousands of people had died in London, when corn-ships arrived from Germany, and a royal proclamation forbade merchants to buy for storing up. The king was needing supplies of money to deal with the rebellious Welsh, when he summoned his barons to a Parliament at Westminster, in the Easter of 1258. A large body of nobles met in the great hall, each clad in complete mail. As the king entered, there was a clatter of swords, and Henry, looking round in alarm, cried "Am I a prisoner?" "No, sir," said Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, an old opponent of Henry's, "but your foreign favourites and your prodigality have brought misery upon the realm; wherefore we demand that the powers of government be delegated to a committee of bishops and barons, who may correct abuses and enact good laws." De Montfort spoke strongly to the barons in the same sense, and Henry was forced, in adjourning Parliament on May 2nd, to agree that a commission of twenty-four members, twelve to be elected by himself, and twelve by the barons, should be appointed to draw up a plan for reform. On June 11th,

The Pro-
visions of
Oxford,
1258.

the Parliament met again at Oxford. The barons came with their retainers at their backs, and, in remembrance of the foreign troops brought in by John, they had garrisoned the Cinque Ports, or the five harbours of Dover, Winchelsea, Romney, Sandwich, and Hythe, which faced the French coast. This assembly has been called *The Mad Parliament*, from the novelty of its proceedings. It was far more largely attended than usual, about a hundred barons being present, instead of thirty or forty, and they went to work with vigour against the political evils of the time. The articles known as the *Provisions of Oxford* made some important reforms. A permanent council of fifteen members was to advise the king on all matters of administration, and to them the justiciar and chancellor, and other great officers of state, were to be responsible. The Great Council or Parliament was to meet thrice in the year, with or without royal summons. The freeholders of the counties were to choose "twelve honest men" to come to the Parliaments, and treat of the wants of the king and of his kingdom. Other committees were to reform the Church, and settle financial *aids* to be granted to the king. On June 22nd, a decree was made that all the king's castles held by foreigners should be given up, and Earl Simon himself resigned his castles of Odiham and Kenilworth. An armed resistance was made by some, but all the foreign intruders were soon driven out of the land, except the queen's uncles, Peter of Savoy, and Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury. At Michaelmas, a proclamation was issued in the king's name to order the observance of the *Provisions*. Hitherto all legal and political documents had been drawn up in Latin, but this was issued in English and French, the two languages then commonly used in England. This fact proved the determination of the reforming barons that all men should be acquainted with what had been done, and also the growing influence of the bulk of the people. The new baronial government settled other affairs by the expulsion of all Papal collectors, by refusing to fulfil Henry's arrangement with the Pope concerning the kingdom of Sicily, and by making peace with France, in renouncing Henry's claims to the provinces lost under John. The royal power was thus usurped by the barons, and the whole foreign and domestic policy of the king was reversed.

Early in 1259, the king's brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, returned to England, and was forced on landing to swear support to the *Provisions of Oxford*. He then headed an opposition to the committee of government, and the barons were soon divided into two factions. Earl Simon headed the party of earnest reformers, and the reactionary body was led by Robert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, and Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk. The king was encouraged to resist, and he took up his abode in the Tower, where he strengthened the works, and also began to levy mercenary troops. The Pope issued a bull declaring the *Provisions* to be null and void, and absolving Henry from his oath to observe them. Early in 1261,

Disunion
among
barons,
1259-1263.

the city of London was in the king's hands, and all citizens were forced to take an oath of allegiance. The Earl of Leicester had withdrawn for a time to France, and Henry took the government again into his own hands. The death of the Earl of Gloucester brought about the return of De Montfort in 1263, and the young Earl joined his cause with all his retainers. Leicester was once more the powerful head of a baronial party resolved to sweep away arbitrary rule, and he had upon his side all the middle classes—the knights, the lower clergy, and the citizens of London and the larger towns. The Earl raised an army, and, after driving back Welsh marauders, formed an alliance with Llewellyn. He then marched to Dover, and seized the place in order to prevent foreign troops from coming to assist the king.

CHAPTER II.

DE MONTFORT AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Henry III. and the barons at war. Battle of Lewes. The Commons meet the Barons in Parliament. Prince Edward and the Battle of Evesham. The king victorious. Close of reign. Prince Edward in the East.

IN June 1263, on receipt of a letter from De Montfort, the citizens of London gave their adherence to him and the cause of the **The Barons' War, 1263-65.** *Provisions*, and Henry, with his court, was almost a prisoner in the Tower. The Earl marched on London. Prince Edward, before his arrival, made his escape to Windsor, where he held the castle with a trusty garrison. Queen Eleanor, his mother, tried to join him there, but her barge was attacked by the people on London-bridge. She was loudly abused by the crowd, and pelted with stones and rotten eggs, but the Lord Mayor came to her relief, and took her away in safety. On July 15th, the Earl was received in London with a hearty welcome from the citizens. The king once more accepted the *Provisions*, and at a Parliament held in St. Paul's in September, Prince Edward renewed his oath to observe them. Simon de Montfort, for a time, was the virtual ruler of England. Then the influence of Prince Edward, and, according to some authorities, the haughty and arbitrary conduct of De Montfort himself, began to disintegrate the reforming baronial party. A regular civil war was at hand, when an attempt at settlement was made by a reference of all points in dispute to the decision of Louis IX. of France.

Delegates from both parties met the French king at Amiens soon after Christmas, and he gave his decision, known as a *Mise of Amiens*, or settlement, on January 23, 1264. His award was entirely in favour of Henry. The *Provisions of Oxford* were annulled. All the royal castles held by the barons were to be restored

to the king, who was also to have the power of appointing and dismissing all his officials. Foreigners were to be again admitted to the country and to office. On the other hand, "all privileges, charters, liberties, statutes, and laudable customs of the realm of England which existed before the time of the *Provisions*," were still to be in force. It was not likely that the Earl and his party would consent to such a decision as this, and their honour was saved by the fact that the French king's award, in the arbitrary power which it gave to the king, was itself a violation of the old "privileges, charters, and liberties." It was now a case of the English nation and its freedom against the king, the Pope, and the foreigner, and Earl Simon prepared at once for the arbitrament of the sword.

The citizens of London, and many of the Oxford students, armed themselves to support De Montfort. Even then, the barons tried to make terms with Henry at a conference held at Brackley, near Oxford, and agreed to accept the *Mise of Amiens*, if the king would banish foreigners from office, and allow the country to be ruled by and for the English. This offer was refused, and there was nothing left but to fight. At first the struggle went against the barons, and Northampton, with a number of De Montfort's knights, was captured by the royal forces in the first days of April. Earl Simon marched to Rochester, and captured the town, but was recalled from the siege of the castle to the relief of London. Prince Edward, after the success at Northampton, had taken Leicester and Nottingham, and, being joined by the forces of some Scottish barons, he made a rapid march on London. De Montfort saved the city from his grasp, and the royal army, with fire and sword, pressed on to Tunbridge, where they took the Earl of Gloucester's castle, and then failed in an attempt upon the Cinque Ports and the ships there in harbour. The king, Prince Edward, and the royal army marched next into Sussex, and on May 11th Henry's head-quarters were in the Priory of Lewes, while Prince Edward occupied the castle. Already many of the barons had deserted the Earl's cause, but their loss was more than compensated by a reinforcement of 15,000 Londoners. On the night of May 12th, De Montfort's forces, marching straight from London, were quartered in and around the village of Fletching, nine miles north of Lewes. A last attempt at a peaceful settlement was rejected with scorn by the royalists, and at the dawn of May 14th, the barons' army marched for Lewes along the summit of a ridge of hills. De Montfort's men wore white crosses stitched on their breasts and backs, as the army of God and the Church wore them on meeting John at Runnymede. Earl Simon took up a position on the hills to the east of the town, and, when the battle began, Prince Edward, leading the right wing of the royalists, routed the men of London, who faced him. The heavy-armed mounted knights at once broke the raw levies of light-armed foot, and the Prince, in his hatred of the citizens for their

The war.
Battle of
Lewes,
May 1264.

insults to his mother, Queen Eleanor, pursued them hotly, with great slaughter, for four miles. He returned to find the battle lost. De Montfort had thoroughly beaten the other divisions, and captured the king and Richard, Earl of Cornwall. The impetuous valour of Edward had made the Earl of Leicester virtual king of England.

Moderate terms were imposed by the victors in the *Treaty, or Mise, of Lewes*. All differences were to be settled by arbitrators, who were to be partly French and partly English barons, along with the Papal legate. All foreigners were to be excluded from office in England, and strict economy was to be used in managing the royal revenues. An amnesty, and the release of all prisoners, were included in the conditions. Prince Edward became a hostage, and was sent to the castle of Dover. The king, treated with all outward respect, was really a prisoner in the hands of the Earl, who arrived with him in London on May 28th.

De Montfort now showed that he could be wise as well as strong, and came forward as a constitutional reformer of the highest class. The statesman, the man of real political sagacity, in any country which possesses elements of freedom, does not bring in exotic plants, and vainly strive to make them flourish in an alien political and social soil. Earl Simon had nothing in common with an Abbé Sieyès, and had no idea of sitting down to "frame a constitution." He was the real founder of the House of Commons, which is flourishing now in its seventh century of life, just because he took what he found ready to his hand, aimed at improving and developing a native growth, and adapted to higher uses existing institutions. The shire-courts, as local institutions of the county, had been always representative, and had gradually grown in importance. At these *shire-moots*, or county-courts, groups of elected men sent from various parts of the county, and also from the towns, represented the whole free folk of the country districts and the boroughs. They transacted business for them, in conference with the king's commissioners or the king's justices, when they began to go on circuits through the land. The Parliament of England arose in the mingling of the Great Council of the kingdom with these county-courts. When men were sent to the Great Council to represent the people of the shire, in the same way as they had long been deputed to represent different districts of the shire in the county-court, then a Parliament, in its true sense, began to exist. "Knights of the shire" had been summoned by King John in 1213, and again to Parliaments of 1254, 1261, and 1262. This custom the great Earl of Leicester now made a definite, and, as it proved, a permanent institution.

Before keeping Christmas in his splendid castle of Kenilworth, De Montfort had issued writs from Worcester in the king's name, summoning a new Parliament to meet in London. A reaction against the Earl had now made great way amongst the barons, and of the lords he

The Mise
of Lewes,
May 15,
1264.

The
Commons
called to
Parlia-
ment, 1265.

only called such as he had reason to believe would support his measures. Five earls, including himself, Gloucester, and Norfolk, and eighteen barons, along with Baliol and Bruce (Scotch lords who held lands in England), and eight northern barons, were the only lords in the assembly, and ten of the number were friends of his own. His chief supporters, of the higher class, were among the clergy, and writs were issued for the attendance of above a hundred bishops, abbots, priors, and deans, along with the Archbishop of York and the Master of the Temple. The sheriffs of the counties were ordered to send from each shire "two of the more discreet knights of the aforesaid county, elected for this purpose by the assent of the county." They were to treat with the king about such matters as he would lay before them. But the Earl went a step further, and, knowing that his great supporters were the people of the towns, he also issued writs calling on the citizens of York, Lincoln, and the other boroughs of England, and on the men of the Cinque Ports, to send up two of their "more discreet, loyal, and honest men" to confer with the king.

This was the origin of the House of Commons. This summons to Parliament was the first that ever called for representatives House of Commons. of towns. It is true that, by the Plantagenet system of rule, the local government in the towns, as well as in the counties, had been already brought to bear on the central administration of affairs, and that the direct summons of delegates chosen by the towns to sit in the Great Council of the realm, or "Parliament," was nothing more than a natural extension of the summons of their representatives to meet the royal commissioners or justices on circuit. It is in this very fact that the genius of De Montfort is shown. The thing was natural; it gave no shock to people's minds; it caused no surprise. Thus it was that it lived, and grew, and became a thing abiding, as we see it now, and destined, it may well be hoped, to flourish with greater good than ever to all the subjects of the realm. Henceforth, in spite of reaction, which ever fades away to nought before the power of real progress, the trader and the merchant were to sit along with the baron, the bishop, and the knight of the shire, and deliberate on measures for the good of all. All classes in the state were represented, and so there was a true and complete Parliament.

The power and life of the Earl of Leicester did not long survive his great achievement. His natural and acquired superiority Battle of Evesham, August 1265. provoked jealousy amongst the barons. The young Earl of Gloucester turned against his friend, charged him with designs upon the crown, and withdrew from Parliament to organise revolt in the west of England. The royalist party grew daily stronger, and only needed a leader to enable them to take the field in formidable strength. The position of De Montfort, as custodian of the persons of his sovereign and Prince Edward, had aroused the loyal feeling of all classes, and the Parliament, in March, released the Prince from actual

confinement within the walls of the castle of Kenilworth, and directed that he should remain in "free custody" at Hereford. Communications were opened between him and the royalists, and, in spite of the oath which he had lately taken to maintain the new system, the Prince resolved to make his escape, if possible, and fight for the king's restoration to power. Earl Simon was in the west of England early in May, when some of his greatest enemies landed from abroad at Pembroke with a body of men. These were the king's half-brother, William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and De Warenne. On May 28th, Prince Edward was riding with his attendants outside Hereford, and, after wearying their steeds in riding races with him, he mounted another fresh horse which had been kept hidden at a certain spot, in readiness for his attempt. Bidding the lords "good-day," he galloped off, and met the Earl of Gloucester and Earl Warenne at Ludlow. The whole west of England at once declared for Prince Edward and the king, and De Montfort's position became serious. His son Simon marched to his aid with a large force from London and the south, and upon their junction everything was staked. The Earl's cause was ruined by the carelessness of the younger Simon. On August 1st, through ill-watching, he and his men were surprised in their beds at Kenilworth by Prince Edward. Simon himself barely escaped within the castle, and a great booty was taken. De Montfort was moving from Hereford to meet his son, and on August 4th he and his army had reached Evesham. They were encamped in a position of great danger for receiving battle, on a tongue of land almost encircled by the river Avon. The barber of the Earl, says the *Chronicle of Evesham*, went up the clock-tower of the Abbey-church, and came down in gladness to tell that he saw the banner of De Montfort on the distant road in advance of a mighty host. Again he went up to scout, and this time he descended pale and trembling, with the news that the royal banners, with the leopards, of Prince Edward, were visible in the rear of the column. The chronicler relates that the Earl's cry was "God have our souls all, our days are all done." He did not know his full danger until he saw the other two divisions of the Prince's army hemming in his flanks and rear. He at once prepared to die, when his son Henry begged him to retire, and leave the fight to him. This he stoutly refused to do, and all his friends were resolved to share his fate.

The battle raged from six to nine in the morning, De Montfort fighting "like a giant for the liberties of England," until his horse was killed under him, and then, on foot, dealing with both hands tremendous sword-strokes on every side. He refused every summons to surrender, and fell at last amidst a host of assailants. His son Henry was also killed, and Guy de Montfort became a prisoner when he was covered with wounds. Henry the king had a narrow escape, as the visor of his helmet was closed, and he was attacked by his own friends in Prince Edward's army. At length

Death of
De Mont-
fort.

a slight blow caused his visor to fall, and with the cry, "I am Henry of Winchester," he was known, and led away to his victorious son. The barbarity of the age was shown in the treatment of the dead Earl's body. The hands and feet were cut off, and sent to different towns to be exposed to public view. The head, after mutilation, was sent to the wife of Roger Mortimer, a royalist who commanded one of Prince Edward's divisions. The trunk alone was given up to the dead man's friends, and buried by the monks of Evesham in front of the high altar. Earl Simon was regarded by the people, not as a slain rebel, but as a glorious martyr for the Church and the common weal. It was commonly held that miracles were wrought at his tomb, and it was thought needful by the royalists to enact that "no man should hold Simon, Earl of Leicester, for a saint or just one," and "that the vain and foolish miracles related of him by certain persons shall not pass any man's lips." The foreigner who became so thorough an Englishman, as to use all his endeavours against Papal interference and foreign favourites, had perished at the right moment for his future fame. His work was done when he bade the sheriffs to send men from the towns and cities to meet the nobles of the land in council. That which he had then so well begun was carried to completion thirty years later by the royal Edward, who had really been his pupil both in politics and war.

The death of Simon de Montfort restored the king to his lawful power, and new sheriffs of his appointment were sent into all the counties. All acts of the government since the battle of Lewes were declared invalid, and a confiscation was made of the estates of all rebels who had fought at Kenilworth and Evesham. The city of London was mulcted in a heavy fine. Resistance was still maintained in some quarters by the adherents of the dead Earl. The castle of Kenilworth, which had been strongly fortified by De Montfort, and furnished with all the engines of war, was held by a garrison of 1300 men in the name of his widow, the Princess Eleanor. It defied all efforts, and the resolute defence caused the king and Parliament to make certain concessions in October 1266. By the *Dictum de Kenilworth*, or Award of Kenilworth, the dispossessed barons were allowed to receive back their lands on payment of a fine, proportioned to their guilt, with the exception of the son of the late Earl. The castle only surrendered, from famine, in the following December. In the same Parliament at Kenilworth, the king was required to adhere to his oath to preserve the liberties of the Church, and the charters. Simon de Montfort, the eldest son, long defied the king's armies in the Isle of Ely and the Isle of Axholm, and the Cinque Ports, strongly attached to the interests of the great Earl Simon, resisted Prince Edward until he took Dover and Winchelsea at great cost in men and money. At last the troubles were at an end, and in 1269 the victor of Evesham, with many barons and

The
royalist
reaction:
close of
the reign,
1265-1272.

knights, took the cross at Northampton, before setting out on a Crusade to help Louis IX. of France. It is likely that a prince so politic as Edward had in this, for one of his motives, the purpose of removing with himself, to a safe distance from England, many of the turbulent spirits of the time among the barons and knights. It is certain that many of the chiefs in the late civil war, and amongst them the troublesome and capricious Earl of Gloucester, were in Edward's expedition to the Holy Land. A grant of a tithe of the Church-revenues for three years, and a subsidy of a property-tax of one-twentieth of their value on the goods of the laity, defrayed in part the cost of the enterprise. We are to observe that such a tax was levied upon all the people's movables, from the valuable stock of the wealthy tanner, down to the commonest utensil of the poor housewife, and the simplest tools of the working carpenter. *Quicquid delirant reges, plectuntur Achivi.* Prince Edward, in 1270, found his friend Louis IX. dead of disease in his camp at Tunis, and in 1271 went forward himself, with his faithful wife, Eleanor of Castile, and landed with the expedition at Acre. Some fighting occurred, in which the English prince showed his courage, and took Nazareth by storm. In the autumn of 1272, he and his wife left Acre for Europe. During his absence, King Henry died at Bury St. Edmunds on November 16, 1272, in the 66th year of his age, and the 57th of his reign. He was buried four days later in his new Abbey-church at Westminster. Immediately after the rites, Earl de Warrenne, and all the clergy and laity present, swore fealty to Edward, the eldest son of the late king, on the great altar of the church. A splendid deputation of the clergy and barons met the new king in Burgundy, on his leisurely progress home. At Paris, Edward did homage to Philip III., the new French king, "for the lands which he held, by right, of the crown of France," and part of his time abroad was spent in settling the affairs of his province of Guienne, and in making a commercial treaty with the Countess of Flanders concerning the trade in wool, which England largely exported for manufacture into cloth by the ingenious and industrious Flemings.

CHAPTER III.

LEARNING AND RELIGION IN THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, and the Friars. Franciscans and Dominicans. Roger Bacon. Henry of Bracton on the limits of royal power. The historians of the time.

WE have already seen the learned and pious *Robert Grosseteste*, or *Greathead*, Bishop of Lincoln from 1235 to 1253. Born of humble parents at Stradbroke, in Suffolk, about 1175, he studied first at Oxford and then at Paris, acquiring the mastery both of Greek and Hebrew. On his return to Oxford, he became, in 1224, the first president or rector of the Franciscan school there, and had a great reputation for his skill in languages, logic, natural philosophy, music, and medicine, and for his knowledge of the Scriptures. As a bishop he was most zealous in the reform of abuses, ever striving to introduce order in the monasteries and among the clergy. Within a year of his consecration, he had removed from office seven abbots and four priors, and he was throughout a steady opponent of pluralists, of Papal interference, and of the corruptions of the court of Rome, where, as he declared once in the Pope's hearing, "there was nothing that money could not do."

One of the great religious and social influences of the age was that wielded by the new orders of *Franciscan* and *Dominican* Friars. St. Francis of Assisi, in Umbria, born in 1182, was the son of a rich merchant. In 1208 he devoted himself to religion and a life of the most rigorous poverty. His followers formed the order of *Franciscans* or *Minorites*, under the sanction of a Papal bull. Their name of *Fratres Minores* was given them by their founder in token of humility, and they were also called *Grey Friars*, from the colour of their sole garment. Bound to absolute poverty, and to a livelihood only obtained by labour or by alms, their chief work in life was the bodily and spiritual care of the poorest and most ignorant people, from whom the secular or non-monastic clergy held too much aloof. The order spread with marvellous speed, and a party of Franciscans first landed at Dover in 1224. Four of the party of nine were in orders, three being Englishmen; the five lay-brothers were four Italians and one Frenchman. A part settled at Canterbury, and the rest went on to London, and settled on the spot afterwards known as "The Grey Friars," where Christ's Hospital arose at a later day. They were welcomed and assisted by several wealthy citizens, and had further success at Oxford, when some brothers of the increasing order tried their fortunes there. Henry III. greatly patronised them, and within

a few years they had houses in Norwich, Lincoln, York, Shrewsbury, and many other cities and populous towns. By the year 1256, the Franciscans had nearly a hundred monasteries or stations, and the number of enrolled members exceeded twelve hundred. All lived mainly upon the alms of the benevolent, whose good-will was drawn to them by their self-renunciation and the resolute poverty of their lives. They were placed thereby in a position of strong contrast to the worldly wealth of the monks and the dignified clergy, and they exercised a powerful influence over the people of the towns. The source of their power lay in their work among the poor. The sick and the miserable blessed the men who fearlessly entered the worst haunts of the plague, leprosy, and other scourges of men's bodies in that insanitary age, and who, from their knowledge of medicine, brought healing to those who had no other physicians. In open-air preaching, with a most effective use of homely word and jest, and burning eloquence in personal appeal, they brought the Gospel to the toilers of the towns, and to the busy throng at market and at fair. They thus became the founders of a new spiritual life among the body of the people. Their study of nature's secrets in the cause of healing led many Franciscans into other paths of physical investigation, and some of the Grey Friars became as famous for their learning as for their poverty and pious self-devotion to the good of others. In order to meet objections made by hearers of their preaching, the study of theology became a cherished pursuit of the abler men among the brethren. Many lecturers or readers of the order were soon established at the chief towns, and the Universities at Oxford and Cambridge had a succession of their teachers or professors. Robert Grosseteste was followed at Oxford by his pupil, the famous and learned Franciscan, *Adam Marsh*, or *Adam de Marisco*, and the repute of Oxford soon became such as to rival that of Paris, and to cause teachers from her schools to be sent for to the seats of Continental learning. Another famous and important order was that of the *Dominicans* or *Preaching Friars*, founded by St. Dominic, a Spanish monk, in 1215. The theory of Dominic was that for the heretic there was no salvation in heaven, and there should be no mercy on earth. The object of the work of the Dominicans was the extirpation of all heresy by preaching and teaching. They also became a mendicant order, and grew so rapidly in numbers that their establishments were found in all parts of Europe, and on the coasts of Africa and Asia. One great result of the work of the Friars among the people was the restoration for the Church of the religious influence which had greatly lessened from Papal ambition and extortion, from the disuse of preaching, the ignorance of parish-priests, and the corrupt life engendered among monastic orders by the possession of great wealth as landowning corporations. In political affairs, the sympathies of the wandering and begging brethren were almost wholly with the body of the people

against the crown, and, as purveyors of news and kindlers of feeling, they played no small part in the struggles of this and the following century.

The best intellectual light of the time shone forth in the illustrious *Roger Bacon*, a monk to whose genius and labours due ^{Roger} honour has not been always rendered. He was born in ^{Bacon} 1214, of a rich family in the county of Somerset, and was noted from his childhood for an inquisitive spirit and his love of learning. A student at Oxford and Paris, he became a thorough master of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and, returning to England in 1240, he entered in course of time the order of Franciscans, and took up his abode at Oxford. Bacon's chief delight lay in natural philosophy, a study needing an expenditure far beyond the means of a man who had already made away with two thousand pounds in the search for knowledge. His family embraced the king's side in the civil war between Henry III. and the barons, and the matter ended in their ruin and exile. The difficulties with which this great student had to contend were enormous. The works of Aristotle were now beginning to be studied, and copies of those, as of the philosophical writings of Cicero and Seneca, were most expensive and difficult to procure. It was only by the help of generous friends of science that Bacon could obtain books, and instruments wherewith to make needful experiments. He was especially given to the study of optics, and left behind him in his writings new and ingenious views on the refraction of light, with exact descriptions of the nature and effects of convex and concave lenses, showing his acquaintance with the principle of the telescope and microscope. The ignorance and prejudices of the age were hostile to his work. The subtleties of the scholastic philosophy were far more regarded than the pursuit of real knowledge in the questioning of nature, and the wonders which he revealed caused his imprisonment for a time on the charge of dealing in magic. At last, Pope Clement IV., hearing of his rare attainments and philosophic mind, ordered him to write down his knowledge and views on philosophy, and within a year and a half he produced, in 1268-69, the work called *Opus Majus*. This was followed by a supplement, *Opus Minus*, and the *Opus Tertium* was a summary and introduction to the whole, with an account of the difficulties which had beset the author in his pursuit of knowledge. This great man was again the victim of an age quite unworthy of his genius. Under Clement's successor, Pope Nicholas III., Bacon's imprisonment for ten years, by the general of the Franciscans, was permitted, and near the close of the thirteenth century he died, forgotten by a world which could not appreciate its greatest scholar. The glory of Roger Bacon has been till lately overshadowed by that of his namesake who adorned the Elizabethan and the early Stuart age. The truth is, that the great thinker and student of the thirteenth century was at least

equal in ability and merit to the philosopher whom he preceded by more than three hundred years. The "Greater Work" of Roger is an encyclopædia of all the knowledge of his time. The man's learning is less admirable than the principles which, with truest insight, he lays down for the pursuit of all real knowledge. He declares that there are four chief grounds of human ignorance—submission to custom; popular opinion; reliance on inadequate authority; and false pretence, or the attempt to hide real ignorance under a show of wisdom. He insists upon the need of reading books in the original text, and upon regard for linguistic accuracy of interpretation. The study of mathematics is, according to the elder Bacon, the basis of all real scientific acquirement, and Nature must be studied by experiment, if we are to get fairly at the secrets which she has to reveal. Grammar and philology, geography and climate, chronology and music, arithmetic and astrology, all pass under review, and, if he did believe in prediction by the stars, and now and again use alchemy to find the philosopher's stone, these vanities are but as spots upon the splendour of his fame. *Henry of Bracton*, a judge for over twenty years under Henry III., is one of our earliest writers on jurisprudence. His Latin work *Upon the Laws and Customs of England*, shows him to have been profoundly skilled in Roman law, and contains a scientific and reasoned system of the English law of his time. The progress made in constitutional principles is proved by the remarkable passage:—"The king must not be subject to any man, but to God and the law, for the law makes him king. Let the king, therefore, give to the law what the law gives to him, dominion and power; for there is no king where will, and not law, bears rule."

The thirteenth century produced the greatest of the historians who **Literature-** wrote the annals of their time in the monastic cells. *Matthew Paris*, born at the close of the twelfth century, became in 1217 a brother in the Benedictine monastery of St. Albans, where he succeeded, in 1235, Roger of Wendover as chronicler to the house. In the following year he attended the marriage of Henry III. at Westminster. He obtained much information on affairs from the frequent visits of the king himself to the Abbey of St. Albans, and from numerous correspondents highly placed in Church and State, such as Hubert de Burgh and Bishop Grosseteste. His principal work is his *Historia Major*, written in Latin, and containing the annals of eight kings, from the beginning of William the Conqueror to the end of Henry III. He seems to have been a man of real attainments in art as well as literature, and left behind him many manuscripts with illuminations of his own execution. From 1235 to 1273, the history is his own account of his own times, and is very valuable from its impartiality, and its quotation of the original public documents of the age. He is also remarkable for the bold tone which he adopts with regard to the doings both of Pope and king. He writes as an

Englishman might do who had no connection either with the Church or with the court, and in his pages may be clearly traced the growing influence of a national opinion. As we pass from Roger de Hoveden to the work of Matthew Paris, we see that the struggle against the wrong suffered from kings and popes has aroused an energy of public spirit to which the nation was hitherto a stranger. In one passage he declares that "the Pope and the king favoured and abetted each other in their mutual tyranny."

BOOK VII.

ENGLAND CONQUERS WALES AND ATTACKS
SCOTLAND AND FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD THE FIRST.

Conquest of Wales. Great legislative reforms. Full establishment of Parliament. The king and the barons. Continental warfare. Early history of Scotland. Edward I. and Scottish affairs. Wallace and Robert Bruce. Social life of England in thirteenth century. Commerce of the period.

ON August 3, 1274, the man who was to prove the greatest of English Edward I., kings, and was the first since the Conquest to bear an English name, landed with his queen among his subjects at Dover. His character. On the 19th they were both crowned at Westminster, and the hospitality of the age was shown in the feasting for fifteen days of rich and poor at tables gathered round the Great Hall. Oxen, sheep, pigs, and poultry were consumed in prodigious quantity, and the Pipe Rolls record that three hundred barrels of wine were purchased for the great occasion. The new monarch was a thorough Englishman in his virtues and in his faults of heart, mind, and temper. Just and truthful, temperate, toilsome, self-respecting, conscientious, devoted to duty, reverent of a higher power than man's, the first Edward was also proud, self-willed, obstinate, self-assertive as to his rights and his opinions, somewhat slow to understand, limited in range of sympathy for others. Like his ancestors of Anjou, he was liable to gusts of passion which swept pity away, but these were rare exceptions to the usual generosity of his essentially noble nature. His reign is one of vast importance in our history for the solid strength gained by the realm through measures and achievements affecting our territory, constitution, laws, and social condition. The courage, watchfulness, industry, and enterprise of a warlike and politic ruler were devoted for over thirty years to the best interests of his people, and the latest generations of Englishmen will have reason to revere his name. He was at all points a great general and soldier—strategist, tactician, organiser, and fighter. His headlong courage was shown alike in the *mêlée* of fierce tournaments where the knights fought as if on the battle-field, and in the desperate charges of real warfare against a host of foes. The deeds which have laid this king

open to just reproach, such as the execution of Wallace and of David of Wales, and the slaughter of the citizens of Berwick, were due to the influence of the debased "chivalry" of the age—a compound of cruelty and kindness, physical daring and moral cowardice, sensitive honour and broken faith. The good feeling shown by nobles and knights was mainly confined to those of their own class, and the sufferings of the toilers in the towns and the tillers of the soil were viewed without compassion. From the same source came the narrowness of spirit with which, according to the legal technicalities of the age, he sometimes treated rights and liberties, both English and Scotch, which rested on a broader basis, and should have been dealt with in a nobler fashion than by appeal to the letter of a treaty or a charter, or by reliance on the chicanery of law. In person, as in the main elements of his character and in the purity of his life, Edward commanded the admiration of his subjects. His handsome face, fringed by golden hair, surmounted a tall athletic frame that could exert the greatest effort in the hour of combat, and endure the utmost hardships of the long campaign. His dignified and courteous demeanour completed the charm of his presence. Coming to the throne as he did at thirty-three years of age, he was equipped with much experience of rule gained during his father's weak administration, and with much knowledge of the world and its ways acquired during his lengthened stay abroad. In expending the resources of his country, he did not waste, like his father, the moneys which, sometimes by the exercise of arbitrary power, he obtained from those he ruled, but was economical or lavish, just as need required. Like another of our greatest sovereigns, Elizabeth the Tudor, he could bend his haughty will upon occasion to a determined expression of his people's wishes. The ruling principle of his life was love of justice, and he took care that his judges, and all other servants of the crown, should dispense the same with rigorous exactness. The one word which sums up his policy is—consolidation. A main purpose of his life was that of bringing the whole island under one crown, and though the patriotic courage of the Scots made this a failure, under his successor's feeble rule, yet he left behind him at his death a well-knit kingdom, supplied with an admirable judicial, legal, and parliamentary system of government.

The hospitalities of his coronation were scarcely ended when Edward repaired to Chester. The state of Wales presented a tempting occasion for the exercise of his politic ambition. Politically and socially, the country had sunk into seeming barbarism under the evil influence of internal feuds and border warfare with their powerful neighbours. The mass of the people knew nothing of the use of bread, and were wild herdsmen, feeding on the milk and flesh of their flocks, and clothing themselves in the skins. They were divided into numerous clans, waging pitiless, revengeful, and treacherous warfare with each other. The only sign of culture lay in the poetry of their bards, whose Celtic nature burst forth in song of real literary

Conquest
of Wales,
1275-1283.

merit, expressed in a language which, at that early age, had reached a definite form, and was used with great richness of imagery to manifest the poet's sense of the beauties of nature and to reveal the emotions of the heart. The utterances of the Welsh singers were not confined to the region of romance. The passionate patriotism of their race roused them to fling out in many an ode their people's hatred of the Saxon, and the land was stirred with a new and feverish strength to its last contest with the English invaders. The southern part of the country, in its more level regions along the Bristol Channel, was occupied by Norman barons after the Conquest, and Henry I. settled, as colonists in Pembrokeshire, a number of Flemings, who brought with them their habits of industry, and their skill in the weaving of woollen cloths. In the last century of Welsh independence, some princes named Llewellyn were in power. The last of these had been in arms against Henry III. in the Barons' War, but had promised fealty to the king before Prince Edward went on his crusade. Llewellyn had conquered Glamorgan, and, in recognition of his strength, he was allowed in 1267 to take the title of "Prince of Wales," and to receive homage from the other Welsh chieftains. He was deeply attached to the family of De Montfort, and, in their prosperous days, when receiving hospitality at Kenilworth from the Countess of Leicester, he had pledged his hand to her daughter Eleanor. When he was summoned as a vassal of the English crown to do homage at Edward's coronation in 1274, he refused to attend without a safe-conduct. When Edward was at Chester, Llewellyn was again summoned, but refused to meet the king. He further declined to appear at a Parliament held at Westminster in 1275. Before the death of De Montfort's widow in that year, the young Eleanor was married by proxy to the Welsh prince, who kept the faith to the poor and exiled orphan which he had vowed in the days of her prosperity. In 1276 she sailed with her brother Almeric to join her husband in Wales, but the vessel was taken by an English cruiser off the Scilly Isles, and Eleanor and her brother became the captives of their cousin Edward. Llewellyn demanded the release of his bride, and again refused to attend a Parliament in 1276. In the following year, Edward marched to North Wales with an army, and the contest, for the time, was soon over. The castles of Flint and Rhyddlan were taken and garrisoned, and a fleet from the Cinque Ports patrolled the coast, and cut off from the Welsh all supplies of provisions. Llewellyn could not meet his foe in the open field, and the advance of Edward's army drove him into the mountains, where every outlet was guarded. The arrival of winter forced him to surrender from famine, and Edward dictated a treaty at Rhyddlan Castle, by which the country was surrendered to England as far as the river Conway, Llewellyn retaining the rule of the district of Snowdon and the Isle of Anglesea, with the title of "Prince of Wales," which was, however, to cease at his death. Then the Welsh prince at last received

his bride, and they were married, now in person, at Worcester, in 1278, in the presence of the king and his court. The Welsh ruler did not appear to know when he was well off. His brother David, who had abandoned his cause and joined the English king in the late brief struggle, persuaded him to revolt in 1282. David took Hawarden Castle by surprise, carried off a justiciary, Roger de Clifford, to the fastnesses of Snowdon, and put to death his retinue of knights and servants. Llewellyn laid siege to the castles of Flint and Rhyddlan, and all North Wales was in a flame. Edward again took the field, with the stern resolve to make a speedy and complete end of Welsh independence. He had gathered the military tenants, and sent to Gascony for a force of Basque mountaineers from the Pyrenees, accustomed to all the difficulties and hardships of hill-warfare, fleet of foot, expert at climbing, and able to penetrate where the English, men of the plain, and heavy-armed infantry, could not make their way. The English leader advanced with due caution, and at first met with some reverses. A force of horse and foot perished at the passage of the Menai Strait into the Isle of Anglesea over a broad bridge of boats, a hasty retreat occurring on the advance of a Welsh force from ambush in the hills. The ring-bolts to which Edward's bridge was fastened were lately to be seen on the Caernarvonshire side of the Strait, which was never bridged again until the opening of Telford's beautiful structure in 1826, for the more enduring purpose of peaceful passage from Holyhead to Ireland. Llewellyn and his men were driven at last, as winter approached, to the recesses of the Snowdon group of mountains, and Edward sent for a new army from South Wales to complete his circle of investment. The danger was pressing, and the Welsh prince sallied forth to meet this new foe, leaving his brother David to defend the Snowdon passes. He had lately lost his wife, the Lady Eleanor de Montfort, and he was destined to quickly follow her. His party was surprised at Bulth, in the valley of the Wye, and Llewellyn fell in the skirmish. His head was sent to Edward, who placed it on the walls of the Tower of London, crowned with a wreath of ivy. This was done in mockery of a prediction attributed to the Welsh prophet and magician, Merlin, who is held to have flourished in the fifth century. The English king, in his care for the people, had issued a new copper coinage of round half-pennies and farthings, to meet the want which had caused them to cut the silver penny into halves and quarters. The prophecy declared that, when the English money should become circular, the Prince of Wales should be crowned in London, and such was the patriotic zeal and superstition of the Welsh, that on this ground many had been induced to hope for success in the struggle. For six months longer David held out against the invaders, or rather, failed to be captured, as he was hunted from one retreat to another. He was at last betrayed to the enemy, imprisoned at Rhyddlan Castle, tried before a Parliament at Shrewsbury in September

1283, and put to death as a traitor. This was the end of Welsh independence. The other chiefs laid down their arms. Strong castles were built at Conway and Caernarvon, and English nobles received much of the land as their own, on the usual feudal terms. After the death of Llewellyn, Edward remained more than a year in Wales. The story of his slaughter of the bards, as sowers of sedition, which was made the subject of a noble ode by Gray, is nothing but a fable. Queen Eleanor was with the king during his abode in Wales, and there, at Caernarvon (not at the castle, then scarcely begun) her son Edward was born in April 1284. His elder brother, Alfonso, died in the following August, and it was then that the infant prince received the Principality as his appanage, and was invested with the dignity and title of "Prince of Wales," since generally given to the sovereign's eldest son. In a Parliament held at Rhyddlan Castle in 1283, Edward had taken various measures to regulate his conquest. The country was, to a large extent, divided into shires and hundreds, and some of these, including Anglesea, Caernarvon, Merioneth, Flint, Cardigan, and Carmarthen, were kept in the hands of the crown. By the *Statute of Wales*, in 1284, English laws, judges, sheriffs, and courts were introduced into these new districts, with a partial retention of old Welsh laws and customs, for the avoidance of undue offence to a most susceptible race. Many fortresses were built to guard against revolt, and some of the chief towns received a large influx of English settlers. Complete incorporation with England came at a later time, in the reign of Henry VIII.

It was the royal task of Edward I. to develop and to organise much that came down to him from preceding times. In judicial matters, he finished the work so well begun by the first Plantagenet king. The superior courts of justice known as the *King's Bench*, *Exchequer*, and *Common Pleas* were each supplied by Edward with a special staff of judges. The jurisdiction of the royal council, the highest court of appeal, was invested with powers which gave rise to the *Court of Star Chamber* of the Tudor and Stuart times, and were the model for the *Judicial Committee of the Privy Council* in the present day. The equitable jurisdiction of the *Court of Chancery* now began to provide for the redress of grievances not reached by the remedies which the common law provided, and to deal with the rights and wrongs of wards and other helpless persons. The king's regard for the correction of abuses and the due administration of justice was especially shown in the statute of 1275, called the *First Statute of Westminster*. In this elaborate Act of fifty-one chapters all kinds of matters were dealt with—the oppression of religious houses by barons and great men demanding hospitality on travel; the law of wrecks; freedom of election of sheriffs, coroners, and other county-officers, and of representatives in Parliament. No king's officer was to take any reward to do his duty. Devisors of slanderous news were threatened with punishment, and juries who gave false verdicts.

Edward's
judicial
and legis-
lative re-
forms.

Edward was resolved to maintain, like his predecessor Henry the Second, the rights of the crown against the Church. His real view was that of making it a truly national institution and by compelling it to contribute to the expenses of government, and by checking and diminishing its subservience to the Papal see. Edward I.
and the
Church. The *Statute of Mortmain*, passed in 1279, was directed, as its title *De Religiosis* shows, not mainly against the bishops and clergy, but against the monastic bodies, or corporations of *religiosi*, meaning those bound by monastic vows. All members of such bodies were reckoned dead in law, and so land held by them was said to be *in mortua manu*. There were two great reasons for the legislation now undertaken. An apprehension existed that a large part of the lands of the kingdom might come by conveyances, prompted by the piety or superstition of owners, into the hands of religious bodies, and thus become exempt from taxation, as all lands held in *mortmain* were freed from the usual feudal services. The other, and more practical reason was, that existing land-owners conspired with the monastic bodies to defraud the crown of its rights in taxation by a pretended conveyance of lands from lay owners to religious bodies. It was enacted by the new law that no lands or tenements should be bequeathed or otherwise alienated to religious corporations without the express license of the crown. The king also dealt firmly with the bishops who strove to withdraw from the royal courts causes in any way dealing with the property of churchmen.

The interests of trade were not forgotten in the watchful care of the king for the true welfare of the realm. The *Statute of Merchants*, passed in 1283, and called also, from the place where the Parliament was then sitting, the *Statute of Acton Burnel*, recites that "merchants which heretofore have lent their goods to divers persons be greatly impoverished, because there is no speedy law provided for them to have recovery of their debts at the day of payment assigned." It was provided by the new Act that the debts of traders should be registered, and that when a debt had been acknowledged before a proper officer, and a day of payment fixed, execution might follow on default of payment, the amount due being recovered by seizure and sale of the debtor's goods, and pressure exerted on him by the imprisonment of his person. Trade
legisla-
tion.

The *Statute of Winchester*, in 1285, dealt with the grave question of public order, and revived old arrangements for defence against invasion and against internal marauders. The *hundred* was made answerable for robberies committed within its limits. In the great towns, furnished with walls and gates, the gates were to be closed from sunset to sunrise, and watch was to be kept all night. In order to save wayfarers from sudden attack by robbers, it was enacted that the highways leading from one market-town to another should be enlarged, so that, within two hundred feet of each side of the main road, there should be no bushes, woods, or dykes, with the exception of great Law and
order.

trees, and, if the lord of the land would not make such clearance of the cover that might harbour thieves, he was to be answerable for any felony committed. To enforce the observance of the Act, knights were appointed in each shire under the name of Conservators of the Peace. They were the original of the useful local magistrates now known as justices of the peace. It was also provided that "every man have in his house harness, for to keep the peace after (*i.e.* according to) the ancient assize," and the nature of the arms to be kept—whether sword, knife, or bow and arrows—is regulated according to the property of the house-owner. The allusion to "the ancient assize" seems to refer to Henry the Second's *Assize of Arms* for the gathering of the militia, and other purposes of the public peace. The Act of Edward I. required subjects to be ready with arms against invasion or revolt, and for the pursuit of felons on due notice. In the same year, 1285, we find the statutes for the city of London enjoining "that none be hardy to be found going or wandering about the streets of the city, after curfew-bell tolled at St. Martin's le Grand, with sword, or buckler, or other arms for doing mischief," and that "none do keep a tavern open for wine or ale after the tolling of the aforesaid curfew."

It was in this reign that the Jews were banished from England, not to reappear until the days of Cromwell. They had been rigorously treated, in accordance with the bigotry of the age, before the final step was taken. In 1278, they were seized upon a charge of clipping the coin, and a record of the time states that "of the Jews of both sexes two hundred and eighty were hanged in London, and a very great multitude in other cities of England." The Christians guilty of the same offence were only fined. In spite of all their disabilities and persecutions, and of frequent plundering, they continued to amass great wealth. In 1286, the Bishop of Hereford excommunicated certain Christians of that city for attending a marriage-feast given by a rich Jewish family. On another occasion, the whole body in the kingdom, including women and children, were imprisoned until they paid a heavy fine as ransom. At last, by proclamation dated July 27, 1290, the whole of the Jews were banished, to the number of over sixteen thousand. Their real estate (lands and dwellings) was forfeited to the crown, but they were allowed to take away their coin and other movables. The king had made some efforts for their conversion to Christianity, and his motive for their exile is believed to have been to set them free from persecutions which he found himself unable to check, though others allege that he issued the order in return for a large subsidy made to him by Parliament.

It was under this greatest of the Plantagenet sovereigns that the House of Commons definitely acquired its complete form as a representative body, and became established as a great and permanent institution of the state. Here, as in the case of municipal freedom, it may be truly asserted that the people of England

Parliament
under
Edward I.

bought their full measure of rights and liberties. The king was always in need of money for state purposes, and as the only sure, safe, and speedy method of obtaining it was by the grant of the whole nation as represented in Parliament, that body was summoned with more frequency and regularity than in the previous days of a partly arbitrary rule. When Parliament came together, the knights of the shire, or county members, and the deputies from the towns, or borough members, who together represented the lower nobles and the commons of the realm, were at last only ready to grant money on redress of certain grievances, and thus the assembly by degrees acquired the power of originating legislation for the good of the whole realm. It was convenience that, in the first instance, caused Edward to resort to a more regular summons of the House of Commons. A grant of money made in the Great Council, or the assembly of the lay barons and higher clergy, answering to our House of Lords, could only enforce payment from the class who gave the subsidy. The clergy could only be reached by bargains made, through the officers of the Exchequer, with the archdeacons in each diocese, and the same process of negotiation had to be conducted by the crown officials with the borough-reeves and the shire-courts, in order to get money from the men of the towns and counties. The increase of the wealth of the country, through trade, agriculture, and handicrafts, had made it very desirable for the king to raise money promptly from the personal property, or "movables," of his subjects, just as a Chancellor of the Exchequer now is ready to fly, in a time of urgent need, to the income-tax on the middle classes which brings in so large and sure a revenue. It was this that caused the full Parliament to be summoned by Edward in the year 1295. The king needed money for a rebellion in Wales and a war with France. He stated in the writ of summons that "what concerns all should be approved of by all, and that common dangers should be met by measures provided in common." A more truly constitutional admission was never made by any monarch. The assembly that gathered at Westminster in the autumn of 1295 was in every way a national Parliament. It contained the three estates of the realm—the lords spiritual (archbishops, bishops, and higher abbots), the lords temporal (the lay barons) and the commons, with the sovereign as head of all. The representatives of the cities and boroughs were now first made a permanent part of Parliament, and so the year 1295 is the true date of the House of Commons. Its full powers are a matter distinct from its full establishment as a part of the constitution: these were acquired, as has been stated, by degrees. The lords often remained to pass laws in conjunction with the sovereign, after the retirement of the Commons, who at first were only summoned for the purpose of granting money. At first, also, both Houses sate in the same chamber, but they each gave separate votes, in the imposition of taxes each upon its own order. The voters for the election of

knights of the shire consisted of the whole body of rural freeholders, a restriction being afterwards made in the reign of Henry VI. It is curious to note, in contrast with the present system, that the crown, in gathering two burgesses "from every city, borough, and leading town," to sit in Parliament, kept in its own control the number of boroughs to be represented, and that the sheriff could, at the wish of the king, disfranchise at his pleasure any number of boroughs within his own shire. It is still more strange, to those who regard the enormous power now wielded by the House of Commons, and the eager competition for the privilege of admission within its portals, as a member chosen by the free will of the borough-voters, that in those early days the towns were often unwilling to send up representatives, and shrank from the task as a burden upon their resources. Travelling in that age was a matter of great trouble and cost, and the men of the boroughs could ill afford the two shillings per day paid to their burgess for the charge of his maintenance. Little, indeed, could they foresee the time when the sons of the proudest nobles in the realm would offer themselves, with all due show of humility, to the men of the towns, and spend large sums of money, and incur infinite trouble in intrigue, canvass, and oratory, in order to become members of a House that should hold the chief share of power in ruling a world-wide dominion. Under Edward I. and his nearest successors, it was often needful to enforce attendance by heavy fines laid, in default, on representatives chosen either by town or shire, and for a long series of years the sheriff of Lancashire would not admit that his county contained any "boroughs" at all. The fact is again in vivid contrast to the present condition of that busy hive of towns teeming with wealth, the products of whose countless looms go forth to the farthest parts of the globe. We must also note the action of the lower clergy in reference to the Parliament as constituted by Edward I. The king, in the writs of summons issued in 1295, had ordered the personal attendance of all deans of cathedral churches, proctors of cathedral chapters, with two representatives of the parish clergy in each diocese, and all the archdeacons. They refused, when they did attend, to sit with the other representatives, and they would not grant any *aids*, or supplies of money, except in their Convocations of York and Canterbury. By degrees they ceased to come at all, and thus committed a kind of suicide as regarded the legislative powers which, in course of time, would have devolved upon their very numerous and wealthy order. It remains to observe that the word "Parliament," or "talking body," meant any assembly that meets for the purpose of debate, and that the word, as applied to the national council, first appears in a document of 1244, where it is used of the meeting at Runnymede. The place of meeting for the great assembly of the nation's representatives became by degrees confined to Westminster, instead of the summons being issued, as the names of statutes show, for conference at Oxford, Winchester, Nor-

thampton, and other provincial towns, as well as in the capital of the realm.

The power of the nobles had been greatly increased by their own vigorous action in the reigns of John and Henry III. They had gained an acknowledged position in the government of the country, and their assent was needed for legislation, taxation, and war. They had also acquired the full trust of the body of the nation in having become Englishmen instead of Normans, and by the patriotic course which they had adopted at Runnymede in claiming right and justice for other classes than their own. For a time, under Henry III., and after his death, a council of barons had been the actual rulers of the land, and their conduct had proved their fitness for so high a trust. They were now to show, even against such a monarch as Edward I., the strength which they had won in the constitutional system. The king, not long after his assumption of power in 1274, dispatched commissioners to make inquiry into the amount of feudal revenue due to him from baronial estates, as to encroachments made on the crown domain, and into various rights and possessions claimed and held by barons. As a result of their discoveries, judges were sent out with writs of *quo warranto* in 1278, demanding by what right or warrant estates were held by present possessors. The spirit of the feudal nobles was shown by Earl Warenne, who drew his sword, and threw it on the table before the judges, when a sight of his title-deeds was required. "This, my lords," he cried, "is my title. My ancestors won their lands, under William, by the sword, and with the same I will defend them." Throughout his reign, the king had much trouble in repressing the military violence used by great barons towards each other, and the lawless treatment of traders in the towns and on the highway by depredators from the strongholds of the nobles, and by roving bands of marauders. On the whole, order was maintained by the imprisonment and heavy fining of the greater offenders, and the hanging, or summary slaughter by the sword, of minor miscreants.

In 1297, the resistance of the nobles to Edward's unconstitutional exactions of money led them to a measure of great importance to the future freedom of the nation. Foreign war, with France and Scotland, had utterly exhausted the king's resources, and he was driven by sheer need to violate the letter and the spirit of the Great Charter, in order to obtain prompt supplies from his subjects. The high notions of the royal prerogative held by his predecessors were by no means extinct in this excellent monarch, but the force wielded by the barons of England guided affairs to a good issue. The Church was made the first victim, in 1294, and refusal of Edward's demand for one half of the annual income of the clergy was punished by the loss of all protection from the law. The courts of law were closed against them and all others who refused to furnish *aids* of money. The clergy were driven to submission, but the moneys

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The con-
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furnished by them did not long suffice for the ravenous demands of war. In 1297, the Scots were in arms against Edward, and the war with France demanded the king's presence in Flanders, at the head of a large force, for an attack on the enemy's northern frontier. Previous exactions had roused against Edward all classes of his subjects. The country squires had been plundered by being forced to accept knight-hood, with its burdensome fees and duties, or to pay sums of money for declining the uncoveted honour. Heavy *tallages* had been levied from the towns and tenants of the royal domain, and an enormous duty had been imposed on the export of wool, then the chief article of produce in the land, which was sent abroad to be worked up into cloth by the looms of the artisans of Flanders. The growers of the country and the merchants of the ports were alike interested in setting limits to the power of taxation. The exactions made from the Church and the laity came near to kindling another civil war. The treasures of monasteries and cathedrals had been seized, and agricultural produce had been taken, without present payment, in the most wanton exercise of the royal right of *purveyance*. At this juncture, two bold barons led the way in a successful resistance to tyranny. Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, openly disobeyed the king's command that they should sail with a reinforcement of troops to his army in Gascony, though their offices as Marshal and Constable of the realm made it their duty to act as leaders in war. The enraged Edward swore that Bigod should "either go or hang." The stout Earl retorted that he would "neither hang nor go," and even the great Edward shrank from the ultimate issue to which he was thus challenged. The king, helpless as he was, summoned a Parliament to meet at Westminster, and there, in the Great Hall, met his subjects face to face, and humbled himself before them. Wounded in his pride by the rebuff which his passion had provoked, and with a heart sore at what he deemed to be ungrateful treatment, Edward shed tears while he confessed that he had taken his people's goods without right in law. He then declared that he had imposed these heavy burdens, not for selfish ends, but for the sole purpose of protecting them against the Welsh, the Scots, and the French, who were seeking his crown and thirsting for his subjects' blood. Such a scene enacted by the weak Henry, his father, would have moved nothing but contempt, but the lords and commons alike knew the noble nature of the monarch who stood before them, and an assent was given to the prosecution of the war. Edward then sailed for Flanders, but the barons were resolved to turn the stirring occasion to a practical use for the future. They met in arms at London, but strictly preserved the peace, and, along with the Primate and the citizens, on October 10th, caused the young Prince Edward in council to assent to the famous statute known as the *Confirmation of the Charters*, meaning the Great Charter and the Charter of the Forests. All taxation was prohibited until the king's

consent to the Act was obtained, and the document was sent to Edward at Ghent, with a demand for his signature by December 6th. The state of foreign affairs was such as to prevent the king from dreaming of resistance or delay. The Scots had gained a victory at Stirling, and Edward was opposed in Flanders by a superior force of the French king. On November 5th, he signed the Act which for ever invested Parliament with the sole right of raising supplies of money from the people, apart from fixed feudal claims. Certain clauses were added to the Great Charter in which the king promised to take from his people henceforth "no aids . . . but by the common assent of the realm, saving the ancient aids . . . due and accustomed." The true meaning of this would be that the Crown, from that time forward, could not, without a vote of Parliament, lawfully raise money except in the shape of the usual feudal payments. It was also required that pardon should be given to the barons and their followers who had refused to go to Guienne, and that they should again enjoy the king's favour. Edward issued, along with the *Confirmation*, letters patent granting a full pardon to Humphrey de Bohun, Roger Bigod, and others, "for certain disobediences," and "certain alliances and assemblies of armed people, made against our will and prohibition," and setting aside "all manner of rancour and indignation," which he "had conceived against them." The ground thus won was never lost in the ten remaining years of Edward's reign. In 1299, he was obliged, at the request of the barons, to renew the *Confirmation*, and in 1301 the nobles, again in arms, forced him to carry out to the full the Charter of the Forests. In 1305, absolution was secretly procured at Rome from all oaths and engagements as to the keeping of the charters, but again the barons wrung an assent to the *Confirmation* and prevailed against the united forces of the Pope and the crown.

For a time Edward I. remained at peace with his feudal superior, the king of France. In 1279, he visited Philip III. at Amiens, and at this meeting some of the causes of dispute between the crowns were removed. Edward did homage, and received formal possession of Guienne, and also made formal resignation of Normandy. This French king died in 1285, and was succeeded by his son Philip IV. In 1286, Edward visited Paris, and rendered homage to his new feudal lord. He remained abroad for three years, arranging terms of peace between the French king and the king of Aragon, and settling matters in his own province. During his absence, a Welsh rising, in 1287, was subdued by his justiciary. The English people had been greatly suffering from the rapacity of judges, sheriffs, and other officers, and the king, according to his wont and nature, dealt sternly with the offenders. He summoned a Parliament in 1290. The offending judges were tried, and all except two were convicted, fined, deposed from office, and either imprisoned or banished. In 1293, trouble arose with France through an accidental fight in a Norman

Edward's
Continental wars.

port between some French and English sailors. An Englishman was killed, and then reprisals began on both sides, and were carried to such an extent that the Channel and the Bay of Biscay were scenes of constant conflict. A large fleet of Norman traders, going southwards in the bay, attacked English ships, plundered them, and slew the seamen. The English ports in the Channel gathered a strong force, met the Normans on their return, and almost destroyed their whole flotilla. Then Philip IV. summoned the king, as his vassal-ruler of Guienne, to appear in his court in Paris, and answer for the conduct of his English subjects. French trickery involved Edward in a seeming neglect of feudal duty, and the forfeiture of Guienne was formally declared. Edward's army sent to recover it met with no ultimate success. The real importance of the matter lay in the long-enduring union hereby brought about between France and Scotland. Philip formed an alliance with Balliol, who renounced his allegiance to Edward, and caused a war between the two countries of England and Scotland.

Whilst Edward was abroad in Gascony, Alexander III., king of **Edward I. Scotland**, died in 1286, leaving no descendant except Margaret, a grand-daughter, child of his own daughter Margaret, and **land,** Eric, king of Norway. This princess, known as *The Maid of Norway*, was Edward's grand-niece, through the marriage of his sister to Alexander of Scotland. She now became heir-apparent to the Scottish throne, and her right had been solemnly acknowledged at Scone in 1284. Nothing seemed less likely than that trouble should arise concerning the succession to the crown of Scotland.

A brief review of previous Scottish history here becomes needful.

Past Scottish history. The people of Scotland included men of the same diverse races as those who dwelt in England, but in very different relative numbers, and not so closely blended, as with us, by inter-marriage and political union. In Scotland there were Celts, Teutons, Danes, and Normans, but there were also Picts. For some centuries after the departure of the Romans from the island, the predominant race in Scotland was the Picts. Their country extended from the Firth of Forth along the east coast to the Pentland Firth. It was bounded on the west by that of the Scots, a Celtic people from Ireland, who, as we have seen, settled in Argyle, and then spread their dominion northwards along the western coast. The Teutonic conquest gave the country English people as the holders of Lothian, or the district lying between the Tweed and the Forth. Another Celtic people lay between the Firth of Clyde and the Solway Firth. These were the Britons of the kingdom of Cumbria, which at first stretched southwards to the river Dee. The victory of the Picts over Ecgfrith in 685 has been related as a turning-point in the history of the English kingdom of Northumbria. The conquerors in that battle afterwards made their way west, and became supreme in the land northwards of the Forth and the Clyde. About the beginning of the ninth century, the Scots

were making rapid progress in numbers and civilisation, and, in 843, their king, Kenneth Mac-Alpin, became possessor also of the Pict sovereignty. He waged war stoutly for many years against the English of Lothian, the Danish pirates under Ragnar Lodbrog, and the Britons of Cumbria. He is notable as having removed the palladium of the Scots, their "stone of destiny," from Argyle to Scone, and for the transference of St. Columba's remains from Iona to Dunkeld, where he built a church, and made the town his ecclesiastical capital. Under Mac-Alpin's successors, the country became subject to most serious attacks from the Danes, who had by this time made good their footing on the Irish coasts. The Scottish coasts were assailed in all quarters by the fleets which hailed from Dublin and other Irish harbours. The Danes came pouring into the firths on the eastern and the western shores, and for many years the land was in a state of conflict with these formidable foes. It was by this process, however, that the Picts and Scots were hammered and welded into political union. In the tenth century, we find the Scots in alliance with their old foes, the Danes, and their great defeat at Brunanburh by the English king, Athelstane, in 937, has been already recorded. A great political advance for Scotland came from the action of an English king. Edmund the Elder conquered the southern part of the old kingdom of Cumbria, and gave the modern Cumberland and the northern part of Westmoreland to King Malcolm I. of Scotland, upon the condition of his defending the north of England against Danish incursions. A kind of alliance thus arose between the two countries, but nothing could have been implied in the form of a feudal vassalage. At a later date the Scottish kings became possessed of Northern Cumbria, or Strathclyde, and, under either Edgar or Cnut (the precise time and terms of cession being unknown), the kingdom of Scotland was completed in its territory by the cession of Lothian. Edinburgh became a chief town of the country, and the Scottish king and court were thus brought into close connection with English culture. Malcolm III. of Scotland, who reigned from 1056 to 1093, is the one known as *Canmore* ("large head"). He was a man of good natural abilities, improved by training at the court of Edward the Confessor. We have already seen how, after the Norman Conquest, he gave refuge to Edgar Atheling, the heir of the English line, and to many of the English nobles, and how he married Margaret, the sister of the fugitive prince. The number of the people in the Lothians was increased by many refugees of their own kin from England, under the rule of William the Conqueror, and the influence of the good Queen Margaret was very beneficial to the Scottish king, court, and people. The marriage of Henry I. of England with the Scottish Princess Matilda not only joined the Norman and English royal lines, but had an important influence on Scotland in the introduction of the Norman element into the ranks of her nobility. David of Scotland, a younger son of Malcolm, had married

a Norman heiress, daughter of the Earl of Northumberland, and in 1108 was created Earl of Huntingdon. From that time till his accession to the Scottish throne in 1124, he had lived chiefly at the English court as a wealthy and powerful English noble, and had formed many friendships among the Norman barons at the court where his sister Matilda was queen. It was he who, as king of Scotland, brought Norman nobles and Norman feudalism into the land. A Celtic chieftain of the territory known as Ross and Moray was defeated by David's forces, and his lands were then subjected to feudal forfeiture. They were portioned out by David to Norman and other nobles, to hold of him as vassals of the crown, and it was thus that Norman adventurers became heads of great Highland families, and the chiefs of Celtic clans. The Norman feudal law was brought into Lothian, and the connection between the two countries grew ever closer.

After his discomfiture at Northallerton in the *Battle of the Standard* in 1138, David of Scotland spent the rest of his reign in peace, and strove with success to improve the social, moral, and ecclesiastical condition of his people. To his time we trace the chief Scottish bishoprics, and the famous Abbeys of Holyrood, Jedburgh, Kelso, Melrose, and Dryburgh. The rich endowments which he bestowed on the Church so taxed the royal domains, that, being canonised, he was bitterly styled by one of his successors, James I., as a "sair sanct (sore saint) for the crown." All along the eastern coast of the country were planted Norman, English, and Flemish colonies. From these centres the interior of the country, inhabited by Celts, was further settled, and thus the language, manners, and literature of people mainly Teutonic were spread through much of the land. A system of written law was introduced, and this by degrees took the place of the old Celtic traditional usages.

The capture of William the Lion at Alnwick, and the doing of homage to Henry II. for the crown of Scotland, by the *Treaty of Falaise*, in 1174, with the annulling of that treaty by Richard I., have been already dealt with. William continued a faithful ally of England until his death in 1214, after a reign of forty-nine years, the longest in Scottish history. His son, Alexander II., married Henry III. of England's sister, Joanna, and in this reign the boundary-line between the two countries was settled almost as it now exists. The two lands were generally at peace for nearly a hundred years, and the question of vassalage to the English kings, not for lands held by Scottish kings in England, but for the Scottish realm, was left conveniently vague. It was in the reign of Alexander III., who certainly never did homage to Henry III. for his Scottish kingdom, but only for his English estates of Tyndale and Penrith, that the last Danish attack on Scotland took place. The Danes had got possession of all the isles from Orkney and Shetland to the Isle of Man, and had even occupied Argyle, where the Scots from Ireland had first established the Scottish monarchy. The chiefs in

these parts, when they did not claim independence, professed allegiance to Norway rather than to Scotland, and the Scottish kings had long desired to make the chiefs of Argyle and the Isles admit their dependence on the Scottish crown. Haco, king of Norway, resolved to assert his headship over the western isles and districts, and assembled a powerful fleet at Bergen in 1263. A large army was taken on board 160 ships, and the invader passed southward by Lewis and Skye, levying contributions and exacting submission from the chiefs as he sailed along. At length the great armament swept round the Mull of Cantyre, and came to anchor between Arran and the coast of Ayrshire. A detachment under Haco's son-in-law, Magnus, king of Man, dragged their vessels across the isthmus of Tarbet, launched them on Loch Lomond, and then landed on the eastern shore and ravaged the rich district of Lennox. Haco refused to give up his claim on the western mainland and inner Hebrides in return for a free surrender of the outer isles, and there was nothing left but to fight. The winter was approaching as the Scots gathered on the heights above the Ayrshire coast. Thence they saw storms wreck a large part of the enemy's fleet, and the Scots totally defeated a considerable force which was landed near Largs. It was a great day in Scottish history. Haco retired to Norway, and died at the end of the year. The new king, Magnus, gave up Man and all the Western Isles to the king of Scots in 1266, and in 1281 peace was further established by the marriage of the Scottish Princess Margaret to Eric, eldest son of the Norwegian king. In 1286, as the Scottish king was riding in the dusk along the coast of Fife, near the village of Kinghorn, his horse started or stumbled, and he was thrown over a precipice and killed on the spot.

We have now seen how the Scots came from Ireland and settled in Argyle, how their kings extended their sway over *Pictland*, north of the Forth, *Strathclyde*, between the Solway and the Clyde, and *Lothian* (or *Northumbria*), between the Forth and the Tweed, and thus formed the kingdom of Scotland. The Scottish kings, through intermarriages with English and Norman princesses, had almost ceased to be of Celtic race, and from this and other causes the court and the nobility of Scotland had become chiefly Norman and English, while the feudal system had come to prevail over the older laws and customs of the land. The distinction of races is clearly marked in official documents of the Scottish kings, wherein they address their subjects as *Franks*, *Angles*, *Scots*, and *Galwegians*, or men of Galloway. The *Franks* were the Norman settlers; the *Angles* were the refugees from England after the Conquest, and the people of the Lothians; the *Scots* were the inhabitants to the north of the Forth; and the *Galwegians* were the people of the districts bordering on the Solway. These various races had laws and customs of their own, but the general system of government was feudal. In great questions, the king administered justice, and there were

State of
Scotland
in 1286.

judges and sheriffs appointed by the crown, but we can understand many parts of Scottish history only when it is remembered that these offices often became hereditary, and almost independent of the central authority. Thus it came about that decisions often depended less on written law than on the arbitrary will of the feudal lord. Alexander III. did much to remedy these evils by making an annual progress through his kingdom, attended by his justiciar, chief nobles, and a military force, and he then heard all appeals for justice that were brought before him. Wrong-doing and oppression were thus checked in his time, but in Scottish history we find the conduct of the nobles marked by a singular turbulence and disregard of the royal authority, and the king had little control over the Celtic chiefs beyond the Forth, and the people who, in a later age, became known as the Highland clans. There was no capital city in Scotland, such as Winchester and London were in England, but the kings had favourite royal residences, which became centres of wealth and civilising influence. Among these were Stirling, Scone, Forfar, Aberdeen, Inverness, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Berwick. To these and many other towns charters were granted by the kings, and they were called *Royal Burghs*. The spirit of these towns, where the dwellers were governed by laws of their own, and enjoyed special privileges under their charters, was strongly opposed to feudalism. Every royal burgh, like the great barons, held its lands and tenements directly from the crown, but their inhabitants were on a footing of equality, and had trading and industrial interests in common to strengthen and protect against the overbearing and encroaching spirit of the great nobles who surrounded them. They thus became democratic communities, and were favoured and encouraged by the kings as a counterpoise to the defiant power of the great feudal nobles. In the time of Alexander III., the trade of some of these towns had become very extensive. Berwick, from its wealth and commerce, was looked upon as a northern rival to London. There was a great trade done in skins, furs, fish, the fruits of Southern Europe, and even in the spices of the East. The luxuries consumed in Scotland included wine and wheaten bread, and comfortable clothing was a sign of progress in civilisation. The state of agriculture was displayed in the hamlets, granges, and farmsteads scattered over much of the country in the midst of pasture-land and corn-fields. There were some good hard roads, and some of the great rivers, as well as small streams, were spanned by bridges, as the South Esk, at Brechin, the Tay, at Perth, and the Forth, at Stirling. At the death of Alexander III., Scotland had become more prosperous and civilised than she was destined to be again for more than four centuries, marked by foreign war and by religious and political strife.

We are thus again brought to the advent on the scene of the young *Maid of Norway*, heir to the Scottish crown, by the death of her grandfather, Alexander III. She was at once acknowledged as queen by the

Scottish nobles and people, and Edward, who had lately become master of Wales, now saw an opening for the fulfilment of one of his great life-projects, the union of the whole island under one crown. His proposal for the marriage of his eldest surviving son, Edward, Prince of Wales, with the young queen, was well received by the Scottish Estates, or Parliament. Long negotiation followed as to terms, and it was not till July 18, 1290, that the *Treaty of Brigham*, near Berwick, was signed. The strong national feeling of the Scots was carefully provided for in the terms of the treaty. It was declared that the laws and liberties of Scotland should be strictly observed, and that the kingdom should remain free and without subjection. The English king could call for no military aid, as if he were feudal lord, and no Scotch appeal was to be carried to an English court. The young queen then set sail from Norway, but the voyage was rough, and she was landed, in a state of exhaustion, on one of the Orkneys, where she died in October. Never was the death of a child more disastrous to the interests of two nations. The decease of this young girl was the immediate cause of three long centuries of estrangement and strife, of the loss of many thousands of the lives of Scottish and English warriors, and of infinite mischief, material and moral, caused by the constant forays and "cattle-lifting" of the border-warfare between the kindred peoples on both sides of the Solway Firth, the Cheviots, and the Tweed. Thirteen pretenders to the crown of Scotland at once appeared, but the number was soon reduced to three, as the only real claimants. They were all descended from daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lion. From the eldest daughter, Margaret, came John Baliol, Lord of Galloway, David's great-grandson. Robert Bruce, Lord of Annandale, was son of Isabel, the second daughter. John Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, was grandson of Ada, the third daughter. Bruce was nearer to the original stock, as daughter's son: Baliol, as grandson of an eldest daughter, was from a higher branch, but was one step farther removed. Both their claims were clearly superior to those of Hastings. But another question then arose. Baliol and Bruce each claimed for himself the whole kingdom: Hastings declared that, by Scottish law, the kingdom was divisible among the three claimants. A civil war was in prospect, when the Scottish Estates referred the claims to Edward's decision. The English king saw his opportunity, and was ready with a new claim on his own behalf when, with many barons and their armed retainers, he met the Scottish Parliament on May 10, 1291, near Norham Castle, in Northumberland. There were ten conferences held, from May 10th to June 13th. At the first meeting, Roger de Brabançon, chief-justice of England, addressed the assembly in the French language, setting forth that Edward, king of England, was come, as superior and direct lord, to do justice to the claimants of the crown of Scotland, but that he first required the assent of the States to his own claim to feudal superiority. The English king had come supplied

The
Scottish
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vacant,
1290.

with extracts from monastic chronicles in proof of homage done by Scottish to English sovereigns. The Scots were taken aback by the king's demand, but at last the two chief claimants, Bruce and Baliol, and the rest of the Scottish nobles, admitted the claim. The Scottish commons rejected it, but they were of little account at that day in their Parliament, and no heed was paid to their opposition, Edward then assumed possession of the country as suzerain of a disputed feudal holding, and commissioners were appointed from both nations, with a large majority of Scots, to decide upon the claims. In November 1292, they reported in favour of Baliol. Edward confirmed this decision, and on December 26th, John Baliol did homage to Edward, and became king of Scotland. It is most difficult for us, at this day, to decide upon the delicate question of feudal law which is involved in the subsequent treatment of Baliol by the English king. It is certain that, by the treaty of Brigham, Scotland was to be judicially independent, and that no appeal from a Scottish court to that of an English king had been made for a long period. The pride of the Scots, both king and nation, was grievously wounded when Edward proceeded to assert this right of appeal. They shrank at first from open resistance, and Baliol had, in a case of his own, to endure the indignity of standing at the bar in the king's court at Westminster as a private gentleman. Scotland began to look towards France for help, and, as we have seen, when Edward became embroiled with Philip IV., a French and Scottish alliance was made, and war began between England and Scotland in the spring of 1296.

On March 28th, the English king crossed the Tweed, with an army of five thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. The fate of Berwick was a dreadful one. This important town, a free harbour, whose customs amounted to a fourth of those of all England, was taken by assault. Its inhabitants, to the number of many thousands, were massacred, and the whole place was given up to pillage. The town never recovered from the blow, and became, as it remains, a small local port. The king and his army stayed there for a month. A messenger from Baliol reached Edward at Berwick, renouncing his fealty, and refusing to obey the summons to appear. "The felon fool," cried Edward, "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." A part of the army was sent forward to Dunbar, and a battle was fought, ending in the defeat of the Scots. The castle surrendered to Edward himself on April 29th, Roxburgh castle was taken next, and Edinburgh was reached on June 6th. The castle was at once besieged, but, without waiting for the result, the English king moved on to Stirling; and on June 14th received the surrender of its fortress without the least resistance. The garrison, according to the chronicle of the time, "had run away, and left none but the porter, which did render the keys." Montrose was reached on July 7th, and there the feeble Baliol, wholly unfit to be ruler of so proud and inde-

The first war with Scotland, 1296.

pendent a nation, "came to Edward's mercy, and did render quietly the realm of Scotland, as he that had done amiss." This ignoble person was taken a captive to London, imprisoned for three years in the Tower, and then liberated. He retired to France, and died there an exile in 1314. It was well for Scottish fame that he had left behind him men of a far different stamp. Edward made his way to Aberdeen, then "a fair castle and a good town on the sea," and is believed to have gone as far north as Elgin, penetrating, as he proceeded, into nearly desolate parts, "where there was no more," says the writer of the time, "than three houses in a row between two mountains." He returned to England at the end of September, leaving John de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, as governor of Scotland. At Berwick he received, now as king of Scotland, as a fief forfeited by treason, the homage of the bishops, barons, and knights of the land. The first "conquest of Scotland" had been little more than the triumphal march of an irresistible foe. The victor brought back to England the crown and sceptre surrendered by Baliol, and carried away from Scone the sacred "stone of destiny," on which the Scottish kings were seated at their inauguration. This venerable relic is now to be seen in Westminster Abbey, in a recess beneath the seat of the chair on which, for ages past, the English sovereigns have sat for coronation. The prophecy that "where that holy stone is found, Scottish kings shall e'er be crowned," was fulfilled again in 1603. The castles, hostages, and regalia of Scotland were Edward's, but he had not won the hearts of the people, and the end was not yet.

In 1290, Edward lost, by her death at Hareby, in Lincolnshire, his beloved wife Eleanor, of whom he wrote to his friend the Abbot of Cluny, in seeking his prayers for her soul, "We loved her tenderly in her lifetime, and we do not cease to love her in death." Her body was brought in solemn procession from Lincolnshire to London, and buried with great honour at Westminster. At every place of halting for the night, the king afterwards erected one of the famous "Eleanor Crosses." The finest of all was that at Waltham Cross, in Hertfordshire: the erection of the last, at the village of Charing, near to the final destination at Westminster, gave its name to the thoroughfare now ever alive with the traffic of the world's greatest town. Three of Eleanor's four sons had died young: the survivor, Edward of Caernarvon, became his father's successor. In March 1298, the contest between France and England came to an end. Pope Boniface VIII. acted as mediator between Philip IV. and Edward. Guienne was restored to England, and her king renounced his alliance with the Count of Flanders. The Prince of Wales was betrothed to Philip's young daughter Isabel, whom he afterwards married, and Edward married Philip's sister, Margaret, in 1299. She became the mother of two sons, Thomas, Earl of Norfolk, and Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent.

Death of
the queen,
1290.
Peace
with
France,
1298.

A new struggle for Scottish independence was now to begin under the leadership of one of the most famous of all patriots and popular heroes, William Wallace. In addition to Earl Warenne, Edward had left, in charge of Scotland, Cressingham as treasurer, and Ormsby as justiciary. The Scottish nobles had tamely submitted to English rule, and the people were now to come to the front. It is said that the exactions of Cressingham were intolerable, and that the English troops who held the land were guilty of outrage. It is likely enough that many of the more turbulent Scots hated the rule of law and order which checked internal feuds and forays. It is certain that the tillers of the Lothians and the toilers in the towns—the Scottish Commons, whose protest had been set aside by the nobles at Norham in 1291—were indignant at English supremacy, and quite ripe for revolt. The hour had come, and, with the hour, the man.

Setting aside the legends about Wallace, his gigantic stature and strength, his wrongs and his revenge—stories whose only basis is the minstrelsy of “Blind Harry,” who sang to the people of two centuries later—we can safely record that Wallace, first the leader of a band of outlaws, took the field near Stirling with a powerful force in September 1297. De Warenne advanced at the head of 40,000 men, and the armies met on September 11th. Wallace was skilfully posted on the hills to the north of the river. The English host advanced over the narrow bridge, and the Scots rushed down on them when only a part of the foe were across, and before deployment could be made on the farther side. The result was a total rout. The hated Cressingham was killed, and De Warenne made a swift retreat into England. Wallace followed up his success by ravaging over the border, and made his way to Newcastle. Then he returned and captured Stirling Castle. Edward was at this time in Flanders, and had just subscribed the *Confirmation of the Charters*. The Scottish victor held power in the name of the deposed John Baliol, as is proved by a charter of March 29, 1298, where “William Walleys, miles” (knight), is styled “Custos regni Scotiæ,” or guardian of the kingdom for John. Edward came over the sea, and entered Scotland with a great army in June.

The nobles held aloof from Wallace, and his army was mostly composed of footmen. The strength of Edward lay in his numerous mailed cavalry and skilful archers. The terrible energy of the English king and leader, now in his sixtieth year, is shown by the fact that, as he advanced to the field of Falkirk, he was thrown from his horse and broke two of his ribs, but persisted in leading the cavalry forward to the encounter. The only hope of Wallace was in a formation that the English horse could not shatter, and he drew up his men, armed with long spears, in four great masses, presenting on all sides a bristling array of points. Before the attack, he cried to his men,

Second
Scottish
war,
1297-1305.

Battle of
Stirling,
Sept. 1297.

Battle of
Falkirk,
July 1298.

"I have brought you to the ring, now let me see how you can dance." For a time, the resistance was a perfect success. The most desperate repeated charges of the mailed chivalry of Edward could force no opening, and his best knighthood recoiled from the deadly spears of the Scots. But Edward was not a man to be beaten by one or more repulses at the outset. The Welshmen had left the field, and a panic was beginning among the English, when Edward ordered his archers to the front. The Scottish formation now only offered a mark that could not be missed to deadly showers of shafts. The spearmen fell by hundreds, and it was impossible to fill up the gaps. The English horse dashed in at the openings, and soon broke up the masses. Thousands of Scots fell, and Wallace barely escaped capture. The south of Scotland was soon subdued, but the courage of Wallace had now shamed many of the nobles into keeping up the war. Edward's army was forced to retire by famine, and a commission of regency under John Comyn, Lord of Badenoch, headed the party struggling for Scottish independence. Wallace had ceased to be "Guardian," and for some years little is heard of him and his doings. Edward was occupied by English affairs, and the Scottish regency appealed for help to Pope Boniface. In a letter sent to the king in 1300, the Pope claimed a right of deciding between England and Scotland.

In January 1301, the English monarch called a Parliament at Lincoln. Over three hundred persons met—prelates, abbots, Edward I. barons, knights of the shire, and burgesses. A plain answer and the Pope. was sent to the Pope's pretensions against English independence. He was informed that "with respect to the king of England's temporal rights, the king would not plead before him, nor submit in any manner to his judgment, nor suffer any inquiry, nor send agents to the Papal court." It is curious to note, alongside of the bishops and abbots who thus boldly spurned the temporal interference of their spiritual head, a worthy merchant or tradesman of Lincoln, who sat as a burgess. This was Stephen Stanham, who dealt in sugar, figs, herrings, and stockfish.

Early in 1303, Stirling Castle was taken by the Scots, and an English army was defeated at Roslin. Edward entered Scotland with a force that could not be resisted, and a fleet, with Death of Wallace, 1305. supplies of food on board, now followed his land armament.

In February 1304, the Scottish leaders, including the Regent Comyn, gave in their submission, and the second conquest of Scotland was completed by the surrender of Stirling Castle from famine, in the summer of the same year. Wallace was betrayed in August 1305, by Sir John Menteith, Edward's governor of Dumbarton, and taken to London for trial as a traitor at Westminster Hall, crowned with a wreath of oak, as a king of outlaws. "Traitor," he cried, "I could never be, for I was not a subject of King Edward." He was condemned, and executed with the horrible barbarity which survived to a

later age. His head was struck off after death by hanging, and placed upon a pole fixed on London Bridge. The special cruelty of the age divided his body into four quarters, which were taken and exposed to public gaze at Newcastle, Berwick, Perth, and Aberdeen. In the same year, Sir Simon Fraser, one of the partisans of Wallace, was put to death in London, and his head was placed on London Bridge beside that of his brave leader. In other respects the English king used his success with clemency and wisdom. No other victims were sought, and a scheme of government was drawn up which left Scottish law predominant, and placed rule in the hands of Scottish nobles, including Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, grandson of the former claimant of the crown.

The name of Robert Bruce is the noblest in Scottish history, but it seems that ambition, rather than patriotism, was the first moving cause of his action against Edward I. He had long regarded himself as the rightful heir to the Scottish crown, but policy had made him swear allegiance to Edward, and even bear arms against his countrymen. He was of English lineage, and being born at Westminster in 1274, was brought up at the court of Edward. Another possible claimant of the Scottish throne was John Comyn, known as the *Red Comyn*, son of John Baliol's sister Marjory. As such, he was regarded with jealousy by Edward. It seems that Bruce and he made a bargain, by which Comyn was to help Bruce to gain the crown of Scotland, and, in case of success, receive Bruce's lands as Earl of Carrick and Lord of Annandale. In order to further his private schemes, Comyn betrayed the plan to Edward, and the life of Bruce, who was then in London, was in danger. A friend gave him a hint by sending him a purse of money and a pair of spurs. Bruce fled for Scotland with two attendants, and, as snow lay on the ground, they all rode with their horses' shoes reversed, so that the tracks resembled those of steeds making for the capital. On their way they met and slew a messenger of Comyn's, and found on him written proofs of his master's treachery. In the church of the Greyfriars at Dumfries, Bruce killed the traitor, after an angry altercation, and this deed of sacrilegious violence made a course of the utmost boldness the only possible one for safety. He took up arms in February 1306, sent out people on all sides to rouse the country, and on March 27th was crowned king of Scots at Scone. The "stone of destiny" was wanting, and a circlet of gold was used as a crown. The clan *Macduff* had the right of placing the crown on the head of a Scottish king, but the chief was not present, and his sister, the Countess of Buchan, discharged the duty in his place. For this bold act she was afterwards exposed to the pity or scorn of passers-by in a cage suspended from one of the outer turrets of the walls at Berwick. The great English king was now failing in health, but at a solemn festival in London he conferred the degree of knighthood on his son Edward, and on many

Robert
Bruce
takes the
field,
1306.

young nobles. He heard of the new revolt with the deepest rage, and when, at the banquet, a dish of two swans was placed on the table before him, the king rose and swore "before God and the swans" to have a deadly vengeance for the murder of Comyn. Such were the fantastic vows of chivalry, which were often thus taken at the feast of the peacock.

The first efforts of Bruce met with ill-success. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, one of Edward's commanders in Scotland, routed his forces at *Methven*, in Perthshire, on July 22nd, and the king was forced to take to the hills with a few followers. After a narrow escape from the vengeance of Comyn's friends, Bruce sailed for the isle of Rathlin, off the north coast of Ireland, and spent there the winter of 1306-7. Unsparing punishment was dealt out to the patriotic party in Scotland. Priests, knights, and nobles alike went to execution by hanging and the block, and the wife, daughter, and two sisters of Bruce were flung into prison.

In the spring of 1307, Bruce was again in Scotland, and in May severely defeated Pembroke at the *battle of Loudon Hill*. The English king had meanwhile been slowly making his way towards Scotland, with health fast declining. He lay long on a bed of sickness, but at last reached Carlisle, and, thinking his health improved, he hung up his litter in the cathedral as a thank-offering, and once more mounted his war-horse. But the king's work in life was done. At Burgh-on-Sands, in sight of Scotland, he died on July 7, 1307, giving orders that his flesh should be stripped from his bones, and that these should be carried before the army till Scotland was subdued. The new king sent his body to Westminster, where it was buried with the inscription "*Here lies the hammer of the Scots.*"

At the period now under review, we have clearly visible signs of the development of various kinds of freedom among the class of toilers both in town and country. This process continued, with ever-growing strength, until the end of the time during which the Plantagenet kings ruled the land. The rise of the towns of England has been already noticed. They all became, like the land outside them, the property, in a certain sense, either of the king or of some great landowner—thane, baron, bishop, abbot, or earl. Each was ruled by an officer of the lord's appointment, the lord's or king's *reeve*, whose duty it was to summon the town-meeting or borough-moot, and there render justice to the townsmen in the presence and with the assent of their fellow-burghers; to get in the moneys due to his lord for rent; and to see that the "services" were duly rendered to him by the town. The townsmen were hereby compelled to make use of the lord's mill, to gather in his harvest, and to pay for the right of sending out their cattle and swine into the lord's pasture and woodland. From fair and market he also gathered a revenue of tolls and fees, and his income was swelled by

Death of
Edward I,
1307.

Rise of
new liberties
and
classes
under
Edward I.
and his
successors.

various forfeitures and fines from his tenantry of the town. Apart from all this, they were free men, who managed their own affairs in the same way as a local board or municipal council does at the present day. It was by no revolution of violence, no rising or revolt, that the men of the English towns got rid of the feudal services and payments due to their over-lords. A slow and silent process, in the growth of sound opinion, good feeling, and good sense, made some of these signs of subjection lapse by degrees into desuetude. Other burdens were thrown off by the just and manly process by means of which the thrifty artisan in our own times becomes his own landlord, the possessor of the tenement in which he and his family dwell. The townsmen in olden times worked and traded, acquired wealth, and bought out their lords. They paid in sums of hard-won money for the privileges and immunities which make up the noble thing known as municipal freedom. An adventurous or fanatical lord starts on a Crusade, or returns from the land of the Paynim a penniless man, with armour rusty and worn, ragged shirt and hose, and a remnant of followers hungry for pay deferred. A jovial, spendthrift lord scatters his means at tournament, banquet, and revel. A litigious lord makes away with his cash in suits before judges, of Church or laity, who are open to the soft persuasions of extra-fees for a quicker hearing, or bribes for a wrongful award. A quarrelsome lord is ever at war with neighbouring barons, and gets the worst in the conflict, to the loss of real or personal property. A warlike lord becomes captive in a foreign campaign, and is held to heavy ransom. A religious lord is lavish of gifts to the Church in the shape of shady monastic cloister and cell, or the splendour of some stately shrine. An abbot or prior erects a new minster for the house which he loves and rules. The supreme feudal lord, the Plantagenet king of the day, needs supplies for a contest abroad or the brilliant extravagance of his court. In all these cases, and many more, resort must be had to the milch-cow—the burghers, who, in the quiet life of the town, have been creating wealth instead of destroying it, winning in place of spending. Their lord, from whatever cause, has an empty coffer which needs to be quickly filled. “Nothing for nothing” is the trader’s motto, and he looks for good to himself and his heirs and successors in the present needs of his lord. Money there is with him; and his lord receives a portion in return for the deed or charter which for ever sweeps away some feudal right over the town’s justice or government or trade. It was thus that our fathers, by the sweat of their brows, and their own sturdy good sense, bought the rights which created the class of municipal freemen who played so great and glorious a part in winning national freedom in after-times, by blows dealt on the field of battle.

The population of the towns was not, however, composed only of the burghers who conducted its trade, and were the owners of the land within its limits, subject to the claims of the feudal lord. For purposes

of local government, and the management of the trade of the town, they were gathered into the bodies called *merchant-guilds*. As ^{The} co-dwellers with themselves, but without any share of muni- ^{towns.} cipal right or rule, they had around them a mass of other settlers. This body was composed of poor "landless" men, serfs escaped from their masters in different parts of the country, hucksters and petty traders, and all kinds of artisans. Among the less wealthy burghers, and the smaller traders and craftsmen, there arose, in distinction from the merchant-guilds of the higher and richer burghers, a number of *craft-guilds*, or *trade-guilds*, exercising a sway resembling that of the modern trades-unions. Charters obtained from the crown, by the usual method of purchase, gave these guilds a legal control, each over its own trade, and they assumed, by slow steps, a position of formidable rivalry with the older and more powerful merchant-guilds. In time they became predominant, and all power having at length passed from the ancient oligarchical bodies to the modern associations with their more numerous members, the basis of municipal freedom was widened, and the local government of the towns took a far more popular form.

During the thirteenth century, we note the growth of a numerous class of landowners, who became the social ancestors of the ^{The new} squires and landed gentry, as opposed to the nobles of the ^{class of} highest class in wealth and power. ^{land-} The mass of the feudal ^{owners.} tenants who held land, in smaller portions, directly from the crown, became known, even under Henry the First, as the "Lesser Barons," as opposed to the "Greater Barons," the holders of numerous manors, forming, in all, great landed properties. It was these barons who usually attended the Great Council, the only Parliament of that age. From the ranks of the lesser barons, or knights (who had the right of attendance, as direct holders from the crown, but who did not care to incur the trouble and expense of answering to a summons), came the knights of the shire, or county-members, of the true later Parliament. By the time of Edward I., a marked decrease had occurred in the ranks of the greater barons. In the natural course, and by losses through foreign and civil war, the families of many earls and barons had become extinct, and their estates had lapsed to the crown. Other greater baronies had their lands divided among female heiresses, from lack of male representatives, and so had ceased to exist. At the same time, the "lesser baronage" was ever growing in numbers and importance. A great increase had taken place in the wealth of the country through the growth of trade, the increased production of wool, from which large profits were derived in exportation to Flanders, and through superior methods of tillage. The possession of land became a passion with the owners of hard cash. The holding of landed property, to a far greater degree in that age than in our infinitely complex social system, conferred political and social importance on its possessor. Wealthy traders sought admission to the ranks of the landed gentry,

by applying to tenants of the greater barons for the sub-letting of land on the usual feudal terms. The statute *Quia Emptores*, passed in the reign of Edward I., strove to check this subdivision of the large estates, by enacting that these sub-tenants should hold the land directly from the great lord, and render to him the feudal services, and afford him the feudal profits in reliefs, escheats, aids, fines, forfeitures, wardship, and marriage, instead of holding from their immediate tenant. The Act had a precisely opposite effect to that which those who passed it had contemplated. The tenant who had sub-let the land often desired to be virtually quit of a holding which brought him neither pleasure nor profit. He therefore handed over his estate, with its burden of feudal "services," for a round sum of money, to the man of wealth and enterprise who thought he could manage to make the investment pay. A number of small estates, held direct from the crown or other great feudal lord, was thus created, and the new class of landowners rapidly grew in the repetition of the same process. A class of small farmers also began to arise from among the ranks of the higher class of *villeins*. Common lands began to be enclosed, and the large landholders adopted the plan of leasing out portions of their estates to men who were the forerunners of the tenant-farmers of the present day.

The *ceorl* of the older English system, who was the *villein* of the time after the Conquest, had become, under Anglo-Norman legislation, the serf of a feudal lord. He lived in a portion of land which he tilled under the lord, and to that lord and land he was bound. To the lord of the manor he was forced to render services as a kind of rent paid in labour, by reaping, wood-cutting, shearing, thatching, and other rural toils. He could not leave the estate, to change his mode of life for that of an artisan or trader, without the leave of his lord, on pain of becoming an outlaw. From this kind of bondage, removed indeed from what we understand by the position of a slave, the serf was slowly freed by the operation of various causes. The Church did what she could in inducing feudal lords, in the time of health, or on their death-beds, to emancipate their serfs. Many made their way to towns possessing charters of freedom, and the law was that such a fugitive, if he lived in such a town for a year and a day, became one of its free citizens. Others ran off to distant parts of the country, and took service as free workers for pay under a town or country employer. In other cases, the lord changed the service of forced labour into a fixed money payment. Many industrious serfs or villeins obtained freedom by the same method as that by which, as we have seen, the burghers of the towns acquired municipal rights. They saved money and bought their freedom from a needy lord. Many a brave and hardy serf was freed by a grateful feudal master for good work done in a home or foreign war, or on the long and dangerous Crusade. Even the king was known, in case of his need, to sell manumissions for hard cash to serfs

Gradual
disap-
pear-
ance of
serfdom
and the
lower
villanage.

on the royal domain. Thus, by a silent and almost imperceptible process, was effected, under the Plantagenet kings, the revolution which put an end to the peculiar kind of property of man in man known as villenage or serfdom. The causes of the change were moral and noiseless. There was no physical force, no special statute, and no man can fix the precise time at which the political distinction between master and serf ceased to exist. We only know that, when the Tudors began to reign, it had vanished, as things dark and dreary do vanish, like the shadows of night from the sky, before the mounting sun of an enlightened public opinion.

An authentic document of singular interest and value gives us the power of producing a picture of many parts of our social system, in an age which has not received, from our writers of either history or fiction, the same degree of attention as that bestowed on similar matters belonging to the Tudor and Stuart times. The *Household Roll* of Bishop Swinfield of Hereford, during part of the years 1289 and 1290, is the account of the prelate's domestic expenses, kept upon parchment by his house-steward, John de Kemeseye, from day to day, week to week, and month to month. The separate skins used by such an official formed, when they were tacked together, one roll, complete for a given period, generally one year. Two months of the year have been lost to us in the present case, by destruction of two skins of the record, and we thus miss the interesting period of the corn-harvest in 1290. We trace, as the roll remains to us, the life of the Bishop and his household from September 30, 1289, to July 23, 1290. Bishop Swinfield appears to have been a good specimen of the Church ruler, not ambitious, luxurious, or idle, but a watchful administrator of his diocese. He had risen to his high rank from a humble beginning, having been chaplain and secretary to his predecessor. His regard for the people of his flock is shown in his friendly feeling towards those whom we have seen as the devoted servants of the poor—the Franciscan or Minorite Friars—and in his preaching during his episcopal journeys, a duty which bishops seldom troubled themselves to discharge. A feature of the time, to which allusion has already been made, is revealed in the fact that the good Bishop, who naturally sought to maintain the rights of his order, was not on the best terms with the burgesses of Hereford. They were striving for municipal freedom, and constantly disputed the feudal right of the Bishop to control them. Half the city was his *fee* or feudal holding, and his jurisdiction was constantly clashing with that of the civil magistrate. The Bishop of that age was a far more wealthy man than the prelate of the present day, who, though a peer of the realm as a spiritual lord, receives but a moderate stipend for the position which he is obliged to maintain. The feudal baron, Bishop Swinfield, had a palace at Hereford, a house in Worcester, and a house in London. At Ledbury, Prestbury, Ross, and several other places, he was the owner

Life,
travel,
and trade
in Eng-
land six
hundred
years ago.

of manor-houses, each with a farm or demesne attached. Stables there were for his numerous horses, kennels for his hounds, *mews* for his hawks. On the Welsh border, he had his episcopal fortress-house, called Bishop's Castle. The household consisted of forty-one members, including the steward, De Kemeseye, some confidential servants of gentle blood, two clerks, a butler, a messenger, a *launder*, a palfreyman (in charge of the Bishop's own riding-horse), a porter, two farriers for the forty horses, two carters, a falconer, a cook, and twenty-two other domestics, among whom we find *garciones* (gossoons) and pages. All these persons were fed, clothed, and lodged, and received half-yearly wages ranging downwards from ten shillings to sixpence, amounts respectively equal to about ten pounds and ten shillings of present coin.

In the discharge of his official duties, the Bishop moves about from one manor-house to another. At each of these abodes, the great hall is his feudal court. Here he sits in baronial state to receive the homage of tenants, to sentence ecclesiastics to penalties for offences against the canon law, and to threaten or excommunicate lay offenders against public morals. Here he entertains the suitors of his court, and his dependents, on high festivals. The internal arrangements of such a house in that age are remarkable. The hall, from which the whole manor-house derives its name in modern usage, is the one great room of the establishment. There was only one principal private chamber, devoted in this case, of course, to the use of the Bishop himself. The large hall was the common room for all other purposes. There the guests dined, the wine was drunk, and both guests and upper servants slept on the wooden floor, strewed with dry rushes in winter, and with green fodder in summer, or, at times, with hay or straw. The clerks and squires of a bishop, or the knights who surrounded a great baron, there took their rest. The lower servants slept in the stables. There were no separate dormitories, as is proved beyond dispute by the remains of houses of the period, and by documents which detail the apartments of which a house was to consist. We cannot enter into a detailed description of the method of erecting a manor-house in that age. The materials and style of such a building, as well as the furniture, were rough and inartistic. The thirteenth century has left us, in the Cathedral of Salisbury, and in the latest part of Westminster Abbey, some of the finest examples of ecclesiastical architecture, but that age was very little advanced in the construction of elegant, or even comfortable, houses. The truth is, that it was a period of transition from the baron's embattled fortress to the hospitable hall of the later Plantagenet times.

We will now accompany the prelate in some of his journeyings. A marked difference between that and later ages is shown in **The travelling.** the bare condition of a noble's different places of abode. In making a change of residence, the great man of the thirteenth century

did not merely send word to air rooms and prepare for himself and guests: he took his household-gear along with him. On December 20, 1289, the Bishop and his retinue set out from Prestbury, on a journey to London. The baker of the household has gone in advance, to have a store of bread and pastry ready for the travellers when they reach the halting-place. Many of the household-servants are well armed, to meet the possible attacks of robbers. Sumpter-horses carry clothing and bedding. There are carts laden with meat and wine, and with the domestic utensils—the brass and iron pots and pans, and good store of earthenware. The Bishop's establishment seems to have been especially rich in crockery. The use of earthenware was not common in that age, when wooden trenchers and leathern "jacks" or drinking-mugs appeared at every board. The crockery was a great charge in the household expenses, from frequent and large breakage, in moving from place to place along rutty roads, where a cart might easily be upset. There are fifty-one horses in the troop. "Harbingers" precede the party to look out for quarters. On the first night, they lodge at a vacant manor-house of the Abbot of Gloucester. Here they eat the food which they have brought, and the house-servants furnish brush-wood for the fires, oats for the horses, and bed-litter for the floor. There were scarcely any hostels or taverns, for the supply of food and beds, till the middle of the fourteenth century. At his meals by the way, the Bishop would have his silver cup, out of which to quaff his Bordeaux wine, of which the steward, in the record, declares his master's liking. He would use spoons of silver, and silver forks were also known in that age. Each man of the household carried his own knife, and finger and thumb supplied the place of the fork. In the smaller houses at which the prelate slept on his journey, he would have no glass window, such as he had constructed, at the cost of six shillings and eightpence (about seven pounds now), for his luxurious chamber at Bosbury. On December 30th, they arrive at Wantage, and thence make their way to Reading, over roads made difficult by constant rain. At the great Abbey of Reading, praised for its hospitality by William of Malmesbury, the whole party remain for four nights. Hugh, the harper, plays in the hall, and receives for his skill a fee of twelve pence (a sovereign now) from the Bishop, who also gives a dole of bread, to the value of seven or eight pounds of our money, for the poor of the town. Thus he repays his generous host, the lordly Abbot of Reading. By the time the travellers reach Staines, where they cross the river by the ferry, their store of food is done, and they have to buy at Cookham, where sprats from the London market are obtained.

On January 7th, they arrive in London, at the Bishop's house in Old Fish Street, by Queenhithe, a dwelling pertaining to the see. During his absence from town, the prelate let it to a "pepperer," or grocer. At the feasting on arrival, we hear of gurnets, sturgeon, and oysters, hares, rabbits, and a side of venison sent by the king. London

and Westminster at this time, in January 1290, were full of court visitors, as Convocation and Parliament were both sitting. On Sunday, January 8th, the Bishop goes by river to Westminster, to make a visit of state to Edward. His retinue ride thither, to be ready for attendance on him at the palace. From the house in Old Fish Street, they would cross the river Fleet by the bridge; pass the great convent of White Friars; and leave on their left the splendid house and church of the Templars. Thus they would go through the great wooden bar known as *Temple*, and reach the Strand. In passing along to the city of Westminster, through the village of Charing, they would have to cross three bridges, over as many streams which intersected the road on their way to the great river. The houses which they passed would be mostly of wood: some were of wooden framework filled up with clay. There were but two stories, and staircases were seen outside, leading from the footway to the first floor. On reaching court, the Bishop presents the king with a purse containing £66, 13s. 4d., an amount representing nearly £1400, and the queen with half that sum. In the feast given that Sunday in Westminster Hall, the roof rang with the sounds of the harp, the dulcimer, and the viol, and the prelate bestowed twenty shillings on each of the king's two chief harpers.

On his return journey, we find that, on a certain day, only five miles were accomplished. The way was over clayey roads, where
The Bishop's return. the shoes were dragged off the horses' feet, and there were many halts for the farrier, who accompanies the train, with a great store of shoes and nails. At one place of halting, the Bishop has to get an important business off his mind. He must address a long letter to the Pope, on the grave subject of canonisation for his predecessor, Bishop Cantilupe. A letter in that age was a solemn document, fairly written on the whitest parchment, concerning which we have a record, in this very Roll, that a hundred and fifty skins were bought at Oxford for three shillings and fourpence. After two days' seclusion, for the purpose of writing his letter, the prelate crosses the Wye, and visits the rich abbot and brethren of the Cistercian house of Tintern, whose stately ruins now charm the eye of the tourist. In the age of which we are writing, the vaulted roof echoed back the loud chant of the monks, and the long procession moved up the aisles where we now tread on the softest and greenest sward. It is pleasant to read of the good Bishop that, on this return journey from a visit to the capital, he was met by two students who were maintained at his charges at the University of Oxford. Their names were Kingswood, and there was a servant of that name in the Bishop's establishment. During the vacations, they usually visited their patron. The two cost the prelate a sum amounting to nearly three hundred pounds a year in our coin.

On October 30th, the episcopal household comes to Sugwas, one of the Bishop's manors, on the left bank of the Wye, about four miles from

Hereford. Here are a mill, a dovecot, and a fishery. The river yields salmon, and the tenants pay dues of eels. Friday, Saturday, and Wednesday are days of abstinence. On Sunday, November 2nd, the household is abundantly feasted. The consumption includes, besides beef and mutton, half a pig, eight geese, ten fowls, twelve pigeons, nine partridges, and unnumbered larks. The Church fasts of that age caused the consumption of enormous amounts of fish and eggs. We have sticks of eels, sold by twenty-five on a stick, according to the statute; salmon, tench, lampreys, and lamperns. Salt-herrings and salted cod are always in store, and dried cod is brought from Aberdeen. In winter, oysters are bought by the gallon; in May and June, the fresh mackerel supplies a new delicacy. The trout is produced at the table in the season of the May-fly. At Easter-time we find fourteen hundred eggs brought in for the use of the Bishop's household, and paid for at the rate of eight for a farthing. It was only for a part of the year that the richest people, in the thirteenth century, could see fresh meat, or "shambles-meat," as it was then called, set upon their tables. There was no stall-feeding for cattle, and the animals were only fit to kill after good feeding on the spring and summer grass. There was, therefore, a great salting of provisions for use during the winter months. One of the chief places of abode for Bishop Swinfield was his manor-house of Bosbury, on the site of which are still some vestiges of strong buildings. In the Roll we find him there at Martinmas, when the salting-tubs are being filled. Fifty-two beeves have been brought in from the different farms, and sheep and swine in large numbers, for the purpose of being salted down. The salt was purchased at Worcester, being brought thither from the pits at Droitwich, and, when the supply ran short, 100 lbs. was borrowed from a house belonging to the Knights-Templars. The modern epicure will shudder to learn that the fattest venison of the Bishop's parks and chases shared, at this season, the fate of beef, mutton, and pork, in being salted down. The stud-groom, the huntsmen and their hounds, the stable-helpers, the boys of the farm, were driving the deer out from their thick coverts, to fall before the shafts from the cross-bows. The hides produced by the slaughter of all the animals, wild and domestic, were partly sold, and partly made into leather in a rude fashion for household use. The superfluous fat of the animals was turned into home-made candles, of which we find in the record that 80 lbs. were made on one day of this time of slaughtering. An attempt was made to provide for the lack of vegetables for winter use, in the absence of the Tudor-found potato, by the salting of greens, in the shape of certain kinds of cabbage. Of the luxuries of the time we learn something in reading of the provision made for the Bishop's Christmas-feast at Prestbury, one of his larger manor-houses. At Bosbury, five casks of wine had been laid in, having been brought from Bristol, one of the chief marts in the west for the wines of Gascony and the Mediterranean.

The Bishop's servants conveyed it by boat up the Severn, and a cask was sent from Bosbury to Prestbury for the Christmas revels. In December there was also a great brewing, managed in those times by women. The sempstress, the breweress, and the house-cleaner are the only females of whom we catch a glimpse in the Bishop's great establishment. All things had been set in order at Prestbury before the coming of the lord of the household. The kitchen, always detached from the house, and the ovens, had been repaired, and a penthouse, with a dresser, had been built from the kitchen to the hall-door. Charcoal for cooking had been burned, and brought in from the woods. Loads of thorns from the coppices had been drawn in to heat the ovens, and to crackle under the pots. Canvas had been given out to repair the kitchen-strainers. The spice-box had been filled with cloves, mace, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, cummin, aniseed, and coriander. The foreign spices came, as they do so largely still, from the East, reaching Europe then by way of Arabia, Egypt, and Venice. Amongst the spices we find given out by the steward a pound or two of the valuable article called sugar. The Crusaders found sweet honeyed canes, called *zucra*, a word of Persian origin, growing in the meadows near Tripoli, in Syria. The article seems to have been imported into Venice late in the tenth century. In the twelfth, it was brought to Northern Europe in small quantities from Sicily and Egypt. At the time of which we are writing, the end of the thirteenth century, sugar had so far come into use by the wealthy that on one occasion 100 lbs. are purchased in London by Bishop Swinfield's agent. In the provincial town of Ross, a single pound is bought for eightpence, which represents a price of nearly fourteen shillings a pound in the present day. The article now within reach of the very poorest was thus a rare luxury for the rich. A difference of taste is marked by the existence of a tub for the especial reception of saffron, an indispensable article of cookery in the Plantagenet age. When all things are in order, and the Christmas feasting begins, we can form some idea of the prodigal hospitality of a great baron in those days. We must remember that there was no poor-law, and that, besides the domestic household of over forty persons, a man like the Bishop of Hereford would have many humble dependents. Only on the agreeable theory that the rich of that age gave very largely of their leavings, in themselves a bounteous feast, to the humble folk around them, can we explain the enormous consumption of food. Christmas-day, in 1289, fell on a Sunday. There appear to have been guests at the manor-house, from the additional horses found in the stables. The bill of fare for the day consisted of two carcasses and three quarters of beef, with calves, does, pigs, fowls, bread, cheese, ale, and a very large supply of red and white wine. As a separate matter suggested by rich living, we may mention that during the year in which, through his steward's care in keeping his parchment roll of accounts, and the skill and diligence of his modern editor,

the Reverend John Webb, we have our Bishop under a microscope, he seems to have borne well both the fatigues of travel and work, and the plentiful feeding of the time. On one occasion he burns a "mortar" or night-light in his chamber, a thing usually done only in cases of illness. Once a physician came to the manor-house, receiving a fee of half a mark, or six and eightpence, in our coinage over six guineas. There is no record of fees paid to the barber for bleeding, the universal remedy for every ailment of the time. Some valet of the household was, no doubt, the blood-letter for bishop and clerks, grooms, pages, gossoons, and breweresses.

Vegetable food and fruit were not so plentiful as they became afterwards in Tudor times. We find, however, that green-peas and beans make their appearance at table in June and July, ^{The fruit.} and that the gardens yield leeks, onions, garlic, and certain "pot-herbs." Of lettuces we have no trace. Apples are once mentioned. Pears and cherries were then grown in England. The famous warden-pie, which the fanciful ignorance of many writers of poetry and romance has represented as a huge pasty of venison or other meat, suited to the appetite of the "wardens" of feudal days, was really a pasty containing the good baking-pear, grown first by the monks of Wardon, in Bedfordshire. Gooseberries were known, but the gardens had no raspberries or strawberries. The Bishop had a vineyard at Ledbury, the grapes of which yielded, in 1289, seven casks of white wine. There is no mention of bees, and once only, in his travels, does the Bishop taste metheglin, or mead, the old English drink. It would seem that there was little cultivation of flowers, as no gardener is included in the household. No doubt the cottages of the bailiffs would have blooming around them the rose and the gillyflower, with the wallflower and the "fresh perwinke" (periwinkle) of Chaucer's verse.

The clothing of a large household was an expensive item under Edward I. During the visit to London already described, ^{Clothing.} one of the upper household, Thomas de la Dene, buys up a large stock of goods for future use, which the capital could best supply—cloth, furs, wax, and spices; also boots and shoes for his lord, and a pair of boots for himself. We find that in cloth and furs he expended about a thousand pounds of present value. The Bishop and his clerks wore the same material, a coarse but high-priced woollen cloth, made up into long robes. The bishop's brother, who was a layman, wore a short cloak. The squires and bailiffs were attired in striped cloth of good value, and the serving-men, grooms, and pages wore a cheaper striped material. It was the furs that chiefly marked the rank of the wearer. The Bishop had a winter overcoat of deer-skin, and a furred cap, to keep off the cold during his journeys in winter and spring amongst the Herefordshire hills. For official costume, his hoods were of minever, and his mantles were trimmed with the same costly material. The chaplains had also trimmings of valuable fur;

the squires and lay-clerks were distinguished by lambskin. The skins of foxes, taken in the chase, were dressed for use in this careful household. At Whitsuntide, summer cloths were bought, of lighter texture, but still of woollen material, called "bluett" and "russet." The Bishop and his clerks had still the same quality of stuff; the servants are again marked by their striped dresses. A peculiarity in the cloth of the period was the length of its nap: when the garment was rather shabby, the nap was freshly shorn. The same sort of woollen cloth was worn, as the ordinary dress, both by men and women. Under Edward I., there was already a well-established manufacture of woollen. Totnes was the great clothing town of the western district, Beverley of the northern, and Lincoln, of the midland. Linen, fine enough for the Bishop's *rochets*, garments for ecclesiastical dignitaries, like a surplice with tight-fitting sleeves, was bought at Aylsham, in Norfolk. A large part of the wool grown in England was, however, exchanged for foreign manufactures, and woollen and linen cloths were imported from France, Flanders, and Spain.

In the Roll of Bishop Swinfield, amidst the entries of wages paid, **story of a villein.** we have no notice of the many farm-labourers who must have been employed in an age when hand-labour derived little help from the tools and machines of modern days. They were the serfs, the born thralls, the bondsmen of one manor, chained by law to the one spot from the cradle to the grave. The chroniclers of the time notice their condition as little as that of the cattle which these people tended. We have already noticed their passage, by slow degrees, into the state of free labourers. Upon one of the farms of the Bishop's manor of Ross was a bailiff named Robert Crul. His parents were mere serfs, but he had, by his industry, thrift, and intelligence, acquired property which he was allowed to accumulate whilst he worked for his lord. That property he held only upon sufferance. He was in a position superior to that of the ordinary villeins. Of their oppression in many ways we learn from a "Song of the Husbandman" of the time. The singer complains of the persecutions of the *hay-ward*, the *wood-ward*, and the bailiff. The beadle, he tells us, comes for a tax, and says, "Prepare me silver for the green wax." To get silver for the king, he had to sell his seed, and his cattle were taken from the field. In 1302, by a solemn deed, Robert Crul was manumitted by the Bishop, and "Robert Crul, of Hamme, and Matilda his wife, with all his offspring, together with all his goods holden and to be holden," was rendered "for ever free and quit from all yoke of servitude." He bought his freedom for forty marks, or £26, 13s. 4d., a sum equivalent to over £500 now. This manumission of a virtual slave in the thirteenth century was destined to ameliorate the lot of the wretched in the eighteenth. Robert Crul, the *churl* of Hamme, the bailiff of good Bishop Swinfield of Hereford, was the ancestor of John Kyrle, an English gentleman who possessed an estate of £500 a year at Ross,

where he died in 1724, after a life devoted to good works, at the age of ninety. This is the man immortalised by Pope, in the *Moral Essays*, by the splendid eulogy on the *Man of Ross*, who, at his own charges, and by the contributions of others who were stirred by his zealous exertions, "hung with woods" the "mountain's sultry brow;" "whose Causeway parts the vale with shady rows, Whose seats the weary traveller repose." The power of good to propagate itself has rarely been more nobly shown than in the work of the admirable body called, after his illustrious name, the *Kyrle Society*, which devotes itself to the provision of gardens for the wholesome recreation of the toilers in the Victorian age of London.

The tenants who leased lands were subject to many exactions. The feudal lord's bull and boar were free, under the conditions of the tenures, to range at night through their standing corn and grass, and the tenant's sheep had always to be folded on the lord's land, for a reason easy to conjecture. We learn something of the condition of farmers and cottier tenants from a survey of the village of Hawsted, in Suffolk, in 1288. The place contained fifty houses. Small allotments were given at a nominal rent, or were held without rent, in return for labour done for the lord, and the labourers were fed besides, chiefly upon porridge. At Hawsted, there were seven farmers, holding amongst them nine hundred and sixty-eight acres of arable land, which, with a little meadow, averaged a hundred and forty acres; thirty-six small cultivators held an average of eleven acres. The method of tillage must have been rude, when the highest rent was sevenpence (now about twelve shillings) an acre, and some land was let at a farthing, or five-pence, an acre.

The city of London, in the middle of the thirteenth century, was a great commercial port, carrying on trade with the French ports in the Channel, with Germany and Flanders, and with some parts of Italy. The merchants of *Almaine* (*Allemagne*, Germany), as they are called in the charter of the 44th year of Henry III., had their hall in London, afterwards known as "The Steelyard." This "factory," in the sense of a goods-depôt in a foreign country, under the charge of factors or agents, belonged to the Hanse traders, hence known as "the Merchants of the Steelyard." It was on the bank of the Thames, a little above London Bridge. The *Hansa*, or Hanseatic League, was the great commercial organisation of that age. It was a confederacy formed between many trading towns for mutual protection, and the furtherance of their common interests, when commerce was greatly exposed to piracy on sea, robbery on land, and illegal exactions from king and baron. In the middle of the thirteenth century, Hamburg and Lübeck first formed such an alliance. During its best period, the *Hansa* embraced ninety towns, inland and on the coast, spread over Germany and the Netherlands, from Revel to Amsterdam, and from Cologne to Cracow. The chief town in the League was Lübeck, and

The farmers and the land.

Trade of the period.

the principal centres for trade were at Novgorod, Bergen, London, and Bruges. The Hanse merchants in England were, to a large extent, exempted from duties on exports, and so acquired a monopoly of some articles in foreign markets. In London, they were large importers of grain, flax and hemp, pitch, and steel. In 1241, we find that tin was imported from Germany at a lower rate than it was obtained from Cornwall. The merchants of London grew very rich, and in 1248, when they bought Henry III.'s jewels, the king declared that "if the treasure of Augustus were for sale, these ill-bred Londoners would suck it all up. They possess a surfeit of riches. That city is an inexhaustible well." It was one into which, at times, he dipped his bucket deeply, in this and that exaction. Southampton was the great port for the wine of Bordeaux, though Bristol, as we have seen, stocked the cellars of the Bishop of Hereford. The silks of Italy, the muslins and spices of India, the refined sugars of Alexandria, found their way to London and Southampton chiefly through the Netherlands. The Italians had become the great mercantile capitalists of England, after the expulsion of the Jews in 1290, and conducted the banking transactions with foreign countries, by making arrangements for remittances. They were also money-lenders in England, and we see Jacob de Brabason, of Sienna, in Central Italy, coming to the manor-house of Bosbury, with two grooms and a page, to transact a little business with our good Bishop de Swinfield.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIGHT FOR SCOTTISH INDEPENDENCE.

Edward II.'s weak character. Royal favourites. The barons rebel. The king in Scotland. Bruce and Bannockburn. The Despensers in power. Queen Isabella and Mortimer depose Edward. His terrible death. Parliament. The Knights Templars dissolved.

EDWARD II. was proclaimed king at Carlisle on July 8, 1307, being then twenty-three years of age. The new monarch was by no means devoid of mental ability, but in moral power and worth he stands in pitiful contrast to his illustrious sire. He had lost his excellent mother, Eleanor of Castile, when he was but seven years old, and, in the excesses of his youth, the son appeared to have wholly forgotten her whose memory was so tenderly cherished by her husband. The young Edward became at an early age, and remained during his reign, the victim of favourites, who aroused against the throne the wrath of the barons whom his father had not been able to bend to his haughty will. The son's purpose, as it seems, was to wrest the government from the hands into which it had mainly

Edward II. 1307-1327. His character and policy.

fallen since the close of Henry III.'s reign, and to supersede the nobles and prelates, who largely represented the nation, by men of a lower class, who should take their orders from him and be subservient to the interests and the will of their sovereign. Edward II. had, in some degree, a kindly nature, but his character was weak, impulsive, and passionate, and wholly unfitted to contend with the men who were the people's natural leaders, and the difficult times in which his lot was cast. The barons of England and Bruce of Scotland would have taxed between them the mental and moral resources of the Conqueror himself, and, in presence of foes so formidable, a man like Edward of Caernarvon could only come to an ignominious end as a ruler. He was most unhappy in taking to wife such a woman as the Princess Isabel or Isabella, branded by the poet as the "she-wolf of France." We know not what provocations this wicked woman may have received from the "mangled mate" whom she first assailed as a rebel, and then, at least by connivance, did to death as a murderess. Under the year 1300, the chronicler states that Edward I., "for complaint that was brought unto him by Master Walter Langton, Bishop of Chester, of Sir Edward, the king's eldest son, for that he, with Piers of Gaveston and other insolent persons, had broken the park of the said bishop, and riotously destroyed the game within it, therefore imprisoned the said Sir Edward, his son, with his accomplices." This "Piers of Gaveston" was the evil spirit, not only of the prince of sixteen years, but of the man and king. When the young Edward was in his twenty-first year, his conduct towards the same Bishop of Chester caused the king to forbid him entering the palace, and to issue an order to the Exchequer that sustenance should be denied to him and his followers. A penitential letter from the Prince followed. He had been before this better engaged, having the courage of his race, in fighting his father's Scottish foes in 1301 and 1303. In 1306, his cruel devastation in Scotland brought him a rebuke from the king, and his wicked companion soon led him into further trouble. In a Parliament held at Lanercost in February 1307, an order was issued that Piers Gaveston should be banished for ever from the kingdom, as a corruptor of the Prince of Wales. Five months later, the Prince of Wales became king, and at once revoked the sentence of his sagacious father.

Edward II. did not seriously attempt to execute the late king's dying injunctions. Some Scottish nobles rendered homage at Dumfries, and Edward marched northwards as far as Cumnock, in Ayrshire. He then returned to London, accompanied by Gaveston, who had hastened over from France, and joined him in Scotland. Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was left there as guardian and lieutenant. The new minister's presence and influence were soon felt in England. Before Christmas came, the chief officials of the crown were changed: the favourite was loaded

Opening
of the
reign.

with wealth and honours, married to Margaret, the king's niece, and appointed regent of the kingdom on Edward's departure for France, to fetch home his bride Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. The marriage took place at Boulogne, and on February 24, 1308, the coronation came at Westminster. At the very inauguration of the new monarch, the barons of the realm were insulted. All the old claims to precedence at the coronation of English kings were disregarded, and the place of greatest honour—to carry the crown and walk before the king in procession—was given to Gaveston, now created Earl of Cornwall.

This Piers de Gaveston was a Gascon of many chivalric accomplish-
Gaveston ments. At the tournament he overcame his opponents with
and the the ease afforded by strength and skill. In Ireland and in
barons Scotland he gave signs of courage and ability as a ruler and
1308-1312. commander. Amidst his prodigal splendour of life, he showed taste in dress and equipage; but he had all the gay and audacious insolence of his race, and it was his reckless tongue that brought him to ruin. Within three days after the coronation, the jealous nobles had petitioned for the favourite's banishment, and the king sought delay in referring the matter to a Parliament to be held after Easter. Gaveston was then banished, and compelled to swear that he would never return. He was appointed by the king, in order to break his fall, to the government of Ireland. A few months later, in 1309, Edward persuaded a party of the nobles to consent to his recall, and the Pope dispensed Gaveston from his oath. Then the court became a scene of revelry, and Gaveston ruled with more power and insolence than ever. The barons had now a leader in Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, who was the king's cousin, as being son of Edmund, second son of Henry III. This great noble held also the three earldoms of Derby, Leicester, and Lincoln. On him the foreign upstart bestowed the nickname of "the old hog." The Earl of Pembroke was "Joseph the Jew," and the Earl of Warwick was styled "the black dog of the wood." We can better now understand the hatred that must have been aroused, than we can see the point or wit of such appellations. In March 1310, the barons came in arms to a Parliament at Westminster. They then and there forced the king to appoint a governing Committee, under the name of *Lords Ordainers*, to provide for the better regulation of the king's household, and to remedy the grievances of the nation. Their moving principle in this strong measure was, beyond doubt, a hatred of Gaveston. Edward went off to Scotland, wintered in Berwick, and returned to London, leaving Gaveston in command. The twenty-one *Ordainers*, in October 1311, presented to the king their articles of reform. These required that all grants made since the previous year, and all future grants, without the consent of the barons, should be invalid: that *purveyance*, except what was ancient and lawful, should be punished as robbery: that the great officers of the crown should be

chosen by the advice and assent of the baronage: and that Parliaments should be held once in each year, or oftener, if needful. Then came a clause decreeing the banishment of Gaveston, for giving bad advice to the king, embezzling the public money, obtaining blank charters with the royal seal affixed to them, and estranging the king's affections from his subjects. The attitude of the barons was not to be mistaken, and their power not to be resisted. The protests of the king about "the just rights of the crown" only ended in Gaveston's exile to Flanders. In January 1312, the favourite was again in England, and Edward issued a proclamation, declaring that the exiled man was a true and loyal subject, and had returned in obedience to the royal command. The barons at once took up arms, and marched on York, where the king had been joined by Gaveston. Onward they followed their sovereign's flight to Newcastle, and thence back to Scarborough, which Edward had reached with Gaveston, by sea, from Tynemouth. The Earls of Surrey and Pembroke besieged the castle, and Gaveston surrendered, under a pledge of safety, which had been given on his behalf to the king. He was then taken by the Earl of Pembroke to Dedington in Oxfordshire, and the next morning found himself face to face with "the black dog," his enraged foe, the Earl of Warwick. He was placed on a mule, and conveyed to Warwick Castle a prisoner. As he entered the walls of Guy's lofty tower, he came in presence of the haughty barons whom he had insulted and despised. His skill as a knight at the tourney, his splendid apparel, his jewelled rings, his titles, his reliance on the power of a king—all became worthless in this terrible hour. His enemies sent him to death, and at a little knoll, near Guy's Cliff, called Blacklow Hill, with the Avon gliding in peace beneath, Piers de Gaveston, in defiance of honour, but in grim and just warning to foreign favourites who trust to kings and break the laws, had his head struck from his body. The vengeful and triumphant nobles afterwards made a mock submission to the king at Westminster, and Edward sought redress in constant efforts to avoid, year after year, the execution of the terms imposed on him by the *Ordainers*.

Robert Bruce was a man who was taught wisdom and moderation in the school of danger and suffering. In his earlier struggles for recognition as king, and for the independence of Scotland, he had been at times a fugitive, hunted by bloodhounds, and wading in swift streams to elude their deadly scent; defying his enemies single-handed in mountain-pass and at river-ford. In 1309 he was recognised as king by the clergy at a general council held at Dundee. This had a great effect on the nobles, and the powerful Douglas, the "Good Lord James" of Scottish story, heartily took up his cause. The family of Douglas has a famous name in Scottish history. Of unknown origin, they were already great nobles when the elder Bruce and Baliol were competitors for the crown. Their Scottish estates lay upon the borders, and thus they became guardians

Scottish
affairs,
1307-1323.

of the kingdom against the encroachments of the English, especially of their great border rivals, the Percies of Northumberland. The James Douglas of this period was son of a William Douglas who had been in the field with Wallace, and an inherited patriotism made him one of the chief supporters of the great Bruce throughout his career. The troubles which had arisen between Edward II. and his barons were the turn of the tide for Scotland. A truce made in 1309 ended in August 1310, and border-warfare began. Then Bruce took the field in earnest, and fortress after fortress fell. Randolph recovered Edinburgh. Douglas retook Roxburgh and his own castle of Douglas. Bruce seized Perth and Aberdeen, and Dundee, Dumfries, and other places fell into the hands of the Scots. In 1312, Bruce crossed the Tweed with a large force, burnt Hexham and part of Durham city, and made his way even to Chester. Counter-raids were made by the English, and the lands on both sides of the border became a desert. At last a crisis came which roused the attention of England. A show of reconciliation between Edward and the barons had taken place at a Parliament in October 1313. The Scottish forces were besieging the great fortress of Stirling, the last of the castles to remain in English possession. It was the key of the country, and Edward Bruce, the king's brother, was in command of the assailants. The English governor, Mowbray, made an arrangement by which the place was to be surrendered, if not relieved before June 24, 1314. The Scottish king was displeased, but for the sake of his brother's honour agreed to abide by the bargain. A direct challenge was thus given to English pride, and it was promptly taken up.

Edward summoned the military tenants of the crown to meet him at Berwick on June 11th, and levies of foot were made in the northern counties and in Wales. On June 16th, only eight days before the time fixed for the surrender of Stirling, the English king marched from Berwick at the head of a hundred thousand men. The main strength of the host lay in its thirty thousand horsemen. There was a vast train of provision-waggons, and of carriages and horses laden with tents, pavilions, and the splendid equipments of a royal court. The English army reached Edinburgh on June 21st, and Bruce took up a strong position to cover Stirling. His left rested upon high ground above St. Ninians, and his right on the stream destined to endless fame as Bannock Burn. A morass partly defended his centre, and his army, composed of thirty thousand men, nearly all on foot, could only be approached on a narrow front, a fact which tended greatly to equalise the contending forces. On the left of the Scottish army there was a level tract over which the English horse might pass to the gate of Stirling Castle. On this ground Bruce caused pits to be dug, in which were inserted pointed stakes, lightly covered with turf and rushes. All that skill and labour could do to ensure success was accomplished, and the Scottish hero and his men

calmly awaited their enemy's approach. On the eve of June 23rd, their great host was seen advancing in magnificent array. Countless flags flew in the breeze, and the burnished steel armour of the many thousands of horsemen glittered in the rays of the sinking sun. An attempt of the English advanced guard to steal past to Stirling was foiled by Bruce's nephew, Randolph, who repulsed all their charges with a small body of spearmen. The feat of Bruce himself in slaying the English knight Henry de Bohun further raised the spirits of the Scots. At daybreak on June 24th, both armies prepared for battle. When the English van was within bowshot, the Abbot of Inchaffray, barefooted, and with crucifix held aloft, walked slowly down the Scottish line, while the men knelt a few moments in prayer. "See," cried the English king, "they beg for mercy." "They do," replied Umfraville, a Scottish baron in Edward's army, "but it is from God, and not from you." The charge was sounded, and the Scottish squares of spearmen received, as at Falkirk under Wallace, the attacks of the English horse. But the issue was now different. The English archers, whose fire at first was very severe, were scattered by Bruce's small body of horse, kept in hand for the purpose, and then all the desperate efforts of the mailed knights could make no impression on the squares. The Earl of Gloucester, Edward's nephew, fell. The ranks of the English became confused. The Scots moved slowly forward, still keeping their firm array. At this moment the wavering English caught sight of what they thought to be a fresh army in the Scottish rear. On a hill since called the *Gillies' Hill*, from the camp-followers or servants, who had been stationed behind it, appeared a motley host of thousands of men, armed with pikes and ox-goads, with rude pieces of cloth fixed on tent-poles in place of heraldic banners. They were but coming to cheer on their countrymen, but they really made an end of the fight. The English were struck with dismay, and Bruce, with the eye of a skilful warrior, ordered a general charge. A panic set in, and the battle was won. The English king refused to flee, but the Earl of Pembroke seized his bridle rein, and hurried him from the field. He fled with a party of horse to Dunbar, and there took ship for England. About four thousand Scots had fallen, and more than double that number of English. The spoil which the victors took was enormous. There were herds of cattle, droves of sheep and hogs, loads of corn with portable mills, and casks of wine. Thousands of suits of costly armour, military engines, money, vessels, and rich apparel, captives of rank to hold to heavy ransom, were taken on the field and in the camp of the vanquished. The total booty may have been worth three millions sterling, a noble prize for so poor a country as the Scotland of that age. The most honourable reward of that great day was the fortress of Stirling, which Mowbray, true to his word, delivered up on the day after the battle. In exchange for some of his English captives, the victorious king of Scots recovered at last his wife, daughter, and

sisters, with the Bishop of Glasgow and the Earl of Mar. Thus complete was the victory that made Scotland a nation; thus splendid was the achievement that won undying fame for the "Bruce of Bannockburn."

This victory so roused the Scots, that, in 1315, Edward Bruce landed at Carrickfergus, with intent to drive the English from Ireland, in concert with the native chiefs. The Welsh rose against England, and formed an alliance with him. The enterprise ended in failure. After reigning for a time in Ulster, Edward Bruce was defeated and slain in 1318, in a battle near Dundalk. Robert Bruce captured Berwick in the same year, and held it in 1319 against English efforts by land and sea. The northern counties of England, including Yorkshire, were ravaged by Scottish forays, and great booty was taken of gold and plate, of furniture and church ornaments. Edward's new invasion of Scotland with a great army in 1322 failed from famine, as Bruce retired through the purposely wasted Lowlands, and on May 30, 1323, a truce between the two states was concluded for thirteen years.

For some years after Gaveston's fall in 1312, the country was in a terrible condition. There was constant feud between the king and the barons as to the observance of the *Ordinances*, and the realm was cursed by virtual anarchy. A succession of bad harvests, and murrain amongst the cattle, brought famine on the wretched people. The nobles drove from their castles the hungry retainers for whom they could find no food, and the land swarmed with robbers. The Scots ravaged in the north, and the people, for the time, lost all heart to resist. The result of Bannockburn greatly shook Edward's position at home, and Lancaster, in a Parliament held at York in September 1314, forced him to dismiss from the Council several of his advisers, and to replace them by friends of his own. One of the men removed was Hugh le Despenser the elder, a man of ability, experience, and high character, and the conduct of the powerful Earl in this instance shows that he was unfitted for the position which he held. In 1316, Lancaster became president of the Council, a post of almost absolute power, which he still failed to use wisely. The capture of Berwick by Bruce in 1318 was another humiliation for Edward, who was now compelled to recognise the *Ordinances*, and give an amnesty to all his opponents among the barons. Then the weak king took a new favourite in Hugh le Despenser the son, who became his chamberlain in 1318. Edward soon roused the jealous anger of the barons by his lavish bounties to this second Gaveston. He gave him to wife the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, who had fallen at Bannockburn, and the young Despenser thus became owner of most of Glamorganshire. His wealth in cattle and other possessions, as recited in a parliamentary document, was enormous. He soon became embroiled with his neighbours, the lords

Internal
affairs,
1312-1322.
The Des-
pensers.

of the "marches," who attacked his castles and harried his lands. A league was formed against the Despensers, of whom the elder, though deprived of office, was the possessor of wealth far beyond that of his son. The barons demanded their banishment, which Edward indignantly refused. They then marched in arms to London, and in 1321 the Parliament there passed a statute of exile against both the Despensers, on a number of charges as to their evil influence over the king. In a few months a reaction came. The feeling of the people was roused in favour of their helpless sovereign, and Edward took up arms in October. An insult had been offered to Queen Isabella, in the closing against her of the gates at Leeds Castle, in Kent. The castle was taken by the king, and he then marched for Wales to attack his enemies there. Lancaster and the Earl of Hereford fled to the north. The king followed, and in a Parliament held at York in the spring of 1322, the exile of the Despensers was annulled, and they both returned to England. Lancaster, long suspected of traitorous correspondence with the Scots, had lately declared himself their ally, and this foolish act put him outside the pale of public sympathy. At Boroughbridge, near Ripon, his diminished forces were defeated by the governors of Carlisle and York. The Earl of Hereford was killed, and Lancaster went a prisoner to his own castle of Pontefract, at the gates of which he had stood in 1319, and jeered Edward as he passed by on his return from the failure to recover Berwick. The king now made a speedy end of his rebellious kinsman. Lancaster was condemned as a traitor, taken out of his own hall, placed on a grey pony without a bridle, and beheaded outside the town of Pontefract. Eighteen other confederate barons suffered death in the hour of Edward's brief triumph. A Parliament at York then revoked all the *Ordinances*, and repealed "all provisions made by subjects against the royal power of the ancestors of our lord the king." This seems to be aimed at the liberties won by the charters, and to undo the work of previous ages, but another part of the same enactment tends to prove that the legislative power lately assumed by the baronage alone, apart from the commons, was attacked, and that it was now laid down that a part of the king's subjects were not to take upon themselves to dictate their will to the sovereign.

The unfortunate Edward was now to meet with his bitterest foe in his own household. One of the chief supporters of Thomas of Lancaster had been Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, in Herefordshire. He was spared the last penalty of treason, and confined in the Tower of London. In 1323, he escaped, and proceeded to France. In Paris he met the English queen Isabella, who had gone thither to settle some differences concerning Guienne between her husband Edward and her brother Charles IV. of France. Mortimer was a married man, as graceful and charming in person and demeanour as he was hateful in moral character. These attractions

Fall of
Edward
II., 1323-
1327.

proved irresistible, and he became the queen's avowed lover. In May 1325, Isabella made her treaty with the king of France. It was to the effect that Edward should transfer his foreign possessions of Gascony and Ponthieu to his son Edward, now thirteen years of age, and that the young prince should forthwith go to Paris, and do homage for them to the feudal lord, Charles IV. Edward suspected nothing, and sent over his son. Isabella and Mortimer, filled with a common hatred of the Despensers, had met in France with many exiled members of the Lancastrian party. A league against Edward was formed, and a correspondence maintained with those of the same views in England. The king requested the return of his wife and son in several letters still existing. The queen gained favour in England by an open statement that she would never return till the Despensers were banished from the king's councils. Her brother, Charles IV., invaded Gascony. Isabella had been sent from France, at the instance of the Pope, and took refuge with the Count of Hainault, to whose daughter, Philippa, the young Edward was soon betrothed. The Count's help supplied her with an armed force, and on September 24, 1326, she landed at Orwell, in Suffolk, with two thousand men. Many Lancastrian nobles were in her train, and powerful barons and prelates, including the king's half-brothers, the Earls of Kent and Norfolk, joined her on her arrival. A proclamation was issued, stating that the queen, the Prince, and the Earl of Kent were going to free the nation from the tyranny of the Despensers. Edward in vain applied for help to the citizens of London, and then fled to the west with his two friends. The elder Despenser was taken and executed in October. Edward tried to reach the fortified Isle of Lundy, but was driven by a storm to the Welsh coast at Swansea. The younger Despenser was captured and hanged as a traitor at Hereford, and the king was put in prison at Kenilworth Castle. On January 17, 1327, a Parliament met at Westminster. The young Edward was declared king, and a deputation was sent to Kenilworth to demand his father's assent to his own deprivation of royal power. The hapless monarch received from Sir William Trussel, the *procurator* or proctor of the nobles assembled at Westminster, their renunciation of allegiance, and then Sir Thomas Blount, the steward of the household, broke his staff of office, a ceremony always observed at a king's death. On January 24th, the accession of the new king was proclaimed with the title of Edward III., and the coronation followed on the 29th.

It might have been supposed that a king, deposed and utterly helpless, would be allowed at least to live in peace and **Murder of Edward II.** obscurity. It is certain that some dark mystery lies below the violence and cruelty shown in the treatment of Edward II. So far as we know, he had not wronged his wife or son: he had simply been a weak and incapable king, a chooser of advisers not always evil, as the favour shown to the elder Despenser proves. He

had been lavish of money, and unfortunate in war. Yet in the hour of his fall, he has not a single friend or supporter. The atrocious and indescribable cruelty used in his murder at Berkeley Castle in September 1327, marks the crime as the most odious infamy perpetrated in all our history. The villainous Mortimer confessed, afterwards, at the point of death, that he had ordered its commission, and stated that Thomas Gournay and William Ogle were the doers. The "shrieks of an agonising king" seem yet to ring through the ages, arousing ceaseless wonder as to what evil in a crowned and anointed monarch could have provoked so terrible a doom.

In the course of the fourteenth century, there was a marked growth in the power and importance of Parliament. During the first fifty years of the life of the institution, since the days of De Montfort, it became settled that solemn acts of change in the method of rule must be done by this body, and also that Parliament alone could legally enforce the payment of any tax. Under Edward II., we find the Commons voting taxes only on condition of the redress by the king of grievances which they brought before him. The action of the barons throughout the reign shows, however, that they held the proper sphere of the Commons to be confined to asking for redress and ordering payment of taxes to the king by the class which they represented. High matters of state, such as the making of peace and war, and important changes in the government, such as the passing of the *Ordinances*, were regarded as belonging only to the nobles of the land.

It was during this period of violent change that the great military order of the Templars was dissolved, after holding high authority and influence in Europe for nearly two hundred years. In 1307, Philip IV. of France, desirous of acquiring for himself the great wealth of the Order, seized the palace of the Temple in Paris, and threw into prison the Grand Master and all the Knights. The total ruin of the body, so famous for their deeds of arms, and so obnoxious for their luxury and pride, was soon completed throughout Europe, under sanction of the Pope. In France, the utmost cruelty was used, and the Grand Master, with many Knights, perished at the stake. In England, a milder course was adopted. In 1308, by sealed directions sent to all the sheriffs in England and Ireland, about 250 Knights were arrested, and all their property was seized. Before a tribunal of prelates and Papal agents, many of the Knights boldly maintained their innocence. The use of torture was urged upon the king in a letter from the Pope, but the honour of the country was saved by the Archbishop of York declaring that torture was unknown in England, and that there was no machine for such a purpose to be found in the kingdom. The Knights were kept in prison, and in 1324 a statute was passed reciting that, the Order of the Templars having been dissolved, their lands and tenements had been taken into the

Parliament
under
Edward
II.

Dissolution of
the
Knights-
Templars,
1324.

hands of the king and of divers other feudal lords; but that now, as the Order of the Brethren of St. John of Jerusalem is instituted and canonised for the defence of Christians, the lands and all appurtenances of the Templars should go to that Order, to be employed, as the Templars should have employed them, in relieving the poor, in hospitalities, in celebrating divine service, and in defence of the Holy Land. The Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, had a great priory in Clerkenwell, where they maintained as much state as the Templars had done on the banks of the Thames. They held their wealth in England till the suppression of the Order by Henry VIII. In the reign of Edward III. the students of the law took possession of the great house of the Templars in London, and their preceptories in the rural districts fell into decay, or became the homesteads and barns of the descendants of the Saxon villeins whom the proud Norman knights had oppressed and despised.

CHAPTER III.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR BEGINS.

Scotland left independent. Edward III. assumes power. The new king's character. The war with France. Crécy, the Black Prince, Poitiers. Home-affairs. The *Black Death*. Legislation. Treaty of Bretigny. Loss of French territory. Death of Black Prince. Parliament and John of Gaunt. Parliament under Edward III.

ON the deposition of Edward II., Parliament named a council of regency, and Henry, Earl of Lancaster, was made guardian and protector of the young king's person. Edward was now but fourteen years of age, and the rule of the country was really in the hands of Mortimer and Isabella. The success with which they wielded the power so wickedly acquired was not such as to win the admiration of the people. The first trouble that arose came from the side of Scotland. The truce for thirteen years, concluded in 1323, had come to a legal end in the deposition of Edward II., and war soon began. A Scottish army under Douglas and Randolph crossed the borders and ravaged Cumberland. The young king went against them with a great host of English knights and archers, aided by foreign troops from Hainault, but the result was utter failure. Edward was all but captured in a daring night-attack made upon his camp by Douglas, and the Scots then slipped away in safety to their country. This was the king's first lesson in warfare. He was out-generalled by a foe of far smaller numbers, and it is recorded that he wept at his discomfiture. The days were coming when he should wage war, with a far different issue, against other foes than the Scots. King Robert Bruce was now to receive the reward of his long and heroic struggle for the independence of his country. In a Parliament held at

Edward III. 1327-1377.
Early years of reign, 1327-1330.

York in January 1328, a treaty was prepared in which the English king declared for himself and his heirs that the kingdom of Scotland should remain "to the great prince Lord Robert, by the grace of God illustrious king of Scotland, and that Scotland shall be separated from the kingdom of England, and from all claims of subjection or vassalage." The treaty was concluded at Edinburgh in March, and ratified by the English Parliament at Northampton in April, being thus known as the *Treaty of Northampton*.

Bruce did not long survive this grand success. He died at Cardross, near Dumbarton, in June 1329, and was buried in the Abbey of Dunfermline. In pursuance of his vow to bear arms ^{Death of Bruce.} against the infidels, he had charged Lord James Douglas to carry his heart to Jerusalem and bury it there. The heart was placed in a silver casket, but Douglas was killed in 1330, fighting in Spain against the Moors of Granada. As he saw himself surrounded, he flung the casket before him, with the cry, "Onward as thou wert wont, noble heart! Douglas will follow thee!" The heart of the great king was recovered near the body of his faithful friend, and placed in the church of Melrose Abbey. Bruce was succeeded by his young son, David, a boy of five, crowned at Scone in 1331 as David II.

In 1328, the young King Edward was married to Philippa of Hainault. The treaty with Scotland had severely wounded English pride, and Mortimer's power began to decline. By a ^{Fall of Mortimer, 1330.} base deception, the upstart brought to the scaffold the young Earl of Kent, and the Earl of Lancaster, the nominal head of the regency, became alarmed for his own safety. Mortimer had been created Earl of March in 1328, and his pride and unscrupulous conduct had aroused universal fear and hatred. The young king, in 1330, determined to act for himself. He was in his eighteenth year, and had lately become a father by the birth of the boy who was to be hereafter the renowned "Black Prince." A Parliament was to be held at Nottingham, and Queen Isabella took up her residence in the castle with Edward and Mortimer. The place was filled with guards, and the keys of its gates were taken every night to the chamber of Isabella. But there was a subterraneous passage, leading from the west side of the sandstone-rock on which the castle stood, the entrance to which from the road is still known as "Mortimer's Hole." Edward had gained to his interest the governor, Sir William Eland, and on October 10, 1330, a force of soldiers was introduced at midnight, who made their way to Mortimer's room, slew the knights who defended the entrance, forced the door, and carried off their victim, amidst Isabella's shrieks of "Spare my gentle Mortimer!" On the next morning, Edward issued a proclamation, declaring that for the future he would himself govern his people by right and reason, as became his own dignity, and with the advice of the common council of the realm. In November, Mortimer was condemned as a traitor in a Parliament at Westminster,

and hanged on a gibbet at Tyburn, in a district near London, on the great western road, now covered with the abodes of the affluent, after being for a long period the scene of execution for common felons. The ex-queen passed the rest of her life, until 1357, in strict confinement at her manor of Rising, near King's Lynn. Once or twice a year the king paid her a formal visit, and then rode away, leaving her to the memories of the past.

The famous king who now comes fully before the view was a man of great ambition and energy, with a large capacity for civil affairs, and skill and courage in war. His rule over nobles and people was, in the main, firm, vigorous, and successful. He had the chivalrous virtues of munificence and courtesy, and won, in his best days, the love and esteem of barons and commons. His long reign was, on the whole, glorious for triumphs of the English arms, for constitutional progress, for the advancement of trade, and for the assertion of English rights against the Papal power. If it closed in outward disaster and gloom, it did not the less leave behind it enduring and beneficent results. The great English nation was now formed, and was about to show its strength and prowess on Continental fields. The islanders whom Norman knights and barons had once regarded with disdain were to cross the sea, and, with their cloth-yard shafts from bows of native yew, effect for a time the conquest of France. The great contest known as the "Hundred Years' War" was to begin; and though, happily for England, it closed with our expulsion from the soil that we had coveted, the struggle taught the yeomen and peasants their strength and value, and the power of their own right arms to resist the aggression and to curb the spirit of baron and of king. Physical force must ever be the last hidden resource of all moral restraint, and the liberties of England would have perished all untimely, if her sons had not, upon the soil of Picardy, and on the western plains of France, proved that, against amazing odds, they still could fight and win. The triumphs of the age were not limited to those won upon the field of battle. It was in the reign of the third Edward that our Parliament assumed its present form, and established, in the main, its present rights. Then, too, our noble language finally asserted its claims with success, and won its way to general use throughout the nation. The nobles laid aside the use of French, and, early in the next reign, all the grammar-schools were teaching English to the young learners. In 1362, the native tongue was ordered for use in the law-courts, from sheer general ignorance of the Norman-French hitherto employed in the proceedings. The language of the people, enriched from French and Latin sources, became the copious and forcible medium for the expression of thought which was about to give instruction and delight in the prose of John Wycliffe and the poetry of Geoffrey Chaucer. In this reign, too, the towns and trade of the country displayed the vigorous life and rapid

growth which belong to an age of extended freedom and of new ideas. In turning towards the picturesque side of the period, we find that chivalry, before its coming decline, puts on its most attractive features of courtesy and courage, the knightly qualities set forth in colours so seductive by the great chronicler of chivalry, Sir John Froissart. The reign of Edward III. was the golden age of that romantic display, beneath the surface of which so many evil things lie lurking for the inspection of the close observer. Of all these things the chronicler says nought. Froissart delights in setting forth the peaceful graces of the life of king and noble; the minstrelsy and tales of glee; the dances and the carols. He goes forth to the chase with hawk and hounds. He sees the fairest maiden bestow the silken scarf upon the victor in the tourney. He hears without a shudder the herald's cries of "The love of ladies," "Glory won by blood." He does not see the bleeding horse, the gasping knight. There are death-wounds in the meetings of the *mêlée*, but the wine is sparkling, and the harp is sounding, in the lighted hall. Thus, too, does he describe the course of warfare—the charge of horse, the unbroken ranks of foot, the fatal volleys of the archers, the solemn confession before battle, the elation of heart at the cry of "Banners advance!" the knighting on the field. The horrors are passed over in a few brief sentences, made grim by the emphatic words, "burnt"—"robbed"—"wasted"—"pillaged"—"slain"—"beheaded." Such as it was, the age of chivalry shows at its best not long before its brightness paled, like stars before the sun, in the dawn of higher and better things.

One of the first cares of Edward, on assuming the regal authority, was to reduce the land to a state of peace and order. Robbery and murder were rife, and bands of evil-doers were maintained by the nobles for employment in their mutual feuds. Bodies of troops were set to work under the king's own personal direction, and a vigorous use was made of the office of the hangman. He then found his attention called to the affairs of Scotland. The Regent Randolph, who had ruled with vigour and prudence since the death of Bruce in 1329, died in 1332, and was succeeded in his office by the Earl of Mar. Trouble then arose through the action of Edward Baliol, son of the former king of that name. He came over from France to the English court, and was well received by Edward. Great discontent prevailed among the Scottish nobles, many of whom had not received back, in accordance with the Treaty of Northampton, the estates which they had held in England. The case of many English nobles, who had been possessors of lands in Scotland, was the same, and both parties hoped that a change of rule in Scotland would favour their desire to recover their lost possessions. Both parties therefore supported Edward Baliol's claim to the throne. Edward is believed to have secretly encouraged, though he openly forbade, the enterprise. In August 1332, Baliol sailed from the Humber with a small army, and

landed on the coast of Fife. His success was wonderful in its swiftness and completeness. A far larger Scottish force, under the Regent Mar, was routed at Dupplin, the Regent being among the slain. The young king, David Bruce, fled to France, and Baliol was crowned at Scone. In the very moment of success, he ruined his own cause with the people of Scotland by a renewal of the vassalage to England, and the formation of an alliance with Edward. The younger Randolph, who had succeeded Mar, made a sudden attack which drove Baliol in helpless flight to England. War then began between the two countries, and in the summer of 1333, the siege of Berwick by a great army under Edward brought on a crisis. A brave defence was made by the garrison, but the attack on the land side was pressed so hard that the governor promised to surrender unless he were relieved by July 20th. A Scottish force, which was coming to the rescue, attacked Edward on the 19th at *Halidon Hill*, a tract of rising ground to the north-west of the town. The result was for the Scots a severe defeat, in which the Regent, Lord Archibald Douglas, and many Scottish lords were killed. The issue was largely brought about by the terribly effective fire of the English archers on the Scots who advanced to the assault of the English position. The town of Berwick was surrendered the next day. Baliol then resumed the kingship as Edward's vassal, and ceded to him the possession of the south-eastern counties of Scotland, or the district known as the Lothians and Merse (the *March*). Many of the Scottish nobles still adhered to the cause of David Bruce, and the position of Baliol was very uneasy. When the English king became closely engaged with France, the support of his forces was, to a large extent, withdrawn from his Scottish feudatory, and in 1339 Baliol was glad to retire to England. Perth, Cupar, Stirling, and other fortresses were recovered by the Scots, and when Edinburgh fell into their hands in 1341, David returned from France, and was welcomed by all his subjects. This event was, in fact, the finally successful assertion of Scottish independence.

The friendship of France and Scotland, shown in the substantial aid given to King David against England, was the immediate cause of Edward III.'s conflict with his powerful neighbour and suzerain, Philip VI. Edward had already put forward a shadowy claim to the French crown, based upon his being the son of Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. The last of her three brothers who were kings of France, Charles IV., died in 1328, leaving no male issue. The English king claimed the throne on the ground that, though the Salic law excluded females, it did not preclude the claim of a male through a female. It seems that this point had never yet been determined, but, granting it to Edward, there was a claim prior to his—that of Charles, king of Navarre, descended from Philip IV., through a daughter of Philip's son, Louis X. The French throne had been taken by Philip of Valois, cousin of the deceased Charles IV.,

England and France, 1328-1349. Hundred Years' War begins.

and on two occasions, in 1329 and 1331, Edward had fully recognised his pretensions by doing homage to him for Guienne as Philip VI. of France. The English king was greatly irritated by the French help afforded to Scotland, an interference which had, as he conceived, mainly caused the loss of his prey when it was fully within his grasp. There was a vast difference in the apparent strength of the two combatants. The territory and population ruled by Philip far exceeded those of the English sovereign, and Edward sought to equalise matters by Continental alliances. In October 1337, he took the title of king of France, and openly prepared for invasion. Large sums of money were spent in buying up the help of petty German and other states on the northern and eastern borders of France, but they proved of little service, and Edward found, like other English rulers after him, that it was better to trust to his own subjects. In two respects, the position of Philip was inferior to that of Edward. The nobles of France did not form, like the barons of England, a strong collective body. The people of France were not, like the people of England, animated by the vigorous impulses of a rising spirit of freedom. There was one democratic country across the sea in which Edward might, as he hoped, find substantial help for his cause. We have seen how largely the wool of England was sent to Flanders for manufacture, and how bodies of Flemish weavers were brought over to settle in England, and teach their art to our people. This interchange of the good offices of commercial intercourse had been already largely extended by Edward, who settled many Flemish immigrants in the eastern counties, and derived a revenue of over thirty thousand pounds a year from the export duties on English wool. The people of Flanders, as democrats, were hostile in advance to the feudal nobles of France: the people of the towns, in particular, as weavers of wool, were largely dependent on England for their raw material. The burghers and trade-corporations of Ghent, Bruges, and other Flemish towns, were, as a body, the richest people in Europe, and their power and spirit were such as to enforce respectful treatment from the sovereign, count, and nobles of the land.

An invasion of France from the north by Edward in 1339 had failed from the supineness of the Emperor and other German allies, War be-
gins, 1339. and he now turned to his commercial friends. The great enemy of the liberties of the people of Flanders was the king of France. He had defeated the revolted burghers at Cassel in 1328, and the Flemings, now under their great leader, Jacob van Artevelde, were prepared for the strictest alliance with England. A treaty was concluded by Edward with them and the Duke of Brabant, and both sides prepared for war.

In 1340, Edward had gone over to England, leaving his queen, Philippa, at Ghent, when he was informed that Philip had gathered a great fleet in the harbour of Sluys, at the mouth of the Scheldt. He set sail from Orwell with a powerful armament, and when he arrived off Blankenberg, "he saw," as Froissart Battle of
Sluys,
June 1340.

tells us, "so great a number of ships, that their masts seemed to be like a great wood." The action which ensued was long and fierce. The first English success was the recapture of a large vessel, the *Christopher*, which had been taken in the previous year. The fighting was very close, and the English archers did terrible execution. After a contest of many hours, victory declared for Edward's men. Over two hundred French ships, or more than half the fleet, were taken, and the enemy lost many thousands of men. Edward then besieged Tournay with a great host, but want of money forced him to desist. A truce was made with Philip, and the war practically ended till 1344.

The murder of Van Artevelde in a popular rising at Ghent deprived Edward of his chief ally, and he prepared to renew the struggle with reliance mainly placed upon his English nobles, knights, peasants, and yeomen. One of his best captains, the famous Sir Walter Manny, had already done good service with Englishmen, in forcing the French to raise, in 1342, the siege of the castle of Hennebonne in Brittany, bravely defended by the Duchess, Jeanne de Montfort. Her husband was a prisoner in Paris, and the chronicler tells us of her being in extremity with her garrison, when she looked down from a window of the castle over the sea, and "smiling for great joy," cried, "I see the succours of England coming!" In 1346, Gascony was being threatened by a great French army, when Edward gathered a large fleet and land force at Southampton, with intent to sail to its relief. The winds detained him in harbour so long that he resolved to make for France at the nearest point, and cause a diversion by attacking the enemy from the north. On July 10, the English king landed near Cape la Hogue, in Normandy, with 30,000 men. His eldest son, Edward, Prince of Wales, now sixteen years of age, and the chief nobles of England, were there. The chief strength of the army lay in the four thousand mail-clad men at arms and the ten thousand archers. The rest were Welsh and Irish infantry. The mounted nobles of France were now to be put to the test, and a secret was to be revealed which few yet suspected—the real want of military power in the haughty world of feudalism. The town of Barfleur was surrendered and despoiled, and then, passing by the strong castle of Cherbourg, the English came to Carentan, where the fortress was taken by assault. The fleet sailed along shore, and received on board wealthy burgesses that were taken and held to ransom. Caen was taken with some loss from missiles hurled down by the townsfolk on the men marching through the streets, and the fleet was now sent home, laden with prisoners and plunder. Edward and his men were thus fully engaged in a hostile country, and there was nothing before them but victory, capture, or death. By Evreux and Louviers, with avoidance of castles and walled towns, the march for the Seine went on. The English king's object was to cross the river at Rouen and march on Calais, there to meet an army of Flemings. Philip, however, was before him at Rouen, and

Battle of
Crécy,
1346.

had broken the bridge of boats. Edward then went straight for Paris, and came, by the left bank, through Vernon and Mantes, to Poissy. His position was one of great peril. He was separated by two rivers, the Seine and the Somme, from his Flemish friends, and Philip was fronting him on the opposite bank. Some of the English made their way to St. Germain and Neuilly, while the rest repaired the bridge of Poissy. The Seine was then crossed by the army, and Philip took up a position at St. Denis. Edward then marched for the Somme, by way of Beauvais, and the French army hurried to Amiens. Their detachments on the right bank of the Somme were guarding every ford and breaking down every bridge, in pursuance of Philip's plan of shutting up the enemy in the nook between the Somme and the sea. At Pecquigny and Pont de Rémy, Edward's advance-guard was met and confronted by an overwhelming force, and they returned to report to him at Airaines that no passage could be found. The chronicler tells us that thereupon "the king of England was right pensive." From Airaines the invaders made in haste for Oisemont, while the scouts hurried on to Abbeville and St. Valery. At last a peasant was found who knew of a spot below Abbeville where the Somme, there tidal, could be forded at low water. The bottom was hard, with white stones, giving the place its name of "Blanchetaque." At sunrise on the morning of Friday, August 25th, the English, marching from Oisemont, reached the critical point, to find themselves confronted by twelve thousand men. A fight took place at the crossing of the ford, and some loss was caused by the Genoese crossbows, but the English archers cleared the way with their steady volleys, and that night our army encamped in the fields near Crécy. The French king, who had now 100,000 men in hand, had his head-quarters at Abbeville.

The village of Crécy has behind it ground gently rising into a broad ridge, and there Edward posted his men. The army was formed in three divisions, all on foot, with the horses and baggage-carts parked behind them in a wood defended by entrenchments. The flanks were also entrenched, and a ditch protected the front. The ground behind this was held by two divisions, the right commanded by the Prince of Wales, having with him the Earl of Warwick and the valiant Chandos: the left was commanded by the Earls of Northampton and Arundel. Above them were stationed the reserve, under the king's immediate command. Each brigade included men-at-arms and archers, but the force had been so reduced by the marching, fighting, and disease of seven weeks, that only about eight thousand archers and men-at-arms, with a few thousand of the Welsh and Irish foot, were left to face a host of seven times their number. The English king was at the famous windmill, on the highest point of the position. At nine o'clock on the morning of August 26th, our army, having broken their fast, lay down to await the foe. It was afternoon before they appeared, wearied by a march of fifteen miles, and some of Philip's advisers wished him to rest

for that day. This counsel was left unheeded, and the battle began with volleys from the crossbows of the Genoese. It was now five o'clock in the evening, and the sun shone brightly out, after a storm of thunder and rain, full in the eyes of the French, and on the backs of the English. A well-aimed volley from our bowmen routed the Genoese at once, and then the French cavalry came on. The flying shafts shot down men and horses, and the light-armed Welsh and Irish dashed in with their knives. The chivalry of France were not to be beaten by one or two repulses, and the battle raged fiercely. The Prince of Wales was hard pressed, but his father let him fight on, and "win his spurs." The incessant volleys of our archers caused a slaughter so dreadful that the French at last wavered and fell into disorder. The Count of Alençon, the king's brother, the Count of Flanders, and many other nobles had fallen; knights by hundreds and footmen by thousands lay on the field. Putting aside as doubtful the use of cannon by the English, and the story of the blind king of Bohemia's feathers and motto, we can safely affirm that before dark the French king had left the field with the remains of an army utterly beaten, and to a large extent destroyed. He stayed not till he reached Amiens, leaving behind him over thirty thousand slain men. By torchlight on the field Edward embraced his brave son, who became the terror of the French from that hour as the *Black Prince*, from the colour of the mail worn by him on this great day. The battle of Crécy was a struggle of even more than national importance. The bow and bill of that age were exchanged for the matchlock and the pike of Tudor and Stuart times, and these again for the musket and bayonet of the battles of Marlborough and Wellington, but the serene and stubborn courage of the men who wielded the weapons was now first proved on a great scale, with success almost portentous. The bearing of that success on the position and repute of feudal nobles, until then held to be the only real fighters, has been already noticed as involving a political and social revolution. The evil side of this warlike glory won on the "famed Picard field" was the hostility, of nearly five centuries' endurance, thereby engendered between two great nations. The loss of the French, dreadful as it was, including eleven great nobles, and nearly thirteen hundred knights, was not confined to that suffered in the great battle. On the next morning, Sunday, August 27th, there was a heavy fog, and an English detachment of five hundred lances and two thousand archers went out to scour the country. They fell in with two separate French forces, and almost destroyed them. The whole English loss in the battle of Crécy amounted to but a few hundred men.

The spirit of the nation was now fully aroused. David II, the king of Scotland, took advantage of Edward's absence to cross the border, in the hope of striking a good blow for his friend King Philip. On October 17th, he was encountered to the south-west of Durham city by an army under Henry Percy. Again

Neville's
Cross,
1346.

the glory of the day rested with the English archers. The Scots were utterly defeated, with the loss of many thousands of men, and King David was taken prisoner. He remained a captive in England till 1357, when he was released on the Scottish Parliament undertaking to pay a heavy ransom. Sir Ralph Neville, who had commanded the English along with Percy, erected a cross to commemorate the victory, and the event became known as the *Battle of Neville's Cross*.

The English forces in Guienne, under the Earl of Lancaster, attacked Philip's dominions on the south, and ravaged the country as far as the Loire. On August 31st, Edward began the long siege of Calais, which was blockaded by land and sea. The French king, with a new great army, took the field at Whitsuntide, 1347, and started to raise the siege. On approaching Calais, he found the English force so strongly entrenched that attack was hopeless, and Edward was too wise to be tempted forth by a challenge to meet again in the open field. The French army was disbanded after a stay of six weeks, and the men of Calais were forced to surrender from famine, after consuming all their horses and dogs. The burghers who volunteered for death, in order to save the lives of their fellow-citizens, were saved by the earnest entreaties of Queen Philippa, who was there with the ladies of her court. The taking of Calais occurred on August 3, 1347, and the place remained in our hands for over two centuries, being held as a Channel port and a door of entrance to France. Edward made all the inhabitants leave, and settled there an English trading colony, who formed a great depot for wool and leather, lead and tin, the chief articles of our commerce in Continental markets. The French king's resources were now exhausted, and Edward also was glad of a respite. After the capture of Calais, a truce was made between the two monarchs, and there was no more regular warfare till 1355.

Edward returned to England in October, and proceeded to Windsor, where he had both romantic and practical work to perform. He was naturally ready to associate the memory of his great victory with the ostentation of chivalry. He had summoned illustrious knights to a "Feast of the Round Table" at Windsor, before his invasion of France. It was soon after his return that he founded the highest and most ancient order of knighthood—the *Order of the Garter*. It is stated that Richard I., at the siege of Acre, caused some of his bravest officers to tie leathern thongs round their legs as a distinction, and that Edward III. therefore made the Garter the badge of his knightly order. Its common title, until the reign of Edward VI., was the *Order of St. George*. The badge suspended from the collar of gold is called "the George," and consists of a figure of St. George on horseback, fighting the dragon. This "holy knight," the patron saint of England, is a semi-mythical personage of the early Church the story of whose exploits struck the imagination of the Crusaders. They adopted him as one of their patrons, and introduced his worship into

Western Europe. In 1222, the Council of Oxford ordered that his day, April 23, should be observed as a national holiday in England. In 1349, the victor of Crécy solemnly established the statutes of the Order. High festival was held at Windsor, and the king, with twenty-five companion-knights, went in procession to the Chapel of St. George, where the ceremonies of installation were performed. Edward III., who has been styled, from his dealings with the wool-trade of England and Flanders, "the royal merchant," was also a great builder. His chief architect was William of Wykeham, the famous founder of Winchester School and of New College, Oxford, and the rebuilder of Winchester Cathedral. In 1336 he became Bishop of Winchester, and, in the following year, Chancellor of England. The king always had a strong affection for Windsor, which he mentions, in a letter to the Pope, as the place of his birth. He resolved to make the town one of royal residence, and in 1356 appointed William of Wykeham to superintend the erection of a new castle. The old building, with the exception of three towers on the west, built by Henry III., was pulled down, and a new palace, of which little now remains, was taken in hand. It is worthy of notice, as a sign of the semi-serfdom of the working-class, that letters-patent were issued by the king to *press* hewers of stone, carpenters, and other artificers, and that the same principle of impressing workmen was put in force during twenty years. At the palace of Westminster, the famous Chapel of St. Stephen had been completed with great magnificence in 1347. This building became, under Edward VI., the *House of Commons*, which was destroyed by fire in 1834.

The successes of their arms when the land was stricken by the "Black Death," most terrible plague of sickness that has ever ravaged Europe. 1348-49. Such was the impression caused, that many charters and other documents of 1349 are not dated as issued in the "23rd year of Edward III.," but in "the year of the Great Pestilence." Within a month after the jousts, banquets, and dances of Windsor, the disease, having first come to our shores at the close of 1348, was raging with full intensity. It first appeared in 1346 in Upper India and China, and thence made its way through Asia and into Europe. The habits of an age which knew nothing of the destructive nature of "dirt in the wrong place," or of the merits of pure water and pure air, rendered every street and house in the towns a hotbed for the propagation of fever in the most deadly forms. The visitation of Italy by the pest in 1348 has been vividly described by Boccaccio in his introduction to the *Decameron*. There was no country in which at least one-third of the inhabitants were not destroyed. The population of England was then, as far as can be judged, rather under four millions, and of these about one-half were now swept away. The crops were left to rot for want of labourers to cut them, and town and country were full of desolation,

mourning, and woe. Most of the land became untilled for lack of labour, and so great was the emigration of persons possessed of capital, that, on December 1, 1349, a royal order, addressed to the mayors and bailiffs of all the seaports, directed that no man should be suffered to leave the kingdom, except he were a messenger, a notary, or a merchant.

The *Black Death* had far-reaching economical and legislative results. For the first time in the history of the country, the free labourers of England had the mastery in their hands, and the age of trades-unions was anticipated by five centuries. Legis-
lation of
the reign.

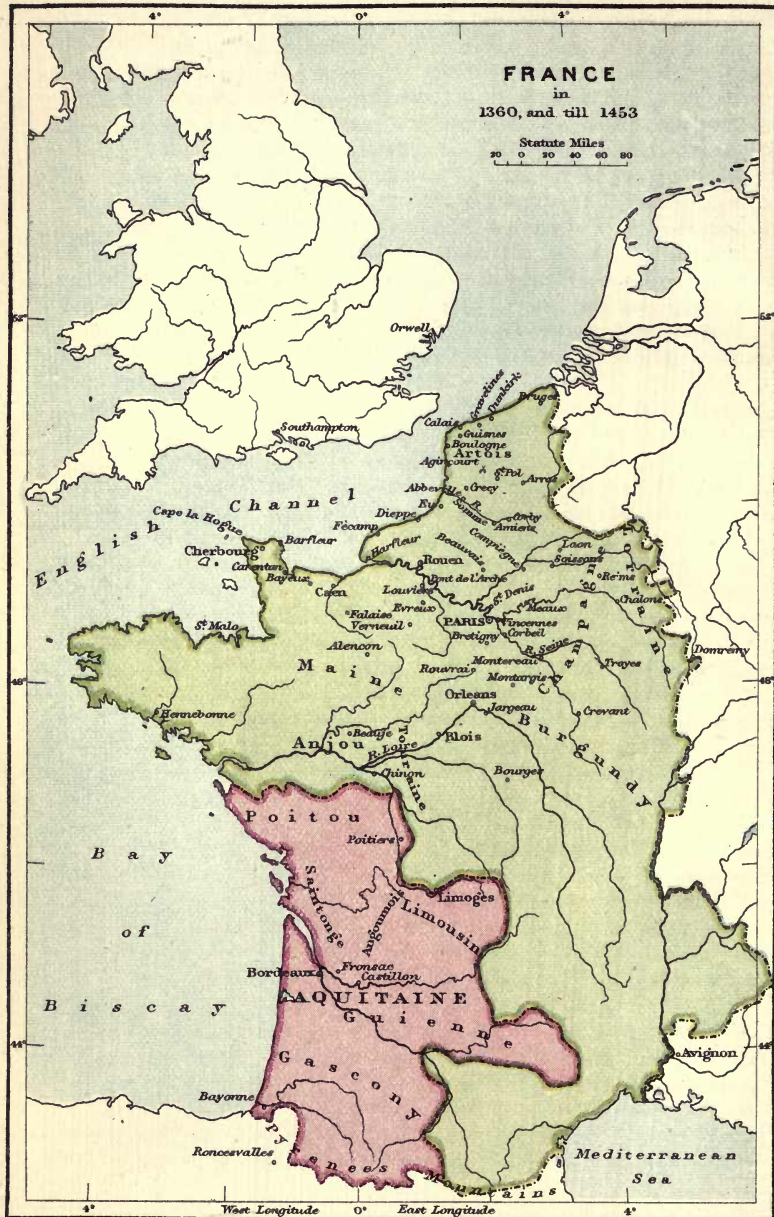
War was declared by labour against capital. Hands were wanted on all sides, not only to till the soil, but to tend the sheep and cattle. The sudden rise of wages disorganised the whole industrial system, and the land-owners of the country and the employers of craftsmen in the towns saw nothing but ruin before them. An appeal to the arbitrary power of immediate legislation produced, in 1349, a royal order, and in 1351, the famous enactment known as the *Statute of Labourers*. The first of these required that all persons, men and women, bond and free, under sixty years of age, who had no land of their own to till, or no other means of livelihood, should work for any employer who might demand their services. For such employment only such wages could be asked as were given in his or her neighbourhood two years before the appearance of the plague. The penalty of imprisonment was attached to any refusal to work. The *Statute of Labourers* went far beyond this. A scale of wages was set forth to be paid by employers to all labourers in husbandry, and to all carpenters, masons, tilers, and others engaged in building. The labouring-class were also once more bound to the soil, as in the old days of strict villenage and serfdom. Imprisonment was the penalty for any toiler who might leave his parish in search of better wages elsewhere. The struggle which ensued between capital and labour was long and stubborn. The statute was repeatedly passed, and reaction went so far as to decree the branding of a fugitive labourer, and to revoke the old privilege of escape from serfdom by residence within a chartered town. Attempts were also made by landowners to bring back the full form of feudalism, as regarded villenage, by annulling manumissions and insisting on the performance of the feudal "services," in the way of unpaid labour, from which exemption had long been obtained. The natural result of the feeling thus aroused among the toilers will be seen in the armed revolt of labour in the next reign. A premonition of this rising was given in 1360, when a Kentish priest named John Ball began to preach to the labourers and small farmers of his county the doctrine of social equality, and to inquire why, since all came from Adam and Eve, some were to be lords and others labourers, some to toil and others to idle and enjoy, some to be clad in velvet and others in filthy rags.

In 1351, the liberty of the subject was further defended against the attacks of arbitrary sovereigns by the popular and excellent **Other statutes.** enactment called the *Statute of Treasons*. The crime of treason had hitherto been left vague. It was now laid down that, in order to incur the penalties of treason, a subject must (1) compass (*i.e.* contrive) the sovereign's death: (2) levy war against him within his realm: (3) adhere to his enemies in his realm, or give them "aid and comfort" in the realm or elsewhere: (4) counterfeit the great or privy seal: (5) slay the chancellor, treasurer, or any of the king's higher judges when in execution of his official duties. In the same year, a blow was aimed at Papal claims by the *Statute of Provisors*, which forbade all applications to the court of Rome for presentation to any benefice in England, and further secured the rights of English patrons of church preferment. An enactment of 1353 declared any person to be outlawed who should carry any law-case to the court of Rome on appeal from the decision of an English court.

Philip of Valois, or Philip VI. of France, died in 1350, leaving the throne to his son, John the Good. The country was harassed by internal strife between the king and the partisans of Charles, king of Navarre, when the truce with England ended in 1355. The north and centre of France were in a condition of mere anarchy, with troops disbanded, brigands roaming on every side, a bankrupt treasury, and defenceless towns and castles. The king of England did not forego the chance thus offered to his arms. From north and south, by Calais and Guienne, unhappy France was ravaged by her foes. Edward himself issued from the northern fortress, and swept the country as far as the Somme, retiring then from sheer lack of food. The seizure of the town of Berwick by the Scots called him home. He marched northwards in the depth of winter, retook the town and carried havoc through the Lothians. Want of provisions here again caused retreat, when his fleet, laden with stores, could not, for stress of weather, reach the port of Leith. His son, Edward the Black Prince, had before this led an army from his head-quarters at Bordeaux, and ravaged the country to the foot of the Pyrenees. He then took a northern and easterly course, laid in ashes cities and towns, and filled with desolation a fertile land, which, for a hundred years of gay and prosperous life, had seen nothing of the cruelties of war. The army, with its train of greedy Gascons, returned laden with pillage seized in town, castle, and farm.

In July 1356, Prince Edward again quitted Bordeaux, marching north and east into Limousin and Auvergne. The crops that stood in the soil were turning from green to gold, and the vines were thickly hung with clustering grapes. All was destroyed by the advancing force, whom the Prince wished to lead as far as Normandy, there to join an English army that was aiding the

Battle of Poitiers, Sept. 1356.



Stanford's Geog. Estab^d, London.

friends of the king of Navarre. The invaders were already north of the Loire, when the Black Prince had news of a great army advancing against him. The French king, John, was in the field with sixty thousand men, marching by routes unknown to his foe. Prudence counselled a prompt retreat to Bordeaux. The English leader, with but eight thousand men, found the way barred near Poitiers by the great host of the enemy. The scene was one full of glorious memories for France. At Vouglé, near to Poitiers, eight and a half centuries before, Clovis had utterly routed, and slain with his own hand, the second Alaric, king of the Visigoths, conquerors whose dominions were then at their greatest extent. On the same fertile plains, in the broad tract of land stretching north from Poitiers to Tours, watered by many a fair stream that pays its tribute to the Loire, one of the great triumphs of the Cross was won against the Crescent. More than six centuries earlier than the day when the English prince found his course stopped in retreat, Charles Martel had won the signal victory, over a Saracen host, which rescued Europe from the power and faith of Islam. Omens and odds alike were strong against the entrapped invader, and for some hours he shrank from an encounter. When Cardinal Périgord came from the French king to urge capitulation, the Prince offered to give up his booty, and to engage not to bear arms against France for the space of seven years. The personal surrender of himself and a hundred knights was demanded, but this was promptly refused. The English and Gascons were drawn up with great skill on ground encumbered by hedges, vines, and bushes, and could only be approached by a road with room for but four horsemen a-breast, bounded on each side by high banks topped with hedges thickly lined by England's deadly bowmen. On Monday, September 19, the great encounter came. The French horse, after forcing their way with severe loss along the lane, were charged on the open ground by the Black Prince at the head of a picked force, including Chandos, and Lord Audley, and the Earls of Warwick and Suffolk. Great disorder ensued. The four thousand archers in the little English army had never ceased their volleys, and, at the critical moment of confusion, a body of men-at-arms and bowmen, detached for the purpose, fell on the French flank and rear. A panic ensued, and several commanders set their divisions the example of flight. King John fought with great valour, but was at last forced to surrender, with his young son Philip. The conqueror gained higher fame in chivalry by the noble courtesy of his demeanour to the captive king. A truce for two years was made, and in May 1357, the Black Prince led his "friend the enemy" into London, where Edward III. and his people received him with every mark of respect that could assuage the pain of defeat and captivity. The loss of the vanquished in this famous battle was over eleven thousand slain and disabled, besides two thousand men-at-arms and hundreds of nobles and knights taken prisoners.

While the French king was an honoured guest in England, lodged first at John of Gaunt, the Duke of Lancaster's, palace of the Savoy, and then at Windsor, his country was brought to the extreme of misery. Heavy sums needed to be raised for ransom of the prisoners of Poitiers, and the tillers of the soil were ground down to the lowest point of penury by the lords of the soil who had fled in terror before the English bowmen. In May 1358, began the terrible insurrection of the French peasants known as the *Jacquerie*, from the nickname of *Jacques Bonhomme* bestowed on the poor villeins of the land. The army of furious ravagers, whose cry was "Death to the nobles and gentry," reached at last the number of one hundred thousand men, butchering and burning in town and hamlet, château and farm. The highways were strewn with dead, and wolves followed in the track of men as pitiless as themselves. Aid was sought from Flanders and Hainault, and the furious insurgents were also attacked by knights headed by Gaston de Foix, one of Froissart's chivalrous heroes, and by Captal de Buche, one of Edward III.'s Gascon knights, who rushed to the rescue of the Duchesses of Normandy and Orleans. They had fled, with hundreds of other ladies, for refuge in the castle of Meaux. A great slaughter of the peasants was made, and the rising came to an end. In 1359, the country was again attacked and ravaged by English troops. The want of provisions forced Edward's retirement from before the walls of Paris in March 1360, and a peace was concluded on May 8th at a little place near Chartres. The chief terms of the *Treaty of Brétigny* were these:—The king of England resigned his pretensions to the crown of France, and to the territories of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. He was to be full sovereign lord of Aquitaine, including Guienne, Gascony, Saintonge, Poitou, the Limousin, and Angoumois. All conquered places were to be restored, except Calais, Guisnes, and the county of Ponthieu, a part of Picardy, on the Lower Somme. The French king was to be set free on promise of payment, within six years, of three million gold crowns, amounting, as is supposed, to about a million and a half pounds sterling. He met Edward at Calais, where the peace was solemnly ratified, and they then parted with many expressions of esteem and good-will. John was unable to raise the money for his ransom from a country so drained of resources, and the honour of chivalry bade him return to captivity. In the first days of 1364 he was again in London, and this unfortunate monarch soon afterwards sickened and died at the palace of the Savoy, leaving to his son, Charles V., a country that moved the pity of all humane persons who beheld her hapless condition. The close of the war had flooded the land with bands of discharged soldiers, the *Free Companions*, who for twenty years had been fighting as separate bodies under their own captains. Froissart tells us of the mischief done by these gangs of pillaging "Almains (Germans), Brabanters, Flemings,

Treaty of
Bretigny,
May 1360.
State of
France.

Hainaulters, Gascons, and bad Frenchmen," and Italy's great lyric poet, Petrarca, then upon ambassador's work at Paris, declares that when he viewed the land, he could not persuade himself that it was the same he had formerly beheld—fertile, rich, and flourishing. "Touched by such mournful effects of the rage of man," he cries, "I could not withhold my tears."

In 1361, a second attack of pestilence caused numerous deaths, but, with this exception, the seventh decade of the century was a prosperous time for England. She had her troubles in this Home affairs, 1361-67. age of transition from serfdom to free labour, but her position was in strong contrast with that of the land beyond the Channel. Not only were our fields left free from the ravages of war, but whenever a tax was demanded for carrying on the struggle, there was a Parliament which ever turned round steadily upon the king, and for money demanded money's worth—extension of freedom or redress of grievances. Again and again, as in 1340, 1348, and 1351, a firm stand was made against illegal levying of money or men-at-arms, and it was no longer a struggle merely between the king and the nobles. The Commons had by degrees gained a real share in the government, and before the end of the reign we shall find them strong enough to remove an administration, and to impeach those whom they held to be evil advisers of the crown. The powers thus obtained did, indeed, remain long in abeyance under later monarchs, but, in our constitutional system, the importance of the creation of precedents can hardly be over-rated. They are the good seed from which springs a priceless crop of established rights. There was a great increase of parliamentary activity in the work of legislation, and one enactment is curious for the evidence which it affords of the many distinctions of rank then existing amongst the laity. The *Statute of Apparel*, passed in 1363, had for its main purpose to restrain "the outrageous and excessive apparel of divers persons against their estate and degree." Its provisions afford the clearest proof of material prosperity in that age amongst the class of mechanics, commercial servants, and labourers in husbandry.

The sun of glory won by conquest for the English arms was now to set in gloom. The new king of France, Charles V., was of Loss of territory in France, 1367-1374. a widely different nature from his brave and chivalrous father. Devoid of personal courage, he had shown his prudence on the field of Poitiers in leaving his younger brother Philip to fight unaided at the king his father's side. His practical sagacity, however, was of much more value than any heroism in a contest with such foes as Edward III. and the Black Prince. "There never was a king," cried Edward, "who cared so little about arming himself, and yet gave me so much to do as this Charles." During the few years of peace which followed on the treaty of Brétigny, the French monarch was always on the watch for a renewal of the contest to his own advantage. The

Prince of Wales, with the title of Prince of Aquitaine, was governor of the southern provinces ceded to England, and the cunning of Charles V. aimed at incitements to revolt among the Gascons which should afford him some chance of striking in against the English domination. The imprudence of the Black Prince was his chief ally. The haughty bearing of their ruler gave offence to the nobles of Guienne. The people of the conquered provinces were indignant at their transfer in complete sovereignty to England, and wise policy would have kept an English ruler from adding to the causes of offence. In 1367, the Black Prince became entangled, by his own act, in the affairs of Spain. Peter I., king of Castile and Leon, had been driven from his throne by his half-brother, Henry, assisted by a band of Free Companions, under the command of the famous French leader, Bertrand du Guesclin. The English prince determined to restore him, and led from Bordeaux a great army of English, Gascons, and Normans, entering Spain by the pass of Roncesvalles. The army of Henry and Du Guesclin was totally defeated at the *battle of Najara* (or *Navaretta*, two villages on the right bank of the Ebro), in which the English leader showed even more than his wonted skill. Never was a success more fatal to its author. The restored tyrant Peter was soon again dethroned, and the Black Prince was left unpaid for the heavy charges of his fruitless expedition. He returned to his head-quarters in Bordeaux with a starving army, and a frame infected with the malady that was to bring him to the grave in the very prime of life. His necessities compelled him to increase the heavy load of taxation for the Gascons, and then the king of France blew the sparks of discontent into a flame of revolt. In violation of the treaty of Brétigny, Charles assumed the position of feudal lord over Guienne, and summoned the English ruler to appear before him. The Black Prince retorted that he would come to Paris, but with sixty thousand lances at his back. In 1369, the war with France was thus renewed, and the French ruler showed his real ability in his method of conducting the struggle. All great encounters in the open field were shunned. The Duke of Lancaster, who had landed at Calais with a large force, was suffered to march on and do his worst. In 1370, the French invaded Gascony, and the failing health of Prince Edward kept him from active exertion in the field. His temper had been soured by his troubles, and a savage act of vengeance wrought upon helpless and innocent people left a dark stain upon his memory. The town of Limoges had been betrayed by the inhabitants to the French, and the Black Prince, retaking it by storm after a month's siege, ordered a massacre in cold blood of three thousand men, women, and children. In the following year, 1371, ill-health recalled him to England, and with his departure our interests in France went fast to ruin. The brave Du Guesclin, the greatest hero of the age next to the Black Prince, was in command against the Duke of Lancaster, the new governor of Gascony. The French could not be tempted to any great

engagement, and in 1373 the English leader swept through France from Calais to Bordeaux. A war of skirmishes and surprises, with the capture of town after town, and fortress after fortress, as the chance occurred, was most effective in the wearing-down of English power. The campaign of the Black Prince in Spain had aroused the deadly enmity of the new king of Castile, and a Spanish fleet, in 1372, was for the time triumphant on the sea, and severed Gascony from that road of communication with England. The forces of Du Guesclin were constantly successful, and, in 1374, the king of England was glad to make a truce. All his possessions in France were gone, save Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Calais.

In 1369, Edward III. lost his queen, Philippa, his faithful wife for more than forty years. He then fell under the evil influence of a woman named Alice Perrers, and in this, his time of dotage, the chief power was in the hands of his fourth son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The internal history of the country is largely made up of his contests with a portion of the Parliament, in which the power of the Commons was yearly growing. The barons mainly followed the lead of Lancaster, and the political situation was one in which the lay-barons asserted themselves against the bishops, who had, as was conceived, by far too large a share of the administration. At the same time, the baronage were always ready to make a stand with the crown against the knights of the shire and the burgesses. The material power and wealth of the Church had greatly advanced, as her moral influence over the people declined. In 1371, the Duke of Lancaster's party drove from office the chancellor, William of Wykeham, and other leading prelates. The Black Prince, feeling his end near, and jealous of the power of John of Gaunt, who was thought to aspire to the crown, took measures to assert the rights of his son, Richard of Bordeaux, whose mother was his father's cousin, Joan of Kent.

The Parliament of 1376, known as the "Good Parliament," from the boldness of the stand made by the burgesses and county members against the barons and the crown, began its vigorous work in April. The leader of the Commons, Peter de la Mare, holding the office, though not the title, of "Speaker," came forward to face the barons in a bold attack upon the ministers, or lords of the king's council. The evil conduct of the war, the heavy and useless taxation, and the misappropriation of the public moneys, were strongly denounced, with special mention of the Duke of Lancaster's responsibility. The contemptuous outburst of wrath in which the Duke indulged was all unheeded, and two of the ministers impeached, Lord Latimer, the chamberlain, and Richard Lyons, were condemned by the lords to heavy fines and imprisonment. Alice Perrers was also sentenced to banishment from court and forfeiture of all her ill-gotten wealth. This was followed by demands for the redress of

Home
affairs,
1369-1377.
John of
Gaunt.

The
"Good
Parliament,"
1376.
Death of
Black
Prince.

many grievances. The Commons asked for freedom of election for the county members, and for yearly meetings of Parliament. On June 8, the Black Prince died, and his son Richard was at once presented to Parliament, and accepted by all as heir to the throne. When Parliament was dismissed in July, the influence of Lancaster resumed its sway. Alice Perrers and the king's evil counsellors were recalled; Peter de la Mare went to prison, and William of Wykeham was despoiled of his episcopal income. The good effected seemed to be all undone when a packed House of Commons, early in the following year, annulled its predecessor's legislative work; but the powers once asserted by the Commons were not forgotten, and the very next reign was to witness a further advance towards constitutional freedom for the people as against the arbitrary power of the crown.

The king died on June 21, 1377, in the 65th year of his age and the 51st of his reign, and his remains were interred in the Abbey Church at Westminster. Of the seven sons and five daughters born of Queen Philippa, the greater part died young. Only three sons survived their father,—John of Gaunt (born at *Gand* or *Ghent*), Duke of Lancaster and father of Henry IV.; Edmund, Duke of York; and Thomas, Duke of Gloucester. The third son, Lionel, Duke of Clarence, had died in 1368, leaving one daughter, married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.

A statute of the year 1322, passed in the 15th year of Edward II.'s reign, had fully recognised the power of the Commons, by declaring that "matters to be established for the estate of the king and his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in Parliament by the king, and by the assent of the prelates, earls, and barons, and the commonalty of the realm, according as has been before accustomed." Under Edward III., the knights of the shire, who had been hitherto political allies of the barons, with whom they were socially connected, became the close associates in Parliament of the borough members, and this connection, at an early part of the reign, caused the two bodies to be together styled "The Commons." The actual division of Parliament into the two Houses of *Lords* and *Commons* took place in 1341. From this time we have a Parliament such as we know it now—a body in which, upon the whole, a certain community of political sentiment and procedure is secured by the presence in the Commons of a large number of landed gentry who are socially connected with the peers. The House of Commons thus consists both of men representing all shades of feeling in the commercial and the working classes, who form the great bulk of the nation, and of those who, from their social interests, friendships, and relations, are certain to be stout opponents of revolutionary change. The legislative powers of the Commons were, like other constitutional reforms in this land of the slow and steady growth of long-enduring things, a matter of gradual development. The

Death of
Edward
III. June
1377. His
children.

Parlia-
ment
under
Edward
III.

petitions of the Commons for the redress of grievances, as a condition of the granting of supplies of money by taxation, were, in effect, demands for legislative change. These were sent up to the king, and his answers were duly made. Each petition and its answer were, at the close of every session, embodied in the form of a law, and entered on the roll of statutes. The sovereign, in his replies to the petitions of the Commons, would often change the sense therein expressed, and thus he used a power of modifying bills before they passed into enactments. The reign of Edward III. saw the establishment, in our system of government, of three great principles. The first was, that money cannot be legally raised, by taxation or otherwise, without the consent of Parliament. The second was, that the concurrence of the two Houses is required for all changes in the law, and in all matters affecting the interests of the king, his heirs, and the people. The third was, that the House of Commons has the right to inquire into public abuses, and to impeach (that is, to accuse at the bar of the Lords) any public counsellor or minister of the crown, for corrupt official conduct, misgovernment, or other cause.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND LEARNING UNDER THE THREE EDWARDS.

The scholastic Doctors; Duns Scotus, Occam, Bradwardine. Richard of Bury's noble encouragement of learned men. His *Philobiblon*.

THE scholastic philosophy, which served the cause of sound learning and human progress by its enforcement of verbal precision, lucid method, strict proof, and the superior claims of reason against authority, produced some shining lights in the century of time that covers the reigns of the three Edwards. The labours of these men prepared the human mind to reap due benefit in coming time from the great revival of learning, and set an example to the world of a bold defence of freedom of thought and opinion. *John Duns*, commonly called *Duns Scotus*, or the *Subtle Doctor*, was a native of the British Isles, and died in 1308. He was first a Franciscan friar at Newcastle, and then became a student at Merton College, Oxford. His skill in theology, logic, mathematics, and the civil law caused his appointment in 1301 as professor of divinity, and his fame drew large numbers of students to the University. In 1304, he was a teacher of theology at Paris, and died, in the same capacity, at Cologne. *William de Occam* was born about 1270, in the Surrey village of that name. He, too, was a Franciscan monk, a pupil of Duns Scotus, and gained

Learning
and literature
of the
period.

the name of the *Invincible Doctor*. Little is known of the earlier half of his life, in which he is said to have been a student at Oxford, and then to have held preferment in the Church. The latter and more distinguished part of his career was spent on the Continent. He showed remarkable courage, for a monk of that age of history, in supporting Philippe le Bel of France, when he asserted against the Pope the independence of temporal princes in all secular affairs. He was condemned by the Council of Avignon, and compelled to flee from Paris, in 1328, for denouncing the vices of the rival Popes of the day. He took refuge in Bavaria, where he died at Munich in 1347. Occam was one of the best logicians of the Middle Ages, and deserves high honour as a maintainer of liberty of thought against prejudice and power. *Thomas Bradwardine*, born in Sussex about 1290, was one of the best men and ablest writers of the fourteenth century. His great theological work, *The Cause of God pleaded against Pelagius*, a "heretic" who denied "original sin" in man, earned for him the title of the *Profound Doctor*. After being chancellor of the University of Oxford, he became chaplain and confessor of Edward III., whom he attended during his French wars. He was twice chosen Archbishop of Canterbury by the clergy of the cathedral, but the first election was annulled by the king, who declined to part with his services, declaring that he "could ill spare so worthy a man." When the see again became vacant, Bradwardine became Primate by the unanimous choice of the Chapter, now confirmed by Edward. He was a noble example of the union of religious contemplation and profound piety with active benevolence. The second year of the *Black Death*, 1349, was the date of his elevation, and the new archbishop died of the plague within a few weeks of his consecration, and before he was enthroned. *Richard of Bury*, whose true name was Richard Aungervyle, was born in 1281 at Bury St. Edmunds. He was one of the most distinguished men of the age for learning, high character, and practical ability. After a brilliant career at Oxford, he was made tutor to Prince Edward, afterwards Edward III., under whom he became in succession Bishop of Durham and Lord Chancellor. An able envoy, a generous user of great influence and wealth, and a statesman who ever laboured for peace, Richard de Bury is most to be honoured for his great devotion to learning. He wrote a Latin treatise, called *Philobiblon*, on the love of books and the right use of them. In the course of his life he collected the largest library in England, by the use of his private fortune and of his political and ecclesiastical influence, which caused the owners of valuable manuscripts to seek his favour by presents of what he most loved. For him the libraries of foreign monasteries were searched by travelling friars, and to him suitors in Chancery would offer a rare volume, in order to gain a quicker hearing of their causes. De Bury's real love of literature is shown by the noble use which he made of his treasures. He was the friend of all scholars, and threw freely open to them the doors of his

library at Durham, where they became his guests during the period of their study and research. When he quitted political life for the exclusive care of his diocese, he surrounded himself with the best English scholars of the age as his chaplains and friends. One of these was Bradwardine, who owed to him his appointment by Edward III. to the post of confessor and chaplain. De Bury's books were bequeathed to Durham College, Oxford, and there remained for the use of the University until the dissolution of the house under Henry VIII. It is remarkable, as a sign of the times which were soon to show forth a Wyclif, that, in the *Philobiblon*, a bishop and ex-chancellor strongly denounces the degraded moral state of the clergy, and the mental darkness and evil life of monks and friars.

BOOK VIII.

THE AGE OF WYCLIF AND CHAUCER—THE LANCASTRIAN KINGS AND FRANCE.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND UNDER RICHARD THE SECOND.

The new spirit of the time. Wyclif and the Lollards. Wyclif as a reformer. The peasant-revolt. Legislation against Papal claims and action in Church and State. Richard II. and Parliament. Foreign affairs. The King's tyranny and deposition. His mysterious death. Literature: Gower and Chaucer.

Richard II., 1377-1399. DURING the minority of the young king, known as Richard of Bordeaux, from his birth in 1366 at the town where his father, the Black Prince, held sway as ruler of Guienne, the direction of public affairs was mainly in the hands of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, and of a council of nobles appointed at the instance of the House of Commons. During the earlier years of the reign, foreign affairs were going from bad to worse. All attempts to recover French dominion failed, and united French and Spanish fleets were defiant on the sea.

The great fact of the time was the stir of thought and feeling, which first sought and found expression in the published words of powerful writers, and then in the armed revolt of ignorant and passionate men striving for redress of social inequality. The Church in England had grown corrupt from excess of wealth and power. The loose lives of many of the clergy, monks and parish-priests alike, had brought contempt upon their office. The arrogance of a privileged class, and the rapacious claims made for dues payable to the church-courts, which held control over many suits of deep import to the laity, had aroused a bitter feeling. A public opinion was forming to the effect that the Church dignitaries and the religious orders were more intent upon their own aggrandisement, and the gratification of their own luxurious tastes, than upon the upholding of the faith and duties of the Gospel. On no estates did slavery linger so long in England as on those of the Benedictine abbots and their convents, and the churchmen who, in better times, had been urgent in obtaining freedom for slaves, were now the hardest masters of these poor dependents. The friars, who had once been so

devoted to the preaching of the Word, and to the personal relief of the sick and the indigent, were now either dwellers in stately houses, which rivalled the old monasteries in splendour, or, for the sake of profit from fees, had usurped the places of the rectors and curates of parishes. The system of seeking alms from house to house had been so far abused that, long before the time of Wyclif, loud and deep complaints were heard from all classes against the lusty begging friars. Alongside of these evils connected with the Church, were the fierce attempts of the lords of the soil to resume the old feudal control over the peasant population.

The disorders in both Church and State are the subjects of keen comment in the writings of the age. Chaucer aims his satire against the monk, "full, fat, and in good point," the Friar, "a wanton and a merry;" the Prioress, of courtly manners, with her love-motto inscribed on her brooch; the *Sumpnour*, or summoner, the minister of extortion for church-courts; and the *Pardoner*, with his wallet "full of pardons come from Rome all hot." The popular poet, William Langland, was a poor "clerk," born about 1330, who came to London in early manhood, and made a precarious living by the performance of small ecclesiastical duties at funerals and other church-offices. His *Vision of Piers Plowman* is a long allegory, in the form of dreams, setting forth the divers conditions of men in this life, and the duties to which they are severally bound as pilgrims in search of Truth. The world of the poor, as it appeared to a poor man in the latter half of the fourteenth century, is vividly brought into view. The cold, cheerless hearth of the hungry toiler, the narrow, wretched, and monotonous life of those who were at the bottom of the social scale, are in sharp and saddening contrast with the world of gaiety and wealth depicted in the page of Chaucer. A cloud of dull despair broods over the social landscape of Langland, as, amid suffering and sin, he urges all to earn bread by honest labour, and threatens hunger to the idle and the wasteful. He warns the knight that in the grave he cannot be known apart from the churl, and that in heaven above the hireling may be more nobly placed than he who paid, or who, perchance, withheld his wages upon earth. It is declared to be safer to trust, for gaining heaven, to well-doing than to passes from the Pope. The avarice and luxury of churchmen are denounced, and John of Gaunt receives a certain meed of praise as leader of the nobles who, eager to curtail the wealth and power of the Church, were to that extent, and for selfish ends, the defenders of the poor.

The rising spirit of disaffection to the Church, caused both by corrupt practices in her system and in the lives of her ministers, and by the application of free thought to some parts of her doctrine, was shown forth in the sayings and doings of the people called "Lollards." The name is a term of reproach

Piers the
Plow-
man's
Vision.

Lollardry.

bestowed by opponents on those who were thereby charged either with "sowing the tares" of heresy, or with uttering "vain babble." Like the Puritans of a later age, the Lollards aimed at political and social, as well as religious changes, and their ranks were reinforced from every class by persons who were at issue with the real or fancied evils of the time. The poor peasant that dreamed of social equality, the fanatic eager for moral and religious reform, the noble who hated the arrogant prelate, or who coveted ecclesiastical wealth,—all were adherents of the widespread movement that embodied the discontent of the age.

The champion, if not the founder, of Lollardry, on its religious side, was that great Englishman, John Wyclif. He was born **Wyclif** about 1324 at a village near Richmond, in Yorkshire, and acquired his vast store of learning as a student in the "Arts," and in the School of Theology at Oxford University. His rare knowledge of the Scriptures obtained for him the title of the *Evangelical Doctor*. In 1361, he was chosen master of Balliol College, and some years later became a Doctor or Professor of Divinity. He was a worthy successor, as a philosopher of bold originality of thought, of the great English schoolmen, Duns Scotus and Occam, and, in piety and purity of life, as well as in literary skill, he rivalled his predecessor Bradwardine. But Wyclif was no mere scholar, "schoolman," or dialectician. He was the hardest worker and the ablest statesman of the time. Tall and spare in form, of quick and restless temper, ready wit, and winning manners, the shrewd Yorkshireman, subtle in logic and eloquent in speech, was full of the energy and courage, the firmness of conviction, and the hatred of hypocrisy and wrong, that should be found in him whose life-work it is to attack abuses, to be foremost in controversy, to defy the world, if need be, in doing battle for moral, intellectual, and religious reform. The literary gifts of this illustrious man included a style now charged with persuasive power, and, in due season, keen in irony, and strong in the invective that pleases the popular taste. With all these resources he combined the worldly wisdom that enables the skilled politician and partisan to make every kind of man an instrument for his chosen work, and to refrain from playing into the hands of those who oppose him.

It was in the fourteenth century that occurred the second great **Wyclif** rising of the human intellect against the spiritual domination **and the** of Rome. The great revolt, in Languedoc, that marked the **Papal** **See.** twelfth century, had been crushed by the Albigensian crusade, and for the two succeeding generations the power of the Papacy had been at its height. When Pope Boniface the Eighth fell before the violence of Philip the Fourth of France, the seat of the Papal court was carried beyond the Alps, and for seventy years, at Avignon, the Bishops of Rome became dependants of France. This age of schism in the Western Church saw two Popes, each with a doubtful title,

hurling at each other curses and invectives, as Rome declaimed against the corruptions of Avignon, and Avignon flung well-deserved retorts at Rome. The spiritual influence of the Papacy could not but rapidly wane, and there were special reasons for such a decline being strongly marked in England. The people whose warriors had vanquished with ease the soldiers of France on the fields of Crécy and Poitiers could not, in their national pride, brook the control of French Popes, whom all believed to be working in the interests of the national foe. It was in 1366 that Wyclif took a prominent place in this matter, and from that time till 1378 he stands forth as the great champion of English independence against the claims of Rome. The king, Edward III., strongly supported by Parliament, was at issue with the Papal court with regard to the homage and tribute exacted from King John. Wyclif's skilful reply to a monk, who came forward in the Papal cause, made him well known at court, and procured for him the favour of John of Gaunt. In 1374, he was one of the royal commissioners sent to Bruges, to confer with the nuncio of Gregory XI. on the statute of *Provisors*, and, being consulted by the government as to some fresh claims made upon the kingdom during the tutelage of Richard II., he pointed out in plain words "the asinine folly" of helping our enemies. The position of Wyclif was in full agreement with the national spirit, which rose in disgust against the annual export of large sums of money collected by Papal agents in England for the enrichment of Popes who were the creatures of France, and against the system of Papal "provisions," by which foreigners were placed in possession of English benefices. In defiance of English law, parishes were thus left destitute of priests, and the rights of patrons were flung aside. In 1375, he was rewarded by the royal presentation to the rectory of Lutterworth, which will ever be associated with the name of "the morning-star of the Reformation," and by nomination as the king's private chaplain or secretary. In 1378, Wyclif reached the height of audacity as an assailant of the Papal see. On the death of Gregory XI., a double election to the vacant chair took place. The Papal court had now returned to Rome, and the people caused the cardinals, most of whom were Frenchmen, to elect an Italian, as Urban VI. The French cardinals afterwards annulled this choice, and made another Pope of their own body, as Clement VII. A civil war ensued, in which Clement's party were defeated, and he made his escape to Avignon, where he was supported by France, Spain, and Scotland, while Germany, Italy, and England adhered to the claims of Urban. Wyclif at once issued his spirited tract, called *The Schism of the Popes*. In this he declared that Christ had "cloven the head of Antichrist, and made the one part to fight against the other," and called upon emperor and king to put down the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, and take away the territory of the see in Italy, as being the source of the evils that afflicted the Church.

One of the deepest feelings of Wyclif's nature was his hatred of the monks. In their corrupt state, the monks were regarded as a Church reformer. Oxford with the same dislike as in modern times has been displayed against the Jesuits. Surrounded as he was by all the abuses of a feudalised hierarchy, the great pioneer of Church reform looked on the wealth of the Church as an evil. In his famous treatise on "The Kingdom of God" (*De Dominio Divino*) he declares that they only have a right to exercise dominion who are in a state of grace, and that mortal sin breaks the condition on which authority is held from God. At the same time, he upholds the duty of obedience to the civil power in all cases. He strikes at the feudal position of the Church by showing that the spiritual office is a *ministerium*, and not a *dominium*, and by declaring that kings may lawfully confiscate the temporal wealth of churchmen who abuse its possession. Wyclif had excited the wrath of the orthodox churchmen of the day by publicly teaching in the theological school at Oxford that the Church of Rome was not the head of Christian churches, and that no more power was given by Christ to St. Peter than to any other apostle. He also taught that the Gospel is sufficient as a rule of life for any Christian, and that nothing of perfection can be added thereto by any rules laid down for the use of religious orders.

It was the reformer's attack on the temporalities of the Church that brought him into alliance with John of Gaunt. The Duke of Lancaster was the leader of the baronial party that was jealous of the political power of the bishops in the Council, and eager to rob the Church of some part of her vast wealth. When Wyclif startled the prelates by the boldness of his utterances in speech and writing, and enraged the monks by his attacks upon their lives of affluence, luxury, and ease, both parties joined in assailing him. The bishops also sought to strike through him at his patron, John of Gaunt. In February 1377, while the old king was yet alive, Wyclif was summoned before Courtenay, Bishop of London, to answer for his heretical declarations as to the rights of the civil power over the Church possessions. The cathedral was densely crowded when the accused man made his way to the Consistory Court of St. Paul's, having at his side the Duke of Lancaster, Lord Percy the Earl-Marshal, and other powerful nobles. The matter came then to a speedy and turbulent end. High words arose between the Bishop and the Duke, who is said to have threatened Courtenay with personal violence, and a tumult arose among the people, who hated John of Gaunt for his supposed designs on the crown at his father's death, and were indignant at the insults offered to their bishop. In the following May, Pope Gregory XI. issued three bulls, addressed to the chancellor and University of Oxford, to Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Bishop of London, commanding them to take proceedings against Wyclif. In the following month, Edward III. died,

and in the end this attack also proved abortive. At the close of the year, the reformer appeared before the Archbishop at Lambeth, but the fierce attitude of the people, and a strong hint from the court-party not to meddle with Wyclif, brought the session to a sudden close.

The political career of Wyclif came to an end through the great rising of the peasants in 1381. Fear of the people caused a reaction, in which the nobles, lately so hostile to the Church, were banded with the Church against the popular cause and all who were held to be its partisans. He had long been sending through the country the men known as his "poor preachers," or "poor priests," to do the work once undertaken and well discharged by the begging friars. The party hostile to all reform declared that these men were sowers of sedition; and part of the odium fell upon Wyclif. He was himself a man of the people by birth, and in dress and daily habit of life he was what the founders of the friars had been, and what the friars had ceased to be. His true and final position as a Protestant theologian is manifested by his two most important acts as a divine—the translation of the Bible into English, and the denial of the doctrine of transubstantiation. By the former, as an opponent declared, Wyclif "made the Gospel a common thing, and more open to laymen and women who could read than it was wont to be to clerks of moderate learning." By the latter, he struck a blow at the fabric of priestly power. Just as all the mediæval world, in its social and political relations, hung upon the belief in natural distinctions of rank, so did the mediæval Church depend, for its control over the minds and hearts of mankind, upon her claim to interpret Scripture, and to work a miracle in the service of the mass. This great literary work of translation, which, along with his English tracts, has justly given to its author the title of "Father of English prose," was soon in great request, and copies were swiftly multiplied. The people seemed to be of Wyclif's own opinion, as put forth in his preface, that "Christian men and women, old and young, should study fast in the New Testament, and that no simple man of wit, no man of small knowledge, should be afraid unmeasurably to study in the text of Holy Writ." It was in 1380 that his translation of the Bible appeared, and in 1381 he openly delivered, in the divinity school at Oxford, certain *Conclusions*, in which he affirmed "that the consecrated host which we see upon the altar is neither Christ, nor any part of him, but an effectual sign of him." Being suspended from office as teacher of divinity, by a decree of twelve doctors, who were chiefly members of monastic orders, Wyclif appealed to the king in Parliament. The matter ended with his condemnation as a heretic in 1382, through the action of Courtenay, who had now become Archbishop of Canterbury. Great disturbances took place at Oxford, where the reformer had numerous followers among the students, but at last royal authority

intervened with an order for the banishment from the University of all his supporters, and the burning of all Lollard books. A synod held at the house of the Black Friars in London declared that it was heresy to affirm that the material substance of bread and wine remain after consecration in the sacrament of the altar. Thus, for the first time, the Church of England formally adopted the doctrine of transubstantiation, which, though generally received, had hitherto rested only upon the Papal authority.

The great reformer, driven from his beloved Oxford, where free Wyclif's opinion was being crushed by Courtenay, and abandoned by death John of Gaunt and by the more timorous of his own disciples, and influence. retired to his rectory at Lutterworth to die. Before the end came, he completed and revised his translation of the Scriptures, and sent forth pamphlet after pamphlet, in which he maintained his view as to the Eucharist, and declared that the cause of men's falling into this heresy (the doctrine of transubstantiation) was their want of faith in the Gospel, and their taking, in its place, apocryphal legends and the laws of Popes. This, he says, is the worst of all unfaithfulness, and "the most direct apostasy from our true father abbot, the Lord Jesus." A stroke of paralysis gave him cause to decline appearing at Rome, on the summons of Urban VI., to defend himself from the heresies laid to his charge. He was assisting at the celebration of the holy communion in his church at Lutterworth on Innocents' Day, December 28, 1384, when he was laid low by a second stroke, and died on the last day of the year. The influence of his doctrines was felt even in the distant kingdom of Bohemia, whither they were carried by some natives of that country, who came into England with the first queen of Richard II. In 1408, Archbishop Arundel, the successor of Courtenay, condemned all Wyclif's writings in a synod held at Oxford, and it was then made "heresy" to possess any version of the Bible not authorised by the Church. Two years later, the University passed the same sentence, and committed copies of his books to the flames. Arundel's zeal for the cause of orthodoxy next induced him to apply to the Pope for permission to burn Wyclif's bones, but, for once, Rome was more merciful, and less foolish, than Canterbury, and a refusal of this request was accorded. The Council of Constance, in 1415, issued a decree for the act of posthumous vengeance, and Pope Martin V. sent an order into England for its execution. At last, in 1428, nearly forty-four years after the great offender's death, his mouldering remains were taken up and committed to the flames by Fleming, Bishop of Lincoln, who had in early life favoured his doctrines. The ashes were thrown into the little river Swift, which flows by Lutterworth, and is a tributary of Shakespeare's Avon. In the words of Thomas Fuller, "This brook conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the wide ocean; and thus the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the

world over." As Milman says, "He was the first that shook with any lasting effect the dominion of the hierarchy; the harbinger at least, if not the first apostle, of Teutonic Christianity." This great man illustrates a brief period of free national life, and we may search the history of England without finding, in her ecclesiastical affairs, any character so complete and original, any intellectual force so vigorous, vivid, and versatile, as the intellect and the character of the old Master of Balliol and Rector of Lutterworth.

The accession of the boy-king, Richard II., was celebrated with much splendour. On June 22, 1377, the day after the death of his grandfather, he made his entry into London, amidst pageants and devices in every street, and conduits running with wine. On July 16th he was crowned at Westminster with unusual magnificence, and the beautiful son of the people's idol, the lamented Black Prince, was welcomed to the throne amid a chorus of praises of his goodness and wisdom, which were to be sorely belied in the coming time. The reign opened with trouble and ill-success in foreign affairs. France and Spain were active in hostilities, and the Scots, in 1378, burnt Roxburgh and captured Berwick. The Duke of Lancaster failed in an attack upon St. Malo, to the relief of which the brave and vigilant Du Guesclin came with a large army, compelling the English to retire to their ships. The cost of our failures was heavy, and taxation caused great discontent. In addition to heavy duties on wool and leather, a capitation-tax was granted by the House of Commons in 1379. This, in principle, was an income-tax, affecting every householder, from the Duke, assessed at £6, 13s. 4d., equivalent to more than a hundred pounds of present money, to the labourer, who was called upon to pay fourpence for himself and his wife. In 1380, the charges of a fruitless expedition to Brittany caused the imposition of the famous poll-tax, which proved the last straw to the endurance of the suffering peasantry. It was a levy of "three groats from every person in the kingdom, male or female, of the age of fifteen, of what state and condition soever, except beggars." This tax was as a match applied to a mine in which explosive materials had long been accumulating. We have seen that the system of serfdom or villenage was tottering to its fall, and that the great class of labourers, and small cultivators as tenants and yeomen, were finding out that they had rights to maintain. The immediate cause of the worst outbreak was an incident that occurred at Dartford, in Kent. A man named Wat the Tyler, from his trade, was visited by a collector of the poll-tax, who grossly insulted his daughter in a dispute as to her age, when it was claimed that she was liable for the tax. The enraged father laid the ruffian dead with a blow. The whole rural population of the county at once flew to arms. The men of Essex had already used violence to the tax-gatherers, and the same spirit of revolt existed in Norfolk and Suffolk. Sussex, Surrey, Hertfordshire, and

Cambridgeshire, and even men from distant Somerset, swelled the ranks of the insurrection. Wat the Tyler put himself at the head of the men of Kent, after calling to his side the itinerant preacher, John Ball, who had been excommunicated for preaching "errors, and schisms, and scandals against the Pope, the archbishops, bishops, and clergy." To him is assigned the authorship of the famous couplet which runs in modern spelling, "When Adam delved and Eve span, Who was then the gentleman?" Without waiting for any answer to this inquiry, the insurgents proceeded forthwith to exterminate the "gentlemen" and their goods. Another priest, who assumed the name of Jack Straw, was connected with the revolt in Essex. The doctrine of Wyclif, that the clergy ought not to hold property, seems to have become perverted by the ignorant, or by designing men who misled them, into a theory that all property was unlawful. It seems, from the simultaneous outbreak in counties far removed from each other, that the insurrection had been carefully planned. The revolt extended from the coast of Kent to the Humber, and was organised by letters sent about the country, bearing the signatures of Jack the Miller, Jack the Carter, Jack Trueman, and other assumed names. It is to be noted that, in the rising of Hertfordshire, the slaves on the lands of St. Alban's and other abbeys flocked to join the revolt, and to demand their freedom from the monks.

The men of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, under Tyler and Ball, marched on London, assembling on Blackheath in June to the number, The in-
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don. it is said, of a hundred thousand. One feature of the outbreak was the destruction of legal documents, in the hope of removing all records that could be used in support of feudal claims for the bondage or services of the labouring class. The hostility shown to the clergy was probably based on the fact of their being keepers of such documents as maintained the disabilities of the people, and it was in his secular character as Chancellor, rather than as Archbishop, that Simon of Sudbury fell a victim. As the great host neared London, the king, with the members of his council, took refuge in the Tower. The young monarch, now in his sixteenth year, showed at this crisis the courage of his race. He had left Windsor to meet the danger, and descended the river in his barge on June 12th. On passing London Bridge, he was met with loud cries from the insurgents on the Rotherhithe bank. On that night, Southwark and Lambeth saw the demolition of the houses of the Marshalsea and of the King's Bench, and the sack of the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury. On the following morning the rebels crossed London Bridge into the city. An especial hatred was felt towards John of Gaunt, and, along with the destruction of Newgate and the buildings of the Temple, they burnt the Duke's palace of the Savoy. With the usual prejudice against foreigners, they butchered the Flemish artisans, wherever they were found. Separate bodies of the men of Essex and of Hertfordshire had also come down

on the capital from the north and from the east. During the fearful outrages of June 13th, the king remained in the Tower, but on the next day, when Tower Hill was filled with the multitude, a proclamation was made by a herald that the king would meet them at Mile End, on the Essex road. He there had conference with the men of Essex and some of the Kent insurgents, and received the petition which they had drawn up. Their demands included the abolition of slavery, the reduction of the rent of land to fourpence (from four to five shillings) an acre, liberty to buy and sell, without tax or impost, at all markets and fairs, and a general pardon for offences lately committed. The claim as to markets and fairs was an assertion of the freedom of trade, which was greatly hampered by the charters of towns, and by the tolls which the lay and ecclesiastical lords exacted in every city and borough. As there was no means of resistance at hand, these demands were agreed to by the king, and the remaining hours of the day, and all the succeeding night, were employed by many clerks in drawing up charters, in the sense of the petition, for every parish and township. They were then sealed, and the main body of the insurgents from Essex and Hertfordshire then retired towards their homes. Meanwhile, the Kentish rebels had continued a course of outrage in the city. The Tower-gates were forced, and Simon of Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and other persons of high position, were seized and beheaded. On June 17th came the famous meeting in Smithfield between Tyler, heading his followers, and the king, attended by a small retinue. The rebel leader was flushed with success, and his tone and demeanour provoked the Lord Mayor, Sir William Walworth, to draw his sword and strike him. The insurgents bent their bows when their leader fell, and a massacre was imminent, when Richard rode up to the angry multitude, and offered himself as their leader in place of Tyler, who had now been dispatched by the swords of the attendants. This courageous conduct induced them to follow him out to the fields about the rural village of Islington. A force of veteran troops and of armed citizens of London had by this time gathered, but the king forbade them to attack the insurgents, whom he dismissed to their homes with the same charters of freedom as had been granted to their fellows from Essex and Hertfordshire. In the eastern counties the movement was put down by Henry Spenser, known as "the fighting Bishop of Norwich." This man is a representative of the martial churchman of mediæval times, alluded to by Shakespeare when he writes of Hotspur leading "ancient lords and reverend bishops on To bloody battles and to bruising arms." He soon afterwards levied troops, and led what was called a crusade against the French and Flemings, to assert the cause of Urban VI. against his French rival, Clement. After a series of actions and sieges at Gravelines, Dunkirk, and other towns in the Low Countries, he returned with the reputation of great personal courage.

On the retirement of the insurgents from London, the rebels in other counties either laid down their arms and dispersed to their homes, or were put down by force. The king then summoned the nobles and gentry, with their retainers, to his standard, and took the field with a powerful army. The charters were revoked, and the terrors of the law were let loose on the unhappy peasantry. John Ball and many others were executed after trial by the judges on circuit, but, in many parts of the country, the insurrection was suppressed by means as violent and illegal as the outbreak. This is proved by the fact that a statute of indemnity was passed in Parliament, for the benefit of those who "made divers punishments upon the said villains and other traitors, without due process of the law." The Parliament refused the king's request that they would pass a law for the formal abolition of villenage or serfdom, but the institution had, none the less, received its death-blow, and, when the reaction caused by terror had subsided, the general movement towards personal freedom for Englishmen went on in its appointed course.

We have seen that, by the *Statute of Provisors*, a legislative resistance had been made under Edward III. to the Pope's claim of the right of appointment to benefices in England. Under Richard II., in 1380, it was declared by Parliament that the statutes in this regard were not effectual, and that "benefices have been given, against the will of the founders, to divers people of another language." This protest against the appointment of Italians and other foreigners to English livings complained that such persons were non-resident, and were so unable "to hear confession, to preach, and to teach the people." It was therefore provided that none should farm benefices for such aliens, nor remit them money, or merchandise, or letters of exchange, without license of the king. A few years later, the court of Rome came to an open rupture with England upon this question. In 1390, a statute was passed, declaring that if any one brought into the realm any summons, sentence, or excommunication arising out of the statute of 1380, he should be punished with "pain of life" and forfeiture of goods. In 1391, the Act of Edward I.'s reign against giving lands in mortmain was renewed and enlarged. The Pope, Boniface IX., set at defiance the statute of 1390, and appointed an Italian cardinal to a prebendal stall at Wells, to which the king had previously presented. A suit was instituted in England, in which judgment was given for the king. The bishops supported the decision of the king's court, and executed judgment accordingly. The Pope excommunicated the bishops. Then the Commons of England spoke out. They declared that the things so attempted by the Pope were "clearly against the king's crown and his regality," and avowed their determination "to stand with our lord the king in the cases aforesaid, and in all other cases attempted against him, in all points, to live and to die." The House then desired the king to

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seek the opinion of the Lords. The Lords temporal declared that they would support the crown. The Lords spiritual followed suit, and declared that they would "loyally uphold his crown, and in all other cases touching his crown and his regality, as they were bound by their allegiance." Then came the famous *Statute of Praemunire*, which was, in fact, an assertion of what is now called the "royal supremacy," commonly thought to have been first introduced at the Reformation. This great Act of Parliament was passed in 1392. The name is given from the opening words of the writ issued against the offender guilty of a contempt against the sovereign and government—*praemunire facias A. B. etc.* (cause A. B. to be forewarned that he appear before us, etc.). Then the word *praemunire* was used to denote the offence of maintaining the Papal power, by paying that obedience to any order or process of the court of Rome which belongs to the king alone. The statute declares that "whoever procures at Rome, or elsewhere, any translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things, which touch the king, against him, his crown, and realm, and all persons aiding therein, shall be put out of the king's protection, their lands and goods forfeited to the king's use, and they shall be attached by their bodies to answer to the king and his council; or process of *praemunire facias* shall be made out against them, as in any other case of provisors."

The internal history of the first half of the reign is much concerned with intrigues, family quarrels, and open variance, ending in **Home** civil war, caused by the efforts of Richard to cope with the **affairs.** authority assumed by his uncles John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester. The king called to his aid various ministers and favourites, including Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, a man of low origin, who was created Earl of Suffolk, and the dissolute Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford. John of Gaunt was again and again accused of conspiracy to dethrone his nephew, but no proofs were forthcoming, and in 1386 he left England to assert his claim to the crown of Castile, in right of his second wife, Constantia, daughter of Peter the Cruel. His eldest daughter by his first wife married John, king of Portugal. His daughter Catharine, who had succeeded to her mother's claims, was wedded, in 1387, to Henry III. of Castile, and the issue of John of Gaunt thus bore rule in Spain for many generations. It would seem that the king was vainly impatient of parliamentary control, and it is certain that the Commons, in particular, persisted in asserting their rights. The king had married, in 1382, the Princess Anne of Bohemia, a prudent and amiable lady, who restrained many of the impulses of his levity and fitful passions, but there was one thing which she could not check—the unbounded extravagance of her husband's personal expenditure. In 1386, the Commons demanded that the state of his household should be yearly looked into, and amended at the discretion of certain high officials, but Richard

rejected the proposal with disdain, and replied that he would not, at their instance, remove the meanest scullion in his kitchen. They then impeached the Earl of Suffolk for corruption, and forced the king to part with his services for the time. The Commons then went a step farther, and caused the king to appoint a Commission of Regency for one year, armed with very large powers. The Duke of Gloucester bore a leading part in this humiliating treatment of Richard, and it was bitterly remembered against him by his nephew, when the time came for revenge. In the summer of 1387, the king made progresses in Cheshire and Yorkshire, and was well received by the people. In August, he held a council at Nottingham, which included De Vere, now created Duke of Ireland; the Earl of Suffolk; the Chief-Justice Tresilian; and Sir Nicholas Brember, Lord Mayor of London. The king tried through them to induce the sheriffs of many counties only to return to the next Parliament such knights and burgesses as he should nominate, but this attempt failed, and he then fell back upon the judges. The Chief-Justice extorted from them an opinion that the Commission of Regency was illegal, and that those were traitors who had promoted its appointment. On November 10, Richard entered London, and was received with acclamations by the citizens, owing to the influence of the Lord Mayor. The Duke of Gloucester had been taking his measures, and advanced on the capital with a large army, supported by the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, and by Henry of Bolingbroke, the future king, now Earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt. On November 17, these nobles, called "lords appellants," accused of high treason before the king at Westminster the councillors who had taken part in the meeting at Nottingham. The Earl of Suffolk fled to France, but De Vere, under authority of royal letters, raised an army and took the field. His defeat at the *battle of Radcot Bridge*, on the upper Thames, near Lechlade, drove him away to Ireland, and left the king helpless. Tresilian, the Chief-Justice, and Sir Nicholas Brember, died on the scaffold as traitors. Other executions, banishments, and confiscations took place, under the authority of Parliament.

In 1389 a sudden change came over the scene. At a council held in May, the king suddenly asked his uncle Gloucester "How old am I?" The reply was, "Your highness is in your twenty-fourth year." Upon this, Richard declared his opinion that he was old enough to manage his own affairs. No resistance was made. Gloucester and his partisans retired from the council, and William of Wykeham became Chancellor. The Duke of Lancaster had returned from Spain, after selling his claim to the crown of Castile for a round sum, and both he and his son, Bolingbroke, regained their influence under the king. In the Parliament of 1390, the Chancellor declared the king to be of full age, and that he intended to govern his people in peace and quiet, to do justice to all men, and that clergy and laity should enjoy all their liberties. We

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shall see that all these professions only masked the purpose of grasping absolute power, or, if sincerely made at the time, the spirit which dictated them was overridden by the development of a proud and tyrannous disposition in the king's inconstant character.

In 1384, a truce was concluded with France, in which Scotland was included by the French negotiators, but the Scots refused to desist from warfare, as the English, under the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, had just made a destructive foray over the border, slaughtering and burning as far as Edinburgh. A body of knights from France arrived at this juncture, and marched with a large Scottish army into England. The lands of the two Earls were ravaged, and the Scots returned, driving before them a valuable booty of cattle and prisoners. In 1385, the French sent an expedition of a thousand horse and a thousand foot to Scotland, and a large sum in gold, with a thousand stand of arms and armour, to encourage another invasion. The English government, enraged by the news of this French assistance, raised a great and well-furnished force, with which the king marched northwards in person. Their numbers caused the immediate retreat of the invading Scots and Frenchmen, who moved away into Cumberland and Westmoreland, burning and plundering on every side. Richard advanced into Scotland, and took Edinburgh, finding no foe to oppose him, but was then forced to retreat from lack of supplies. The Duke of Lancaster advised him to return by way of Cumberland, and cut off, as he easily might, the Scots and Frenchmen. Then the favourite, De la Pole, interposed with a suggestion of treachery on the part of the Duke, and thus the chance was lost. Such was the cruel and senseless warfare, without any decisive result, waged for successive ages between the two neighbouring nations. One incident of the fitful struggle has acquired fame from its celebration in the ballad of "Chevy Chase." It arose out of the hereditary enmity between the English and Scottish feudal lords, the Percy and the Douglas. Lord Henry Percy, the young hero styled *Hotspur*, had been appointed to keep the frontier of Northumberland. In the summer of 1388, the Scottish lords and knights planned a great foray, and a detachment of three hundred men-at-arms and two thousand footmen crossed the Tweed, under the command of Douglas, and made their way to the gates of Durham. As they returned laden with booty, they fell in with Percy and his men near Newcastle. A skirmish ensued, in which the leaders met as if at a tournament. Earl Douglas and Percy fought hand to hand, and the Scottish leader took Percy's pennon, which he boasted that he "would set on high on his castle of Dalkeith." Percy retorted that he should not carry it out of England. The Scots then marched to Otterburn, thirty miles from Newcastle, on the way to the Cheviots, and there awaited the English attack. The marshy valley, and the hill where the Scots fixed their camp, may still be traced. Harry Percy came on

to the attack, with the moon shining as bright as day, in hope of winning back his pennon. A fierce engagement ensued, in which the English were routed, and Percy taken prisoner, while the gallant Douglas lay dead on the field. After the battle, the Bishop of Durham, another warlike churchman of the age, came up with a large force, but did not venture to attack the Scottish position. For the rest of the reign, successive truces kept peace, in the main, between the two countries. In 1394, Richard went to Ireland with a great army, and remained there nine months. There had been revolt of the native chiefs, and disaffection among the colonists, but the king's presence and display of power pacified all for the time. He was thoroughly in his element, while he gave sumptuous entertainments at Dublin, and showed his regal magnificence to a wondering people.

In the same year, Richard lost by death the guiding influence of his queen, called by the people "the good queen Anne." From that time, his course was a downward path to destruction. **Richard II.'s tyranny and downfall.** In 1396, the king sought to confirm the existing terms of truce with France by marriage with Isabella, daughter of Charles VI., a child but eight years of age. The Duke of Lancaster favoured the alliance, but Gloucester, always openly or secretly hostile to his nephew, made use of it to resume his intrigues, and stir up feeling against a king who showed friendship to the old enemy of the nation. It is said that the Count de St. Pol, a French envoy to England at this time, encouraged Richard to take a bold course against his enemies, and promised the help of the king of France. Since 1389, the English monarch had acted with moderation, and remained on good terms with Parliament, but now, from whatever cause, he aimed at, and, for a time, achieved the possession of absolute power. In February 1397, the House of Commons again made a remonstrance as to the extravagant expenses of the king's household. Cowed by Richard's wrath at their daring interference, they passed a bill to the effect that "whoever moved the Commons of Parliament, or any others, to make remedy or reformation of any kind appertaining to the king's person, rule, or royalty, should be held for a traitor." The king soon turned on his enemies among the nobles with the ferocious suddenness of a *coup d'état*. In July, the Earls of Warwick and Arundel were arrested and put into ward at Tintagel and Carisbrook castles. The Duke of Gloucester was seized at his castle of Pleshey, in Essex, hurried to a barge in the Thames, and then shipped off to a prison at Calais. On September 17th, Richard met his now subservient Parliament, which seems to have been packed with members who would vote anything that might be demanded. Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, brother of the Earl of Arundel, was impeached by the Commons for treason, and banished for life. His brother the Earl was beheaded, and Warwick was condemned, but his life was spared. On the 24th, news came from Calais that the Duke of Gloucester had died in prison, and Lancastrian par-

tisans affirmed in the next reign that he was murdered there by the king's orders. In all these proceedings, the king's uncles, the Dukes of Lancaster and York, and his cousin Bolingbroke, were concurrent, either from a prudent fear or from choice. In 1398, a statute was made, which is really a solemn record of the establishment of a despotic power, under the sanction of parliamentary forms. The proceedings of 1387 in Parliament were annulled, as things done traitorously and against the king's crown and dignity. It was declared that only such business could be done in Parliament as the king approved, and that impeachment of the king's officers was treasonable. A subsidy for life was then granted in the shape of a tax upon wool and leather. Lastly, the Lords and Commons handed over their powers to a small junto of peers and commoners nominated by the king, who were to legislate upon "all petitions, and matters contained in the same, as they shall think best by their good advice and discretion." Thus armed with a tyrant's power, the doomed king used it like a tyrant. "He kept in his wages," says Froissart, "ten thousand archers, night and day that waited on him," and "there was none so great in England that durst speak against anything that the king did or would do." A quarrel arose between the Duke of Norfolk and Bolingbroke, who had now become Duke of Hereford. Each accused the other of treason, and the king professed to allow them both to try the matter by "wager of battle" in the lists at Coventry, in September 1398. When the day came, Richard flung down his warder and stayed the matter, as the two champions were about to charge, and then banished the disputants, Hereford for ten years, and Norfolk for life. Three months later, John of Gaunt died, and Hereford became Duke of Lancaster. He was much loved by the people, and the king acted with insane folly when he confiscated all his estates. He had now made a deadly foe of his most powerful subject, who might also be an able leader of other disaffected persons. In truth, the proceedings of Richard II. had raised up for him enemies in every quarter. Though an amnesty for all offences had been granted, he robbed rich subjects by heavy fines for imputed offences in connection with the brief rebellion in 1387, and extorted money, on the same grounds, from several counties. The course of justice was interrupted, and the whole people groaned under a misgovernment which allowed robbers in great companies to roam through the land, despoiling merchants of their goods, travellers of their purses, and cultivators of the produce of their fields. In 1399, Richard suddenly resolved on another visit to Ireland, to avenge the loss of the Earl of March, who had been surprised and slain by a party of the lawless natives. He left as regent his uncle, the Duke of York, and parted with his child-wife Isabella at the door of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, where they had been to hear mass. Lifting her up in his arms, and kissing her, the king cried, "Adieu, madam, adieu till we meet again." His absence left the way open for the action of his

greatest enemy. The banished Archbishop Arundel journeyed from Cologne to Paris, where Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, was then residing at the French court. On July 4th, they landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, with a small party of men-at-arms. Richard is astounded, amid a life of plenty and splendour at Dublin, by news that Henry of Lancaster is in England, that the Percies and other great nobles have joined him, that the regent, the Duke of York, has given a forced adhesion to the rebel, and that the whole kingdom is at Lancaster's feet in willing submission. The king landed on the Welsh coast, and, after helpless wanderings, surrendered to the Earl of Northumberland near Flint Castle. The Duke of Lancaster arrived next day with a great force, and carried the king a prisoner to London. On September 29th, Richard subscribed a deed of resignation of the crown, in which he absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and recommended his "cousin of Lancaster" as his successor. On the next day, the Parliament, gathered in Westminster Hall, passed an Act of deposition, and the Duke of Lancaster came forward, and claimed the throne on the ground of his descent from Henry the Third, and of his having been sent, "by God of his grace," to save a realm on the point of being undone by evil ruling. He was then led by the two archbishops to the royal chair of state, and his claim was solemnly recognised by Parliament. The nearest heir was Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, a child in his seventh year, son of Roger Mortimer, lately killed in Ireland. In thus choosing a successor of the royal line, but not the next heir, according to the rules of descent for ordinary estates, the Lords and Commons were wielding the powers employed of old by the *Witan*. The deposition of Richard II. was, in truth, a national act. The king, who had misgoverned the country, and taken to himself arbitrary power, was treated as a public delinquent, and the general good was set forth as the ultimate end of all government.] The revolution of 1399, which placed Henry IV. on the throne, was the result of a general agreement of various orders of society, having a common interest in the maintenance of freedom. It is a striking proof of the growth of public opinion, the power of which saved England from the despotism that, in other countries, grew out of the mediæval institutions. It was given to this nation gradually to modify the spirit of their ancient constitution without destroying it. At the very time when the Commons of England would permit no tax to be levied without consent of the people, the nobility of France had suffered the crown to impose taxes at its will, provided they themselves were exempt. From that time, the paths of the two nations diverged. The one advanced towards its saving Revolution of 1688, and the other moved on, with inevitable progress, slow but sure, towards the violent disruption and dissolution of 1789.

It was decided by the new king and the peers that the deposed monarch should be kept imprisoned "in safe and secret ward." Nothing

more is known of his fate than that in February 1400, it was stated that he had died in Pontefract Castle. A body was conveyed thence to London, and shown as his at St. Paul's, where the funeral obsequies were performed in the presence of Henry IV. The corpse was then interred at King's Langley, and afterwards removed to Westminster Abbey, by order of Henry V. It is likely that Richard was put to death, as alleged, at Pontefract, and beyond that nothing can be safely affirmed, from the lack of all trustworthy evidence.

During the first twelve years of the reign of Richard II. there was a constant growth of the power of the House of Commons. The great constitutional principles of our government were strikingly shown in their practical effect. The power of the Commons was more signally displayed than at any previous period, in demanding administrative reform as the condition of voting supplies; in the impeachment of those who were held to be evil advisers of the crown; and in insisting that the public liberties, as laid down in charters and enactments, should not be infringed by the king. The powers thus asserted by the Commons fell, for a time, into partial abeyance under the last Plantagenet and the Tudor sovereigns, but this retrogression was of minor importance in a country where the champions of freedom made constant appeal to precedent, and demanded that the rights won in the past should be made the basis for more changes in the way of constitutional reform. The three kings of the House of Lancaster, who owed their throne to a parliamentary title, saw further progress made in the power of the Commons, which will be duly noticed under the reign of the last of those rulers.

John Gower, born about 1325 and dying in 1408, was the contemporary and friend of Chaucer, who calls him "the moral Gower," from his grave and sententious style, even when he writes upon topics which might well be treated in a lively manner. The French romances were the courtly reading before Chaucer and Gower came with their more attractive English. The demand for poetry and fiction is shown by an incident connected with Gower's chief work, the *Confessio Amantis*. Richard II., the luxurious king, is in his barge on the Thames, when he sees the poet in a boat, invites him to come on board, and there desires him to "book some new thing." Gower was a gentleman by birth, living in the pleasant land, now blooming with hop-vines, at the village of Otford, in Kent, where, in his time, the Archbishop of Canterbury had a favourite old seat. He was a man of learning, who wrote with ease in French and Latin, as well as in his native tongue. His best poem, the *Vox Clamantis*, is an allegorical account, in Latin elegiacs, of the peasant-revolt in 1381. Its object was that of setting men of culture to the task of diagnosing the diseases of the body politic. The vices of the higher clergy of the time are denounced—their lives of

Richard's death.

Parliament under Richard II.

Literature: Gower and Chaucer.

pride, wealth, and ease, and their utter contrast with their master, Christ. He declares that the friar of the day obeys the devil's rule, and gives some plain advice to the boy-king Richard, setting before him the good example of his father, the Black Prince. The Papal claims to absolute power in things temporal and spiritual are also freely canvassed. The *Confession of a Lover* consists of seven sets of stories in verse, directed against the seven deadly sins—pride, envy, anger, sloth, avarice, gluttony, and lust. In *Geoffrey Chaucer*, the "Father of English poetry," we have one of the great names of our noble literature, a born poet of high genius and invention, keen perception of human nature, dramatic power, and brilliant accomplishments as a writer. He was the son of a London vintner or wine merchant, but the date of his birth is unknown, and the authorities differ as widely as 1328 and 1340. Of his early training little is recorded. He seems to have held a post in the household of Prince Lionel of Antwerp, second son of Edward III. The poet himself and his work are specially connected with the friendship and patronage of John of Gaunt. In that age the influence of Italy over literary form was spreading through western Europe in the works of her great writers Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. The stanza of Chaucer was based on the octave rhyme of this last brilliant author, and the Italian prose of *The Decameron*, in its hundred stories of adventure and character, suggested the design of the immortal *Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer's earlier work was framed on French models in the shape of court-poetry, but in the middle of his career the power of the great Italian writers asserted itself in the development of the more matured productions of the Englishman. The varied life and experience of Chaucer gave him opportunities of insight into men and affairs which his ability turned to great advantage in his literary work. He was a courtier, a soldier, an envoy, a high official in the customs, and a member of the House of Commons. In 1359, he sailed for France in the great army of Edward III., and was taken prisoner, but released on ransom in 1360, when the Peace of Bretigny was signed. In 1366, he appears in a list of the king's esquires; in 1370, he was again abroad on the king's service, and in 1372 he was one of the commissioners who went to Genoa for the purpose of making a commercial treaty with the great Italian republic. On his return, after two years of work, travel, and observation, he was appointed, through the kindly offices of John of Gaunt, to the post of Comptroller of the Customs for wool and hides in the port of London. The revenue of this office, along with a court-pension, grants from the Duke of Lancaster, and the guardianship of a wealthy crown-ward, made the poet a wealthy man. In 1376 and the following year, he was twice employed by the king on secret service, and reached his highest position as a citizen in 1386, when he sat in Parliament as one of the members for Kent. He was now known throughout the land, and that not merely as the

courtier-poet who wrote *The Court of Love*, *The Assembly of Foules* (or *Parliament of Birds*), and the *Book of the Duchess*, lamenting the death of Blanche, wife of John of Gaunt, whom he celebrates as a model of womanly grace and of wedded love. His *Troilus and Cressida* had shown a great power of character-painting, and a new freedom of expression, derived from the close study of the Italian masters of poetry and prose. *The House of Fame* was a brilliant effort of imaginative power, and *The Legend of Good Women* showed the high esteem for womanly truth and purity felt by the poet, who declares that, of all the flowers that bloom, he loves, and ever will, the Daisy best. *The Canterbury Tales* is a great unfinished work, on which the poet was employed, at intervals, for many years of his life. Herein the wise, shrewd, and humorous author, with the forked beard, face of kindly cunning, portly frame, and genial ways—albeit silent and devoted to his books—displayed a power of insight into human character, and a knowledge of the human heart, which have been surpassed, in all our literature, by one man alone, and that the greatest writer of the world. The joyous freedom of his song is full as pleasant to the modern reader as it can have been to those who hailed it with delight five hundred years ago. While the poetry of Chaucer reflects the manners of an age which was, for all but the lowest class of toilers, one of mirth, vivacity, and talk, it also sets before us, with amazing power, the divers characters of men and women, discriminated by countless subtle strokes of action and expression. The wide range of the poet's sympathies, the dramatic skill of his portraiture, and the lively style of his descriptions, charm the reader at every turn. Among the pilgrims from the *Tabard* Inn at Southwark to the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury, we have men and women of various ranks in English society, riding together in the hearty fellowship brought about by union in a religious undertaking which set aside, for the time, the usual distinctions of worldly position. The "ploughman" is really the small farmer, a man of "goods and chattels," no longer at the bidding of a feudal lord. The attendant on the knight is a yeoman, in "coat and hood of green," with his sheaf of arrows and mighty bow. He has on his breast a silver image of St. Christopher, the patron of field-sports, and is a specimen of the bold race that won Crécy and Poitiers. He and his fellows, in hours of leisure, were shooting at the butts on every common in England, while the French peasantry, debarred from manly exercises, were playing at dice and draughts like their lords. The handicrafts of the time are represented by the haberdasher, carpenter, weaver, dyer, and *tapiser*, or maker of tapestry. Each is clothed in the livery of his craft-guild, and wears at his girdle a knife mounted with silver. They have chattels and rent enough to be aldermen, a dignity which their wives long for the husbands to attain, in the hope to be called *Madame*. The *franklin* is the esquire of the time, a great householder, whose hospitality was so lavish that

"it snewed in his house of meat and drink." He was a public man, as a knight of the shire, and only below the knight in rank. The sergeant-at-law is there, with impressive deportment and wise words; and the physician, in bright purple cloak and furred hood, with talk of the ascendancy of the planets and of natural magic, but still learned in his master Galen. The wife of Bath, one of the liveliest of the group, was a cloth-maker, with great custom, wearing a head-dress of finest quality, and scarlet hosen. The fantastic men's dress of the day is shown in the young squire, the knight's son, who has been with his father to the wars, but now has his locks curled, and wears a short gown which has long, wide sleeves, and is embroidered with white and red flowers "as it were a mead." One of the finest portraits is that of "the poor parson of a town," "rich of holy thought and work," benign, patient, gentle to sinners, but sharp with the obstinate ill-doer; a man who "taught the lore of Christ and his Apostles, but first he followed it himself." Six more of the company belong to the ecclesiastical establishment—a prioress, a monk, a friar, a "clerk" of Oxford, a *sompnour* or summoner of delinquents to the Church-courts, and a *pardoner*, who dealt in pardons from the Pope. There are a "slender and choleric *reeve*," employed by some lord as steward or bailiff; a merchant, in his Flanders hat, "sounding alway the increase of his winning;" and a *shipman*, or sailor, in a tunic of coarse cloth, with a dagger or short sword hung by a lace about his neck and under his arm. A cook, and a *manciple*, or provider of victuals for the Inns of Court, make mirth for the company by their quarrels and their jokes. A miller, big and bony, one who "could well steal corn;" mine host of the *Tabard*, Harry Bailly, a "right merry man;" and the poet himself, whom the host describes as one of elvish face, who "looked upon the ground as he would find a hare," are the other chief persons of the motley array. We have our ancestors restored to us, not as phantoms from the field of battle or the scaffold, but in the full enjoyment of their social life. The man who drew them for our entertainment and instruction lies buried in the south aisle of the Abbey of Westminster, amid other illustrious dead, and was described in after-time by Spenser, who lies near him, as "That renowned Poet, Dan Chaucer, well of English undefyled, On Fame's eternal beadroll worthy to be fyled."

CHAPTER II.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION UNDER HENRY IV.

Owen Glendower, the Percies, and the Scots. Battles of Homildon Hill and Shrewsbury. Other rebellions. The Lollards and Archbishop Arundel. Sawtrey, Badby, and other victims. Scottish affairs. The Regent Albany. Prince James of Scotland (James I.) a prisoner in England.

THE first king of the house of Lancaster was soon called on to defend by arms the throne which he had acquired by will of Parliament, representing the nation. The young Earl of March was in safe charge at Windsor Castle, but in less than three months from Henry's accession, a number of nobles resolved to attempt the restoration of Richard. The plot only hastened his death, and the king scarcely needed to raise an army against the plotters. The people took matters into their own hands. When the conspirators marched to the west, proclaiming "King Richard" on their way, the burghers of Cirencester attacked them in their quarters, and the Earls of Kent and Salisbury were taken and beheaded. The men of Bristol secured and dispatched Lords Lumley and Despenser. Richard's half-brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, was killed by the tenants at Pleshey, in Essex, and a few executions took place after sentence by the courts of law. These events occurred in January 1400. The next trouble arose in Wales, where the late king had been much beloved. The people there had been moved to pity by his fall and death, and greatly angered by severe measures passed in Parliament against the whole nation, on account of certain marauders who had stolen cattle and robbed traders in adjacent English counties. No Welshman was to be allowed to purchase land in England, or to become a citizen or burgess in any English city or town. In 1401, another Parliament enacted that no Welshman should bear arms or defensive armour. The people rose at once, and found a leader in the famous Owen Glendower. This gentleman was a great-grandson of the last Prince Llewellyn, and had been an esquire in Richard II.'s household. Educated at one of the Inns of Court in London, he possessed an amount of knowledge which seemed portentous to his simple and unlettered countrymen, who regarded him as invested with magical powers. Some of his land had been seized by Lord Grey de Ruthyn, a neighbouring English baron, and when Glendower applied to Parliament for redress, his petition was treated with contempt by the peers as that of a "barefooted rascal." He then took arms, seized Lord Grey, and wasted his barony. The spark of private feud blazed into a national revolt, and the songs of the Welsh bards were sounding again on the hills, as they hailed the new hero who was to restore the olden glory

of the Britons. The Welsh students at Oxford and Cambridge hurried home in 1401 to aid the rebellion, and Welsh labourers employed in England escaped to join their countrymen. The English forces engaged against the insurgents were under the charge of Harry Percy (Hotspur), son of the Earl of Northumberland, and the nominal command of the king's eldest son, Henry of Monmouth, then in his fourteenth year. In 1402, Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle to the young Earl of March, went against Glendower, but was utterly defeated, and taken prisoner, in Radnorshire. The king then took the field in person, but the expedition entirely failed. It was the month of August, and, when the royal army was exposed to storms of rain, snow, and hail in that tempestuous summer, Glendower was alleged to have raised them by his wicked sorcery. It was strategy, helped by the season, and not sorcery, that baffled the English troops. Glendower carried on the war according to the traditions of his forefathers, and, offering no chance of an action in the open field, defied the enemy from his strongholds in the mountains.

On all sides Henry IV. was surrounded with difficulty and danger, according to the maxim put into his mouth by the great dramatist, "Uneasy lies the head that wears a crown." France and Scotland refused him recognition as the sovereign of England, and declared that their truces were with Richard, and not with an usurper. Isabella, the child-widow of the late king, had been taken back to Calais with ceremony almost as splendid as that which attended her marriage five years before, but Henry, sorely needing money himself, declined to restore the dowry which she had brought with her to England. The French nobles and princes, regarding the deposition of Richard as the act of the English nation, cried out for a war of vengeance on a people so "dangerous through its pride and insolence." But France was rendered helpless by the condition of her own affairs. Her king, Charles VI., father of the ex-queen Isabella, was more or less insane, and the Armagnac and Bourguignon civil war was raging between the factions of the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy. Against Scotland the king's forces gained a marked success. After a useless invasion made by Henry in 1400, when the English army, according to precedent, dwindled away at last from lack of supplies, the Scots invaded England, under the command of Earl Douglas, in 1402. He made his way to Durham, as his father had done before the fatal fight of Otterburn, and was then marching back to Scotland with his booty, when he found his way barred by a large force under the Percies, the Earl of Northumberland, and his son "Hotspur." The spot called *Homildon Hill* lies about a mile north-west of Wooler, in Northumberland, near the foot of the Cheviots. There the Scottish warriors, ten thousand of the best men in the land, took up their position for defence. The English advanced to the attack, and their archers alone won the day. The flight of their shafts was so terrible in its sustained swift-

ness and strength that the enemy had no chance against them. As they stood in their ranks on the hill-sides, they were shot down by hundreds, and, when they charged, the English bowmen retired a little, and renewed their deadly fire. No English men-at-arms drew a sword on that day of defeat for Scotland. Douglas was severely wounded, and taken prisoner, along with many nobles and knights, including the son and heir of the Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland. A total rout followed, and great numbers of the Scots were drowned in attempting to pass the Tweed. This victory was won on September 14th.

Various reasons have been assigned for the discontent, ending in open revolt, displayed by Northumberland and his son Hotspur. It is certain that they had incurred great expenses in resistance to the Scots, and that the king's government, unable to find money even to pay the troops in Wales, could not at the time reimburse the northern lords. The true cause was probably ambition, encouraged by the king's embarrassments, which prompted them to set up another ruler, possibly the young Earl of March, under whose nominal sway the Percies would be even greater men than they were. The plans of the rebels were laid with such secrecy that, while the king was marching northwards to join them in invading Scotland, Harry Percy was coming down on Wales, by Lancashire and Cheshire, proclaiming that Richard was alive. The Earl of Northumberland was lying ill at Berwick, but Douglas and his followers, released by their captors, were in the army as Percy's allies against the English king. Glendower, who was in the plot, was advancing from Carmarthenshire to meet Percy and Douglas, and the issue of events depended on the hindrance of the junction. The king had reached Burton-upon-Trent before he knew of the revolt, and turned at once to the westward, entering Shrewsbury on the 20th of July. The Prince of Wales had already joined him with his forces from the borders. The battle was fought on Hatley Field, three miles east of Shrewsbury, on July 23rd. The armies each numbered about 14,000 men, and a most obstinate struggle, of three hours' duration, ensued. The king and his son, young Harry of Monmouth, fought with desperate valour for throne and life. The Northumbrian archers, still flushed with the brilliant success of Homildon Hill, now drew their bowstrings against their English brothers, and the king's men fell "like leaves in autumn on a night of frost." The Prince of Wales was shot in the face, but fought on in the thickest of the battle. Percy and Douglas charged home, but the royal troops rallied, and behaved with great courage. The king himself was struck down by Douglas, but he was raised by his attendants, and plunged again into the contest. At length Hotspur fell, pierced by an arrow in the brain, and a panic set in among the rebels. Douglas was taken prisoner, and few of the Scots escaped death. Nearly half of the forces engaged lay dead or wounded on the ground. The Earl of Worcester, brother of Northum-

Rebellion
of the
Percies:
Battle of
Shrews-
bury, 1403.

berland, and two other men of mark, were executed at Shrewsbury market-cross as traitors. The politic Henry pardoned Northumberland without inflicting even a fine.

The troubles of the king and country were not ended by the Further great success at Shrewsbury. French descents harassed the plots and southern coasts, and France made a treaty with Glendower rebellion, as "Owen, Prince of Wales." The other "Prince of Wales" 1405-1408. kept up the war against him with some success, and the king was about to join him with a large force in 1405, when a new revolt called him to the north. The restless Northumberland was again in the field, and now in the plain interests of the young Earl of March, whom he sought to place on the throne. He was joined by the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Bardolf, and Scrope, Archbishop of York. Scrope and Nottingham were entrapped, under pretence of a conference, by the Earl of Westmoreland, and were then tried, condemned for treason, and executed. This was the first instance of an archbishop dying by sentence of the law. The Chief-Justice, Gascoigne, refused his sanction, on the ground that the lay-courts had no jurisdiction over a prelate, and the Pope excommunicated all who were concerned in his death, but afterwards withdrew the sentence. Northumberland and Bardolf escaped to Scotland for the time, and invaded Northumberland in 1408. Sir Thomas Rokeby, sheriff of Yorkshire, defeated them in battle at Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster. Northumberland died fighting, and Bardolf, taken prisoner, succumbed to the wounds received in the action. This was the end of English attempts to get rid of the energetic, vigilant, and able Henry of Lancaster. The great Welshman, Owen Glendower, never yielded at all. Henry, the Prince of Wales, by the efforts of four campaigns, subdued the southern part of the land, but the bold chieftain was in arms amongst the hills of the Snowdon group, making occasional raids against his enemies, until his death in the course of the next reign.

The lovers of religious freedom have always looked askance at the Persecu- reign of the English king under whom was passed the first tion of the law by which men were put to death for their religious the Lollards. belief. It was a desire to conciliate the Church that led Henry IV. to approve and to execute this statute. He had come to the throne with the almost unanimous support of the hierarchy, his great upholder being Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury. The son of John of Gaunt, a strong supporter of Wyclif as an assailant of the corruptions of the Church, was now used by the primate as an instrument for the destruction of the Lollards. The activity of this half-religious, half-political party did not cease with the death of Wyclif. They were as restless and fanatical as the Puritans of a later age in our history, and alarmed the government, though not the Church, as much by their meddling with public affairs as by their "heretical" views in matters that concerned the religion of the day. Some of

the chief followers of Wyclif, such as Philip Repington, who afterwards rose to be Bishop of Lincoln and cardinal, and the learned and accomplished Nicholas Hereford, had recanted their opinions, either wholly or in part, under pressure from the bold and energetic Courtney. Nevertheless, the new opinions continued to spread among all classes, and a chronicler of the time, Knyghton, a canon of Leicester, complains that there you could not meet two persons in the street but one of them was a Lollard. Among the laity of high rank who favoured or openly adopted "Lollardry," were Montague, Earl of Salisbury, who died in the first revolt against Henry, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir William Neville, and others whose names denote the possession of the best blood in England. The death of Courtney in 1396 had raised to the primacy the imperious Arundel, a great bigot of small learning. We have seen that he played a leading part in the usurpation of Henry IV., and he preached the coronation-sermon from the text "This man shall reign over my people," taking occasion thereby to contrast the manly virtues of Bolingbroke with the childish follies of the fallen Richard. The greatest danger to the Church lay in the gradual development of a belief in the Bible, especially in the New Testament, as the sole trustworthy source of religious truth. With this impalpable, but most real, peril to the traditional and established faith, it was impossible for persecution to cope. The seat of the malady could not be reached, but religious bigots, like other quacks, care only for the suppression of symptoms, and to this work Arundel, with the full support of the king, addressed himself with the utmost zeal. In 1401, Parliament passed the famous law *De heretico comburendo*. It was directed against all who should preach, write, or teach against the faith of Holy Church, and all having in their possession books or writings of such wicked doctrines and opinions. Offenders were to be proceeded against by the bishop, and all persons who should refuse to abjure, or, after abjuration, fall into relapse, should be left to the secular court. The meaning of this was shown to be that the sheriff of a county, or mayor or bailiffs of a city or borough, should receive such persons after sentence, and cause them to be burnt before the people, "that such punishment may strike in fear to the minds of others." The first victim was William Sawtre, a parish priest of St. Osyth's in London, and formerly rector of St. Margaret's Church at King's Lynn. He died by burning in February 1401, at the Smithfield which was hereafter to witness so many like scenes. The prisons in the bishops' palaces, which had been hitherto simply places of confinement for ecclesiastical offenders, were now often provided with instruments of torture. The Lollards' Tower at Lambeth Palace is a memorial of the times, retaining in one room the iron rings to which its prisoners were chained, and other signs of the captives whom it once inmured. The Bishop of Lincoln, in his palace at Woburn, had

a cell in his prison called *Little-Ease*, because it was so small that those who were confined in it could neither stand upright nor lie at length. The bishops, now armed, through the secular courts, with the power of life and death, could still, at their discretion, inflict fine, imprisonment, and other penalties. The persons who were convicted of heresy were often doomed to the old Church penalty for homicide, perpetual imprisonment within the walls of a monastery. Others were branded on the cheek with a hot iron, and, if they dared to hide the mark, they were liable to burning as relapsed heretics. Others, again, were condemned to wear the device of a faggot worked upon the sleeve of their clothing, in token of their narrow escape from burning. One result of the persecution was that the Lollards became less disposed to act the part of good subjects, and added to their "heretical" opinions more and more of political disaffection. Their friends in high places made a stir in their behalf. The Lords and Commons, as a body, were jealous of any extension of the power of the Church, and not a few were eager to share in Church plunder. A party in the House of Commons were known as "the Lollard members," and twice during the reign the House presented a petition to the king for the sequestration of all Church property. One part of the document is notable as containing the first proposal for a poor-law, in suggesting that every township "should keep all poor people of their own dwellers, which could not labour for their living." In 1410, the Commons prayed the king that the statute against "heretics" might be either repealed or mitigated. He replied that it was not severe enough, and at once signed a warrant for the burning of John Badby. This poor artisan of Evesham had been sent up to Archbishop Arundel by the Bishop of Worcester, for refusing to abjure the Lollard opinion as to the Eucharist. He was condemned to be burnt at Smithfield. The Prince of Wales, as President of the Council, was there to witness the burning, and tried to persuade him to recant and save his life. The offer was stoutly refused, and Badby died as a martyr. Several more burnings took place during the reign, as is proved by a grant, in the first year of Henry V., of the restoration of forfeited property to the widows of four other victims of the statute *De Heretico*, who had suffered before his own accession to the throne.

The Stewart line of kings had now ascended the Scottish throne. On the death of David II. in 1370, without leaving any issue, he was succeeded by Robert Stewart, son of Walter the High Steward and Robert Bruce's daughter, Marjory. Robert II. died in 1390, two years after the battle of Otterburn, and was followed by his eldest son, John, who was crowned as Robert III. He was a ruler infirm alike in body and character, and quite unable to control the turbulent nobles of his time. In 1398, Prince David, the king's son, created Duke of Rothesay, was made regent for three years, with

England
and Scot-
land.

full powers to restrain and punish disorder, and the Earl of Fife, the king's brother, was made Duke of Albany, and appointed one of the council by whom the Regent was to be guided in administration. This is the first appearance of the ducal title in Scottish history. One of these first holders of the rank, the Duke of Albany, was a man of great and unscrupulous ambition. In 1402, he caused the king to imprison Rothesay in Falkland Palace, Fifeshire, where he soon afterwards died in a dungeon. The general belief of the time accused Albany of causing the end of his nephew by starvation. The duke then became Regent. His way to the throne, on the king's death, was barred by the existence of Prince James, a lad of eleven. The king resolved to send him to France for safety, and he sailed from the Forth in March 1405. Many persons believed that the contrivance of Albany was seen in the fact of the vessel which bore the prince being taken by an English ship-of-war off Flamborough Head. The prisoner was taken to London, and put into the hands of Henry IV., who kept him in defiance of the truce existing between the two countries. He remained in honourable captivity for nineteen years. In 1406, when his father, Robert III., died of grief at the fate of his two sons, James was acknowledged in Scotland as king, with the title of James I., and Albany continued to govern as Regent. The young monarch was well treated by his English captors, apart from the fact of detention away from his country and his throne, and both he and his people were, in the end, the better for his mishap. The Scotland of that age was not a land distinguished by devotion to order, law, and culture. At the English court, under the rule both of Henry IV. and Henry V., the young James Stewart received an excellent training in all the learning and accomplishments of the time. He observed the practice of English politics and the working of English law. Under Henry V., he shared the society and learned the views and experience of the ablest statesmen both of England and France, and he was thus fitted to become in due season the able and enlightened ruler of his own people, lamented in his death, and enshrined with high and just eulogy in the records of his country. The year 1411 was marked by the defeat at the battle of Harlaw of a great host of Highland marauders, led by Donald, "Lord of the Isles," who was bringing the ravages of fire and sword to the south and east of the Grampians. The Scottish king, in his retirement at Windsor, saw and loved the Lady Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset, and niece of Henry IV. His poem in her honour, entitled *The King's Quair* (or, little book), is a charming production written in the style and stanza of Chaucer, and has given to its author a niche in the history of our literature. James married the lady, was released on ransom, and crowned with his queen at Scone, in 1424.

The health of the king had been declining for some time before the approach of the year 1413. Prince Henry, who enjoyed great public favour, is said to have aroused his father's jealousy, and to have been

for that reason excluded from all public employment, but there is little trustworthy evidence as to the relations existing between him and the king. The first Lancastrian monarch died at Westminster on March 20, 1413. Besides the Prince of Wales, he left three sons, also children of his first wife, Mary de Bohun. These were Thomas, Duke of Clarence; John, Duke of Bedford; and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. His second wife, Joan of Navarre, was childless.

CHAPTER III.

HENRY THE FIFTH CONQUERS FRANCE.

The king and the Lollards. War with France. The English armament. Capture of Harfleur. The victory of Agincourt. The helpless state of France. Capture of Rouen. Treaty of Troyes. The king's marriage and death.

THE gallant, accomplished, and energetic Henry of Monmouth came to the throne in his 25th year. In face, form, demeanour, and speech he was gifted with all that could charm his subjects, whether citizens or soldiers, and there was only one party in the state that was likely to be a source of trouble. The new monarch met his Parliament in May in a friendly spirit, and showed a wise magnanimity in the first acts of his reign. The Earl of March was freed from prison, and the son of the late rebellious Henry Percy was restored to his inheritance.

The matter of the Lollards, both as a religious and as a political party, at once came to the front. The clergy hated them for heresy, and the civil power feared them for disaffection. Among the men of good position in the country who had become strong supporters of Lollardry was Sir John Oldcastle, a Herefordshire knight. He married the heiress of Lord Cobham, of Cowling Castle, near Rochester, and, as Lord Cobham, he had summons to Parliament in right of his wife's barony. He had been in the public service under Richard II. and Henry IV., and was highly esteemed by the new king both in his military and his private capacity. At the instance of the bishops, Henry spoke to his friend at Windsor, but Cobham used strong language against the Pope, and the king then allowed the archbishop to proceed according to law. The Lollard lord avoided service of summons by shutting himself up in Cowling Castle, and set the ecclesiastical power at defiance. Henry then felt obliged to intervene, and Cobham went as a prisoner to the Tower. A court held at the chapter-house of St. Paul's, and then adjourned to the house of the Black Friars, could not induce him to recant, and the obstinate defendant finished his speech by declaring that "the Pope

himself, the archbishops and prelates, are the head and tail of Antichrist." He was then condemned as a heretic, and delivered over to the secular power for execution. A respite of fifty days was granted by Henry, and Cobham, in September 1413, made his escape from the Tower. Rumours then arose of a Lollard plot to destroy king, lords, and clergy, and in January 1414, Henry went forth from the city-gates with a great force into St. Giles' Fields, then open country stretching out to the hills of Hampstead and Highgate. He found a few score persons assembled. Sir Roger Acton, a friend of Cobham's, and Beverley, a Lollard preacher, with some others, were taken, condemned, and beheaded as traitors. Cobham escaped for the time, but was taken in Wales in December 1417, after a desperate resistance, and brought up to London, a wounded prisoner. The king was in France at this time; but Parliament was sitting, and by them he was sentenced to be hanged and burnt as a heretic and traitor. The Lollard leader was then drawn on a hurdle from the Tower to a gallows erected in St. Giles' Fields. On this his body was fastened horizontally in chains, and he was burnt to death in that position. This was the end of Lollardry as a political force. The persecution of their religious heresy was continued by the bishops, and the disease, according to precedent, was thus driven inwards, where it lurked and worked until the later days of open rupture with the court of Rome.

An evil ambition, and a fair opportunity, urged the warlike young king into a renewal of the old struggle with France. That country was still sorely troubled by the lunacy of her monarch, Charles VI., and by the desolating contest for the regency that was being waged between the factions of the Burgundians and the Armagnacs, headed by the king's cousin, the Duke of Burgundy, and the king's brother, the Duke of Orleans. The English nobles and people were both eager for war, and in 1414 Henry put in a claim to the crown of France, based upon the old pretensions of Edward III. Nothing could be more absurd than such a contention, for, granting that Edward's claim was well founded, the inheritance of the old French dominions belonged to the Earls of March, the family of Mortimer, descended from Lionel, third son of Edward, instead of to the Lancastrian line, which was reigning in England by a Parliamentary title only, and was descended from Edward's fourth son. The attack of Henry V. on France was, in fact, the mere wantonness of aggression, in which nation and king sought to revive olden glories, and to wipe out the stain of humiliation received under Richard II. All his claims were rejected by the French, including one for the cession of Normandy, Maine, and Anjou, and on April 16, 1415, Henry announced at a great council his determination to recover "his inheritance." The supply of money just granted by Parliament was used for the purpose of invasion, though it had been expressly limited as given "for the defence of the kingdom of England and the safety

The
French
war, 1415.

of the seas." The king's brother, the Duke of Bedford, was named "lieutenant" of the kingdom during Henry's absence, and for the next three months preparations for war were made.

The party opposed to the Lancastrian line now engaged in a last **A new attempt to obtain the throne for the Earl of March. The plot crushed, July 1415.** chief conspirators were the king's cousin, Richard, Earl of Cambridge, younger son of Edmund Langley, Duke of York, who died in 1402; Lord Scrope, Henry's "familiar friend," and Sir Thomas Grey, of Heton. The plot was revealed by the Earl of March himself, for which he was taken into favour, and permitted to join the French expedition. Cambridge, Scrope, and Grey were convicted and beheaded as traitors.

The feudal terms of service for forty days in the field had now **The arma- ment against France.** become exchanged for those of enlistment with regular pay, according to the usage of modern armies. When Henry V. raised his great force for the invasion of France, it was settled that a duke should receive one mark, or 13s. 4d. per day; an earl, half-a-mark, 6s. 8d.; a baron, 4s., a knight, 2s. every other man-at-arms, or mailed horseman, 1s., and an archer, 6d. Great nobles and others contracted to furnish large bodies of troops at this rate, well mounted, armed, and arrayed. The first quarter's wages were required to be paid in advance, and pledges were given for the payment of the second quarter. Contracts were made for carpenters and other artisans, and for waggons, bows, and arrows. For the performance of some of these contracts the king pledged jewels, and he raised large sums as loans upon jewels and plate. Ships and sailors were impressed for the service, and a staff of surgeons was provided. Many officers of the royal household were to attend the king, with a band of fifteen minstrels. On June 18th, Henry set out from Westminster, going in procession to St. Paul's, accompanied by the Lord Mayor, and citizens walking in array of their guilds. At Winchester he waited the arrival of an embassy from France, but all efforts for a settlement failed, and on July 26th the envoys returned to Paris, reporting that all Henry's peaceable professions covered a malicious purpose. The king's will was made, concluding with the words in his own hand "This is my last will, subscribed with my own hand, R. H. (*i.e.* Rex Henricus). Jesu mercy and gremery Ladie Marie help."

The truce with France expired on August 2nd, and the army then **The in- vasion.** embarked on fifteen hundred small ships, gathered in Southampton Water. On Saturday, August 10th, Henry stepped on board his own vessel, the *Trinity*, lying between Southampton and Portsmouth. The ships of the numerous fleet varied in bulk from twenty tons to three hundred. On Sunday all put to sea. Tuesday's noon-day sun saw the royal ship entering the mouth of the Seine, and the whole fleet came to anchor about three miles from Harfleur. The army was landed on the following day without resistance, and then the

siege of Harfleur began. The town was defended by embattled walls, having three strong gates with bulwarks, and wide ditches, deeply filled by the waters of the Seine. A close blockade was maintained on the side of the sea, and the place was soon invested in all quarters. Cannon and other engines were used for battering the works, and mines were made, met by countermines, in which the workers fiercely fought underground. The rude artillery of the time made little impression on the defences, and disease raged in the English camp. Courtenay, Bishop of Norwich, and the Earl of Suffolk, died in the middle of September, and Henry, seeing his men perish by thousands from dysentery, resolved on a desperate attempt to storm the town. The garrison, summoned to submit, would not risk the horrors of a successful assault, and agreed to yield on September 22nd, if no relief came from outside. The French government was not yet ready with an army to take the field, and Harfleur was surrendered on the day appointed, after a siege of thirty-six days.

The capture of Harfleur found the invader in a position of terrible risk. Only nine thousand men fit for service were left of an army that started with six thousand men-at-arms, and twenty-four thousand foot. A council of war was held on October 5th, and there the king was strongly urged to return by sea at once to England, with the remnant of his forces. The French, it was truly said, were gathering every day, and nothing but death or surrender was before the English army. This advice was not only specious, but thoroughly sound, in a military sense, and yet Henry of Monmouth did not dare to follow it. How could the warrior-king return, in virtual defeat, with but one-third of the host that had followed him for the conquest of France? The resolve of Henry seems to savour of reckless folly, but it was the only course open to such a man in that age. He sent away the fleet, with orders to await him at Calais, and on October 8th started on his daring march through Normandy, Picardy, and Artois, all in full possession of the enemy's troops. Provisions were taken from Harfleur, and no plunder or ravage was permitted, save the seizure of bare food and other necessaries. The line of march lay near the coast, by Fécamp and through Dieppe. At Eu an attack was easily repulsed, and Abbeville was reached on Sunday, October 13th. Henry V. was now confronted by the same difficulty as that which met Edward III. before Crécy—the passage of the Somme. The old ford at Blanchetaque was found of no avail, as the road was broken up, and the French were in force beyond the river. The search for a passage lasted during a two days' march to Amiens, where a little bread, and plenty of wine from the new vintage, were obtained. At Corby, a soldier was hanged for stealing a sacred vessel from the church. There the king gave his famous order that every archer should provide himself with a stake, sharpened at each end, to plant in the ground when about to be attacked by

Battle of
Agin-
court,
October
25, 1415.

cavalry. More than forty miles above Amiens, the river was at last crossed in safety, and Henry started again, in perfect order, for Calais. A French army of sixty thousand men was in advance of him, falling ever back, until they made a stand on the plain near the villages of Ruisseauville and Agincourt, in Artois, ten miles north-west of the town of St. Pol. The English king lay on the night of October 24th at the village of Maisoncelles. There was little sleep in the camp of men whose destruction on the morrow seemed sure. While their priests were confessing penitents, and the armourers were working on weapons and rivets, the confident knights in the French host were playing at dice, with the ransoms of expected prisoners for the stakes. The scene of action was but twenty miles from the field of Crécy, and it was from the memories of Crécy that the French commanders took counsel in their arrangements for the day of Agincourt. There the army of greater numbers was beaten in attack, and defence was to be now the order of the day. A host of men, at least six to one of the nine thousand English, was drawn up in great depth on a narrow front between the woods of Tramecourt and Agincourt. In advance were nearly the whole of the French nobility, with eight thousand knights and esquires, and a force of archers and cross-bowmen. The main body was crowded together in a way that largely affected the issue. The English king rose with the dawn on October 25th, the feast of St. Crispin; and, having heard three masses, was fully armed for the encounter, wearing for distinction on his helmet a splendid crown. He drew up his little force in one line, with men-at-arms in the centre, and archers posted on the wings, their stakes fixed before them. When the enemy would not stir, after several hours' waiting, Henry ordered an advance. The fire of his archers was such as to force the French from their defensive attitude, and their forward movement was the first step to ruin. The English bowmen halted, planted their stakes firmly, and poured in volley after volley. The charging French horsemen were hampered by the heavy soil of clay, wetted by recent rain, and the sting of the shafts drove back the steeds upon the second line. Confusion was setting in, when Henry rushed to the encounter with his mounted men, followed by his archers, who flung away their bows, and fought with sword and bill. Other English bowmen kept up a fire from the flanks, and not an arrow could miss the crowded foe. A desperate contest ensued between the French and English chivalry. Henry behaved like the hero that he was. Struck down once by a blow from a French mace, he rose, rallied, and fought fiercely on. The crown on his helmet was split by the sword of the Duke of Alençon, who was then killed by Henry's followers, in spite of the king's efforts to save him. The struggle of three hours became at last a mere massacre. The rear took to flight when the best French fighters were all killed, disabled, or taken, and the great field of Agincourt was won. The losses of the vanquished were enormous. Seven

princes of the blood had fallen, with over a hundred other nobles, eight thousand of the French gentry, and some thousands of lower rank. The prisoners included the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, and far exceeded in number the whole of the victors. Of the English, about sixteen hundred fell, among whom were the Duke of York and the Earl of Suffolk. Four days later, the bells of every church in London were ringing in response to the triumphal shouts of joy from the citizens, and the return of the king from Calais to Dover on November 17th was welcomed by a crowd who rushed into the sea, and carried their hero ashore in their arms. A triumphal entry into London a few days later presented a spectacle of splendour such as the capital had never yet witnessed, while maidens and youths, from arches and towers erected for the occasion, showered boughs of bay and leaves of gold upon the head of the conquering king.

During 1416, the war continued in Normandy with the siege of Harfleur by the French, the garrison being reduced to great straits until relieved from blockade by capture of the French fleet at the mouth of the Seine. The state of France, amidst Continuance of the war. civil broils and general brigandage, was mere chaos, and Henry was preparing for a new effort at conquest of that distracted land. On July 23, 1417, he embarked again at Southampton with the greatest force that had ever left English shores. More than forty thousand men, having with them miners and cannon, landed at the mouth of the Seine in the first days of August. The king's immediate object was the mastery of Normandy, and, as he advanced, he strove to rouse the people by reminders of his descent from their great chieftain Rollo, and of their duty of sympathy with those who were connected in blood with the Norman conquerors of England. To such appeals no answer was now forthcoming. Three centuries and a half had passed away since the great exploit of Duke William, and the men of Normandy had now become a part of the great French nation, just as the descendants of William's followers had for many a year grown English in language and feeling, with a large mixture of English blood. The argument drawn from the past failed, but the arms of England, directed by Henry with masterly skill and patient resolution, proved more successful than ever. It was a war of assaults and blockades. On September 4th Caen was taken by storm, and then Bayeux opened her gates. Falaise and Alençon next succumbed, and the reduction of Louviers, Lisieux, Evreux and other towns of lower Normandy, paved the way for an attack on Rouen, the capital, then the greatest and richest town of France. Large reinforcements had arrived from England, and Henry, crossing the Seine at Pont de l'Arche, invested the place on July 30, 1418. The town was powerfully defended, and only surrendered from sheer famine in January 1419. The king built a palace, in which he held court as Duke of Normandy, and then strove to bring the French government to terms, as he advanced with his army towards Paris.

All negotiations failed, and the disorders of the unhappy country culminated in the treacherous murder of the Duke of Burgundy by the Dauphin, Prince Charles, on August 12th, in a conference held at Montereau.

The French were now helpless in presence of Henry's formidable and victorious army, and the new Duke of Burgundy, Philip "the Good," having in his hands the French king, queen, and princesses, hastened to make terms which should exclude the Dauphin from the throne. The *Treaty of Troyes* was concluded on May 21, 1420, and was a complete triumph for the English king. Henry was to marry, as he did a few days later, the French king's eldest daughter Catharine, and to be at once Regent of the kingdom. On the death of Charles VI., he was to succeed him on the throne of France. Such was the abyss of ruin into which factious nobles had plunged a great and powerful nation. The bridal month of Henry and his queen was passed in the reduction of towns held by the Dauphin. In November, the two kings rode side by side into Paris, and the three estates of France solemnly ratified the treaty of Troyes. Early in 1421, Henry held a Parliament at Rouen, and coinage was issued bearing the inscription "Heres Franciæ." The king and queen then went to England, and Catharine was crowned at Westminster, with feasts and pageants of great splendour. Many estates in Normandy had been bestowed on English lords, and the danger of continental dominion from which England had been saved by the weakness of John was now, as it seemed, to be renewed by the strength of Henry V. A speedy death of the conqueror, an infant successor, a civil war, a woman's courage and fanaticism, and a revival of patriotic feeling in France, were to be the instruments of solid good for England, evolved from a storm of disgrace and disaster in the following reign.

The English king and queen were making a progress through the kingdom, and had arrived at York, the northern capital, when ill news from France caused Henry to return thither with all speed. The Dauphin's party in France had appealed for help to Scotland, the old ally, and in 1421 a force of seven thousand Scots, evading the English cruisers, landed under the command of the Earl of Buchan. Henry had left his brother, the Duke of Clarence, as his lieutenant in Normandy, and he, while he was engaged in wasting Anjou, was surprised, defeated, and slain, on March 22nd, at the battle of Beaujé. The French were encouraged to new efforts, and Henry landed at Calais, with a new army of nearly thirty thousand men, on June 12th. Meaux was taken after a long and expensive siege, and in the end the English were masters of most of France to the north of the Loire.

The queen had already borne a son, and joined the king in Paris, where there was a brief time of festivity at Whitsuntide, 1422. Henry was at the height of fame, won by the most brilliant success

in policy and war, when the hand of death was laid upon him. He had long been suffering from pleurisy, which he met with the same iron will as he had ever shown against difficulty and danger. He was on his way to raise the siege of Caen, when he was mastered by a fresh attack, and was carried back on a litter to Vincennes. He died there on August 31, 1422, showing the same composure as had been ever noted by those who were with him in the hour of battle. The regency of France was delivered to his brother John, Duke of Bedford, one of the best soldiers of the age. England was commended to the charge of his brother Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester; the care of the infant king Henry was assigned to the Earl of Warwick. The remains of the young hero and statesman, after a solemn service at St. Paul's, in presence of the Lords and Commons, were laid in the Confessor's chapel at Westminster. His widow, Catharine, married a Welsh gentleman, named Owen Tudor, and from this union sprang the line of kings and queens. The great service rendered by Henry V. to the nation which he ruled in his brief career of glory was the final establishment of the fact of English prowess in the face of France and all the European world. No dream could now arise that the island where such a people dwelt, indomitable in courage and trained to arms, could be the victim of subjugation from abroad. The coming civil wars of the land never tempted a king of France to the thought of avenging Agincourt by wearing the crown of England in right of conquest. For the safety of our fields from the ravages of foreign foes, and for the power to work out her future unhampered by foreign intervention, the nation was in no small degree indebted to the strong arms and well-aimed shafts of those who drew the bow at Agincourt.

CHAPTER IV.

END OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

England under a Regency. France makes an effort for freedom. Jeanne Darc at Orleans. French successes. Fate of the heroine. Affairs in England. Character of Henry VI. Loss of French dominions. Troubles at home. Jack Cade. The nobles. Parliament under Henry VI.

THE succession of the infant Henry of Windsor gave occasion for the assertion of a great constitutional principle, that a king could not appoint a regent for the minority of his successor, and that no person could exercise the royal prerogative during a king's infancy, except by the choice of Parliament, and under the limitations prescribed by the Lords and Commons for the conduct of the executive government. In spite of Henry V.'s personal popularity, the arrangements made by him on his deathbed were altered by the Parliament which was called together by some of the

leading peers, as soon as his death was known in London. It was now decided that the Duke of Bedford, or, in his absence beyond sea, the Duke of Gloucester, should be "protector and defender" of the kingdom. This title was chosen with the intended exclusion of such terms as "lieutenant," "governor," or "regent," and of any other name that should import governance of the land. The growing power of Parliament is strikingly shown at this juncture. Gloucester was to be chief of the council in the absence of Bedford, but the substantial powers of government were invested in a committee of nineteen members of the Lords and Commons. The reign of Henry VI. can, in truth, only be well understood when we regard it as one long minority, first of a child of tender years, and then of a man of feeble mind and character. The result was that the great families and leading nobles had more power in the state than they ever possessed before, or have ever wielded since. The state became for a season merely an arena for their struggles, stirred by the passions of ambition, jealousy, and revenge. Nevilles, Staffords, Beauforts, De la Poles, Yorkists, Lancastrians, are ever striving for mastery in a scene at once contemptible and tragical, first of intrigue and treachery, and then of cruel and relentless warfare, followed by the most dastardly displays of cold-blooded and pitiless retaliation. The regency of France remained, as the late king had appointed, in the hands of the Duke of Bedford, but the person and education of the young king were entrusted to the chancellor, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and afterwards Cardinal. He was the ablest of John of Gaunt's three sons that were born of Catharine Swinford, and were made legitimate by royal letters-patent, and by an Act of Parliament, under Richard II. Beaufort was a great opponent of Gloucester, and the internal politics of the earlier part of the reign are much concerned with the fierce quarrels of these ambitious and unscrupulous men. Beaufort's eldest brother, John, was Earl of Somerset, and his youngest, Thomas, was Duke of Exeter.

In less than two months after the death of Henry V., the insane king of France, Charles VI., whose reign of forty-two years had seen so much disaster, also passed away, and the Dauphin, ruling south of the Loire, was crowned at Poitiers as Charles VII. The little Henry of England had also been proclaimed at St. Denis as "King of France and England," and may be regarded as king to the north of the Loire. The Duke of Gloucester favoured the policy of striving to conquer all France; Beaufort insisted that Bedford's duty was to keep, if he could, on terms of peace with the new French king, and secure the possessions already won by England. Bedford was not only an able general, but a man of skillful policy. He was in alliance with the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy, and he sought to detach the Scots from their friendship with France, or, at least, to conciliate Scottish goodwill for England, by bringing about, through the English Council, the release of their captive king, James I., and his marriage to

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Lady Jane Beaufort, daughter of the Earl of Somerset. The assumption of royalty in France by Charles VII. was an open violation of the treaty of Troyes, and Bedford maintained the war with vigour, in the hope of subduing the whole country for England. In 1423, the Earl of Salisbury signally defeated the French and their Scottish allies at Crevant, in Burgundy, and in the following year Bedford utterly routed the French and Scots at Verneuil, in Normandy, in an engagement recorded in the rolls of Parliament as "the greatest deed done by Englishmen in our days, save the battle of Agincourt." The greater part of the Scottish brigade fell in the action, and the French never forgot the help received from the northern part of our island. Out of the remnant of the Scottish warriors the famous *Scots Guard* was formed, and a right of common citizenship was established between the two countries. In 1427, the forces of the English duke sustained a severe defeat, and were compelled to raise the siege of Montargis, but the cause of the French king was little advanced by this success, and Bedford, in the following year, prepared to cross the Loire, and carry his arms into the south-west of France, the territory ruled of old by English kings.

A crisis in the history of France and England now came in the siege of Orleans. That town commanded the passage of the Loire, and was the key of southern France. If the fortress fell, it might well be feared by the French that complete conquest would ensue. The adherents of the French king were at strife among themselves, his coffers were empty, his people suffering from famine and disease. The one gleam of hope lay in the fact that, while nobles were faithless or faint-hearted, a feeling of patriotism had begun to reappear among the common people, to whose affection, in lack of other help, the French monarch had lately addressed himself. The Earl of Salisbury, one of the bravest, best skilled, and most experienced of the English generals, trained to war under Henry V., was chosen by Bedford for the task of reducing the last stronghold of the French national party. On October 12, 1428, he appeared with his army before its walls. Zealous preparations had been made for defence. The city of Orleans itself was on the north, or right bank, of the Loire, but its suburbs extended far on the southern side, connected with the town by a strong bridge, defended at its southern end by works, including two towers called the *Tourelles*. This post was carried by storm on October 23rd, and the French then broke down the bridge at its northern end, and cut off access to the town. It was in this siege that, for the first time, any great use was made of artillery, and the possession of the *Tourelles* enabled the English to inflict great loss on the defenders by a battery which, firing its balls across the river, commanded some of the principal streets. The hopes of the men of Orleans rose when Dunois and La Hire, two of the bravest French commanders, arrived with reinforcements, and the English general,

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Salisbury, died of a wound received from a cannon-ball. He was succeeded in the command by William de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. The thought of capturing the place by force was renounced by the English leaders, and they now aimed, like most besiegers of that age attacking a well-walled town, at compelling the surrender of Orleans by famine. By the spring of 1429, a line of entrenchments round the town was nearly completed, and the approach of want began to be felt by the besieged. One incident of the long and obstinate struggle was the famous *Battle of Herrings*. The English were badly off for stores and provisions, and the Duke of Bedford despatched for their relief an immense convoy from Paris. The French determined to cut off this supply, which was guarded by a force of sixteen hundred men, under the command of the able and resolute Sir John Fastolfe. The attack was made by a body of eight thousand men, partly detached from the garrison of Orleans, and partly composed of French and Scots outside the walls. The assailants were brilliantly defeated at Rouvrai, and in the first days of Lent the store of salted fish, with other large supplies, arrived in the English camp. The fate of Orleans seemed to be settled, as the place must soon submit to famine, when a young woman, backed by the power which the pious exalt as faith, and sceptics decry as superstition, came to the rescue of the beleaguered city, with an issue that amazed the world, and won for herself a deathless name.

Mingled wonder and contempt were felt by the English leaders when, in the last week of April, a herald brought a letter couched in **Jeanne Darc.** strange terms, from a girl of whom they had long heard as *La Pucelle*, or *The Maid*. In this missive the king of England, "and you, Duke of Bedford, who call yourself Regent of the kingdom of France; you, William de la Pole, Count of Suffolk; you, John Lord Talbot, and you, Thomas Lord Scales, who call yourselves lieutenants of the said Duke of Bedford," were commanded to "do right to the King of Heaven," and to render to "the Pucelle, who is sent hither by God, the keys of the good cities you have taken and plundered in France." The English soldiers were then bidden to go their way to their own country," for, said the Maid, "I am sent by the King of Heaven to drive you out of all France." The rough yeomen in the English camp were awestruck at her advent. A prophecy had long been current that a damsel from Lorraine was to save France. Stories were rife of miracles wrought by the wondrous girl, and many priests and friars had been passing through the towns and rural districts of the land, proclaiming that the people must seek from Heaven a deliverance from the pillage of the soldiery, and the insolence of the foreign oppressors. The Church of that age taught, and the people of that age believed in, special interpositions of unseen powers of good and evil. The French hailed the Maid as an instrument of Heaven, the English dreaded the power of one leagued by witchcraft and sorcery with the great enemy of man. The girl named

Jeanne Darc, absurdly rendered in English as "Joan of Arc," was daughter of a small farmer in the hamlet of Domrémy, on the borders of Champagne and Lorraine. Her youthful mind, keenly susceptible, was nurtured on legends of saints and tales of fairies, and her lonely, dreamy life in the fields, as she tended her father's flocks, was well suited to develop in such a character all the fervour of enthusiastic belief. She was gentle, compassionate, and devout beyond all the girls of the countryside, and her tender nature was moved to pity for the miseries of her people, mingled with anger against the English foe. Day and night she mused and dreamed of delivering France from the grasp of her enemies. At the age of thirteen, as she declared in after days, with death by burning before her view, she began to hear "a voice from God," and to see "a bright light." Then St. Michael, St. Margaret, and St. Catharine appeared from time to time, and told her that France would be saved, and that she was to save it. She was in her eighteenth year when tidings of the siege of Orleans reached Domrémy. She was moved to make her way to the king of France, and announce her heavenly mission. No tears, entreaties, ridicule, or threats from her parents or others could prevail, and she journeyed, in soldier's garb, to Chinon, in Touraine, and reached the presence of Charles. The king heard her story, but would not profess belief, or accept her offer to lead an army to the rescue of Orleans, until full inquiry had been made as to her truth and purity. He feared to incur the odium of being in league with a sorceress. The most rigid investigation made by learned doctors of the Church, and by shrewd counsellors of the laity, proved beyond a doubt that Jeanne was perfectly orthodox in belief, and strictly virtuous in life. The state of affairs at Orleans was now such that no failure of attempts at relief could possibly harm the defenders, and the king and his advisers resolved to employ the strange instrument that had come to their hands. The people and the soldiery fully believed in her mission as one inspired and aided by Heaven, and she was sent to head a small force which had been assembled at Blois under La Hire, Dunois, and other chiefs. A convoy of provisions was prepared, and the Maid rode into the camp at Blois, clad in a new suit of white armour, mounted on a black war horse, and bearing a lance in her right hand. Her unhelmeted head displayed to all her fair, expressive features, deep-set and earnest eyes, and long black hair. A small battle-axe, and a consecrated sword, taken at her bidding from one of the shrines of St. Catharine, completed her personal equipment. A page carried before her a banner of white satin, strewn with the lilies of France, and bearing the words "Jhesus Maria." She won at the outset the hearts of the troops who saw her comely figure, the skill with which she managed her horse, and her grace and ease in handling her weapons. In truth, the famous *Maid of Orleans* owed her success in no small degree to natural powers of body, and to shrewdness of

mind, such as belong to many of her sex who are not destined to win fame as heroines and deliverers of their country, She had well employed her brief time of training in the use of arms. Her good sense taught her to leave technical details as to the movement of troops to Dunois and other skilled leaders. Her only leadership was to bid the soldiers go straight at the enemy, and then dash in boldly herself. In one point, however, she rendered essential service to the French army. She insisted upon a strict discipline, and upon the outward display, at least, of regard for morality and religion. All loose characters were driven away from the camp. Generals and soldiers made regular confession, and her own chaplain and other priests said mass at every halt. A new spirit was thus given to men who hoped by a changed life to earn, like the Maid, the favour of Heaven.

On the night of April 28th, amid a storm of thunder and rain, the relieving force entered Orleans, and boats loaded with supplies made their way up the river. Four days later, another body of soldiers and a fresh supply of stores openly entered the town, escorted by Jeanne and La Hire, while the English remained behind their works, and did not venture an attack. The moral effect wrought on the besiegers was such that a keen observer could already foresee the end. On that very day, Dunois assaulted one of the English forts. A fierce resistance was made. The assailants had recoiled, and were streaming back to the city gate, when Jeanne rode out to meet them. At sight of the white banner they rallied and went on again, and the post was at once stormed. Two days later, two of the English "bastilles" to the south of the river were taken after severe fighting, and the Tourelles was the only post left to the besiegers on that side of the town. It was a place of formidable strength, and on its possession now turned the issue of the siege. A fresh English army under Fastolfe, the victor of Rouvrai, was approaching, and time was of the greatest value. Five hundred archers and men-at-arms, under Sir John Gladsdale, occupied the fort. On the morning of May 7th, the French advanced to the attack. A stubborn fight ended in a repulse, and the Maid was wounded in the neck by an arrow as she mounted the first ladder planted against the wall. Dunois ordered the trumpet to sound a retreat, but Jeanne, when her hurt was dressed, insisted upon another attempt, after an interval for rest and food. She then headed a new assault, in which the English, who thought her slain, were confounded at her reappearance. The French pressed furiously on, and a party of their friends in the town attacked the enemy on the opposite side. As Gladsdale withdrew his men from an outwork by a drawbridge, a cannon-shot from the walls carried it away, and the bold English leader perished in the river. The English then yielded the post, after three hundred men had fallen. The pealing of bells from the churches of Orleans was as a knell of doomed failure to the besiegers. After a night lit up by the blaze of bonfires in the town, the

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English generals resolved on retreat. The great wooden forts in the lines were set on fire, the stores and munitions were destroyed, and on Sunday, the 8th of May, the baffled foe slowly and sullenly retired. In eleven days, by sheer boldness in attack, and contempt for the cautious measures of military science, the Maid had used the forces of enthusiasm and superstition, aided by shrewdness and sound sense, to strike terror into a foe that had been the dread of France for eleven long years of suffering and shame. It was not three months from the day of her first interview with the king, when she thus fulfilled the first part of her promise, in the raising of the siege of Orleans.

Jeanne had now another task to discharge. She had declared to Charles VII. that she would cause him to be crowned at Rheims. She held him to be no true monarch of France, until the diadem should be placed on his head in the cathedral of that ancient city where all the kings of the land for three centuries had been consecrated. The French leaders would have remained inactive after the great blow struck at Orleans, but the zealous heroine urged them to advance. The way between Orleans and Rheims was filled with the enemies of France, but the counsels of courage at last prevailed, and Jeanne's standard was again floating at the head of a French army. On June 11th, the Duke of Alençon arrived in haste before the walls of Jargeau, held by the Earl of Suffolk. A battle was fought outside the town, and the French were driven back. Another charge was ordered by the Maid, and Suffolk retired within the walls. After a bombardment of three days, a breach was made in the defences. The storming column was led by Jeanne, the place fell, and Suffolk became a prisoner. On June 18th, the English were beaten at the battle of Patay, and Lords Talbot and Scales were captured. Fastolfe was in command, and, when he joined Bedford at Corbeil, he was deprived of what was then a token of real merit and distinction, the Riband of the Garter. Bedford wrote a letter to the Council in London, in which he expressed a real or affected belief that the powers of darkness were fighting against the English. He declared that the "great stroke" at Orleans had been caused in part by the confidence that "our enemies have in a disciple and limb of the devil, called the *Pucelle*, that used false enchantments and sorcery." The only effect of this was to further discourage the English troops, while the French newly proclaimed her to be one favoured of Heaven, who showed as much piety as courage. At this juncture, Bedford again secured the alliance of the Duke of Burgundy, and was aided also by a body of troops which Cardinal Beaufort had raised for a crusade against the Hussites in Bohemia. He took the field with new hope, but nothing could stay the progress of the French arms. Early in July, the garrison of Troyes surrendered the place to Jeanne on the mere display of her famous white banner, and the gathering of her men for an assault. Chalons was the next place to

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fall without resistance. Then the army approached Rheims, and the peasants came in crowds to look upon the wondrous girl, whom they knew as the shepherdess accounted mad by the wise. The gates of Rheims were thrown open on summons, and on July 17th Charles VII. was crowned in its ancient church. At the king's side, by the high altar, stood the Maid with her victorious banner, her main work done, her promise fulfilled, her country saved, her fame secure. The coronation of Charles at Rheims was no mere ceremonial of display. The deliverance of France was now ensured in the greater force of union given to national feeling by the fact of the religious inauguration of her king. The prince who had ruled with mere human authority over a part of the country was now regarded as monarch of all by the grace and sanction of Heaven. He who had been denounced as no true son of the royal line of France was regarded as the legitimate successor to the crown of St. Louis, and this belief was mainly created, in the minds of Frenchmen hitherto sceptical, by the victories of Jeanne, and the fulfilment of her pledge as to the king's coronation. The Maid then desired to return to her home, her parents, and her sheep and cattle, but the king and his generals were unwilling to lose the advantage of her presence with the army. Her own belief was that certain victory was for her now at an end, and that the special protection of Heaven was withdrawn. There were ebbs and flows in the tide of success. Laon, Soissons, Compiègne, and Beauvais were taken, and in September the king marched for Paris. An assault on the town was repulsed, Jeanne was severely wounded, and Charles retreated to the Loire, and passed the winter at Bourges. In the spring of 1430, the French army moved to the relief of Compiègne, then besieged by the Duke of Burgundy. The Maid got into the town on May 26th, headed a sortie on the same day, and was taken prisoner by the Burgundians. After some months' captivity she was given up, for a large sum, to the English at Rouen. At the instance of the University of Paris, she was tried by Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, and condemned to be burnt as a sorceress and heretic. During her trial, protracted for several months, she behaved with perfect composure, and was never at a loss for answers to accusations. But her nervous system had suffered under imprisonment, and the mental and spiritual torture of the long inquisition. When the sentence of death by fire was read to her by the bishop on a public scaffold at Rouen, she gave way for the moment, and declared herself deluded. She was then sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, but, two days later, her confidence returned, and she re-affirmed her belief that her voices came from God. As "a relapsed heretic," she was at once doomed to the burning, and on May 30, 1431, she died by fire in the market-place of Rouen, in presence of soldiers, people, nobles and prelates, including Cardinal Beaufort. Jeanne, the Maid of Domrémy and victor of Orleans, Jeanne the patriot, heroine, and

martyr to her own sincere belief in heavenly guidance of her acts to high and worthy ends, was the noble and hapless victim of the cruel secular vengeance and the blind religious bigotry which, for France and England alike, marked the age in which was cast her brief and glorious career.

The quarrels of Gloucester and Beaufort rose at times almost to the height of civil war. Their retainers, and those of their partisans among the nobles, came in arms to meetings of the Parliament. In October 1426, Beaufort went forth from his palace at Southwark, with archers and men-at-arms, and assaulted the gate of London Bridge, closed against him at the request of Gloucester, who was favoured by the citizens. Bedford came over from France, and brought about a show of amity in a Parliament held at Leicester. The servants of all members had been forbidden to come armed with the usual weapons, but this very assembly was known as the *Parliament of Bats* (i.e., Clubs) because the retainers came provided with heavy sticks. When these were forbidden to be carried, they brought supplies of stones and lumps of lead hidden in their clothes. At this time Beaufort resigned the chancellorship, and went abroad for a season, consoled by the Pope of the day with the red hat of a cardinal. The quarrel was soon renewed on Beaufort's return to England, and the Cardinal was finally successful in the long and bitter contest for supremacy.

At six years of age, in 1427, the king was placed under the care of his father's friend and companion in arms, the Earl of Warwick. He was a man of great valour and experience, who had fought at Shrewsbury under Henry IV., had visited the Holy Land as a pilgrim, and travelled in Prussia, Poland, and Russia. For ten years he held the office of tutor to Henry, and was supported by the Council in his use of the strict discipline of the age. No method of training could have given strength of character to the king. It seems likely that he inherited some of the mental disease of his mother's father, Charles VI. of France, but it was rather weakness of purpose, and fear of responsibility, than actual unsoundness of mind, that caused his life to be a long state of pupilage. The wonderful energy and fiery passion of the Plantagenet race seemed utterly dulled and quenched in the Lancastrian king who was calmly indifferent to good and evil fortune, and patiently submissive to stronger wills than his own. He was a slave by turns to his uncles, his preceptor, his wife, and his wife's creatures and favourites. We are allowed to believe that his hard lot was solaced by that religious faith which lightens the burdens of the wretched, on a throne or in a prison. His name is nobly connected with the foundation of Eton School and of King's College, Cambridge, which are memorials of the meekest and one of the most hapless of our kings. In December 1430, as a reply to the coronation of Charles VII. at Rheims, the young English king

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made a public entry into Paris, and was crowned at Notre Dame. In 1435, he lost his ablest subject by the death of his uncle Bedford, and the contest for power between Beaufort and Gloucester raged with more virulence than ever.

In 1444, the question of Henry's marriage came before the Council. Gloucester was in favour of a daughter of the Count of Armagnac, but Beaufort and his great supporter, the Earl of Suffolk, wished to make proposals to the daughter of René, Count of Provence, and titular Duke of Maine and Anjou. They were aiming at peace with France in the cession of Maine as the price of the lady's hand, and also at securing for the king as a partner the most able, determined, and accomplished woman of the time. The marriage of Henry with Margaret of Anjou took place in April 1445, and all English claims both to Anjou and Maine were surrendered. Suffolk became a duke, and the queen was the political ally of the party of Cardinal Beaufort against the Duke of Gloucester. In 1440, the powerful churchman had won a victory in the Council over the lay prince of the blood, in bringing about the release of the Duke of Orleans, a prisoner in the Tower for five-and-twenty years since the fatal day of Agincourt. With Margaret's influence at their backs, the Beaufort party resolved on making an end of the duke. A blow had been already aimed at him through his wife, who had been a person of low position and character, named Eleanor Cobham. The superstition of the age had been called in to ruin a worthless woman, as it had been used to bring to the burning, a few years before, the noblest of her sex. The Duchess of Gloucester was accused of witchcraft, and condemned by the two archbishops and several other prelates to do penance in the streets of London before all the people, and then to undergo imprisonment for life. This grievous humiliation had been inflicted on Gloucester in 1441. In a Parliament held at Bury St. Edmund's in February 1447, the duke was arrested, and, seventeen days later, was found dead in bed at his lodgings in the town. The body was exposed to public view, and no marks of violence were seen, but few have doubted that Humphrey of Gloucester was the victim of deliberate murder, instigated by the ambition of cruel and unscrupulous foes. The Cardinal, his great enemy, died a few weeks later, and the chief power in public affairs now lay in the hands of Suffolk and the queen.

After the death of Jeanne, the English cause in France continued to decline. Harfleur was retaken by the French. The alliance of the Duke of Burgundy with Bedford was fast slipping away, and every year added to the strength of the national party. The demands of Charles VII. rose higher at every conference held in the interests of peace. In 1435, at the Congress of Arras, the French demanded the surrender of all territory save Normandy and Guienne, with abandonment of all claim to the

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French crown. This was refused, and the Duke of Burgundy formed a close alliance with Charles. In the autumn of the same year came the death of the great Duke of Bedford. In 1436, the people of Paris rose against the English garrison, and opened the gates of the city to the forces of Charles. The command in France was now in the hands of the new Regent, Richard, Duke of York, and of the brave Lord Talbot. The English troops fought with the old stubborn courage, and it was only by slow steps that the land was won back by the natives. From time to time victory came back to our standards. In 1437, Talbot laid waste the lands of Burgundy: in 1440, Picardy was ravaged, and then Harfleur was retaken. In 1444, we still held Normandy, Maine, and Guienne. In 1448, as we have seen, Maine was given up after Henry's marriage with Margaret, and Maine was the key to the possession of Normandy. In 1449, the French king marched to the attack of our forces in the old duchy, and was greatly aided in his efforts by the division of English counsels, and the enfeebled state of our garrisons. The people of Rouen, the capital, rose with the same success as those of Paris a few years before, and in 1450, the last English hold on Normandy was lost in the capture of Cherbourg. The French king then turned his arms against Guienne, and the hopeless struggle was prolonged by the English for three years more. The province, indeed, declared at once for Charles, but Fronsac, Bordeaux, and Bayonne were held by English garrisons, and the people of Gascony soon turned against their new masters. Old Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, landed near Bordeaux with four thousand men in 1452, but was defeated and slain at the battle of Castillon, in the following spring, when he encountered a far larger French army, well supplied with cannon. Talbot was the last of the great English captains, and a few months later, in October 1453, Bordeaux, the last fortress in English hands, save Calais, surrendered to the French. Aquitaine, the brilliant dowry of Henry II.'s queen, was disunited from the crown of England, and the dream of the conquest of France, which had lasted for more than a hundred years, was happily at an end.

The last half of the fifteenth century was the age, for England and her policy, of great and powerful nobles. The baronage reached its highest point of influence in the reign of a feeble king, and then fell with a great fall, well-nigh brought to extinction in the internecine struggle known as the Wars of the Roses. On the deaths of Gloucester and Beaufort, two great factions were seen among the nobles. De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, was a great supporter of Queen Margaret, whose marriage with the king was due to his diplomacy. With him was ranked Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, a descendant of John of Gaunt. On the other side appeared the future claimant of the crown, Richard, Duke of York. This wealthy and popular noble was descended, on his father's side, from

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Edmund, Duke of York, fifth son of Edward III. ; by his mother, he came, through Mortimer Earl of March, from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III. On his mother's side, therefore, he had a higher claim, derived from Edward III., than the king, Henry VI., descended from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward. With Richard Plantagenet of York were closely allied, in the bonds of friendship and intermarriage, two other Richards. These were Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and his son, Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. Cicely, Duchess of York, was sister to the Earl of Salisbury. Warwick, the coming *king-maker*, was very popular from his vast wealth and munificence. The dependents whom he daily fed at his manor-houses and castles are reckoned by tens of thousands, and he had only to give his orders, and to open his coffers, in order to place a large army in the field.

The people of England had been stirred to wrath by the issues of policy in France. The queen, whose coming was coupled with the serious loss of Maine, was regarded as a public enemy, and Suffolk, the promoter of the union, was made the mark of public vengeance, and blamed, with gross injustice, for failures in every department of affairs. To Suffolk, according to his many enemies, were due alike the disasters in France, and the great debts of the king, which forced the government to severe and illegal exactions in order to maintain the royal household. In the spring of 1450, he was impeached by the Commons for treason, and Henry, in order to save his life, sent him abroad with a sentence of five years' banishment. It was a time of serious alarm from the temper of the people. At the beginning of the year, Moleyne, Bishop of Chichester, a minister under Suffolk, had been murdered by sailors at Portsmouth, in a dispute concerning their pay. The king's intervention did not save his fallen friend. Suffolk hurried away from London, and sailed from Ipswich with two ships at the end of April. A close watch had been kept on his movements, and his enemies sent a vessel which cut him off near Dover. He was there and then beheaded with a rusty sword on the side of a boat, and his body was flung into the sea. The deed passed without inquiry, and was sung with taunting triumph in a popular ditty of the day.

In the holiday-week of Whitsuntide, 1450, there was a more serious game playing in Blackheath than the usual morris-dances and bear-baitings. An army of twenty thousand men lay there encamped, composed of insurgents from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex. Several score of the gentry were with them, and some great landowners openly befriended the rising. The matter is thought to have had a Yorkist origin, from the fact that the leader, John Cade, a soldier who had served in the French wars, took to himself the name "Mortimer." The rebels put forth a statement of grievances, in which they demanded reforms in the mode of government, including a change

**The Jack
Cade re-
bellion,
1450.**

of ministers, a more careful expenditure of the money raised by the heavy taxation, and non-interference with the election of members to the House of Commons. Nothing was said as to villenage and serfage, concerning which the social condition of the people had undergone so great a change during the seventy years that had passed since Wat Tyler's revolt. The repeal of the Statute of Labourers was demanded, and it is clear that one of the causes of the rising was the dislocation of the labour system caused by changes in the tillage of the soil. Corn-lands had been turned into pasture, needing fewer hands for tendance, and great numbers of small allotments of land had disappeared by incorporation into the large holdings of a new class of tenant-farmers. There was thus a great roving body of unemployed labourers, whose ranks were swelled by discharged retainers of the great nobles, and by soldiers thrown out of a career by the cessation of the warfare in France. The Council paid no heed to the "Complaint of the Commons of Kent," as the document was called, and raised a force to disperse the rebels. After a retreat to Sevenoaks, they defeated on June 27th a detachment of troops sent against them, and killed the commander, Sir Humphrey Stafford. The ministers, in their alarm, sent to the Tower Lord Say, one of the most unpopular of their number, and Henry retired with the court to Kenilworth. Cade then marched on London, and entered the city on July 2nd. We read that when he came to London Stone, still to be seen by St. Swithin's Church, he struck it with his sword and cried, "Now is Mortimer lord of this city." Lord Say was brought from the Tower, and beheaded by the rebels in Cheapside. Some acts of plunder made the citizens rise in arms, and, after a great fight on London Bridge on the night of July 5th, Cade retired with his men. He was shortly afterwards killed in Sussex, pursued by the men of the sheriff of Kent.

The Duke of Somerset succeeded to the power lately wielded by the unfortunate Suffolk. The king and queen were still childless, and the ambition of Somerset, as representing the line of Lancaster, was now probably turned towards the succession to the throne. His great rival, the Duke of York, had been lately removed to a scene of action distant from London, being sent, as lieutenant of Ireland, to quell a rebellion in 1449. His excellent qualities of justice, moderate dealing, and firmness so won the people that the country was completely pacified, and his name and family were long there held in the greatest affection and esteem. In 1450, York returned from his Irish command, and, at the head of an armed force in London, demanded right against Somerset, who was sent, on the Commons' petition, to the Tower. He was soon released, and maintained in power by help of the Queen. In 1452, York again marched on London, requiring the removal of Somerset. The matter ended for the time in the Duke of York's submission, and his retirement to his castle of Wigmore, on the Welsh border.

The powers of the Houses received further developments of importance in the reign of Henry VI. The practice was now introduced of either House originating statutes, under the name of *bills*, and these proposed measures, after being passed, or approved by a majority of votes, in both Lords and Commons, were presented to the sovereign for his assent without his alteration of their terms. It was also established that the sovereign should in no way interfere with matters under discussion in Parliament, and that freedom of speech in debate should be enjoyed by the members of the Commons. Towards the end of the reign, we find the judges fully recognising Parliamentary rights. An appeal was made to them by the Lords on a matter of privilege, and their reply was that "they ought not to answer that question, for it hath not been used that the justices shall in any wise determine the privileges of the High Court of Parliament; for it is so high and mighty in its nature, that it may make law, and what is law it may make no law." It was by this time fully settled that the Commons alone possessed the right of originating all bills for raising money by taxation, and also of procuring the punishment of corrupt and pernicious ministers by impeachment of them at the bar of the Lords. At the same time, the number of those persons who could vote for members of the House of Commons became much restricted, partly from the growth of privilege in the boroughs, and partly from legislation directly bearing on county elections. In the towns, the old burgesses, representing the trade companies which had risen to civic importance on the ruins of the merchant guilds, sought to restrict their numbers by means of clauses inserted in charters obtained from the Crown. Henceforth none could be a burgess, except by right of birth, or by serving a lengthy apprenticeship to one of the chartered trades. All members even of this privileged body did not possess the franchise for the purpose of Parliamentary elections. The only voters for members of the House of Commons were, as a rule, those who were chosen as borough councillors. Thus the mass of the people was deprived of all direct representation, and a condition of things arose in the towns which pointed forward to the time of "rotten boroughs," controlled by great landowners or by the Crown, in their choice of representatives, and finally dealt with in the Reform Act of 1832. It was in 1430 that, on the petition of the House of Commons itself, the famous Act was passed restricting the county franchise to "forty shilling freeholders." The great bulk of the people, those of small substance, had now passed out of the servile condition into the free, and all claimed, as freemen, the right of voting for knights of the shire, in the assembly called the shire court. The votes of the gentry were utterly swamped under such a system, and it was also found that, in many shires, nobles with large numbers of dependents were masters, through their votes, of the choice of county members. It was now enacted that such members should be chosen in every county only by

Parliament
under
Henry
VI.

"people dwelling and resident in the same, whereof every one of them shall have free land or tenement to the value of forty shillings by the year, at the least, above all charges." In those days, the owner of a forty shilling freehold, the value of which represents perhaps a hundred a year now, was a person of some importance. By this statute the majority of the voters, including all the tenants of leasehold and copyhold property, were in fact deprived of the franchise. One result of this change was, however, that in the contests of coming times for constitutional liberty, the spirit of freedom was found to reside among the county members, chosen by these freeholders, to whom such possession gave a certain independence of position and character.

HENRY SIXTH AND EDWARD OF YORK

Summary of the life of Henry VI. He was a weak king. The struggle between York and Lancaster for the throne of England. He was Edward's cousin to the throne. He was a weak king.

The history and political events which led from the white rose of York and the red rose of Lancaster to the War of the Roses, make a long list on the national records. The scene which is here presented is drawn from the general absence of picturesque and dramatic elements and is rendered thoroughly ignoble by the treatment of the monarch, the failure of his treasurer, and the noble acts of his loyal subjects. The war of the roses was a struggle for power, a struggle for the throne, but void of all concern with principle. The issue of the war was the succession to the throne of England, the power of the king, the destruction of the kingdom, and the establishment of a more important system in the world. The struggle for power was a struggle for the throne, and in its spirit the extinction of the existing feudal system. The contest was a struggle of a people's battle followed by a long period of peace, and a period of peace. The actual result of the struggle was a period of peace, and a period of peace. The struggle for power was a struggle for the throne, and in its spirit the extinction of the existing feudal system. The contest was a struggle of a people's battle followed by a long period of peace, and a period of peace. The actual result of the struggle was a period of peace, and a period of peace. The struggle for power was a struggle for the throne, and in its spirit the extinction of the existing feudal system. The contest was a struggle of a people's battle followed by a long period of peace, and a period of peace. The actual result of the struggle was a period of peace, and a period of peace.

Wars of the Roses
Henry VI
Edward IV

BOOK IX.

THE FIGHT FOR THE CROWN.

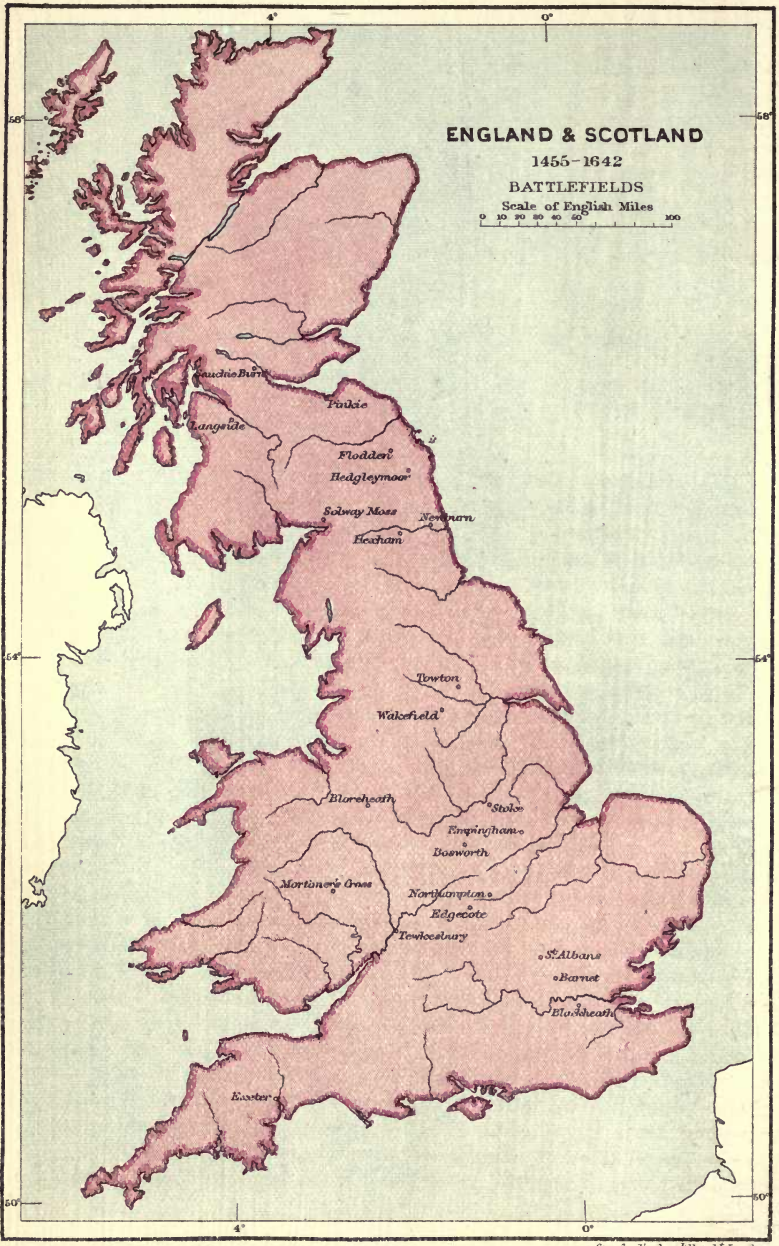
CHAPTER I.

HENRY SUCCUMBS TO EDWARD OF YORK.

Character of the civil war. Birth of a prince. The struggle begins. Yorkist victories. Death of Richard of York at Wakefield. His son Edward comes to the front. Edward's victories win the throne.

Wars of the Roses begin, 1455.

The dreary and ignoble civil strife called, from the white rose of York, and the red rose of Lancaster, the Wars of the Roses, makes a foul blot on the national records. The scene which is here presented is dreary from the general absence of picturesque and chivalrous elements, and it is rendered thoroughly ignoble by the meanness of its motives, the baseness of its treacheries, and the ruthlessness of its acts of revenge. The war of the rival houses and their partisans was a contest for men, not for measures; a mere struggle for power, conducted with infinite passion, but void of all concern with principle. The immediate result was the succession to the throne of three princes of the house of York. The destruction of the greater part of the old nobility of England had far more important issues in the added power given to the Crown under Tudor sovereigns, and in the almost complete extinction of the decaying feudal system. The contest was rather a series of groups of battles followed by long intervals of peace, than a war as commonly understood. The actual period of fighting, during the thirty years from 1455 to 1485, amounts altogether to the space of something less than two years. The struggle presents, indeed, one good feature. It caused no general disorder in the framework of society. The internal administration of England proceeded with the same regularity as if the contest for supremacy were raging on the fair fields of France, instead of amidst the hills and vales, and around the towns and hamlets, of England. There was no general ravage, no widespread and costly destruction. The tillage of the soil, the simple handicrafts in the homes of the people, were carried on as usual. In the words of a great historian, "in a week the peasant was driving his team and the esquire flying his hawks over the field of Towton or of Bosworth, as if no extra-



ordinary event had interrupted the regular course of human life." The courts of law continued to sit, and men litigated for disputed rights, devoid of all fear for the general peril of property. The elections of burgesses and knights of the shire sent men to sit in Parliament just as in times of perfect peace. The nobles were slaying and being slain, and the ground was drenched from time to time with the blood of Englishmen of every rank, but the country prospered in the increase of material wealth, and, while the great families were brought to desolation by slaughter on the battlefield and the scaffold, there is no evidence of ultimate decrease in the population of the land. We have here the contemporary evidence of a very acute and accomplished observer. The famous diplomatist and historian Philippe de Comines, writing of this period, declares England to be the best governed country in Europe, and to have "this peculiar grace, that neither the country, nor the people, nor the houses, are wasted, destroyed, or demolished; but the calamities and misfortunes of the war fall only upon the soldiers, and especially on the nobility."

The immediate occasion of the Wars of the Roses was an event which, in just and reasonable men, would at once have put an end to all thoughts of a contest for the throne. In October 1453, Queen Margaret was blest, as she vainly fancied, in the birth of a son and heir. Whatever might be the genealogical pretensions of the Duke of York, the claim of the house of Lancaster was based upon a sound Parliamentary title, confirmed by a possession of over fifty years. The young prince received the name of Edward. Not long before his birth at Westminster, his unhappy father had sunk into an imbecile condition, and so remained for many months at Windsor. The Yorkist party became for the time supreme. The Council again placed Somerset as a prisoner in the Tower, and the Duke of York was made Protector of the kingdom for the period of Henry's incapacity. A letter of the time gives us a vivid picture of the disquiet, suspicion, and preparation for warfare which marked this crisis. The Duke of Norfolk is therein warned against the treachery of Somerset, who has his spies "in every lord's house of this land." Cardinal Kempe, the Chancellor, and Archbishop of Canterbury, a great supporter of the cause of Somerset and the queen, has armed all his servants with bow and arrows, sword and buckler. The Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Egremont have been in the north country, confederating with other Lancastrian lords for a march in force on London. In accordance with this statement, we find that throughout the contest, the strength of the Lancastrian cause lies in the north of England, and it is thither that Margaret ever turns for help against the hour of battle, and for refuge in the dark day of defeat. The Duke of Buckingham, Humphrey Stafford, a man who has estates in twenty-seven counties, is waiting upon events to decide his course, but has already ordered two thousand scarves as badges for his retainers. The queen, it is said, aims at

winning all power for herself—the appointment of all officials, and the choice of men for all Church benefices. On the other side, York and his partisans are coming to London “with a fellowship of good men,” and their helmets and other “harness” are coming in carts. Salisbury, Warwick, Richmond, and Pembroke, each with a small army at his back, are coming up with the Duke of York. This account of affairs is dated in January 1454, and enables us well to understand how the Parliament held in the following month, to which great Yorkist nobles had come in such overwhelming array, appointed the Duke of York to take charge of the realm. In February 1455, the king recovered his wits for a time, and a sudden change of affairs occurred. The “protectorate” of York was at an end, and he also ceased to be governor of Calais. Somerset came forth from the Tower, filled with bitter and natural hostility to his rival, who gathered his forces together and marched on the capital. He still professed the most loyal intentions towards the king, but declared that he must protect himself from the violence of his enemies. Henry took the field on May 20th, leaving the palace at Westminster with Somerset and other nobles, to meet York in arms before he could reach London. The Wars of the Roses had begun.

On May 22nd, Henry reached St. Alban's with about two thousand men, and on the same day York encamped in the fields near the town, with an army of three thousand. A demand for the surrender of Somerset, as an “enemy to all the realm,” was refused by the king, and the Yorkists prepared to assault the barricaded town. After several repulses on the north, Warwick made his way in by an attack on the east, and a skirmish took place in the streets, with no great slaughter of men, but with important results to the leaders. The Yorkists won the fight, and the king's men fled in disorder. The Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and Lord Clifford were killed on the Lancastrian side. The king was wounded in the neck by an arrow, and taken prisoner “in the house of a tanner.” On the following day, the Duke of York, with all outward marks of reverence, conducted Henry to London, where Parliament met in July.

An amnesty was now granted by statute to all those who had taken arms, and all the blame of the late bloodshed was thrown upon Somerset and his adherents. In the famous *Paston Letters* we have a strong light thrown upon the growing influence of the House of Commons. The Duchess of Norfolk, wife of one of the Yorkist peers, writes to John Paston, bidding him exert his influence in procuring the return of two of the Norfolk household to be knights of the shire, “forasmuch as it is thought right necessary for divers causes that my lord have at this time in the parliament such persons as belong to him, and be of his menial servants.” The Parliament was prorogued to November, and, on the king's relapse in health, the

First
battle
of St.
Alban's,
May 22,
1455.

Affairs
till 1459.

Commons three times urged on the Peers the appointment of a Protector. The Duke of York again received this office, but especial care was taken of the rights of Henry's son, the young prince Edward. In February 1456, when the king partly recovered, the duke's commission was superseded, and he retired with his adherents to the privacy of his own estates. For nearly three years outward peace was maintained, and in 1458 Henry summoned the great nobles to a meeting in London, with a view to a general reconciliation. The Duke of York lodged in his own fortified mansion of Baynard's Castle, on the bank of the Thames, below St. Paul's. Warwick came over from his government of Calais, "with a great band of men, all arrayed in red jackets with white ragged staves upon them," and was lodged at the Grey Friars. The Lord Mayor "had daily in harness five thousand citizens, and rode about the city and suburbs, to see that the king's peace were kept." The London of that day was a rich and populous city, full of splendid ecclesiastical buildings, and stately mansions of nobles. From the Tower to the palace of Westminster, the Thames formed the great "silent highway," on which looked down the lofty spire of the Gothic cathedral of St. Paul's. To the great church went a procession of illustrious persons in "dissimuled unity and concord," as the chronicler, Alderman Fabyan, holds. The king followed the rival nobles, walking before him hand-in-hand. The queen, proud Margaret of Anjou, was led along by her greatest foe, the Duke of York. The show of amity did not long endure. In November of the same year, a quarrel arose between the retinue of Richard, Earl of Warwick, and some of the king's household, and a fight ensued in London, in which the earl was in danger of his life. He escaped to his barge, and departed for Calais. He was superseded in his government there by the young Duke of Somerset, but refused to resign under the king's writ, and maintained that he was appointed by authority of Parliament. In 1459, the civil war broke out afresh, in spite of all Henry's efforts to reconcile the factious nobles.

The war now assumed a character which left no doubt that the issue to be tried in the wager of battle was whether Henry or Richard of York should be king of England. The Earl of Salisbury, Warwick's father, marched southward from the ancestral abode of the Nevilles, Middleham Castle in Yorkshire, with intent to unite his forces with those of the Duke of York, lying within the Welsh marches, around Ludlow Castle. He found his way barred by a larger Lancastrian army, commanded by Lord Audley. On September 23rd the forces met at Bloreheath, in Staffordshire, about two miles from Market Drayton. The Lancastrians were well beaten, through the military skill of Salisbury, and Audley fell, with two thousand of his men. The conflict was viewed by Queen Margaret from the neighbouring church-tower of Mucklestone. The victor then joined York, and Warwick arrived with a body of men from Calais. A proclamation was issued, in which they still maintained

The battle of Bloreheath, September 23, 1459.

that they were in arms to reform the government, but not to overthrow it. Then came another change of fortune. Henry's army advanced to the scene of the late defeat, and on October 13th was in presence of the Yorkists. The Lancastrian army was greatly superior in numbers, and a Yorkist general, Sir Andrew Trollope, carried a large body of the Calais troops under his command over to the rival camp. The Yorkists at once dispersed, and the duke fled to Ireland, while Salisbury and his son took refuge at Calais. A Parliament held at Coventry in November declared them all to be traitors, with confiscation of all their possessions. The young Edward, Earl of March, son of the Duke of York, was with his father's friends at Calais, where the town and fortress were kept against all attacks in the spring of 1460.

The proceedings of the Coventry Parliament had left Richard of York no choice between remaining an attainted outcast, and venturing for the crown of England. In June 1460, a force under Warwick passed over from Calais to Sandwich. The men of Kent rose for the Yorkist cause, and the army was so increased during the march to London, that Warwick entered the capital with forty thousand men. An advance was made into the Midlands, where a Lancastrian army lay at Northampton with the king and queen in their midst. The two armies came face to face on July 10th. The royal forces were intrenched in the meadows to the south of the town, on the bank of the sluggish river Nen. Their enemy, led by Warwick, Faulconbridge, and the young Edward of York, now in his nineteenth year, and already an athletic man and accomplished soldier, attacked the camp with great impetuosity, and won a complete victory. Margaret and her son Edward fled to the north of England. The unhappy king sat alone in his tent, and became the prisoner of Warwick and Edward, who bowed low before him, and professed to hold him in all reverence. The fight at Northampton was in other ways a serious blow to the Lancastrian cause. The Duke of Buckingham, Lords Egremont and Beaumont, and three hundred knights and gentlemen fell. A picture of the times is shown us at this crisis in the condition of Cicely, Duchess of York. Soon after the battle of Northampton, with her husband still in exile, under a traitor's ban, she takes refuge in London, in chambers at the Temple, belonging to a friend of her family, John Paston. News arrives of the landing of her husband at Chester, on his way from Ireland, and she is summoned to meet him at Hereford. Over the rough ways of the period she takes her journey, leaving most of her children behind. The eldest, Edward, Earl of March, is a man and a warrior, with the flush of victory fresh on his brow. He has arrived in London with the Yorkists from Northampton. The Tower has been surrendered, and its governor, Lord Scales, cruelly put to death. Edward is domiciled, no doubt, under the roof of the Earl of Warwick, and "he cometh every day," says the writer, to see his two young brothers and

Battle of
North-
ampton,
July 10,
1460.

his sister. The second son, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, now seventeen years of age, had been with his father in Ireland, being included in the attainder pronounced by Parliament at Coventry. A day of doom is before him, ere the year shall close, but now he is coming home with his father, Richard of York, as a happy result of the late success. The two younger boys, and their sister Margaret, are left alone in those Temple chambers. The boys are yet to fill a large space in the annals of England: now they are helpless children, nurtured amidst the bitterness of faction, and filled with a precocious sense of hatreds and revenges. George, soon to be Duke of Clarence, is barely eleven years of age: Richard, the coming Duke of Gloucester, terrible hero of the tragic scene, has just completed his eighth year. The girl is fifteen years old, and is yet to become widely known as Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, wife of Charles the Bold, the man of the stricken fields of Granson, Morat, and Nancy.

On October 7th, 1460, Parliament met at Westminster, and two days later the Duke of York was in London. In a week more, he entered the chamber of Peers, and now at last he put forth a solemn claim to the crown. There was a deliberate inquisition made into his genealogical title, which could not be disputed upon the principle of direct succession. The decision seems to have rested with the Lords. It could not be denied that the claimant of the throne had again and again sworn fealty to the reigning sovereign, and that the violent disturbance of a dynasty which had endured for sixty years was, at the best, a doubtful measure in the interests of peace. They resolved upon a compromise of the conflicting claims and pretensions. Henry was to retain the crown for his life, and the Duke of York and his heirs were to succeed to the throne after Henry's death. No arrangement could be better, as between the king and the Duke of York. But it had one fatal defect. It took no account of the interests of the king's son, and of the proud spirit of a courageous and energetic woman, roused to fury by the contemptuous disregard of the rights of her child. The beaten but unconquered Margaret was busy in the north among the Lancastrian lords, and soon headed a new army of twenty thousand men. The administration of the government had been placed by Parliament in the hands of the Duke of York, and, in all the confidence of success, he left London with a force of but five thousand men, as if to crush what he thought to be an unimportant rising. After keeping the festival of Christmas at his castle of Sandal, near Wakefield, he found himself invested there by a Lancastrian army of over three times his force, commanded by the young Duke of Somerset, and the Earls of Durham and Northumberland. His son Edward, Earl of March, was at Shrewsbury, and he had only to await the arrival of reinforcements. In an hour of rashness, inspired perhaps by the dying spirit of chivalry, he resolved to go forth from his castle and meet the foe on an appointed day of combat. The Lancastrian lords paid no

The
battle of
Wake-
field,
Decem-
ber 30,
1460.

heed to the time arranged, and made a sudden attack, on the ground between the town and the castle, then called Wakefield Green. The result was a fearful disaster for the Yorkists. The small army was utterly beaten, and York and his second son, the Earl of Rutland, were killed. A day or two later, the Earl of Salisbury and other leaders, taken in pursuit, were beheaded at Pontefract, and the cause seemed utterly lost. But the eldest son, who now succeeded to the titles and honours of his father, had already given proof of the courage and capacity which were soon to make him the foremost general of the age. Edward Plantagenet, the late Earl of March, now become Duke of York, called to his standard the men of the Welsh border, and resolved on a bold march for London, where the citizens were thoroughly devoted to the cause of the White Rose.

Margaret, after the great success at Wakefield, had made a division of her forces. One part was sent against the young Duke of York, commanded by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and half-brother to the king. With the larger portion she herself made for the capital. Edward found himself obliged to fight the force of Tudor, which was hampering his progress, and the encounter took place at Mortimer's Cross, a few miles north-west of Leominster. The place derives its name from the intersection of two roads—one of them being the old Roman *Watling Street*—near the village of Kingsland, on an estate belonging to the Mortimer family. Tudor was completely defeated, and the victory was followed by the same course of cruel executions as those of Wakefield. One of the victims was Sir Owen Tudor, father of Pembroke, and founder of the coming line of sovereigns.

The queen had been pursuing her march towards London, and in the third week of February she was near the old scene of conflict at St. Alban's. The Earl of Warwick had gone out to meet her from London, taking with him the poor helpless king. The battle took place on Barnard's Heath, between St. Alban's and Barnet, and Warwick's men were routed. The king was left on the field in his tent, and was now again in his wife's hands.

This success was of no advantage to the royal cause. Edward was now on the scene of action, and, with the forces fresh from victory at Mortimer's Cross, he made a junction with the rallied remnant of Warwick's army, and entered London on February 28th. He was met with a warm welcome from the citizens, who saw in him a more daring spirit than that of his father. The new leader of the White Rose went straight to the aim of his ambition. An assembly of Yorkist peers, prelates, and citizens was held on March 3rd, and at this kind of Parliament he demanded the crown of England as his right. It was resolved that Henry, by joining the queen's forces, had set aside the award made in

Battle
of Mortimer's
Cross,
February
1, 1461.

Second
battle
of St.
Alban's,
February
17, 1461.

Edward
of York
becomes
king,
March
1461.

the preceding autumn, and had forfeited the throne of which he had been granted the occupancy for life. Henry was then formally dethroned, and Edward was proclaimed king as Edward IV. on the same day. Margaret was at present in no condition to meet Edward's forces, and started for the north, to seek the means of again asserting in battle the rights of her husband and her son.

CHAPTER II.

LITERATURE OF THE LANCASTRIAN PERIOD.

Satirical verse : Lydgate, Occleve. Bishop Pecock and the clergy. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, as a patron of learning. Fortescue on English law. The *Paston Letters*, their matter and style.

It is a relief to turn for a time from the furious din and bloodstained battle-ground of angry factions to the peaceful page and flowery fields of literature and learning. There are no great names like those of Wyclif and Chaucer, but matter of much interest and value in the intellectual history of the land comes before us in the age that closes with the great invention of printing. Early in the fifteenth century, *John Lydgate*, a native of Suffolk, was a priest in the Benedictine Monastery at Bury St. Edmund's. He had been a student at the universities of Padua, Paris, and Oxford, and the growth of a taste for letters is shown in the fact of his becoming famous as the Monk of Bury who had a school of rhetoric for instruction in literature and in the art of versifying. Lydgate was not in any high sense of the word, but a man of learning, accomplishment, and taste, who could write easy, pleasant verse in every style then current—ballads, hymns, the legends of saints, masques, the tales of Troy and Thebes, and moral stories in rhyme. His *London Lickpenny* is a popular satirical song of a poor man who came to town in the vain hope of getting help and justice in his wrong without a full purse in his girdle. It contains a lively description of the street-cries uttered by the hawkers and shopkeepers of the day. *Thomas Occleve* was a Londoner of the same age as Lydgate, and his chief poem is based upon a Latin work on the duties of princes. As a government clerk in the Privy Seal Office, he was involved in trouble by the non-payment of his salary, and took occasion, while he wrote under Henry V., to deprecate the war with France, and to call upon a Christian king to fight only with the enemies of Christ. His strokes of satire are dealt at all the evils of his time, from the absurd extravagance of dress to the corruption and self-seeking of churchmen. *Reginald Pecock*, a student of Oriel College, Oxford, became Bishop of St. Asaph

Literature
under
Lancastrian
kings.

in 1444, by the patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. His chief work, entitled *The Repressor of Overmuch Blaming of the Clergy*, is the most important book in prose written under Henry VI. It was meant as a defence of the higher clergy against the aspersions of the Lollards, but it aroused against the author the hostility of his own order. Pecoek's offence lay in the fact that, while he defended the use of images, the holding of land by the clergy, the papal and episcopal authority, and the existence of religious orders, he laid matters before the English people by discussing them in the English tongue. This was a concession to the laity that the haughty churchmen of the day could by no means brook. In another work, Pecoek granted to the adversary that the only rule of religious faith was to be found in Scripture, and declared that doctrine should be proved therefrom by reason. It is clear that in Bishop Pecoek we have a thinker who, like Wyclif, was preparing the way for the coming Reformation. He was a man of genius and learning, skilful in logic, and eloquent in expression, but these gifts, in that age, were but dangers to the man who could not blindly follow the "traditions of the elders." Pecoek became Bishop of Chichester in 1449, and continued his attempts to bring over the Lollards by argument rather than by persecution. In 1457, he was expelled from the House of Lords, prosecuted by the bishops for heresy, and compelled to recant at St. Paul's Cross. Some of his writings were burnt in his presence, including a copy of the *Repressor*, and a few months later he was deprived of his see. He tried to obtain the interest of the Pope for his restoration, and was then, perhaps under the Statute of *praemunire*, sentenced to perpetual imprisonment at Thorney Abbey in Cambridgeshire. A literary feature of the time is found in the increased interest which the laity take in books, and in the decline of learning amongst the clergy. The monasteries were now the seats of wealth, luxury, and sensuality, rather than of study, acquirement, and literary production. The age of real science was yet distant, and men who cared for the secrets of nature were busy with alchemy and magic, and with other superstitious absurdities of the time which had seen the burning of the Maid, and the condemnation for witch-craft of Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester. In the ranks of the nobles were found many promoters and patrons of learning and authorship. Humphrey of Gloucester gathered what was then the splendid library of six hundred volumes of manuscripts. The ranks of the law produced a notable writer in *Sir John Fortescue*, a native of Devonshire, who was Chief Justice of the King's Bench from 1442 to 1460. He fought at Towton as a zealous Lancastrian, and was attainted by Edward IV. as a traitor. During his exile in Lorraine with Queen Margaret, he wrote in 1463, for the use of the young Prince Edward, his *De Laudibus Legum Angliae*, a Latin treatise on the principles of English law. He afterwards produced in English a work in favour of constitutional government, entitled

Difference between Absolute and Limited Monarchy. In this book Fortescue declared that he could not, go back as far as he would, find or conceive an English nation subject to despotic, irresponsible rule. The prince could neither make laws, nor, except with consent of the subject, raise money by taxation. By far the most interesting and valuable historical and literary monument of the fifteenth century in England is found in the famous *Paston Letters*, first given to the public in 1787, and at once hailed with the highest praise by that great literary epicure, Horace Walpole. The letters form a large body of friendly and family correspondence, written by and to successive generations of the Pastons, from 1422 to 1505. They were a family of country gentlemen in Norfolk, settled at the village of their name, on the coast near Cromer. William Paston became a Judge in the early days of Henry VI., and at a later date we find the family in close connection, partly by blood, with that great military captain Sir John Fastolf, who came, full of years and glory, to spend his last days at his noble new castle of Caistor, near Yarmouth. The letters are written in the most free and communicative tone, laying open domestic affairs, public movements, election intrigues, family lawsuits, and all the relations of English life. We here see, amongst many other interesting glimpses of manners, the subjection of the daughters of the house to that strict discipline which then, and long after, marked the relations of child and parent. We find that the ladies of that age were well instructed, if we may judge from the number of excellent letters written by women, both married and single. On the literary side, the *Paston Letters* are remarkable for the correctness of their grammar, and the liveliness and ease of their style. The public character of the age of the Wars of the Roses is shown in the wanton and lawless armed attacks made upon the lands and houses of the Pastons by their powerful neighbours, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk. It was a time of private, as well as public, warfare, and such disorders and wrongs had no small influence in causing the nation, under the Tudors, to submit to encroachments on constitutional freedom for the sake of internal peace, and for the safety of property from the grasp of all except the monarch.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND UNDER EDWARD THE FOURTH.

Battle of Towton. Havoc among nobles. Lancastrians again in arms. Warwick's quarrel with Edward. The king's flight and return. Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. Edward's arbitrary rule. Foreign affairs. Scottish history. Death of the king. Literature : Caxton and the printing-press.

THE new king, who was an able statesman, the best general and one of the bravest warriors of the time, vigilant, resolute, prompt, and pitiless, was in all points well fitted to guard the power which he had won. He had but scanty time for repose after his entry into London and reception as king. A procession to St. Paul's, a speech from the throne, a solemn recognition before the great altar of the Abbey at Westminster, were the brief ceremonies with which Edward assumed royalty. It was no time for the feasting and revelry which were dear to the heart of the handsome young monarch, as gay in demeanour, and charmingly careless of manner in his hours of ease, as he was fierce, cruel, and determined in time of stress and peril. The undaunted Margaret was again in the field, heading a force of sixty thousand men in Yorkshire.

No time was lost by the king and his supporters. The Duke of Norfolk went to his country to raise his men. On March 6th Warwick left London for the north, and was soon followed by a great host of men from Kent and Wales. On the 12th Edward marched out of the city at Bishopsgate, and in a fortnight's time was close to the coming scene of action. In a skirmish at Ferry-bridge, on the river Aire, near Pontefract, the advanced columns of the Yorkists were repulsed, but Edward was consoled by the death of a Lancastrian leader, Lord Clifford, who had cruelly slain the king's brother, the young Earl of Rutland, on the fatal day of Wakefield. On March 29th, the main bodies of the two armies met at Towton, near Tadcaster, a few miles south-west of York. Never before or since in England was such a mighty host of the children of the soil gathered together for the horrors of civil warfare. The united forces exceeded in number those who fought near Hastings, and the struggle equalled in duration and obstinacy, and far surpassed in bloodshed, the momentous wager of battle between Harold and Duke William. The sixty thousand Lancastrians were the hardy men of the north, bred on the mountain and the moor, their ranks swelled by the borderers whose life was made up of foray and fight. The leaders included the Duke of Somerset, and the Earls of Northumberland, Westmoreland, Devonshire, and Wiltshire, they and their following alike ready to fight to the death. Margaret and Henry awaited the issue at York,

The army led by Edward numbered about fifty thousand men. Among the badges and banners that fluttered in the cold March wind on that Palm-Sunday were those of the houses of York, Warwick, Norfolk, Fauconberg, Scrope, Lord Grey of Ruthyn, Bouchier, and Stanley. The men of the towns were there in support of their favourite White Rose, the badge of the monarch who, with all his vices, was the pioneer of a new order of things, an England of trade, progress, enlightenment, and internal peace based on the extinction or suppression of turbulent feudal lords. The banners of the towns seen in Edward's ranks at Towton displayed the White Ship of Bristol, the Leopard of Salisbury, the Black Ram of Coventry, the Wolf of Worcester, the Dragon of Gloucester, the Griffin of Leicester, the Rat of Northampton, and the George of Nottingham. The battle began at nine in the morning, in the midst of a violent storm of snow, which came at the backs of the Yorkists and drove full in the faces of the Lancastrian archers. Their aim was baffled, while the enemy's shafts were driven home by the force of the wind. For six long hours the fight was fought with the utmost courage on each side, but at three o'clock a fresh force for Edward arrived on the ground under the Duke of Norfolk, and the Lancastrians at last gave way, after suffering fearful losses. The retreat became a rout, in which no quarter was given, and the battle of Towton ended when nearly forty thousand men lay dead and maimed on the ground. Every stream on the field ran red with blood on that day of carnage, and so terrible and lasting was the impression made on the minds of the peasantry, that three hundred and fifty years later the old men of the hamlets would still talk of the gory brooks as tales handed down through their sires. The usual vengeance was wreaked on survivors of the contest. The day after the battle saw the beheading of the Earls of Wiltshire and Devonshire, with many other men of mark, while the dethroned king and Margaret made their way to Scotland, and Somerset fled for safety abroad.

On June 29th, Edward IV. was crowned at Westminster by Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. His brother George was then created Duke of Clarence, and Richard became Duke of Gloucester. A progress made through the south and west was enlivened for the king by banquets, pageants, and the executions of fallen Lancastrians. In November, Parliament met and passed an Act of Attainder against the late king and queen, and many Lancastrian peers and knights. Henry VI., Margaret, and Prince Edward were attainted for the death of Richard, Duke of York, and for delivering up Berwick to the Scots on April 25th, after the flight from Towton. Dukes, earls, knights, and esquires were condemned for taking part in the death of the Duke of York, for being against King Edward at Towton-field, and for recent armed movements in Durham and Wales. A statute declared all the Lancastrian princes

Edward
from
1461-1470.

to have been "kings in deed and not of right," and recognised the title of Edward, by his descent through the family of Mortimer. The estates of the attainted Lancastrians were either taken by the king, or bestowed upon his friends, and other supporters of the late sovereign strove to make their peace by abandoning the cause of Henry, and making submission to Edward. Some of the greatest nobles, including men of the blood royal, were reduced to extreme humiliation and penury. Philippe de Comines saw the Duke of Exeter, of the house of Lancaster, "following the Duke of Burgundy's train, bare-foot and bare-legged, begging his bread from door to door." The widow and infant son of the cruel Lord Clifford that fell at Towton fled to the wilds, and the boy grew up as a shepherd. In the first year of Henry VII., he was restored to his title and estates, and entered the House of Peers unable to read or write. In the time of adversity he had learnt purer and wiser lessons than those of hatred and revenge, and became known as "the good Lord Clifford."

The unconquerable activity and courage of Queen Margaret kept alive the spirit of the Lancastrian party even after the great defeat. The people of England were against them, and they strove for foreign aid. In 1462, Margaret raised in France an army of adventurers, and landed on the northern coast in October. The fortresses of Bamborough, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh were taken by her partisans, but the forces of Edward were soon in the field. Margaret was obliged to flee to her ships, and make her escape to Berwick. Some of the foreign troops were cast by a storm on Holy Island, whither they were pursued and destroyed. The Earl of Warwick received the surrender of the three northern castles, of which Bamborough and Dunstanburgh were yielded by the Duke of Somerset and Sir Richard Percy, with the condition that they should recover their forfeited rank and estates, on swearing fealty to Edward. Parliament then reversed their attainders, and Somerset was, for the time, a Yorkist. Abandoned by two of her chief supporters, Margaret sought shelter in her father's territory of Lorraine in the spring of 1463. Her son Edward was with her, being then about eleven years of age. Early in 1464, the Lancastrians were again moving, and risings in Cheshire and Lancashire were followed by suppression and executions. Margaret was again in Scotland, and was joined by Percy and Somerset, who had so lately left her cause. They headed a large force of Scots and English exiles, and came again into possession of the three castles yielded in 1462. Lord Montacute or Montague, brother of Warwick, promptly marched against them, and on April 25th Percy was defeated and killed at the battle of Hedgeley Moor, south-east of Wooler, in Northumberland. On May 15th, Montacute won a decisive victory over the army of Margaret at the battle of Hexham, on the south bank of the Tyne. The fortunes of the house of Lancaster sank to the lowest point. The Duke of Somerset and two other lords were

Lancastrian efforts, 1462-1466.

taken in the pursuit, and at once beheaded. The usual attainders, imprisonments, and executions followed. Bamborough Castle, with Sir Ralph Gray, surrendered to Warwick, and Gray's head fell at Doncaster. The estates of Percy were given to the victorious Montacute, with the title of Earl of Northumberland. An attempt was made by Edward to cut off from his rivals all hope of Scottish aid by the conclusion of a truce for fifteen years, with the stipulation that the Lancastrians should receive neither help nor shelter from the Scots. The dethroned Henry lay hid for a year among the moors of Westmoreland and Lancashire, and then fell into the hands of the Yorkists. He was taken to London, where he remained for over five years a captive in the Tower.

For some years after the battle of Hexham, no Lancastrian force was in the field. The repose thus secured was not favourable to the improvement of the king's character. In the rush of Edward IV.'s marriage, as we have often seen, he was eminently brave and daring. In peace, the same energy became wild licentiousness and profusion. The possessions wrested from the defeated Lancastrians were insufficient for the supply of his extravagance, and in 1464 he sought profit by what a great writer has called the "shallow and impudent artifice of lowering the standard" of the coinage. A new gold coin called an *angel* was issued, to have the same current value as the old *noble*; but the angel had but eighty grains of gold against one hundred and eight in the noble, which had already been reduced by Henry IV. from the old standard of one hundred and twenty. The public were thus robbed for a short-lived benefit to the royal treasury, and the needs of the passing hour were met with serious damage to the commercial interests of the land. By his natural manner, or the artful assumption of familiar ease towards every one of high and low degree, Edward won and kept much popularity. This demeanour might be offensive to the pride of decaying feudal power, but, as with Henry the Eighth and Charles the Second, it stood to the king in the stead of many higher qualities. The ballads of the time deal with that frank and genial humour which, in such an age, might well be a real support to the throne. The rashest act of Edward IV.'s career was his marriage to a charming widow. Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir Richard Woodville and of Jacquetta of Luxembourg, Dowager-Duchess of Bedford, had been married to Sir John Grey, a Lancastrian, who was killed at the second battle of St. Alban's, in 1461. His estates were confiscated, and the young widow retired with her two children to live at her father's seat of Grafton, in Northamptonshire. The king saw her by chance when he came to the house after a day's hunting, and soon offered her his hand and the title of queen. A private marriage took place at Grafton, and the union was avowed by Edward at Michaelmas, 1464. In May of the following year, the lady was solemnly crowned at Westminster.

The marriage of the king was the beginning of estrangement between him and his powerful subject, the Earl of Warwick. The influence of Warwick's father, the Earl of Salisbury, had been a chief support of the cause of Edward's father, Richard of York. The services of Warwick and his brother, Lord Montague, had been both brilliant in themselves, and of great and solid value in raising Edward to the throne and maintaining him there in safety. The wealth, power, and influence of this "last of the barons" were such as no English noble ever possessed before or since his day. Besides the lands attached to his own earldoms of Salisbury and Warwick, he had received from Edward vast estates of attainted Lancastrians. He was Warden of the Western Marches, Admiral of the Channel Fleet, and Governor of Calais. A younger brother, George Neville, was Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor. As head of the house of Neville, he could wield the influence of his uncles, Lords Latimer, Fauconberg, and Abergavenny, also enriched by Lancastrian spoils. Such a man, backed by claims so real and influential, and possessed of a genius for subtle policies, combinations, and intrigues, stood on the very steps of the throne, and could not bear even the thought of a rival. By his king's passion for a pretty face Warwick saw himself ousted at once from his place of pride and power. The lady Elizabeth Grey, now become queen of England, brought with her to court not only her two sons by Sir John Grey of Groby, but a father, and brothers, and sisters. On them honours and wealth were lavishly bestowed by the king, and it was the queen and her relatives, instead of Warwick and his friends, who had ready access to Edward's ear. The queen's three brothers and five sisters were married into noble houses, and her father, Sir Richard Woodville, became Earl Rivers and Lord Treasurer. The Woodvilles had supplanted the Nevilles, and Warwick, with many other nobles of the old houses, regarded the upstarts with envy and hatred. A fresh offence was given to the great noble in the union of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, with the king's sister Margaret, in 1468. Warwick was an enemy of the foreign duke, and had planned a match for Margaret with one of the French princes. From that time he plotted against Edward, and soon had in his toils the king's brother, the Duke of Clarence, who was married at Calais, in July 1469, to Isabel, eldest daughter of Warwick. Edward had been decidedly opposed to the match, and the breach between king and subject was now sensibly widened.

Within a fortnight of the marriage of Clarence, a rising of peasantry took place in Yorkshire, under a leader named Robin of Riddesdale. It was at first, probably, a mere resistance of the people to some local impost, and its author was taken and beheaded. Then the name of Warwick began to be used; a demand arose for the removal of the Woodvilles from power; and

Growing
discon-
tent of
Warwick,
1465-1470.

Renewal
of civil
war, 1469.

two of the great earl's relations took their place at the head of the movement. At last sixty thousand men were in the field, and the king, who had marched north, was obliged to seek refuge in Nottingham Castle. The rebels, moving southwards, met and defeated, in the battle of Edgecote, near Banbury, on July 26th, the king's army under the Earl of Pembroke, who fell with a large number of men. The queen's father, Lord Rivers, and her brother, Sir John Woodville, were taken prisoners and soon beheaded. The earl arrived in England from Calais, with Clarence, and Neville, Archbishop of York, and for a time Edward was in Warwick's hands, either as nominal guest or avowed prisoner, in his castle at Middleham, in Yorkshire. His release was followed by pretended amity, while Warwick bided his time for a new effort. The earl's difficulty was, that he wanted the throne for his son-in-law Clarence, whereas the Lancastrians would hear of nothing but the restoration of Henry. In the spring of 1470, a new revolt broke out in Lincolnshire, but this was at once suppressed by Edward in the battle of Erpingham or Empingham, in Rutlandshire. The cry of the rebels was "a Clarence! a Clarence! a Warwick!" and the confession made by Sir Robert Willes, the leader, and his friends, before they were beheaded, leaves little doubt as to the real promoters of the treason. At the very time of the battle, Warwick and Clarence, armed with the king's commission to put down the revolt, were writing "pleasant letters" to Edward, as they moved on to join his foes. The king, with his usual energy in time of trouble, turned at once upon his brother and the earl, and drove Warwick's forces into Yorkshire. Clarence and Warwick made for the south, and took ship at Dartmouth for Calais, which was closed against them by the deputy-governor. They landed at Harfleur, and Warwick at once opened negotiations, through Louis XI. of France, with his old enemy, Margaret of Anjou.

The ex-queen came to meet him at the castle of Amboise, and their common hatred of Edward IV., and common interests and hopes for the future, soon brought about an arrangement. Warwick engaged, in case of success, to replace Henry on the throne, and prince Edward, the heir, was to marry the Lady Anne Neville, Warwick's younger daughter. At this crisis, Edward seems to have acted with a rash confidence in the friendship of fortune. He despised all the warnings which he kept receiving from his brother-in-law, Charles of Burgundy. Comines declares that "he never was concerned at anything, but still followed his hunting." He was soon to become hunted himself. On September 13, 1470, Warwick landed at Dartmouth, escorted by a French fleet, and supplied with money and men by Louis. With him came Clarence, and the Earls of Oxford and Pembroke. Edward was in the north of England, engaged with a Lancastrian rising, and Warwick's presence on English soil, with the proclamation of Henry VI., drew vast numbers to his standard. Six

Flight of
Edward
IV., 1470.

thousand of Edward's men at Doncaster, at the prompting of Lord Montacute, flung away the badge of the White Rose, and raised a shout for "King Henry." There was no resource for him but flight. He rode in all haste to King's Lynn, where he took ship for the Netherlands, on October 3rd, seeking refuge with Charles of Burgundy. His queen was residing in the Tower at London, and took sanctuary at Westminster, when she heard of the landing of Warwick. On November 4th, the first son of the fugitive king was born, in a time of peril and disaster ominous of his coming fate.

Only twenty days had passed from the time of his landing on the Devonshire coast, when Warwick was master of the realm of England. The Lancastrian army entered London in triumph on October 6th, and Henry came forth from the Tower to Westminster, a king again instead of a captive. The only victim made was the Earl of Worcester, a scholar, and patron of Caxton. He was styled "the butcher of England" for his cruelty during the civil wars, and was promptly beheaded by Warwick on Henry's restoration to power. Nothing could seem more helpless than the present position of Edward Plantagenet, late Yorkist king of England. He had neither men nor money to raise them, and his brother-in-law, fearing the hostility of the Earl of Warwick, was at first very loth to help him. A turn of fortune was soon to come. On March 2, 1471, Edward embarked, with two thousand English supporters of the White Rose, on a little fleet in the harbour of Flushing. Charles of Burgundy had found the means for this last effort in the cause of the house of York.

Delayed for several days by the wind, and with the squadron at last dispersed by a storm, Edward landed on March 14th, with a very few followers, at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, on the north side of the Humber. At the same spot Henry of Bolingbroke had landed, when he came to dethrone Richard II. The place has long since vanished beneath the encroaching waters of the North Sea, but was then a frequent place of passage to or from the Continent. The returning exile's best ally, his brave and astute brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, landed about four miles from Ravenspur, and the queen's brother, Lord Rivers, came ashore at a distance of fourteen miles. When a junction was made of the little band, Edward put forth a cunning proclamation that he was not come to claim the realm, but only his own dukedom of York. With cautious courage he continued to advance, and was joined by numbers of men as he passed by Wakefield and Doncaster to Nottingham, and thence to Leicester and Coventry. In this last place lay the Earl of Warwick with a few thousand men. Some fruitless diplomacy ensued, and Edward marched to the town of Warwick, where he was received as king, "and so made proclamation from that time forward." The faithless Clarence had long been planning a new desertion, and now joined Edward with four thousand men. All continued to go well, and on April 14th, the Yorkist king had a warm

Fall of
Warwick,
1471.

Battle of
Barnet,
April 14,
1471.

welcome in London, where he received Henry as a prisoner from the hands of Warwick's brother, Neville, Archbishop of York. The earl had followed Edward's march towards London, and on Easter Eve, April 13th, the king went forth to meet him. The advanced guard of the Yorkists drove the Lancastrian outposts from the town of Barnet towards the main army of Warwick, encamped on Gladsmoor Heath, now known as Hadley Common. The night was dark and misty, and as Edward's men advanced to take up a position for attack on the following day, the gloom was lit by the frequent flashes of some heavy clumsy cannon firing shot from Warwick's front over the heads of men who lay on lower ground. The dawn of Easter Sunday was obscured by fog, and the three hours' battle was a confused and disorderly struggle. The left wing of the Yorkists was routed, while Edward, all unaware of the fact, was charging Warwick's centre. At this time, the Lancastrian archers fired in ignorance on their own men, inflicting serious loss, and Gloucester attacked with success the enemy's right wing. Warwick and Lord Montacute fell, and the battle ended with the defeat of the Lancastrians, and the loss of many thousand men in the action, and in a pursuit where no quarter was given. Edward rode back to London, and went in thanksgiving to St. Paul's, while all the city steeples gave forth their merry peals.

The great struggle was not yet over. Queen Margaret had gathered a large army of foreigners and Lancastrian exiles, and she landed at Weymouth, with her son Edward, on the very day that Warwick ended his career at Barnet. Her fleet had sailed from Honfleur on March 24th, but had again and again been driven back to port by foul weather. She was soon joined by the new Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Devonshire, and other staunch friends, and the ranks of her army were increased by the men of the south-western counties, where the Lancastrian cause had ever been popular. The news of the battle of Barnet came as a heavy shock to her hopes, and one chronicler tells that "like a woman all dismayed for fear she fell to the ground." Her masculine spirit soon revived in all its energy and power, and she marched for the Welsh border, intent to join the forces under Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke. The victorious Edward prepared at once to encounter the new danger. He reorganised the army of Barnet, and assembled his forces around him at Windsor, where he kept the feast of St. George on April 23rd. On the next day he started for the west, with the object of cutting off Margaret from all access to the north of England, where she so often had found powerful aid for her cause. The queen passed through Bath into Gloucestershire, and then found her progress barred by the Severn near Tewkesbury, as the countryfolk had broken down all the bridges. Before any means of crossing could be devised, the warrior-king was at hand, with his brothers Gloucester and Clarence, and a powerful army. The Lancastrian forces were drawn up in the fields east of the town of Tewkesbury, defended

in front and flank by "foul lanes, and deep dikes, and many hedges, and hills and valleys, a right-evil place to approach." But the position could not be found that Edward Plantagenet and Richard of Gloucester would not venture to assault with the impetuous fury that, sooner or later, swept all before it in the shock of arms. The battle took place on Saturday, May 4th. A first Yorkist attack was repulsed, and Somerset then showed both courage and military skill in fiercely assailing Edward's flank. It was a bold move, which failed from lack of due and promised support on the part of his comrade, Lord Wenlock. The Lancastrian leader was overpowered, and driven back to his intrenchments with great slaughter. Then Edward and Richard broke in upon the foe with conquering force, and an utter Lancastrian rout ensued, in which men were drowned at a mill-stream, "in the meadow fast by the town," and Margaret's last army fled to the town, the church, the abbey, and into lanes, dykes, hedgerows, and woods, wherever they best might escape close and vengeful chase. The kingdom was won at last, and Edward IV. was firmly placed on the throne. The young Prince Edward fell either in the battle or in the pursuit, for we need not accept the usual story, derived from Lancastrian sources, that he was brutally murdered in Edward's tent after the battle. The Duke of Somerset and other Lancastrian leaders were tried for treason and beheaded. These judicial slaughters were rendered more atrocious by the fact that the victims were dragged from the sanctuary of Tewkesbury Abbey, in spite of the king's promise that all such refugees should be pardoned. Margaret of Anjou took shelter in a small "house of religion" at Coventry, where she fell into the hands of Edward, and was taken to London a captive in his train. On May 21st, the victorious king marched into London at the head of thirty thousand men. On that night or the next, Henry VI. ended his unhappy life, a captive in the Tower. Lancastrian writers say that he was murdered there by the Duke of Gloucester. Yorkists affirm that he died of grief on hearing of the fatal issue of Tewkesbury. The one account is just as likely to be true as the other, and no trustworthy evidence exists. The body of Henry VI. was buried first at Chertsey Abbey, but was removed by Richard III., and has lain ever since, by the side of his rival, Edward IV., in the royal vault of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. The "meek Usurper" had found rest at last.

All the enemies of the House of York had now been swept away by the sword or the axe, or lay in prison, or wandered in exile. Margaret of Anjou, the most formidable of Edward's foes, was safe in the Tower. The Duke of Exeter, who had escaped from Barnet to the sanctuary of Westminster, perished at sea in 1472. The Earl of Pembroke, with his nephew, the young Earl of Richmond, were cast by a storm on the coast of Brittany, and in that country they remained for the rest of Edward's reign. Safe on the throne, the English king indulged his taste for magnificence and luxury until

Arbitrary
rule of
Edward
IV.

his court became renowned for its gaiety and splendour. His repose was somewhat disturbed by quarrels between his brothers, Clarence and Gloucester. The elder brother, married to Warwick's elder daughter, Isabel, wished to secure for his wife and himself the whole of the "king-maker's" vast possessions, and strongly opposed Richard's desire to marry the younger daughter Anne, who had been the betrothed of the young Prince Edward slain at Tewkesbury. Gloucester did marry as he wished, and in 1474 Parliament divided the great fortune of Warwick between the two royal brothers. A son and only child of Richard and Anne was born at Middleham Castle in 1473. One of the chief facts of the reign of Edward is the assumption of arbitrary power by which he set aside the acquired rights of the House of Commons, and treated with scant respect principles laid down in the Great Charter. He was enabled to govern much in accordance with his own will by the removal of those restraints which had hitherto curbed the spirit, and checked the purposes, of the sovereigns of England. Just after the time when, under Henry VI., Parliament had used its powers more freely than ever before, in such wise as amply to justify the boast of Sir John Fortescue that Englishmen lived under a monarchy limited by law and by the will of the nation, as expressed through Parliament, we find the law and the powers of the Houses falling into abeyance, and the progress of freedom stayed for over a hundred years. The truth is that, while the House of Commons had secured and exercised the right of settling the amount of aids in money to be levied, and the mode of levying the taxes, and had freely used the power of impeaching and so removing evil ministers, it had been to a large extent, as it is to this day, an aristocratic assembly, composed of men closely connected by blood and interest with the lords, and of "worshipful" men of good position and estate. The burgesses, or borough members, alone were in any wise connected with trade, representing a "middle class" of the community as yet insignificant in numbers and influence. These borough members, engaged at home in their own business, and living in an age when travelling was slow, costly, and dangerous, were lax in their attendance, and thus the House of Commons mainly depended for its power on the aristocratic element which it contained. Whatever depressed or destroyed the baronage of England was a blow aimed at the power of Parliament to oppose and thwart the arbitrary will of the sovereign. It was in the temporal and the spiritual lords, the barons and the bishops, that the advisers of the Crown had been found in all important affairs. In them, under the sovereign, all the functions of government had been vested, as the king's ministers and high state-officials. We have seen how the barons, relying on the use of their feudal armies, often defied the power of great Plantagenet kings. The time had been when the Church, strong with the strength of intellectual and spiritual influence, shared with the temporal lords the duty

of opposing a firm front to the encroachments of regal tyranny. With these matters in view, we find the full explanation of Edward IV.'s new system of rule in the condition of the baronage and the Church when the fatal fields of Barnet and Tewkesbury gave him a firm grasp of the reins of government. The old baronage of England had almost disappeared in the civil war, and the Church had, after a long decline, reached its lowest point of authority. It was a corporation of vast wealth, which had now little else than its wealth to rely upon. The people of England were finding the Church out. Wyclif and his successors had shaken the old belief, not so much in the doctrine, as in the practice, and the fitness to wield spiritual power, of the great ecclesiastical body. Knowledge was spreading among the laity, and men were beginning to think for themselves, and desire reasons for the faith which had hitherto been blindly accorded. Many great laymen were eager for the plunder of the Church, and bishops and abbots were ready to give large powers to a sovereign who would save their possessions from the grasp of greedy and unscrupulous men. The civil war had made internal peace and order the things most to be desired by the merchant, the small trader, and the proprietor and tiller of land, and all were willing to abate much of the claims of constitutional freedom in favour of a king who was strong enough to restore and maintain social tranquillity. The tyranny of one man is always to be preferred to revolutionary violence and anarchy, and, under Edward IV. and the Tudor sovereigns, the English people had always, in the last resort, a sure resource against tyranny in the good right arms which had not forgotten the use of weapons. The result of all was that the two Houses of Parliament almost ceased to meet for the purpose of legislation. The will of the king was expressed in the Orders issued by the Council. The land swarmed with spies and informers, and the utterers of rash words, and all others who incurred the suspicion or resentment of the government, were subject to arrest and detention without trial, in defiance of the freedom won by the barons from John. The king had been greatly enriched by the confiscations of the civil war, and had far less need than his predecessors to call together the Houses for the raising of money by taxation. The warlike Edward had also a resource which seems little in accordance with his character either as a soldier or a voluptuary. He was an enterprising and successful merchant. The commerce of England had been long growing in extent, and the trade which had once been wholly managed by natives of Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, was now coming under English control. When the extravagance of his costly court demanded further supplies of money, Edward resorted to a plan as simple and effectual as it was grossly illegal and oppressive. He raised money, by loans never repaid, from the wealthier men in the trading class, and the merchants were asked to make gifts to the sovereign, under the name of "benevolences." It was useless to complain,

and perilous to refuse, and in this way the Wars of the Roses had led up to a financial tyranny that was even more insulting in form than it was unjust in principle and injurious in effect.

The life of ignoble and vicious ease which was led by the Yorkist king during the last half of his reign was marked by only three events worthy of note. These were a futile invasion of France, the death of Clarence, and a renewal of the old strife with Scotland. In 1473 and the following year Edward prepared for a new conquest of the provinces lost under Henry VI. War with France had great attractions for many Englishmen, and Parliament voted large supplies, to the disgust of some thrifty taxpayers. In June 1475, Edward sailed from Sandwich with a large army, after despatching a letter to Louis XI., demanding the French crown as his right and inheritance. The story of what follows, as related by Comines, is a rare piece of comedy. The Duke of Burgundy had incited Edward to the war, with a promise of substantial help. When the English king arrived, he met with a cold and scanty welcome. The crafty Louis, an adept at all the cunning diplomacy of the age, knew something of his invader's character, and he resolved to do anything rather than fight. An envoy was sent to the English camp, and commissioners were soon in treaty for a truce. Edward's claim to the whole of France dwindled to a demand for Normandy and Gascony. A great feast was given at Amiens to all the English host. Three hundred cartloads of the finest French wines arrived as a present for Edward. French gold was freely used among the nobles who surrounded the English king. At last, it was hinted to Edward that, if he would leave France with his army, a good "pension" would be forthcoming. Edward jumped at the bait, and met the French king at Pecquigny, near Amiens. The treacheries of the time, and, in this case, of the men, are illustrated by the precautions taken when the two monarchs came to conference. A bridge was thrown across the Somme, crossed in the middle by a strong wooden grating. The monarchs advanced to this barrier, and shook hands through one of the openings. The terms of the treaty of Pecquigny were, a large sum of money paid down to Edward, a large sum yearly to be paid during the truce; a marriage of the French Dauphin to Edward's eldest daughter, Elizabeth; and the release, for a substantial ransom, of Margaret of Anjou. This was the only honourable part of the arrangement. The widow of Henry retired to France after four years' imprisonment in the Tower, and closed her life in peace in 1482. The disgraceful surrender of his "claims" made by the English king was regarded with deep displeasure by one man in the English camp, his brother, Richard of Gloucester. He declined to be present at the interview between the monarchs, and "stood upon the side of honour." The meeting of the two kings at Pecquigny was more than a mere farce of bribery and cajolery, of heartless and hollow friendships and compacts. It was the mark of a new epoch. The age

Edward
IV.,
France,
and Scot-
land.

of chivalry had come to an end. The pageant was played out. The world was now to be governed by state-craft, and the deceits of modern diplomacy were all embodied in the person of one of its earliest and greatest masters, Louis the Eleventh of France.

It seems probable that Edward had never forgiven Clarence for former desertion of his cause. Other matters of offence arose between the brothers. The duke lost his wife Isabel by poison; and in 1477 desired to marry the only daughter and heir of Charles of Burgundy, who had lately perished after the defeat of Nancy. The king was strongly opposed to the match, though it was favoured by his widowed sister Margaret, stepmother of the Princess of Burgundy. Clarence withdrew from court, and then a fresh trouble came. Two gentlemen of his household were accused, according to the superstition of the time, of plotting the king's death by "art-magic, necromancy, and astronomy." The duke used high words in their favour before the Council, but they were condemned and executed. The arrest of Clarence himself, on a charge of treason, took place in January 1478. Edward appeared against him in person; the peers were ready with a vote of "guilty," and the Duke of Buckingham, acting as high steward, pronounced sentence of death. The servile House of Commons asked for execution, and Clarence died in February, by unknown means, within the Tower. The "malmsey-butt" is a mere rumour: the charge against Gloucester of procuring his brother's death is a baseless calumny aimed at a man whose character has been persistently blackened by Lancastrian party writers.

The reign of James I. was an era in the history of Scotland. He brought with him to the rule of his country the literary culture and political knowledge gained by study and observation during his long sojourn in England, and the great object of his life was to use these resources for the benefit of the nation. Under the rule of the Regent Albany, and of his successor Murdoch, the land had been in a turbulent state. Much of the Crown property had come into the hands of the nobles, who were ever engaged in feuds with each other, varied by oppression of the middle and lower classes. Immediately after the king's coronation in 1424, the work of reform was taken in hand with enlightened zeal and vigour. The laws were put forth in the native tongue of the people, and judges and magistrates were strictly held to the impartial administration of justice. Owners of land were compelled to show the deeds and charters under which they claimed, and a new survey and valuation of property provided a basis for just taxation. The weights, measures, and coinage were regulated, and the authority of strict law dealt with beggars, vagrants, and all able-bodied idlers who had been living in swarms on the fruits of other men's labour. The military organisation of the country was dealt with, and an attempt was made to rival the formidable weapon of the English foot-soldiers by the establishment of schools

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of archery in every parish. A severe example was made of those responsible for the late disorders of the realm by the trial and execution of Duke Murdoch of Albany and his two sons. Alexander, Lord of the Isles, who had assumed an independent power over the wild west and north of Scotland, was forced to a humble submission in 1427, and went as a prisoner to the strong storm-beaten fortress of Tantallon Castle, whose grey ivy-clad ruins adorn yet the entrance of the Firth of Forth. In 1431, a rising in the Highlands was crushed, and James was complete master of Scotland. The lawless nobles regarded as a tyrant the monarch whom the mass of the nation highly esteemed for his vindication of the rights of industry, property, and civil freedom. A conspiracy for his violent removal was formed, and a chance was offered to the traitors when the king kept Christmas at Perth, in the monastery of the Black Friars, in 1436. In February 1437, at the close of a day of sport and revelry, as James talked with the queen and her ladies over the fire, a body of Highlanders broke into the monastery, led by Robert Graham, who had been banished for violent language used in Parliament against the king. The great bolt of the room-door had been removed, but Catharine Douglas thrust her arm through the staple, and for a minute or two, until the limb was broken, kept the assassins out, while James broke through the floor and escaped for the time to a vault beneath. The band searched the monastery, and then returned to the room, observed the mode of escape, descended after the king, and stabbed him to death with sixteen wounds from dagger and sword. The murderers were afterwards taken in the mountains, and the fierce justice of the age wreaked vengeance in death inflicted with cruel torture. For many years after the death of James I., the curse of Scotland lay in the long minority of her kings, and the strife of factions among her nobles. The new king, James II., was but six years of age. The quarrels of the nobles for supremacy were renewed. The young Earl of Douglas and his brother, representing the most powerful of the great houses, were treacherously murdered at Edinburgh Castle, in 1440, by Sir William Crichton, the governor, and Livingston, governor of Stirling. These men were rivals with each other, but gladly combined to be rid of those who could control them both. In truth, the power of the Douglasses overshadowed that of the throne. They were dear to the people on account of their patriotism. One Douglas had, as we have seen, supported Wallace in his great contest for Scottish independence. Another Douglas, the "good Lord James," had ever fought at the side of Bruce through his heroic and adventurous career, and had perished in action against the Moors, in charge of the heart of the dead warrior-king. Another had died fighting in the victorious action of Otterburn. In the border warfare, the Douglasses were ever to the front against the Percies of England. They had fought bravely against the old foe on French soil, and Archibald Douglas, the father of the two murdered lads, had won there the

dukedom of Touraine. The lands of the house of Douglas were to be found in many parts of the realm, and the country south of the Forth was largely subject to their sway. In 1443, they rose again into importance in the person of William Douglas, uncle of the victims of Crichton and Livingston. He formed an alliance with the governor of Stirling, and was made lieutenant-general of the kingdom. In 1449, at the age of eighteen, James II. married a daughter of the Duke of Gueldres, and the visitors from the Netherlands were struck with amazement at the power and pride of the Douglas, who came to court with five thousand armed retainers at his back. The young king soon found that Scotland was not spacious enough for the energies of himself and his haughty subject, who set the royal authority at defiance, and seemed to aim at the throne. In 1452, he invited Douglas, under a safe-conduct, to a personal conference at Stirling Castle. A quarrel ensued after supper, and the king stabbed the noble, who was then despatched by Sir Patrick Grey. Civil war ensued, but peace came at last in a quarrel between two branches of the Douglas family, who neutralised each other, and brought about the submission of both to the royal power. In 1460, while the Wars of the Roses were rife in England, James II. resolved to try and recover the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick. At the siege of the former, he met his death by an accident to a rudely-made monster cannon in his own siege-train. Another long minority followed. The new king, James III., was a lad of but eight years, but until 1465 there was a fair show of peace and order under the rule of the able and excellent Kennedy, Bishop of St. Andrews. The death of the prelate brought to the front a new family of ambitious aims, called the Boyds. Lord Boyd, in 1466, became guardian of the king's person and governor of the royal fortresses, and his son Thomas was created Earl of Arran, and married to the king's sister. The influence of the house of the Boyds was very short-lived. In 1469, James III. married the daughter of Christian I., King of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, and a part of the bride's dowry, the Orkney and Shetland Isles, hitherto under Norse dominion, became annexed to Scotland. During the Earl of Arran's absence in Denmark on the mission to conclude the arrangements for the marriage, a league of Scottish nobles was formed against the Boyds, and the king became their enemy. Arran received warning, and escaped back to Denmark. A condemnation for treason was followed by the forfeiture of all the estates of the family. Lord Boyd fled to England, and his brother Alexander died by beheading at Edinburgh. It was in 1474 that Scotland again came into direct relations with England. The Princess Cecilia, daughter of Edward IV., was betrothed to the young Prince James, and all seemed to promise a prosperous reign for James III. Scottish dominion had been enlarged by the acquisition of Roxburgh, Berwick, and the northern isles. In 1472, the Scottish Church became independent by the advancement of the see of St.

Andrews to the position of an archbishopric. The prospect was soon overclouded as the king's character became developed. The Scotland of that age needed, above all, a ruler of sturdy character and martial tastes. James III. was artistic, studious, and refined, delighting in the society of men of culture in every kind. The rough, ignorant, and haughty nobles despised such a monarch, and gave their adherence to his brothers the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Mar, men of like pursuits with themselves. The jealousy of the king was aroused. Mar was seized, and died in prison, not without rumours of violence. Albany, in the end, escaped to France, and then to England, where he roused against his brother the enmity of Edward IV., while Louis XI. of France stirred up the Scots against England. The marriage treaty was broken off, and this was followed by border warfare in 1480. In 1482, the Scottish nobles hanged Cochrane, Earl of Mar, and other favourites of their king. In the same year, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, retook the fortress of Berwick, which ever after remained in English hands.

In 1483, Louis of France broke one of the chief articles of the treaty of Pecquigny, and declined to carry out the contract of marriage between the Dauphin and the English princess Elizabeth. Edward was enraged, and prepared for war, but his body, enfeebled by excessive indulgence in evil pleasure, soon succumbed to an attack of illness. He died on April 9, 1483, and was buried in the new chapel at Windsor, dedicated to St. George. He left five daughters and two sons, Edward, Prince of Wales, a lad in his thirteenth year, and Richard, Duke of York, about two years younger.

The king and some of the nobles who fought with courage so ferocious in the civil war were by no means destitute of literary tastes. Edward IV. was himself a reader. In his "wardrobe accounts" we find entries for the charges of binding his Titus Livius, his Froissart, and his Josephus, and of repairing chests to remove his books from London to Eltham. The queen's brother was a patron of Caxton, who brought his art to England in 1475, and it was for Caxton's press that the same accomplished man, Earl Rivers, translated "The Dictes and Sayings of Philosophers," printed at Westminster in 1477. The time had arrived for knowledge acquired by reading to be spread more widely amongst the people. Never had books been more freely multiplied by manuscript copies. The material for books had been cheapened in the substitution of linen-paper for parchment, and before the end of the century the earliest paper-mill in England was set up at Stevenage, in Hertfordshire. It was about the middle of the century that the art of printing first acquired great practical use in the substitution of movable types of metal for the wooden block pages. In 1455, the year of the first battle of St. Alban's, the famous "Mazarin" Bible was printed with such types at Mayence by John Gutenberg and John Fust, or Faust.

Death of
Edward
IV., 1483.

Literary
tastes of
the age.
Printing.
Caxton.

Thence the art passed to Haarlem, Strasburg, Rome, Naples, Paris, and Cologne, and by 1472 it was practised in all the leading cities of the Continent. The father of English typography, our own great William Caxton, was born in the Weald of Kent about 1420, and became a mercer's apprentice in London. By energy, skill, and industry he steadily rose in life, and was appointed in 1464 a royal commissioner to settle a treaty of commerce with Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. He became consul for the English merchants at Bruges, his life for more than thirty years from 1441 being chiefly spent in the Netherlands. His love of literature and learning caused him to acquire a perfect knowledge of French, and some acquaintance with Flemish. He translated a "History of Troy" from the French for Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, and appears to have been in Cologne from 1469 to 1471. He may have there learnt the art of printing from those who acquired it at Mayence, and this knowledge he improved through his friend, Colard Mansion, the printer at Bruges, a man eager, like Caxton, for the spread of knowledge among the people. About 1472, Caxton returned to his native land, and the first English printing-press was soon at work in a spot close to the great Abbey at Westminster. Edward IV. and his brothers took much interest in the new art, and so rapid was the progress made that, in a single collection of books bequeathed a few years ago to the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, there are not less than a thousand books printed, in various countries, before the year 1500. Caxton was a busy translator as well as a printer, and, after issuing the *Canterbury Tales* and the works of Gower and Lydgate, he printed many books turned from the French by his own pen. His labour continued into the reign of Henry VII., and he died about 1492.

CHAPTER IV.

THE END OF THE HOUSE OF YORK.

Edward the Fifth's brief career. Richard of Gloucester takes the throne. The mysterious death of the royal brothers. Parliament under Richard III. The Earl of Richmond takes the field. Richard dies fighting at Bosworth.

At the time of his father's death, Edward, Prince of Wales, now Edward V., April to June 1483. become Edward V., was residing at Ludlow Castle, in charge of his maternal uncle, Earl Rivers, his half-brother, Sir Richard Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, Sir William Stanley, and other gentlemen. The Duke of Gloucester was in the north, discharging his duties as Warden of the Scottish Marches. The events which follow can only be understood in the light thrown upon them by

a consideration of what had occurred in the previous forty years. The whole system of English government had been a contest for dominion between unscrupulous and selfish men and factions, without any leading principle of public good to give even a colour to the course of intrigue, insurrection, and civil war. At the moment of Edward's death, we find the heir to the throne surrounded exclusively by the queen's relations and friends, the Woodville party who had aroused against them the bitter jealousy of the old nobility. During the life of Edward, this hostile feeling had been, for safety's sake, suppressed. The strong king's removal opened the floodgates of passion against the upstarts, and to this we must ascribe the fact that no man raised his voice or lifted an arm in defence of the only protectors of the helpless young monarch and his brother. Their uncle, Richard of Gloucester, was far from being the mere fiend and monster drawn in the libellous caricature of the great dramatist's play, but his daring, ambitious, crafty, and cruel spirit had already conceived the plan of securing the throne for himself, and the brief reign of Edward V. is nothing but the record of the successive strokes of bold and tragical action by which that plan was carried to a successful issue.

As soon as the news of the king's death was received, Edward and Richard, each with his own friends, started for London. On April 24th Edward V. left Ludlow with Rivers, Vaughan, and Grey, and they travelled on until they reached Northampton. There Gloucester and his chief supporter, the Duke of Buckingham, arrived on the same day, but the king had gone forward to Stony-Stratford, while Rivers remained at Northampton, to show his respect for Gloucester. Each party was trying to out-manceuvre the other. The queen's faction were resolved, as it seems, to retain the government in their own hands, for in commissions issued on May 1st no mention is made of the two most important men in the country, the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, both of the blood royal, while the names of the queen's nearest relatives, the Marquis of Dorset, and Earl Rivers, are prominent. On April 30th Gloucester and Buckingham, who had spent the previous evening in social companionship with Rivers at Northampton, suddenly threw off the mask. The earl was arrested at his inn, and the two dukes then rode off to Stony-Stratford, and secured Grey, Vaughan, and the young king. The news was carried quickly to London, and the fears of the queen drove her to leave the palace of Westminster, and take refuge in the Sanctuary with the young Prince Richard. London was all in commotion. The Thames was crowded with boats, having on board the Duke of Gloucester's partisans: the citizens stood in groups, to discourse of what was passing: lords, knights, and gentlemen put on their armour and assembled in companies. On May 4th the young king publicly entered the city, escorted by Gloucester "with all semblance of lowliness." The peers took the oath of fealty to Edward, and at a great

Gloucester's proceedings.

council of prelates, nobles, and citizens, the Duke was appointed "Protector of England." The official documents of the day declare that "Edward, by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland" acts "by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle the Duke of Gloucester, protector and defender of this our realm of England during our young age."

The young king had been placed in his palace of the Tower, and his coronation settled for June 22nd. Buckingham was made Gloucester becomes king. governor of Wales, constable of royal castles, and keeper of royal forests. All the chief friends of Gloucester were promoted and rewarded. Northumberland became warden of the Scottish Marches and captain of Berwick; Lovell received the castle of Wallingford; Catesby was made chancellor of the Earldom of March; Lord Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, was steward of the Duchy of Lancaster. Thus the Protector, in the name of his nephew, was building up his own power, and the smallest offices, as those of keeper of a gaol, or bailiff of a park, were filled up by his nominees. The opening of Parliament was fixed for June 25th, and the Lord Chancellor, John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln, prepared a speech for the occasion, the draft of which remains amongst the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum. The passage which states that one of the causes for assembling the Parliament was to establish the authority of the Lord Protector, shows that the Chancellor, the chief officer of the government, knew nothing of the plot for raising Gloucester to the throne. On Friday, June 13th, an event occurred which was ominous of impending change. Lord Hastings, a close friend of Edward IV., had gone along with Gloucester and Buckingham in the arrest of the queen's kindred and friends, but he was thoroughly loyal, as Richard had found, to the new king. The scene that passed within the Tower has been reproduced by More and Shakespeare in colours that never can fade. Many lords are there, engaged in arranging the solemnity of the coronation. At nine o'clock, the Protector enters, with excuses for his late attendance, and desires Morton, Bishop of Ely, to send for a dish of his "good strawberries" now ripe at his garden in Holborn. Gloucester then sets the lords to debate, and in an hour or two returns with a disordered look. In fierce words he charges the queen, and "that other witch" Jane Shore, with having withered his arm by witchcraft. Hastings is dragged into the matter, and denounced as part and parcel of the crime. The Protector smites his fist on the table, a cry of "treason" is heard without, men in harness rush in, and Hastings, on the mere order of Gloucester, is at once beheaded in the Tower yard. Morton and Lord Stanley were arrested, while Richard declared that Hastings and others had plotted the murder of himself and Buckingham on that very day in the chamber of council. The Duke of Gloucester was living at the house called Crosby Place, near to Bishopsgate, in the City, and there he held special meetings of

his own adherents. On June 16th, the queen was induced to surrender the person of the young Duke of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Bouchier, pledging himself for the boy's safety. The removal of the prince from the Sanctuary at Westminster to the Tower of London was a public act, arranged at Westminster Hall in the presence of many lords and prelates, who seem to have concurred in all the proceedings of Gloucester. It was at this time that the Bishop of Bath and Wells, Robert Stillington, who had been Chancellor under Edward IV., revealed a secret to the Protector. He declared that, prior to the late king's marriage with the Lady Elizabeth Woodville (or Grey) he had married Edward to a beautiful young lady. Of the truth of this statement nothing is known, but it seems to have furnished Gloucester with an excuse for claiming the crown as his right. On June 22nd, a certain Doctor Ralph Shaw, brother of the Lord Mayor, delivered a sermon at Paul's Cross in presence of the Protector, the Duke of Buckingham and other lords. The story of Edward's previous marriage was brought forward, and Edward V. and the young Duke of York were denounced as illegitimate. In all these matters, we probably see the craft of a strong-willed usurper working upon the credulity, or the fears, or the self-interest, of the foolish, cowardly, or base persons who might serve his turn. The plot went on apace, and on June 24th, the Duke of Buckingham, himself a descendant of Edward III., through the Duke of Gloucester who died at Calais in 1397, harangued the citizens at Guildhall, and set forth Gloucester's right to the crown. On the next day, June 25th, the day for which the Parliament had been summoned, Buckingham, the Lord Mayor, and many others went to the Protector at Baynard's Castle, and made him an open offer of the crown. It is likely that many members of both Houses were present on this occasion, but it was no true Parliament, because a writ had been previously issued, postponing the meeting called for June 25th. With feigned reluctance Gloucester accepted the offer, and on June 26th he sat down in the state chair of Westminster Hall as Richard III., King of England. The accession of the usurper was followed by the beheading at Pomfret Castle of the Earl of Rivers, Sir Richard Grey, Sir Thomas Vaughan, and Sir Richard Hawte. On July 6th, Richard, and Anne, his queen, were crowned at Westminster with the usual splendour of display, and the great number of persons of rank present seemed to show a general acquiescence in the new monarch's claim, on the part of men highly placed in Church and State. The queen's train was borne by Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond, mother of the coming Henry VII.

Another tragedy was to follow the executions at Pontefract, and here we have brought before us one of the vexed questions of our history. On the assumption that Edward IV. had been previously contracted or married to the Lady Eleanor Butler, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, the two young princes were

Did
Richard
kill the
princes?

illegitimate, and no motive for their removal could exist. The story of the previous marriage was freely accepted by those who offered the crown to the Duke of Gloucester, and with this we might assume that the usurper would be content. The statement made in 1493, at the instance of Henry VII., who had the strongest reasons for desiring to prove that the princes were murdered, proceeded from two persons named Sir James Tyrrel and John Dighton. They declared that Richard III., having directed a warrant to Sir Robert Brackenbury, lieutenant of the Tower, to put the boys to death, was by him refused: that the king then sent a warrant to Sir James Tyrrel to receive the keys of the Tower for one night, for the king's special service; that Tyrrel with his two servants, Miles Forest and John Dighton, repaired to the Tower, and that he stood at the stair-foot, whilst they executed the murder, by smothering the boys in their beds; that Tyrrel saw their dead bodies, which were buried under the stairs; and that when Richard took exception to the dishonourable place of their burial, the bodies were removed by the priest of the Tower to some other place, which could not be known. This statement was first printed in 1543, half a century after it was made, and it is open to the gravest doubts. It does not appear that Henry VII. made any public use of it, and it was left to John Dighton to spread abroad the story on his own responsibility. The general belief of the time was that the two young princes were murdered, but, in the absence of their bodies, no legal evidence could be said to exist. After the lapse of nearly two centuries, in 1674, a circumstance occurred which has been held to be decisive of the alleged fact of the death of the two sons of Edward IV. by foul means within the Tower. In that year, some alterations were being made in the White Tower, to prepare it for the reception of papers from a public office. In making a new staircase into the chapel of that tower, some bones were found under the old staircase, and their proportions were found to be "answerable to the ages of the royal youths." No doubt was felt on the subject, and Charles II. caused the remains to be removed to Henry the Seventh's Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, where a Latin inscription upon marble records the discovery, and declares the remains to be those of Edward V. and the Duke of York, confined in the Tower, put to death, and secretly buried, by command of Richard. The simple entry, under the date of the first year of Richard III., in the "Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London," conveys impressively the substantial truth—"And the two sons of King Edward were put to silence."

The character of the new king was a strange mixture of hateful and admirable qualities. Courage and sagacity were his in large measure, but these had been, up to the hour of his reigning, only the handmaids of successful crime. Once seated upon the throne, he showed himself void of all petty feelings of revenge towards the representatives of those whom his ambitious

Richard
III. 1483-
1485.

policy had laid low. The estates of Hastings were freed from forfeiture, in favour of his widow and children. The jointure of the Countess of Rivers was secured, and a pension was given to Lady Oxford, whose husband was in prison abroad. The king and queen made a progress through the western counties and Midlands, where Richard administered justice against offenders, and "heard the complaints of poor folks." All seemed to promise a reign of peace and security, but a cloud soon arose on the horizon.

One of the ablest men of the age was Morton, Bishop of Ely. After his arrest at the Tower in June, he was committed to the charge of the Duke of Buckingham in Wales, and there he began to plot against the king. His artful tongue gained over the inconstant duke, who had been richly rewarded for his services by Richard. Within a week of the coronation, letters patent had assigned to Buckingham the estates which he claimed in right of his descent from Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, and which had been withheld from him by Edward IV. Morton, as a zealous Lancastrian, looked for a king to one of the few remaining representatives of the line. We have seen Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, as an exile in Brittany after the fatal days of Barnet and Tewkesbury. His descent from John of Gaunt made him the nearest Lancastrian heir, and Morton conceived the plan of his marriage to Elizabeth of York, eldest daughter of Edward IV. The union would reconcile conflicting claims, and wars of succession would come to an end. The Yorkists had been roused to hatred of Richard by his treatment of his two nephews, and the widowed queen favoured the plan. A message, with a sum of money, was sent to Richmond in Brittany, and communications were opened with leading men of both parties. A premature rising of Buckingham in Wales was brought to an end by lack of resources to pay and feed his army, when his march had already been stopped by a great flood of the Severn. The duke was betrayed to Richard, and executed on November 2nd at Salisbury. Richmond had sailed from France, but his fleet had been scattered by a storm, and he now returned without attempting to land. He and the Marquis of Dorset, son of the ex-queen, devised new plans, and on Christmas Day, 1483, they pledged themselves in the cathedral of Vannes to make another trial, and Richmond swore to marry the Princess Elizabeth, if he succeeded in obtaining the crown.

In the one Parliament of his brief reign, Richard III. showed that he was in advance of his age. The assembly met at Westminster in January 1484, and the legislation there effected at his instance consisted of fifteen statutes of a remarkable character. The "Benevolences" of Edward IV. were "annulled for ever" as "new and unlawful inventions" and as the cause of "great penury and wretchedness." Another Act secured to persons arrested for felony release on bail, and guarded them against seizure of

Buckingham's
revolt,
1483.

Richard
III.'s only
Parliament,
1484.

goods before conviction. A third statute provided for the summoning of fit persons as jurors. Another gave security to possession of real property, and thus facilitated the transfer of lands. A statute of Henry VII., who has received all the credit, repeats almost the exact words of this Act passed under his predecessor. Two striking changes were also made in this session of Parliament. For the first time, the laws to be obeyed by the English people were enacted in the English tongue. For the first time, the laws of the land were issued in a printed form. In the legislation of this short and troubled reign, and in the mode of promulgating a knowledge of the laws, we have evidence of a master-mind breaking down the trammels of prescription and routine. Among the Acts which were passed to guard the interests of the growing commerce of the country, we have a single instance of Free Trade. In every other case, Protection is the principle maintained. One commodity was to come into the land as freely as the light from heaven: one class of foreign merchants was to be strongly encouraged to transmit their goods to our shores. All books, written or printed, from every country, were to be freely admitted.

In March, the king's friendly advances drew out of sanctuary the **Affairs in** ex-queen and her five daughters. In April, he suffered a **1484-85.** grievous loss in the death of his own son, Edward, the only child of his marriage with Anne Neville. His nephew, John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, was declared his heir, and the king then sought to counteract the schemes of Richmond. In March, 1485, the queen died, and the Lancastrian dealers in calumny who ever sought to blast the name and blacken the memory of Richard III. insinuated that she died by poison, administered by the king in order to clear the way for his marriage with Elizabeth of York. The slanderers have forgotten to explain how Richard's title to the crown could be strengthened by marrying a woman whom the law had declared to be illegitimate. In 1485, no second Parliament was called, and the king, needing money for preparations to meet Richmond, borrowed sums from the citizens of London, for which, as Alderman Fabyan tells us, "he delivered to them good and sufficient pledges as surety." The enemies of Richard have not failed to denounce this as a new resort to the system of "Benevolences," as though the giving of "good and sufficient pledges" for a loan were the same thing as the extortion of money by compulsory gift, without any intent of repayment.

The Earl of Richmond was furnished by the king of France with but **Battle of** a small force for so great an enterprise as the conquest of **Bosworth,** England from such a warrior as Richard of Gloucester. **August** **22, 1485.** From two to three thousand Norman adventurers formed the army with which Henry, on August 1, 1485, sailed from Harfleur. His chief hope lay in the support to be looked for on English soil. The Welsh were sure to rise in behalf of a Tudor, who traced back his lineage to their half-mythical kings. There was a regular organisation

of the Lancastrian party in England, against which Richard, with all his care and sagacity, seems to have taken inadequate measures. Some of the chief men, who held office for the Yorkist king, had been already won over to the cause of the Red Rose. Among these were Lord Stanley, who could command much support in the north-west, and the Earl of Northumberland, the great lord of the border country. On August 7th Richmond landed, without opposition, at Milford Haven. He marched northwards through Wales, recruiting his force at every step, and crossed the Severn at Shrewsbury, on his way to encounter the king. Richard had taken up a central position at Nottingham. He seems to have undervalued his enemy as "a man of small courage and of less experience in martial art," and this, combined with a fear of taxing the people, made him slenderly use the resources of the crown. The whole of the forces on both sides amounted to less than twenty thousand men. The truth is that in this, the last battle of the Wars of the Roses, we do not see a national conflict, but simply a trial of strength between two claimants of the crown, supported by such hired men and zealous partisans as could be gathered under their banners. The people were weary of civil war, and cared little or nothing for the pretensions of either combatant. They longed for a time of peace, and when Richard, the first crowned king since Harold that fell in battle upon English ground, was struck down by an English rival of royal blood, the contest was at an end. The old feudal chain which bound the lord to the king, and the vassal to the lord, had been weakened in many links. The sentiment of loyalty to the sovereign, founded upon the spirit of patriotism, and not upon the obligations of feudal service, was scarcely yet created. With Richard, the last Plantagenet king, was to perish also the system under which, with many changes, England had been governed by that house for more than three centuries. The battle called after Market Bosworth, in Leicestershire, as the nearest town of importance, was fought on August 22, 1485. The armies met on a plain three miles from the town. The spot was then a swampy desolate heath, and is now utterly changed by tillage. A monument stands over a spring known as "King Richard's Well," and the rising ground where Stanley placed the emblem of rule on Richmond's head is still called "Crown Hill." On Sunday, August 20th, Richard marched from Nottingham to Leicester, at the head of his troops. He rode on a white horse, in full armour, bearing a crown on his helmet. The next day he moved to an abbey near Bosworth, and encamped his men on hilly ground. Richmond, marching from Shrewsbury, had a conference at Stafford with Sir William Stanley, and there final arrangements were made for his treacherous action with Lord Stanley on the day of battle. On the 21st, Richmond was at Atherstone, and on the morning of the next day both armies moved to "Redmoor Plain," as the battle-ground was then called. When the fight began, the king found the Stanleys

opposed to him, and Northumberland kept his men aloof, and would not stir a foot to his aid. No tactics, no military skill, no valour, could now be of the least avail. It was of little moment that Richmond "had never set a squadron in the field." The men whom Richard had loaded with benefits deserted him in the hour of his need, with a baseness of treachery that proclaimed that the knell of chivalry was rung. There was nothing left for him but to die fighting, and the courage of his race sustained him to the end. Hopeless of victory, and surely doomed in case of surrender or survival of defeat, he sought only to slay his rival. With a few faithful friends at his back, he made a desperate onset upon that part of the field where he saw the banner of Richmond, and made his way almost to sword-points with his foe. He bore down the standard, and killed with his own hand Sir William Brandon who carried it. He dismounted Sir John Cheney, and made way with his weapon on every side. Richmond, who bore himself bravely in the fight, was in imminent danger, when Sir William Stanley came to the rescue with three thousand men. The few troops who were with Richard were in a moment killed or disabled, and the king fell, overwhelmed by numbers, and fighting manfully to the last. The crown which had fallen from his helmet was placed by Sir William Stanley on the head of Richmond, who was at once hailed, with shouting and clapping of hands, as "King Henry." The brutality of the age was shown in the treatment accorded to the remains of one of the bravest of its warriors. The body of Richard III. was rudely flung across a horse, and thus, besprinkled with mire and blood, it was taken to Leicester and buried in the church of the Grey Friars.

BOOK X.

TUDOR TIMES. THE NEW LEARNING AND THE NEW CHURCH.

CHAPTER I.

THE AGE OF HENRY THE SEVENTH.

Character of the period. Tudor monarchy. The new king's policy. Henry and claimants of the throne. Perkin Warbeck's strange career. Royal marriages. The king and the nobles. The tools of tyranny. Parliament under Henry VII.

THE reign of Henry the Seventh in England comes at the close of a century whose latter half was marked by some of the most momentous events in the records of the human race. The fifteenth century is the time of transition from mediæval to modern history. The slow previous growth of the European intellect was marvellously quickened in its contact with the mind of ancient Athens. The masterpieces of Attic genius began to be studied, and, after a long eclipse, a flood of light came pouring into the souls of men. Freedom of thought was the grand invention of the race that fought and won at Marathon, and in the noble remains of their priceless literature they bestowed it on the world as a heritage for all ages to come. Prejudice, pedantry, superstition, blind submission to authority, fled from the view of those who taught mankind to look the universe in the face, to question nature freely, to think a subject boldly out, to follow no beaten track, to acknowledge no liminary rules, to demand reasons for belief, to stand up to the death against violence and fraud, in the cause of liberty and reason. Change and progress became, in western and in central Europe, the watchwords of the world's enduring conflict with the powers of nature and the problems of existence, and this condition of the minds of men produced, within the limits of the Tudor age, events and changes which worked with more or less effect on religion, politics, commerce, the social system, literature, art, science, and war. "The old order changeth, giving place to new." The supreme importance of the time is shown in a mere mention of some of these results of human energy and speculation. The mariner's compass showed the way over wide and trackless oceans, and the bounds of the

material world were suddenly enlarged in the rediscovery of once-found and long-forgotten America, and of the route to India round the Cape of Good Hope. The use of gunpowder in battle and siege sounded a note of warning that the days of safety in stone walls, and of protection in steel armour, were coming to an end. The feudal fortress could not bear the battering of cannon, and the feudal knight was helpless against the pike and musket of the new-armed infantry. The invention of printing caused an intellectual transformation of the world. The cheapening of books supplied the new demand for mental light, and the increased supply created a demand. As year by year the printing-press sent forth more books for readers, there were more persons to whom books became an absolute necessary of life. The mode of spreading knowledge was largely changed from that of sound to silence, from the use of ear to eye. The pulpit was supplanted by the printing-press. The priest and preacher, trembling for the spiritual safety of his flock, could not prevent the silent spread of new ideas.

The great political fact of modern history is the consolidation of monarchical archy, in the form of sovereigns invested with an authority emanating from the state. The fixed and positive principle of this institution is the exclusive right of one family to the possession of the throne, and the hereditary succession of rulers, further restricted by the law of primogeniture. The state is thus furnished with an immovable centre in the dynastic family to which sovereign power is consigned. It was in the Tudor age of England that the European states showed themselves with boundaries fixed, and populations settled, and institutions formed, in their main features, as they were destined to continue, with minor changes, until the close of the eighteenth century. In 1453, the last of the races who came from Asia into Europe was firmly fixed as a nation by the capture of Constantinople. The establishment of a powerful Mahometan empire in south-eastern Europe was soon afterwards partly redressed in the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, and the extinction of the power of Islam in the south-west of the Christian continent. The state system of modern Europe begins in the establishment of social order and strong centralised government, enabling rulers to direct their attention more closely to the affairs of neighbouring peoples. The intrigues of diplomacy, and the development of the theory of foreign policy known as the "balance of power," were the results of inter-monarchical and inter-national jealousy; and wars, negotiations, alliances, in the shape of royal inter-marriage, or for the combined action of fleets and armies in offensive and defensive warfare, begin to assume an importance unknown in previous ages. The Tudor sovereigns of England, firmly established in power through causes already noticed, were enabled to intervene with effect in continental affairs, and to acquire for England that European influence which, with rare and brief interruptions, she has ever since wielded.

The discovery of new lands and new markets for goods gave a great impulse to trade and manufactures, increased the wealth of Europe, and led to the building of powerful navies by the chief maritime states. The era of colonisation in the east and the west had arrived, when sovereigns, statesmen, and peoples began to see the full value of commerce in promoting the prosperity of nations. The commercial centre of the world was shifted when Vasco da Gama, in 1498, made his way round the Cape of Storms to Calicut, in Malabar. The shortest and safest route to India was that by the Mediterranean, Red, and Arabian seas, and the great commercial republic of Venice had long held command of the ports of Egypt and Syria through which the traffic of India passed to and from central and western Europe. By the adoption of the new route round Africa, Venice lost her commercial supremacy. Western Europe, instead of the Mediterranean, became the centre of the trade of the world; and the British Islands were started in the race which was to end in their acquirement of the foremost position in commercial and maritime affairs. The colonial system of the country had its rise in early Stuart times, but it was under the Tudors that the nation acquired, or first displayed on a great scale, the adventurous spirit and maritime skill and courage which led, in later ages, to results so striking.

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Of all the monarchies of Europe, that of England was the only one under which the people succeeded in maintaining, in greater or lesser degree, constitutional checks upon the arbitrary will of the sovereign. In the time of the Plantagenet kings, it had become thoroughly settled, first, that the king could not legislate without the consent of his Parliament; secondly, that he could impose no tax without the consent of his Parliament; thirdly, that he was bound to conduct the executive administration according to the laws of the land, and that, if he broke those laws, his advisers and his agents were responsible. In all the monarchies of western Europe, during the middle ages, there also existed restraints upon the royal authority, in the shape of fundamental laws, and representative assemblies. Under the feudal system, the people there, as here, were trained to the use of weapons, and an armed nation was possessed of ample means for the curbing of a tyrannical ruler. The progress of civilisation brought a great change. War became first a science, and then a profession. The mass of the people, closely engaged in profitable pursuits, declined the inconveniences of military service, and paid others to undergo them. The standing army became an institution in continental states. The physical force which had once belonged to the nobles and the commons, and had been used to resist an oppressive sovereign, was now enlisted in his service, and became itself the instrument of oppression. The representative assemblies grew more and more feeble, and at last practically ceased to exist. They failed to secure freedom, in the days of their power,

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by keeping in their hands the control of taxation, by which alone a standing army could be maintained. The firm refusal to furnish money for the support of a permanent military force, until ample securities had been provided against despotism, would have left the king helpless, and England would not have remained the sole example of a constitutional monarchy. Apart from the determined character and the free instincts of her people, England was mainly indebted, for her escape from absolute monarchy, to her insular situation. A standing army was needless to protect us from foreign invasion, and the people whose arms had once carried terror and devastation to the fair fields of France, abandoned the vain dream of foreign conquest in Europe, and devoted their energies more and more to the accumulation of wealth in tillage, manufactures, and trade. The political wisdom and vigilance of the friends of English freedom did not fail to observe and profit by the fate of the Spanish Cortes and the French States-General. When the Tudor line of sovereigns ended, as the seventeenth century opened, the Commons of England were prepared for the struggle which, first within the walls of Parliament, and then on the battlefields of the great civil war, secured for ever, it may well be hoped, the constitutional rights that had never, under the strongest of the Tudor sovereigns, been allowed to fall into utter desuetude.

Some of the causes of Parliamentary weakness under the Tudors have been already indicated. The great constitutional assembly showed itself often subservient, and permitted its undoubted rights to fall into a partial disuse. The constitutional growth of the nation was checked, and under the new personal monarchy we see many instances of arbitrary taxation, many acts of executive oppression and cruelty, and some long intervals during which the nation's representatives were not summoned to meet at all. We have seen that the old nobles had almost vanished in the Wars of the Roses, and that the Church, in its helpless condition, clung to its only support, the Crown. The great middle class of farmers, merchants, manufacturers, and tradesmen had not yet grown into strength and influence. The narrowing of the franchise under Henry VI. threw the representation, to a large extent, into the hands of the Crown, and of great landowners who, for their own selfish ends, were ready to return as members those who would support the king's ministers. From time to time, as occasion required, new boroughs were created, in which the electors were few in number, and were bribed or forced to choose as representatives the nominees of the government. This mode of tampering with the representation was especially employed under Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, and the patriotic party in the House of Commons, men who well knew, highly valued, and manfully asserted their undoubted privileges, were swamped by these supporters of the Crown. It is in the executive department that we most clearly see the tyranny of the

Tudor sovereigns. The rights declared by Magna Charta were often violated. Men were imprisoned without legal warrant, and were condemned without a trial before their peers or equals. Excessive and illegal punishments, extending to torture, monstrous fines, whipping, and the cutting off of ears, were inflicted by the Court of Star Chamber. Corrupt and servile judges condemned men in political trials with a violation of law and right which amounted to judicial murder. But though individuals were sometimes treated in an arbitrary and even in a barbarous fashion, the nation was in no danger of general and lasting oppression. The Tudors had no armed force, and they were surrounded by an armed people. It was within the precincts of the court, and against the men of mark who incurred their suspicion or resentment, that their tyranny was put in practice. They did not dare to try severely the patience of the nation. They knew that the people would rise up, take their halberds and their bows, or their rude muskets, and drive the oppressor to exile or death. It was only those who surrounded the royal person, and engaged in the hazardous game of intrigue and ambition, that were exposed to serious danger from the Tudor kings and queens. The people let them wreak the utmost vengeance on offending nobles, on condition of being themselves treated as freemen and not as slaves. The Tudors were thus, in effect, essentially popular magistrates, ruling under the titles, and with the forms, of monarchical supremacy.

In the evening of the battle of Bosworth, the headquarters of Richmond were removed to Leicester, and the conqueror, two days later, went forward to London. He chose to consider ^{Henry VII., 1485-1509.} himself to have won the crown of England by conquest. In a legal and constitutional view, he was, in every sense, an usurper. The title of the house of York had been fully recognised by the English nation, and the invasion of Henry of Richmond had been supported by Yorkist nobles because he had engaged to marry the Yorkist heiress, the Princess Elizabeth. The title of the Lancastrian line had been condemned by Parliament, and, as he s¹r¹ank from openly claiming the throne only by right of conquest, he assumed the name and state of a king, in the first instance, without proclaiming any title. On October 30th, he was crowned by Cardinal Bouchier at Westminster as "king of England and France." A Parliament met on November 7th, and when the Speaker was presented to Henry, the king spoke of his accession "as well by just hereditary title as by the sure judgment of God, manifested by giving him the victory in the field over his enemy." The Parliament, however, would not accept the vain pretension of an hereditary title, nor the insolent one of a title by conquest. The desire for public tranquillity was paramount, and a title was made for Henry VII. as king *de facto*. By an Act of Settlement it was ordained that "the inheritance of the crowns of the realms of England and of France. . . . be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of

our now sovereign lord King Henry VII., and in the heirs of his body, lawfully coming, perpetually, . . . and in none other." Before the session closed, the Speaker of the Commons prayed the king to "be pleased to espouse the Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Edward IV." Henry had attained his purpose of being recognised by Parliament as king, prior to any reference to the Yorkist marriage, and, though he cared nothing for the lady herself, he was quite willing to strengthen his throne by the alliance. In January 1486, the marriage was solemnised in London, amidst great rejoicings of the people, but the queen's coronation did not take place till the end of the following year.

The personal qualities of Henry were not of a nature to command the admiration of an age in which the military virtues were still regarded as the proudest adornment of a ruler of men. The new king was essentially different in character from any of the Plantagenet race. He was not intellectually weak, like Henry VI., nor incapable of self-government, like Edward II. and Richard II. But he had none of the heroic qualities—the thirst for glory, the high courage, the pride—which were the attributes of three of the Edwards, of Henry IV., and Henry V., and of Richard III. The spirit of the feudal ages had no longer a representative. One kingly quality the first Tudor monarch did possess, and transmit to his descendants—a resolute will. He brought to the throne a character which was eminently suited to the requirements of a new state of society. The work which he had to carry forward had been partially accomplished in the wars of York and Lancaster, by the outpouring of the blood, the waste of the resources, the attainders and the forfeitures, of the dominant nobility. The new king was to build up the monarchy upon the complete subjection of the aristocracy, as a caste separate from the people. He was to do this, not by force but by sagacity, not by terror but by subtlety, not by lavish expenditure but by ever-grasping acquisition. The great service which he rendered to a people that did not love him was that he preserved the country in order and tranquillity, and thus the practical freedom of the nation was constantly advancing with its industrial prosperity. Henry VII. was determined to be a strong monarch, and for this end he aimed at three chief objects, all of which he fully attained. He was resolved to establish his dynasty by severe treatment of all Yorkist rivals and pretenders; by the acquirement of such a royal treasure as should enable him, in a great degree, to dispense with any recourse to Parliament; and by the depression of the old nobility, accompanied by the elevation of new men who should be entirely dependent on royal favour. For the maintenance of order, and for his dealings with nobles who might be dangerous, he developed into a regular and permanent court the committee of the Royal Council which became so famous and powerful as the Court of Star Chamber. The criminal jurisdiction

of this tribunal was not encumbered by the presence of a jury, and the rights of the subject, under the Great Charter, were violated in respect of trial by his peers. It consisted of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Privy-Seal, with two chief-justices, and certain members of the privy council, and took cognisance of a very wide range of offences, including riots and unlawful assemblies, corrupt conduct in jurors and sheriffs, forgery, perjury, "maintenance," libel, fraud, conspiracy, and all public misdemeanours not provided for by the ordinary law. This court was, on some occasions, very serviceable in the punishment of rich and powerful offenders, whom jurors, in that age, would often have feared to convict. The personal tastes and demeanour of Henry were those of a somewhat shy and studious lover of art and literature, but he had little leisure for such matters. Most of his time, and the chief thoughts of his crafty mind, were given to coping with dangers and difficulties at home, and to directing the intrigues of foreign policy, in which he ever sought to secure advantage without incurring the risk of war.

Immediately after the battle of Bosworth, Henry of Richmond secured the person of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son of the late Duke of Clarence, and nearest male Yorkist heir to the throne. The young prince went to the Tower, and remained a prisoner for the rest of his life. An Act of attainder was passed against the chief adherents of Richard III., and the king began his course of plunder by revoking, on his own authority, all grants of the crown made since 1455, when the influence of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, began to preponderate. This measure brought within his grasp the property of a large body of Yorkists, and began the process of filling the royal coffers. In 1486, a feeble rising of the White Rose took place in Yorkshire, headed by Lord Lovel, and Thomas and Humphrey Stafford. The matter was soon dealt with, and the king continued his progress through the midland and northern counties. The queen gave birth at Winchester, in September of the same year, to a son, who received the name of Arthur. He was the Prince of Wales whose premature death brought his brother to the throne as Henry VIII.

In the spring of 1487, a claimant of the throne appeared in Ireland, where the Yorkist cause had ever been popular. A youth of sixteen years of age presented himself in Dublin to the lord-deputy, the Earl of Kildare. He was accompanied by an Oxford priest named Simons, and declared himself to be the young Earl of Warwick, escaped from his prison-cell in the Tower. Henry VII. believed that this daring imposture was furthered by Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV. If this were so, the claimant, who was named Lambert Simnel, and was the cunning, well-mannered son of a tradesman of low condition, must have been put forward as a feeler of public opinion. The Earl of Kildare embraced his cause, and Lord

Yorkist
troubles,
1486-1487.

Lambert
Simnel.

Lovel went over to Ireland, accompanied by John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, a grandson of Richard, Duke of York, and lately declared heir to the throne by Richard III. With them went from Flanders a body of two thousand veteran German soldiers, commanded by a brave and experienced officer, Martin Schwartz. The young adventurer was crowned at Dublin in May with the title of Edward VI. The next step was an invasion of England. The Germans, a force of real value, recruited by some thousands of Irish partisans, landed in June on the Lancashire coast, and marched through Yorkshire towards Newark. Very few English had joined the band, who numbered about eight thousand men. The king, after passing through the eastern counties, turned into the midlands, and advanced to meet the rebel forces. A battle took place at Stoke, south-west of Newark, on June 16th, and an obstinate fight of three hours ended in the rout of the invading army. One-half of the insurgents fell in the battle, and the slain included Schwartz, the Earl of Lincoln, the Irish lords Thomas and Maurice Fitzgerald, and Sir Thomas Broughton. Lord Lovel was seen to escape from the field, but no man in that age ever beheld him again, and he was believed to have been drowned in an attempt to cross the river Trent. Nearly two hundred years later, towards the close of the seventeenth century, the old family seat of the Lovels, at Minster Lovel, near Witney, came into the workmen's hands for demolition. A discovery was then made which revealed the fate of the missing lord. In a vault was found the person of a man, in very rich clothing; seated in a chair, with a table and a missal before him. The skeleton was yet entire, with its skull resting on the table, when the workmen entered the chamber. Upon admission of the air, it soon fell to dust. The unhappy man had reached his home, and sought concealment after the fatal issue of the battle of Stoke, and had there perished of starvation, through treachery, or through accident befalling the servant or friend to whom the secret, and the charge of his place of hiding, were intrusted. The young impostor, and Simons the priest, were among the prisoners taken. The priest was committed to ward, and never heard of more. Simnel was treated with the wise contempt due to "an image of wax that others had tempered and moulded." He became a scullion in the royal kitchen, and, after wearing a crown, he was set to the washing of dishes and the turning of joints. The claim of Lambert Simnel had been fully believed in Ireland, but in England delusion was promptly checked by the king's straightforward and simple device. The young Earl of Warwick was taken in procession from the Tower to St. Paul's, and exposed to the popular gaze. To the better sort he was shown for a short time, as the king's guest, at his palace of Shene, near London. At the same time a concession was made to Yorkist feeling by a display of proper respect to the queen. Her coronation took place, a due provision was made for her maintenance, and she appeared with regal state upon public occasions.

The foreign policy of Henry VII. was mainly directed by his desire for peace, and he only made pretence of war in order to extract money from his subjects. His attention was drawn in 1488 to certain matters of interest in France. He had the strongest obligations of gratitude to the Duke of Brittany, who had been his host and protector during a long period of exile and poverty. The Duke Francis was advanced in years, and the country was distracted by rivalries as to who should marry Anne, his wealthy heiress, and thus be ruler of the duchy after his death. The young king of France, Charles VIII., was rash and ambitious, and he formed the design of annexing Brittany to the dominions of the French crown. Both parties appealed for help to Henry, who offered himself as a mediator. The French king invaded the duchy, and besieged Rennes, the capital, in 1488. Henry saw an opening for his statecraft. He promised help to the Duke, asked his Parliament for the means of preventing French aggrandisement, obtained a large subsidy, put the money away, and then concluded an armistice with Charles. At the end of 1488, the Duke of Brittany died, and by this time the French troops had overrun the whole duchy. The English king then promised an army to the orphan Princess Anne, but at the same time let Charles understand that his troops would act only on the defensive. At the beginning of 1489, he obtained from Parliament another large grant of money, and sent to Brittany a force of six thousand archers. The French king carefully avoided them, and in six months they returned home. A revolt against the tax for the "war" arose in the northern counties, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who had betrayed Richard on Bosworth Field, was killed by the insurgents, who were soon suppressed by the Earl of Surrey. In 1490, the king went again to Parliament for money to meet the expenses of the war with France which was never waged. The affair of the duchy of Brittany ended in 1491 with the marriage of Anne to the French king, and the conclusion of a treaty which finally annexed the territory to France. Henry had meanwhile been raising money under the system of "benevolences," made illegal under Richard III., and in October 1491, he obtained from his "faithful Lords and Commons" a large grant for the purpose of punishing the French king. Having obtained the money, he delayed active measures for a year, but at length, in October 1492, he crossed the Channel, and invested Boulogne with a large and well-appointed army. The national spirit of England had been aroused anew against France, and men were expecting an eventful campaign. They did not yet know the character of their king. For three months he had been engaged in negotiating a peace with Charles of France, and there is good reason to believe that the treaty had been actually signed when the English forces landed at Calais. A week after his arrival on French soil, the king laid before his council a rough draft of a treaty offered by France, and his subservient ministers advised him

Foreign
affairs,
1488-1492.

to sign it. A peace was thus concluded between the two countries, and a private treaty existed by which Charles was to pay to Henry a large sum in satisfaction of the matter of Brittany. The advisers of the English king, as well as their master, were handsomely bribed on this occasion. The English nobles and knights who had raised men at the king's order for this burlesque of a French invasion, in the hope of being recouped by French plunder, were half-ruined, and vented their wrath against the king in cautious execrations. The English monarch, however, had a motive for the peace which was even stronger than his greed for money. The French king had a guest at his court, whom history styles Perkin Warbeck, but who called himself the young Richard, Duke of York, who was said to have died in the Tower. He had been already acknowledged as such by Charles, who refused to deliver him up to Henry, but now commanded him to leave French territory. The Treaty of Estaples, as the ignoble arrangement is called, from the place where the envoys met, was a triumph for the crafty king. He had made a profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his pretended enemies for the peace.

The imposture of Perkin Warbeck, if impostor the man must be judged to be, is one of the strangest on record. The story is concerned with one of the most controverted passages of English history, and the prudent narrator may well shrink from dogmatic assertion on the subject, when such a cool and able historical judge as Hallam declares that "a very strong conviction either way is not readily attainable." Early in the year 1492, a small merchant vessel from Lisbon entered the Cove of Cork, and landed a young man who was amongst the passengers. He is described as being of fine countenance and shape, and endowed with powers of moving pity and inducing belief such as were "like a kind of fascination or enchantment to those that saw or heard him." The rumour spread through the town that he was the second son of Edward IV., and the hearts of the Irish people, who remembered with love and gratitude the rule of Richard of York, were at once moved towards him. The Earls of Desmond and Kildare embraced his cause and offered help, but he soon passed over to France, and, after the Peace of Estaples, proceeded to Flanders, and claimed the protection of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy. In the British Museum is an undoubted document in which the young man sets forth his own history. It is a Latin letter written to Isabella, queen of Spain, wife of King Ferdinand, and is dated from Dendermonde (or Termonde), then a town of the Austrian Netherlands, on August 25, 1493. It is signed "Richard Plantagenet, second son of Edward, formerly king, Duke of York," &c. The writer declares that, when he was "nearly nine years of age," he was delivered to a certain lord to be killed: that he was by him, from compassion, preserved, and sent abroad for safety, and that for the space of eight years he lay hid

Perkin
Warbeck,
1492-1499.

“in divers provinces.” He then claims the help of the king of Spain, after referring to his favourable reception by the Duchess of Burgundy. The writer mentions his age, at the time of his escape, as being “nearly nine years:” it seems quite certain that the young Richard of York, in June 1483, was at least nearly ten. Just at this time, Henry VII. sent Sir Edward Poynings and Dr. Warham as envoys to the Archduke of Austria, demanding the surrender of him who called himself Richard of York, or his expulsion from the Archduke’s territory. It was probably at this juncture that Henry caused the examination of Tyrrel and Dighton, the alleged murderers of the two young princes, and he declared that it would be “the height of madness not to believe that they were murdered in the Tower.” The envoys were also directed to state that Margaret of Burgundy was the instigator of this plot against the king of England. The Archduke promised to render the adventurer no aid, but said that he could not control the action of the Duchess Margaret on her own dower-lands. Henry then strictly forbade all intercourse between England and Flanders, and removed the mart of English cloth from Antwerp. Serious injury was done to trade, but the Archduke of Austria did not swerve from his neutral position regarding the young claimant, and this tends to prove that he really believed the story. Henry VII., in 1494, stated that it was “notorious that the said *garçon* is a native of the town of Tournay, and son of a boatman who is named Warbec.” The young man received the warmest welcome from Margaret of Burgundy, and was always styled by her the *White Rose of England*. Her recognition, real or pretended, had gained for the claimant the adhesion of the Archduke of Austria, the Duke of Saxony, and the kings of Denmark and Scotland, but no practical help was given, and he turned his thoughts towards English supporters. In 1494, some Yorkist nobles in England dispatched Sir Robert Clifford to Flanders, and he returned with a report that the young man was the indubitable “White Rose.” Henry had affected a certain contempt for the claims of his rival, and had expressed the same to the French king, but he was really taking his measures against what he thought to be a serious danger. Clifford was bribed to betray his associates. Towards the end of 1494, Lord Fitzwalter and several other persons were arrested on a charge of high treason, and were proved to have corresponded with the foreign friends of the “White Rose.” Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, and Robert Ratcliffe were executed, and then Henry struck at a more important foe. Early in 1495, Clifford denounced Sir William Stanley, the king’s chamberlain, who had saved his life on Bosworth field. He was accused of favouring the pretensions of the *garçon* in Flanders by saying that “if he were sure he was Edward’s son, he would never fight against him.” The great wealth of Stanley was the real reason that erased from Henry’s mind all claims of ancient friendship. His head fell on Tower Hill, and forty thousand pounds value in money and plate passed into

the royal treasury, while lands worth three thousand pounds a year were added to the king's domains.

Sir Edward Poynings was made lord deputy in Ireland, and he took vigorous steps to secure the king's authority. The Earls of Ireland, Kildare and Desmond were arrested, but afterwards pardoned, and two supporters of the Yorkist claim were executed. In this year, 1495, the important statute was passed that became known as *Poyning's law*. All recent English statutes were hereby declared to have the force of law in Ireland; no Parliament could sit in Ireland without the king's permission; and all measures brought before the Irish legislature were required to have the previous approval of the king and council in England. This law formed the basis for the government of Ireland until nearly the close of the eighteenth century.

In the summer of 1495, Warbeck, if thus we are to style him, made his first armed attempt against the Lancastrian usurper. He arrived at Deal with some foreign troops, but the people repulsed the invaders, and captured some scores of men, all of whom were promptly hanged by royal order. He then made a fruitless attempt on Waterford, and returned to the protection of Margaret. Early in 1496, Henry contrived to procure his enemy's exclusion from the Burgundian provinces. A treaty of commerce was made with the Archduke Philip of Austria, and to this an article was annexed that rebels against either prince should, if required, be removed from their territories. The young man, however, was already dwelling in honour at the court of James IV. of Scotland, where he arrived in 1495 with a good force of troops.

James III. had renewed the truce on the accession of Henry VII., and peace was maintained between the two countries. The Scottish king, like his predecessors, was troubled by rebellious nobles, who secured the person of the heir, Prince James, then sixteen years of age, and, in 1488, met the king in battle at the Sauchie Burn near Stirling. The royal forces were soon beaten, and the king fled on horseback. The horse shied and threw him, and he was carried helpless into a miller's house. The doom of the Stuarts was upon him, and, dying as he was, he could not die in peace. A man who claimed to be a priest came in to hear his confession, and stabbed the king to instant death. The murderer was never seen again. The prince was crowned at Scone as James IV. The only matter of moment in the early part of his reign was the growing discontent with Papal interference. James procured from the Pope the creation of a second archbishopric at Glasgow, and used the influence of the new prelate against that of the Papal supporter, the Archbishop of St. Andrews.

James IV. of Scotland treated his visitor in every respect as the real Duke of York, and proclaimed his conviction of the truth of his pretensions by bestowing upon him in marriage his own kinswoman, Lady Catharine Gordon. Henry VII., throughout his reign, made a free

use of spies, and we find in his book of "Privy Purse Expenses" such entries as: "To a fellow with a beard—a spy, in reward, £1." One of his most devoted instruments was a treacherous Scottish noble, Ramsay, Lord Bothwell, who had been ambassador at the English court. This man, on his return to Scotland, kept Henry informed of all the doings of Warbeck. The "feigned boy," as Bothwell calls him in his letters to England, is actually found treating upon affairs of national import as a sovereign prince, and as if he were already lord of the realm which he claimed. He arranges to deliver Berwick again to Scottish possession, and agrees to pay to James a large sum of money "within five years after his entry" on possession of the English realm. In truth, there is nothing more remarkable in the whole history of imposture than the skill, self-possession, and address with which this young man played a part of enormous difficulty. Married to a lady of the blood-royal of Scotland, whose love would have turned to hate against a low-born deceiver, surrounded by jealous nobles, moving in presence of Henry's spy, and subject to the prying inquiries of the French ambassador, who was striving to learn the truth for his master—he passes through the ordeal, as far as can be seen, without a moment of self-betrayal. In manner, speech, education, he acts fully up to his assumed lofty position and lineage. James IV. was a monarch of high accomplishments, an expert linguist, speaking seven or eight tongues, a knight skilled in all the feats of chivalry. It was he who brought into Scotland the art of printing, and he was a patron of literary men. An ignorant impostor, qualified only by cunning for the game which he had to play, would have found himself ill at ease in the company of such a king, and of the intellectual ornaments of his splendid court, Gawin Douglas and William Dunbar. At the end of 1496, James IV. took the field with his adopted ally. Warbeck issued a proclamation, in which he styles himself Richard IV. of England, and denounced "Henry Tyddor" as a false usurper of the crown. The frontier was crossed in force, but the people of England declined to support the Yorkist claim, without any regard to the identity of the claimant. A quarter of a century of peace had enabled a new generation to settle down in the quiet pursuits of industry, and if the Lancastrian monarch would abstain from grinding them by taxation, and maintain order and security of property, they were as contented to be governed by the House of Tudor as by the House of York. They would fight for their own liberties, but not for a barren title. In presence of a risk of civil war for the White Rose and the Red, their maxim was "A plague o' both your houses." The sturdy Northumbrians at once seized their bows, and prepared to repel the old national enemy. James bethought him of the days of Halidon Hill and Homildon, and soon retired to his own side of the border.

The English king, with characteristic craft, used the occasion as one enabling him to demand a large grant from Parliament. The tax was paid without resistance in most parts of the kingdom, but the people

of Cornwall took up arms. Sixteen thousand insurgents marched for London, to demand the punishment of the king's ministers, Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Gray, as the promoters of the tax. An attorney named Flammock was the prime mover in the revolt, which was headed by Lord Audley. On their arrival at Blackheath a camp was formed, and a battle with the king's troops took place on June 22nd. There was a fierce struggle at Deptford, where the Cornishmen, though without horse or cannon, made a brave resistance to the attack on their vanguard. When two thousand men had fallen, and their rear was assailed, they gave way, and many hundred prisoners were taken. These were treated with a wise lenity, and permitted to return to their homes in the west. The matter ended with the beheading of Lord Audley, and the hanging of the attorney and another leader.

After another fruitless invasion of England, James IV. made a truce with Henry, but declined to give up Warbeck. The end of Warbeck, 1497-1499. adventurer now found it needful to quit Scotland, and was furnished with a flotilla of four ships, and a small body of men. Once more he addressed himself to his old friends at Cork, but now met with no favour, and he resolved to try his fortune in Cornwall. In September 1497, he landed at Whitsand Bay, north of Land's End, and the Cornishmen, sore from their late defeat, flocked to the standard of "Richard the Fourth." He seized St. Michael's Mount, and there he left his wife Catharine, the faithful sharer of his present dangers. Before he reached Exeter, he had six thousand men in his ranks. Attacks on the gates of the city were repulsed, and the insurgents then marched for Taunton. There, for the first time in his strange career, the heart of the "White Rose" failed him. He meanly left his followers, and hurried away to the New Forest, where he "took sanctuary" at the monastery of Beaulieu. The king's forces surrounded the place, and in a few days Warbeck surrendered, upon the promise that his life should be spared. The insurrection ended with a few executions, and the levying of large fines from its supporters of good standing in the western counties. In November, Warbeck was led through the city of London to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner under no harsh treatment. The story that he confessed himself to be really named Pierce Osbeck or Perkin Warbeck, and that he gave many particulars of his early life in Flanders, as a native of Tournay, rests on no good authority. In June 1498, he made his escape, but was retaken at Shene, after a vain attempt to reach the coast, and was then made a close prisoner in the Tower. Another captive, the Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence, had been pining there for thirteen years, and it was destined that the "White Rose" should bring him to a tragical end. In November 1499, he was entangled by his fellow-prisoner in some plan for their escape, and Henry made use of this offence in order to be rid of them both.

Warbeck was hanged at Tyburn, and Warwick, condemned for treason on what was probably false and forged testimony, died by beheading within the Tower. It was an act of gross and cruel tyranny, which aroused public indignation. The unhappy man stood in the way of Henry's family projects, and he was sacrificed to the expressed wish of Ferdinand of Spain. The English king was negotiating a marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, with Catharine of Aragon, the daughter of the Spanish monarch, who held the removal of Warwick to be needful for the safety of Henry's dynasty. We are told that long afterwards, when her divorce from Henry VIII. was mooted, Queen Catharine "spoke of her marriage as one made in blood—meaning that of the Earl of Warwick." The son of Clarence was thus the victim of two subtle and crafty tyrants, and died to make the Tudor throne secure. His fellow-sufferer, Warbeck, remains one of the mysteries of our annals. A possible explanation of his personal appearance, his demeanour, and his ability may be found in the suggestion that he was a natural son of Edward IV., and so the half-brother of the Duke of York, whom he represented with well-sustained and marvellous skill.

The opening of the sixteenth century found Henry VII. at peace at home and abroad, and he was soon, as he hoped, to make his dynasty more secure by two important state marriages. After negotiations spread over several years, the king's eldest son, Arthur, Prince of Wales, was married in November 1501, to Catharine, youngest child of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The bride, born in 1485, was more than a year older than her husband. The culture of royal personages, in that age of revived learning, is shown in the attainments of both. The young wife was an excellent Latin scholar, and was pronounced by the great master, Erasmus, to be "remarkably learned, not merely with reference to her sex." Prince Arthur had read Homer and Thucydides, and was familiar with some of the best Latin poets and prose-writers. His younger brother, Henry, was a lad of equal acquirements. Catharine brought with her a large dowry in gold, and one-third of the revenues of the principality of Wales, the duchy of Cornwall, and the earldom of Chester, her husband's domains, formed her marriage settlement. The frugal Henry indulged, on this occasion, in one seeming extravagance—the purchase of many valuable jewels. He had a passion for the acquirement of these precious adornments of royal state, but such an investment of the money wrung from a patient people was really only a part of the king's habitual prudence. He thus made some of his wealth lie in a small compass, of a value generally recognised, and of ready use in any evil turn of fortune. His only other means of great expense was in architecture, of which a fine example is seen in his chapel at Westminster Abbey. He also erected at West Sheen a splendid palace on the site of the house erected by Henry V., which was destroyed by

fire in 1500. The name of the village was at the same time changed for that of "Richmond," in allusion to the king's former title as earl. In January 1502, a treaty was concluded between England and Scotland, in which a perpetual peace was to be cemented by the marriage of James IV. with the Princess Margaret, the English king's eldest daughter. The union took place by proxy in 1502, but the bride's departure for Scotland was, on account of her youth, deferred till the summer of the following year. The ceremony was then performed with great splendour at Holyrood Palace, and William Dunbar celebrated the event in a poem, written in the stanza of Chaucer, styled *The Thistle and the Rose*. A hundred years later this marriage brought about the union of the two crowns in the person of James VI. of Scotland.

The Spanish marriage was soon followed by a calamity which the Domestic king, with his usual good fortune, contrived to alleviate, both events. in its political and personal bearings. The young husband, Arthur, Prince of Wales, who kept his court at Ludlow, died in April 1502, only five months after his marriage. The Spanish king, Ferdinand, unwilling to lose the English alliance, which was of great importance to him in his rivalry with France, proposed the marriage of his widowed daughter with Henry's second son, Prince Henry. The English monarch at once gladly consented. A moiety of Catharine's dowry had been paid over, and Henry, by the new arrangement, escaped the painful necessity of restoring the money. A dispensation for a marriage with a deceased brother's widow was obtained from the Pope. Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales, and the marriage contract was completed in 1503, though the union was not solemnised during the life of Henry VII. It became, as we shall see, the occasion of great events and changes, producing most important effects on the fortunes of the nation. In February 1503, the queen, Elizabeth of York, died, and the king then engaged in various schemes for his own second marriage, but they all came to nought. It was during his negotiation of one of these proposed unions that he induced the Archduke Philip of Austria to surrender to him the person of Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, son of the late Duke of Suffolk, and younger brother of the Earl of Lincoln, who fell at the battle of Stoke. This young Plantagenet, as a Yorkist heir, was a possible danger to Henry's throne, and his treatment proves the inherent baseness of Henry's character. De la Pole had already suffered grievous wrong in the withholding of his property by the king, under the pretence that his elder brother's attainder cancelled his own right. Philip exacted a promise that Suffolk's life should be spared, and Henry made him a prisoner in the Tower. The tyrant recommended his son to put the captive to death, and Suffolk's head fell in 1513.

Two of Henry's chief ministers were men who had shared his fortunes in the evil days before Bosworth. These were Richard Fox, who

was made Bishop of Exeter in 1487, and John Morton, Bishop of Ely who became Archbishop of Canterbury early in the reign, Henry VII, and on the death of Cardinal Bourchier. The king's great instruments for reducing the pride and power of the nobles were fine and forfeiture. Their strength had lain in the possession of large bodies of retainers, who wore their master's livery, and were always ready to fight in his cause. Tenants and other dependents were also bound to the interests of the great lords by the system called "maintenance," which included a promise to support or maintain their quarrels. Against these abuses Morton and Fox, wielding the exceptional powers of the Star Chamber, and the legislation of previous reigns, waged a vigorous war. The *Statutes of Liveries* were strictly enforced, and new laws were passed. All retainers were held unlawful but those who received wages as household servants, and, by an Act of 1504, a fine of five pounds per month was exacted for each retainer. When the Earl of Oxford, one of Henry's chief supporters, brought together at his castle a body of such men, for the sole purpose of doing honour to the king, his guest, Henry declared that he could not bear to have his laws broken in his sight, and exacted an enormous fine. Two chief instruments of the Tudor king's extortions were barons of the Court of Exchequer named Empson and Dudley. The former was a man of low extraction and rough manners; his colleague was of far higher origin and training, and in 1504 was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons. They were both well acquainted with the penal laws, and neither had the least scruple of equity, honour, or clemency in turning the letter of a statute to the uses of royal avarice and oppression. Their spies and informers pervaded the land; old claims of the crown were hunted up; obsolete feudal rights were revived, and the end of all proceedings was the payment of money to the king's treasury.

The rising class of wealthy traders became the victims of an ingenious device of the Archbishop, known as "Morton's fork." Henry had revived the "benevolences" of Edward IV., and had even improved on the methods of that unscrupulous king. The Yorkist tyrant had been content to let the promised gift of money be freely furnished by his wealthy victims: the Lancastrian extortioner used a statute of his own contrivance, and treated the "benevolence" as a tax, which his officers forthwith went to collect. Morton's dilemma for a rich merchant was the contention that, if he lived in good style, he could well afford to help his sovereign; if his way of life were frugal, he was putting money by, and should spare of his abundance for the expenses of a needy king. The result of all the efforts of Henry and his ministers was the gathering of a treasure amounting to nearly two millions of pounds, an enormous sum in that age.

The illegal exactions of Henry enabled him in a large measure to dispense with the services of the House of Commons. The king

seldom needed supplies, and the House had few occasions for demanding redress of grievances. The Parliament met but seven times in the twenty-four years of the reign, and six of these occurred in the first eleven years. There was then an interval of seven years, during which no Parliament was held, and the last was that of 1504. An important statute was passed in 1495, when the country was disturbed by the claim of Perkin Warbeck. The Lords and Commons thought it needful to guard subjects from evil consequences in the possible case of a change of dynasty. Under Henry VI. and Edward IV., those who had rendered obedience to a *de facto* sovereign had suffered greatly from attainders, as the cause of White Rose or of Red became, for the time, predominant. It was now enacted that "subjects are bounden to serve their prince and sovereign lord *for the time being*," and that no person shall be, for that cause, "convict or attaind of high treason nor of other offences." We have here undoubted authority for the constitutional principle "that possession of the throne gives a sufficient title to the subject's allegiance, and justifies his resistance of those who may pretend to a better right."

The king's health had been failing for several years, and we are told by his historian, Lord Bacon, that he was "touched with remorse" for the extortions of his officials, Empson and Dudley. This may have been so, but the benefit to his subjects was not apparent, seeing that the system of plunder, legal and illegal, "went on with as great rage as ever." With the same futile repentance, the king declared in his will that "his mind was, that restitution should be made of those sums which had been unjustly taken by his officers." He died at Richmond Palace on April 21, 1509, in the fifty-second year of his age, and was buried in his beautiful chapel at Westminster. The people did not mourn the loss of Henry VII. The solid benefits to the cause of progress in trade and industry which accrued from the maintenance of law and order, and of peace at home and abroad, were forgotten in the ruthless exactions which compelled the payment of a heavy price for the establishment of a new system on the ruins of feudalism. The king's chief minister, Archbishop and Cardinal Morton, had died at the close of the fifteenth century. The excellent William Warham became Chancellor in 1502, and Archbishop in 1503, and remained in office under Henry VIII.

CHAPTER II.

THE DAYS OF THE RENAISSANCE.

The new learning. English scholarship. The Universities. Foundation and early history of Cambridge, St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen. Maritime exploration and enterprise : Columbus, the Cabots, Da Gama. Literature.

FLORENCE, the great example in the Middle Ages of a democratic republic, was the Athens of the mediæval world. A new era for mankind was opening when the merchant-prince, Cosmo de Medici, came to the head of affairs in 1434, and won his proverbial renown as the judicious and munificent patron of art, learning, philosophy, and science. The treasures of literature which formed the basis of the famous Medicean or Laurentian library were manuscripts in Greek, Latin, and the Oriental tongues, gathered by his agents in all quarters. His grandson, Lorenzo de Medici, who ruled from 1469 to 1492, emulated his illustrious predecessor in his love and support of the liberal arts, and the great Tuscan city that could boast of Petrarch, Dante, and Boccaccio, became a source of light and learning to the lands beyond the Alps. The pioneers in the restoration of classical learning, in the fourteenth century, had been Petrarch and Boccaccio. It was with them a labour of love to rescue the remains of authors whose works, still existing only in manuscript, were perishing from neglect in the monasteries. By their labours the errors of transcribers were corrected, and an intelligible text of many of the Latin classics was ready for the use of scholars a century before the invention of printing. The splendid literature of Greece had been all but forgotten in Western Europe. A few of the schoolmen had known something of the tongue, but so general was the ignorance of it, even in Italy, that hardly a line from a Greek poet is found quoted between the sixth and the fourteenth centuries. Here also, Petrarch and Boccaccio earned the gratitude of all lovers of the highest culture by leading the way in a revival of the language, and in the restoration of its learning. Petrarch read Plato with a scholar from Constantinople, and Boccaccio caused public lectures on Homer to be delivered in Florence. As the fourteenth century was closing, another scholar from the capital of the Eastern Empire, named Emanuel Chrysoloras, taught the literature of Greece at Florence, Pavia, Venice, and Rome. A taste for the new pursuit was created, and Italian scholars flocked to the shores of the Bosphorus, and returned to their native land, not only with stores of knowledge in their heads, but with manuscripts in their hands. In 1423, one of these zealous students brought back to his home in Venice over two hundred volumes of classical lore. Some

of the Popes encouraged the new study, and before the Turks completed the conquest of the Eastern Empire, Bessarion, Theodore Gaza, and George of Trebizond spread the knowledge of Greek at Florence, Naples, and Rome. The greatest of all restorers of the ancient learning was Pope Nicholas the Fifth, who, as head of the Western Church from 1447 to 1455, held the highest place in Europe at a time of unequalled interest in the history of letters. A man of lowly birth, he had soon won the notice of the great by his abilities and attainments. His travels had carried him from his native Tuscany to the British Isles, and there he had been able to compare the state of learning, not to our advantage, with that of Florence and Bologna. As the friend of Cosmo, he arranged the treasures of the first public library that modern Europe possessed, and, when he rose from privacy to fill the Papal chair, he founded the Vatican library, long destined to remain the most precious and the most extensive collection of books in the world. It was he who brought to the knowledge of the scholars of the West the two splendid models of historical composition due to Herodotus and Thucydides, and by him mankind were first made acquainted with the works of Polybius and Xenophon. During his tenure of power at Rome occurred the event which gave, in the moment of a great destruction, when the Eastern Empire fell, a mighty impulse to the study of classical learning. In 1453, the conquering Turks became masters of Constantinople. The Greek exiles carried with them to the west treasures which were received with delight by the Italian scholars who had given up their lives to the rescue of manuscripts from a mouldering death, and to the revival of philology. Among these illustrious and devoted men was Poggio Bracciolini, who had, early in the century, discovered and saved from destruction by damp and dirt the entire work of Quintilian, twelve comedies of Plautus, and the noble philosophical poem of Lucretius. Among those who fled from Constantinople were two highly-born Greeks named Lascaris. The elder, Constantine Lascaris, after visiting Milan, Rome, and Naples, finally settled at Messina. Among the learners attracted by the renown of his Greek scholarship, was a man named Pietro Bembo, afterwards famed as a Cardinal. The younger, Johannes Lascaris, was employed by Lorenzo de Medici to purchase manuscripts in Greece for the Florentine collection. He afterwards became the head of Pope Leo the Tenth's Greek College at Rome, and assisted Francis the First in forming the royal library at Paris. From Italy the zeal for the restoration of classical literature spread slowly to France, Germany, and England. A Greek professor was first appointed at the University of Paris in 1458. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century, John Reuchlin, after learning Greek at Paris and Basel, taught the classical languages at Tübingen.

The study of Greek was first introduced into England at the University of Oxford, by two distinguished scholars named William Grocyn

and Thomas Linacre. Grocyn was a student of William of Wykeham's school at Winchester, and thence proceeded to New College, Oxford. After learning Greek in Italy from Chalcondylas and Politian, he became in 1491 the first teacher of the language in this country, as a resident at Exeter College, Oxford. He was devoted to the reading of Aristotle, instead of Plato, the favourite author of most Greek students of the time. Linacre, the famous physician, a native of Canterbury, was also an Oxford student, and became a Fellow of All Souls in 1484. Henry VII. dispatched him on a mission to the Papal court at Rome, and, during his stay in Italy, he resided by turns at Bologna, Florence, and Padua. At the Tuscan city he too learned Greek from Chalcondylas, and, on his return to England, was appointed tutor to Arthur, Prince of Wales. He then studied medicine, and lectured at Oxford on physic, Greek, and Latin. He was physician to Henry VII. and his successor, in whose reign he stood at the head of his profession until his death in 1524, and was the founder and first president of the College of Physicians. Linacre was probably the first English doctor of medicine to read Aristotle and Galen in the original, and his Latin translation of the works of the Greek physician won the high praise of Erasmus. He was one of the best Latin scholars of his day, and wrote a book, famous in its time, on Latin syntax and composition. One of the great promoters of the new learning was Archbishop Morton. He was Vice-Chancellor of Oxford in 1446, and became Bishop of Ely in 1479. In his political career we have seen him as the trusted friend and minister of Henry VII. He made a liberal use of the great wealth which he acquired under the money-making monarch, and was one of the first to discover the wonderful abilities of the young Thomas More, whom he sent to Oxford to study Greek under Grocyn and Linacre. As the Winchester scholar reveres the memory of William of Wykeham, so does the worthy student of St. Paul's School cherish the name of John Colet. A native of London and student at Magdalen College, Oxford, he became a good scholar in Latin, and then went to the Continent in search of mental improvement. As a friend of Erasmus, his attention was drawn to a closer study of Greek, and he read with care the early Church fathers. He returned to England in 1497, received orders in the Church, lectured at Oxford on St. Paul's epistles to many admiring hearers, and was appointed Dean of St. Paul's in 1505. He made a noble use of his wealth in founding his famous school, of which William Lilly was made the first master in 1512. Lilly was, like his friend Dean Colet, educated at Magdalen College, Oxford. On his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem he studied Greek, first at Rhodes, and then at Rome. As head of St. Paul's School, he became famous for many generations in producing the Latin Grammar, which was ushered into the world in 1513 under most distinguished auspices. The preface was due to Thomas Wolsey, then Dean of York. Colet wrote the English "Rudiments;" Lilly

himself was responsible for the English syntax, and the famous rules for Latin genders and verbs, beginning with *Propria quae maribus* and *As in praesenti*. The Latin Syntax was mainly due to Erasmus, and Henry VIII. ordered the book to be alone used in the schools for primary instruction in Latin.

The new learning was fairly started on its career in England before the death of Henry VII., and scholars soon began to read the New Testament in the Greek original which was to have so powerful an effect on the theology of the age. Colet was the leader in this part of the awakening of men's minds from mediæval dreams. He valued Greek, not because it laid open to him the beauties of Homer and Sophocles, or the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, but because he could now read the Gospels and the Epistles in the tongue used by their authors or earliest editors. There he found the faith and the moral code of Christianity as they came from the lips of the Founder and from the pen of his earliest followers, and the mystical and allegorical interpretations of the Schoolmen vanished in presence of the simple grammatical sense of the Greek text which lay before the skilled and earnest reader. The printing-press was hard at work, spreading over western Europe copies of all the classical authors, and the minds of men, inspired by contact with the best intellect of ancient Greece and Rome, advanced with new vigour to the assault of every department of knowledge. In letters, the perfect models of style presented by the great classic writers taught mankind the vast importance of literary form: in science, the free energy of the Greek mind gave the impulse to inquiry which was to bring to pass the brilliant discoveries of Copernicus and Galileo. The Polish astronomer, early in the sixteenth century, revealed to the world the grand truth of the earth's movement round the sun as a fixed body. Before the century closed, the great philosopher of Pisa and Florence was far advanced in the studies which were to work wonders in physical science, and to place his predecessor's new system of the universe beyond the reach of refutation.

The early eminence of the University of Oxford has already come under review. At the beginning of the twelfth century it is named as a place of education, though the collegiate system began about a hundred years later. From the time of King Stephen, when Vacarius of Lombardy taught the civil law, to the days of Grocyn and Linacre, she had produced many illustrious men, of whom Roger Bacon and John Wyclif are perhaps the most widely and justly renowned. The very term "University" here seems to demand explanation. In the original meaning of the word, it denoted the combination of a number of persons into one body or whole, and, in mediæval usage, was equivalent to the word "corporation," without restriction to literary or scientific bodies. When learned men began to gather in certain places, and to attract students, so that all became

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associated as a body of teachers and learners, competence for the work of instruction was denoted by the possession of a degree as "doctor" or "master." Assistant-teachers were called "bachelors," probably from the "knight-bachelor," or lower class of knight, as distinguished from the "knight-banneret." A seat of learning which confers these and other degrees is, in the true sense, a "university." These great schools of science and literature did not owe their origin either to the sovereign or to the Church, but grew up spontaneously under the wants of the times, like the guilds and other similar bodies. The University of Cambridge rose into greatness at a later period than her sister of Oxford. The town of Cambridge dates from Roman times, when it bore the name of *Camboricum*, altered by the English conquerors to *Grantabrycge* or *Cantabrycge*. The place stood at the crossing of two of their great highways—the *Akeman Street*, from the Norfolk coast near Lynn to Bath, and the *Via Devana*, from Chester to Colchester. The town was twice burnt by the Danes, in 870 and 1010. A royal mint existed there in the reign of Ethelred the Second, and coins have been found which were struck as late as the time of Henry VI. The tower of St. Benedict's Church is one of the best specimens of Saxon architecture now remaining in England, and its position proves that the town extended far on the south side of the river. William the Conqueror built a castle on his return from the capture of York in 1068, and this fortress was made the head-quarters for his military operations against "Hereward the Wake," who so bravely and stubbornly defended his "camp of refuge" in the Isle of Ely. Under Henry I., Pain Peverell, standard-bearer in the Holy Land to Robert, Duke of Normandy, built at Barnwell, close to the town, a priory for monks of the Augustine order, and to the same "pious founder" has been ascribed the famous "Round Church of St. Sepulchre," built in the year 1100. It is the oldest of the four round churches in England, and is a good example of early Norman work. The other three are St. Sepulchre at Northampton, the Temple Church in London, and that of St. John at Little Maplestead in Essex. Near by this church was once a "Jewry," inhabited by Jews brought from Normandy by the Conqueror. They are described as being well conducted Hebrews—"of very civil carriage," and not given, according to the cruel bigoted belief of the age, to crucifying children and other enormities. In 1133 was founded a nunnery of St. Rhadegund, which was enlarged by Malcolm IV., king of Scotland and Earl of Cambridge. Among other religious houses, each of the four orders of Mendicant Friars had an establishment in the town—the Carmelites or white friars; the Austin friars; the Dominicans, or black friars; and the Franciscans, or grey friars. Some of these houses furnished in later times either a site or a building for collegiate purposes. St. Rhadegund's convent was dissolved in the time of Henry VII., on account of the improvidence and dissolute life of its inmates, and Jesus College was founded upon its site in 1496,

and endowed with its possessions. The Dominicans' house stood on the site of Emmanuel College, and the Franciscans once dwelt where Sidney Sussex stands.

The date and mode of commencement of the University of Cambridge cannot be determined with certainty. In Domesday Book there is no mention of any academical society in the town. The first authentic notice tells us that the Abbot of the wealthy house of Croyland or Crowland, on the southern border of Lincolnshire, in 1110, sent to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, four monks who had come with him from Orleans to England. These men, who were well instructed in the sciences of the time, came daily into Cambridge, and soon gathered round them a large number of scholars at their place of teaching in a hired barn. Such was the lowly origin of the seat of learning which was destined to produce Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; Spenser, Ben Jonson, and Milton; Harvey and Newton; Fisher, Pearson, and Jeremy Taylor; Cudworth and Paley; Burleigh and William Pitt; Thirlwall and the two Lightfoots; Bentley and Porson; Bacon and Barrow; Gray and Wordsworth; Byron, Coleridge, and Tennyson; Bulwer and Thackeray; Whewell and Macaulay. The work of teaching was aided by the friars and members of the other religious bodies, and the teachers and scholars, combining themselves, after the Continental model, into an association or university, assumed a regular corporate form some time in the thirteenth century. The new school of learning was greatly helped by the favour and support of Henry III., Edward III., and Henry VI., and, after the revival of letters, by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. It was royal patronage that prevented rivalry to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Attempts were made to establish similar seats of learning at Northampton in 1261, and at Stamford in 1334, but a royal order compelled the students to return to the existing Universities. In 1318, at the request of Edward II., a Papal bull was issued, confirming all privileges and indulgences to the University of Cambridge, and licensing her graduates to teach in any part of Christendom. In 1430, Pope Martin V. invested it with exclusive ecclesiastical and spiritual jurisdiction over its own scholars. Most of the customs and costumes can be traced to the Universities of Paris and of Orleans. Some of those in the faculty of Law were derived from Bologna, and, in the faculty of Medicine, from Bologna, Salerno, and Montpellier. Quarrels between scholars and burgesses began at an early period, and are scarcely yet extinct in the form of "town and gown" disturbances. The townspeople were incensed at the privileges granted to the University by royal charters, such as the power of regulating the prices of provisions, supervising the weights and measures, and citing the burgesses and other laymen to appear before the Vice-Chancellor to answer scholars in various suits at law. In 1381, an insurrection of the townsmen occurred, in which the colleges were forced and the University chests broken open, with the destruction of

bulls, charters, and muniments. The Bishops of Ely and Norwich came to the rescue with lances and excommunications, and Richard II. caused the punishment of the insurgents and the restoration of the privileges which the University had been compelled, by deed, to renounce. When books were scarce, and were chained to the desks to prevent their removal, the teaching of the Universities was chiefly conducted by lectures, and by the reading of manuscripts in the public schools. This oral instruction was given slowly, in order to permit the students to make copious notes, or verbatim copies of some passages. The readings were almost discontinued, when printed books became common early in the sixteenth century. The chief subject of the lectures and readings had been the writings of Aristotle, including his *Physics*, *Problems*, and works on *Natural History*, as well as his ethical and rhetorical works. All these were chiefly known through translations and commentaries derived from the Arabs, but the translations were replaced by the original Greek when the labours of Grocyn, Linacre, and Colet had revived the understanding of the noble ancient tongue. In 1522, the office of Public Orator was created, and invested with great privileges, with a view to its bestowal upon Richard Croke, who first gave lectures on Greek at Cambridge. The first books containing Greek characters that were ever printed in England were seven little volumes, issued in 1521, from a press at Cambridge, by a German named John Siberch, whose house was within the present precincts of Caius College. One of the books was Linacre's Latin translation of a medical work by Galen. The authority of Aristotle continued paramount at the University until Stuart times, when it succumbed to the growth of mental activity and inquiry, and to the mighty influence of Copernicus, Galileo, Bacon, Kepler, and Newton. It was then that mathematics and natural philosophy, which have given to the University of Cambridge so great and enduring a renown, acquired higher value as subjects of study and examination. The great Library, ranking next in Britain to that of the British Museum and the Bodleian, dates its importance from the same age. It contains a great number of valuable manuscripts, including one of the most ancient copies of the Gospels, the famous Beza MS., and above four hundred thousand printed volumes, with a special wealth in early English printed books. The first College founded was that of Peterhouse, by Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, in 1284. By the middle of the fourteenth century, five more colleges existed in Clare, Pembroke, Caius, Trinity Hall, and Corpus Christi. The foundation of Pembroke is due to Mary de St. Paul, who married Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke. This lady suffered under grievous and rare misfortune. She was maid, wife, and widow, all in a day, when her husband was slain in the tournament held in honour of her nuptials. This venerable and picturesque place of learning numbers among its past students Ridley, Spenser, Whitgift, Gray, and Pitt. The college named in full as

“Gonville and Caius” was founded in 1348 by Edmund Gonville, and re-established in 1557 by the famous Dr. Caius, professor of Greek at Padua in 1541, physician to three sovereigns—Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth, nine times president of the College of Physicians, the founder in England of the study of practical anatomy, and the most learned man of his time—eminent as a classical scholar, a naturalist, a physician, an anatomist, and an antiquarian. William Harvey, the illustrious discoverer of the circulation of the blood, was fitly a member of this college, largely given to the study of medicine. Sir Thomas Gresham, the eminent merchant, founder of the Royal Exchange, and Jeremy Taylor, a master of English prose, were also students of Gonville and Caius. The legal college, Trinity Hall, was founded in 1350 by William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, as a place of study for scholars of canon and civil law. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, held the mastership for many years. The foundation of Corpus Christi, in 1352, arose from the beneficent action of two of the old fraternities called Guilds. The library is specially rich in MSS., gathered by Archbishop Parker after the dissolution of the monasteries. The statesman, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Archbishop Tenison, were members of the college. An interval of nearly a century had passed, when King’s College was founded, in connection with Eton, in 1441, by the meek and hapless Henry VI. The glory of this foundation is the unrivalled chapel, described by Fuller as “one of the rarest fabricks in Christendom, wherein the stone-work, wood-work, and glass-work contend which shall deserve most admiration.” The length of time occupied by its construction caused the building to become unique in the history of English architecture. At the time when its foundations were laid, mediæval art still held sway in this country, while it was beginning to feel, in the south of Europe, the influence of the great classical revival of Italy. The work was still in progress when the style finally yielded to the new impulse, and hence this, almost the last great triumph of English Gothic art, became one of the first homes of its foreign successor. The series of coloured glass windows is unrivalled in England for completeness and splendour, while the rood-loft which divides the interior of the building is our finest specimen of renaissance wood-work. The architect was Nicholas Close, and the design formed by his master-mind was carried out to completion. The first stone was laid by Henry VI., and the eastern part of the chapel was probably roofed in before his death. Little or nothing was done during the wars of the Roses. The work was resumed at length by Henry VII., who had the greatest regard for the memory of his pious predecessor of the Lancastrian line, and indulged, at the same time, his own architectural taste by liberal grants and bequests. The style of the Tudor period is shown in the crowns, roses, portcullises, and dragons, deftly carved in stone, which form the richer ornamentation of the western part of the building. The wood-carving of the interior was executed

under Henry VIII. and his successors, and shows, in the work of Flemish draughtsmen and Italian carvers, that the Gothic epoch is over, and that the rude energy of the north has given place to the refinement of southern taste. The vaulted stone roof is a magnificent specimen of the peculiarly English method known as fan-vaulting, which is perhaps the most beautiful kind of roof ever devised. The profuse display of ornamentation testifies, in its details, to the pride of lineage in the house of Lancaster, to the heraldic device of the greatest of Plantagenet kings, and to the glories of national conquest, destined to end in the vanity of a long-enduring claim to a kingship lost for ever. The portcullis was the badge of the houses of Beaufort and Tudor; the rose was the badge of Edward I., and afterwards an emblem of England; the fleur-de-lis, seen in the spaces between the windows, was adopted by Edward III. as the sign of his being king of France. Queen's College, dating its origin from 1448, can boast of two royal ladies as founders. Margaret of Anjou, "beholding her husband's bounty in building King's College, was restless in herself with holy emulation until she had produced something of like nature." The work begun by her was finished by Elizabeth Woodville, queen of Edward IV. The great scholar Erasmus, whose name remains in "Erasmus Court," was a resident there in 1506. He was a friend of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester and Chancellor of the University, and at that time president of Queen's. Jesus College, as we have seen, was founded in 1496. It owes its origin, under royal license, to Alcock, Master of the Rolls and Bishop of Ely. Among the members of the College have been Cranmer; Archbishop Bancroft, whom we shall see under James I. as a persecutor of the Puritans; Pearson, once master of this and of Trinity College, Bishop of Chester under Charles II., and the famous author of the *Exposition of the Apostles' Creed*; and that great and eccentric genius, Samuel Taylor Coleridge. The second and last college established under Henry VII. was Christ's College, founded in 1505, by his mother Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby. The students have included John Milton, Latimer, Cudworth, afterwards master of Clare College, and Paley, the philosopher and theologian.

For nearly six hundred years after the union of Scotland under Kenneth Macalpine in 843, there was little of mental training or culture in the land. The people were, as we have seen, the wagers or victims of internal strife, or were engaged in struggles for independence against their powerful neighbour south of the Tweed. The long and stern discipline of adversity and poverty, acting upon natures gifted with a certain rugged power, did much to mould the character of the Scots, and to render them the shrewd, intelligent, courageous, and self-reliant race, whose members have won the most marked and well-earned success in the fields of literature, science, colonisation, commerce, and war. Up to the fifteenth

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century, there were no seminaries of learning, and even the clergy were obliged to resort to the Continental schools for their needful professional training. The mass of the people were completely ignorant of letters. The light begins to break in upon the mental gloom of Scotland in the year 1410. The foundation of the first Scottish university was then laid by four learned Doctors who commenced a course of teaching in Common Law and Philosophy at St. Andrews, in Fifeshire. The young institution could not be established as a University without a Papal bull, and this was obtained and brought from Rome in February 1413, through the influence of Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrew's, to whom is mainly due the credit of planting a nursery of free thought, and promoter of civilisation and learning, among a comparatively barbarous people. The arrival of the document was welcomed as a national triumph, and all the church bells of the city rang out their loudest peals. On the morning of the following day, which was Sunday, the bull was read in the presence of the Bishop, the priests, and the attendant multitude. A procession to the cathedral was followed by the singing of *Te Deum*, and the celebration of high mass with a splendour unwonted in Scotland. Such was the enthusiasm with which the first public entrance of science and literature was received. After the religious solemnities were over, the evening was devoted to festivity, in which the streets blazed with bonfires and rang with songs, amid abundance of dancing and drinking of wine. Eleven years after this happy event came the return from his English captivity of James I., whose literary taste and culture led him to foster the young institution. In 1449, another educational light shone forth in Scotland. In virtue of a bull granted by the great and good Pope Nicholas V., at the request of the Scottish king, James II., a university was founded in Glasgow, of which William Turnbull, then Bishop of the see, was appointed Rector. Nothing can be a more striking proof of the progress of civilisation in the northern part of our islands than the contrast between the Glasgow of that age and the present wealthy, populous, and splendid city. With all his enlightenment, and he was the most enlightened man of his time, Pope Nicholas little knew that he was, in this beneficent act, becoming a chief agent in a great physical and moral, political and religious revolution, destined to turn a wild, poor, and half-barbarous tract, lying on the utmost verge of the world known to Italians, into a region swarming with population, rich with culture, resounding with the clang of machinery, and at once the dockyard and harbour of mighty ships that carry precious fabrics to lands beyond the ocean of which the world had never dreamed. Glasgow was then a place of about two thousand inhabitants, dwelling in houses clustered around the precincts of the Cathedral. The University came, as one of its historians declares, "naked into the world," endowed with no property in lands, houses, or rents. In 1459 and 1466 certain properties were bequeathed for its use, and the institution was fairly started on the career in which it was

destined to give intellectual birth or professorial rank to distinguished geometricians, anatomists, jurists, philologists, metaphysicians, poets, economists, and engineers—to Robert Simson, the great editor of Euclid; William Hunter the anatomist, elder brother of the even more illustrious John Hunter; Thomas Reid, the founder of the distinctive Scottish philosophy; to Reid's famous pupil, Dugald Stewart; to Joseph Black, whose discoveries form an era in the history of chemical science; to Campbell the poet; to Adam Smith, greatest of all the masters of political science; and to James Watt, the improver and, for practical ends, the inventor of the steam-engine. In 1494, William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, a man eminent in the knowledge of canon and civil law, and a former Rector of Glasgow University, founded the University and King's College of Aberdeen, under the authority of a Papal bull obtained at the instance of King James IV. The institution was, from the first, endowed with the means of paying a fair stipend to professors, and its first principal was the learned Hector Boece, author of a very able Latin *History of the Scots*, a free translation of which by John Bellenden is one of the most important pieces of old Scottish prose. The founding of these universities was followed, in 1496, by an Educational Act which required that "all barons and freeholders of substance" should send "their eldest sons and heirs" to an elementary school when they were eight or nine years of age; then to a grammar school, in which they were to remain until they were "perfect in Latin," that is, until they could understand that language when spoken. They were then to enter a university for a three years' course in arts and law, in which instruction would be conveyed in Latin, as it was until past the middle of the seventeenth century. The influence of the feudal system, which concentrates favour and hope on the first-born son of a family, is shown in the restriction of this Act's operation to the "eldest son and heirs" of "barons and freeholders." The state of public opinion in that class of the community was also such as would not have supported Parliament in demanding a greater sacrifice to book-education than that of one son. In spite of the growing change of feeling as to mental training, it is likely that, if the "barons and freeholders" had been consulted man by man, most of them would have approved the words put by the poet into the lips of the famous noble, Douglas "Bell the Cat," "*Thanks to St. Bothan, son of minz, Save Gawain, ne'er could pen a line.*" The University of Edinburgh, the youngest in Scotland, was not founded until 1582, under a charter of King James VI.

The early part of the reign of the first Tudor king was marked by the extension of the earth's borders, known as the discovery of the New World. Christopher Columbus, one of the great ^{Maritime} ^{disco-} ^{very.} men of all history, was born in Genoese territory about the year 1445. He soon showed an unconquerable passion for sea life, and for the acquirement of geographical knowledge. During the

Middle Ages, the known world, or at least the historic stage of the world, was limited to Europe, a part of western Asia, and a strip of northern Africa. The travels of the famous Venetian, Marco Polo, and his relatives, in central and eastern Asia, between 1256 and 1295, had restored to mankind the knowledge of much territory that had been almost forgotten since the days of Alexander the Great, and had first revealed the existence of Japan and other lands. The famous work of Polo appeared early in the fourteenth century, and his statements were treated by many as fiction. No immediate effect in the way of further geographical research was produced by the narrative of the man whose good faith, ability, and quick and accurate observation were to be fully proved in after-time. The man died in 1323, but the book lived, and among its close students, a century and a half later, was Christopher Columbus. In the reign of Edward III., an Englishman named Sir John de Mandeville traversed much of Asia and northern Africa, and modern research has proved his accuracy in describing what he saw himself. The Arabs were aware of the fact that Africa was almost an island, and the Jewish traders to Mozambique knew of the existence of the headland at first called by the Portuguese *Cabo Tormentoso*, or *Cape of Storms*. Greenland and North America had been visited before the year 1000, by Scandinavians sailing from Iceland, and before 1400 glimpses were again obtained of the north-eastern coast, in or near Nova Scotia. These facts, however, had been buried in practical oblivion, and had never been known at all to the people of southern Europe. The improvement made in the mariner's compass, early in the fourteenth century, had given increased confidence to the Genoese navigators, who steered out into the Atlantic on their way towards Flanders and England, as they served the interchange of commodities between the Mediterranean ports and the markets of Bruges and London. When the fifteenth century came, Prince Henry of Portugal, known as "Henry the Navigator," led the way in plans of maritime research. Before the middle of the century, Portuguese settlements existed at Madeira, the Azores, and on the Guinea coast, and, before the Prince's death in 1463, the full knowledge of the west African coast had been pushed southwards nearly to the Equator. The Portuguese navigators were seeking to reach India by the south-east route round Africa, and in 1487 the stormy cape was doubled by Bartholomew Diaz. He found the coast to run north-east, with a good prospect of success in the voyage to India, and it was then that John II. of Portugal bestowed the name of *Cabo de Boa Esperança*, or *Cape of Good Hope*. It was this achievement that put Columbus on his mettle. Twelve years before this, he had conceived the plan of reaching India by a shorter sea route to the west than that round the southern point of Africa. The land trade to India, by way of the Crimea and the Caspian, had been injured for the Genoese merchants by Turkish and Tartar

irruptions. Columbus wished to benefit his countrymen, and started on his voyage with no idea of discovering a new world. It is certain, also, that he never knew the real nature of his own discovery, but died in the belief that the lands which he had reached formed a part of the vast continent of Asia. Henry VII. narrowly missed the honour of being associated with the first re-discovery of the western hemisphere. For many years, the Genoese navigator vainly applied for help to his native state, to the king of Portugal, and to the court of Spain, and at last he sent his brother Bartholomew to London, craving support from the English king. Henry desired his suitor to send at once for the man who, for seven long years, had been vainly trying to make his project understood and valued by the courtiers and monks of the Spanish monarchy. Just at this juncture, Queen Isabella took up his cause with good effect, and on August 3, 1492, Columbus sailed with his three little craft from the harbour of Palos. On October 12th, he set foot on one of the Bahamas, and on March 15, 1493, was again at Palos, after making further discovery of the islands of Cuba and Hayti. The mainland of America was, in this age, first visited by a Venetian navigator resident at Bristol, and his son, one of whom at least was born at the chief port of the west of England. In March 1496, Henry granted letters-patent to John Cabot of Bristol, and his two sons, to sail at their own cost and charges, with five ships, for the discovery of new countries, upon condition that the king should have a fifth of the profits. Henry seems to have furnished one ship, and the merchants of London and Bristol fitted out some small vessels for the venture. In the spring of 1497, John and one of his sons, Sebastian Cabot, sailed away to the north-west, and in June reached the coast of Labrador, being thus the first, in this age, to see the mainland of America. Columbus, on his third voyage, in the following year, also visited the mainland of the new continent, which received its name from that of the Florentine mariner, Amerigo Vespucci, who first saw it in 1499, when he landed on the territory now called Surinam. Vespucci made two other voyages, early in the next century, in the service of King Emanuel of Portugal, and then became chief pilot and hydrographer to the king of Spain. His duties were to prepare charts and prescribe routes for voyagers to the New World. He was on friendly terms with Columbus, and is in no wise responsible for the injustice done to the great discoverer in the name bestowed on the western continent. The error is due to a German geographer, who, in 1507, used the term "Americi Terra," which was adopted by other writers in the form of "America," and so became popular, and, in the end, universal. It was in 1498 that Dom Vasco da Gama, accompanied by Gonzalo Nunez and Bartolomeo Diaz, made his famous voyage round the Cape of Good Hope, and reached the port of Calicut on the coast of Malabar. It was the golden age of Portuguese history,

and the energy and courage of Abrantes and Albuquerque established dominion or made settlements at Goa, Ormuz, Muscat, Madras, and Ceylon, and in those fertile islands of the eastern seas where the commercial and maritime supremacy of Portugal was, in the seventeenth century, to be superseded by that of the newly-risen Dutch republic. The eastern and the western world were thrown fully open to the enterprise and the cupidity of Europe, and early in the reign of Henry VIII. the first circumnavigation of the globe, achieved by Sebastian d'Elcano, the lieutenant of the hapless Portuguese, Fernando da Magalhaens, made known to mankind the vast expanse of the Pacific.

There are few men of any mark in literature associated with the reign of the first Tudor king. *John Skelton*, born about 1460, was a student both at Oxford and Cambridge, and became tutor to the young Prince Henry, when he was Duke of York, before his brother Arthur's death. We shall see him hereafter as the severe satirist of Wolsey. Skelton is highly praised by Caxton as a translator, and is styled by Erasmus "a glory of British literature," but this must have been mere compliment. He wrote English verse in the Chaucerian stanza, and courtly Latin verse, and was in favour with Henry VII. and his mother, the Countess of Richmond. It is at the close of the fifteenth century that we have the earliest existing specimens of the old English ballads, some dealing with the popular hero of the greenwood, Robin Hood, and published by Wynken de Worde, a native of Lorraine, who succeeded Caxton in his printing-office at Westminster. The beautiful *Nut-brown Maid* belongs to the same age. *Alexander Barclay*, a Benedictine monk of Ely, translated from the German into the stanza of Chaucer, and published in 1508, the famous satire called *The Ship of Fools*. The point was that no cart or coach was big enough to hold all the people who set up for wise, and were foolish without knowing it. The author, Sebastian Brandt, was a native of Strasburg. This book has been translated into all the European tongues. Barclay's version was partly furnished with matter of his own, and many forms of human folly are treated in a pleasant style of satire. In history, we have *Robert Fabyan*, a London alderman and sheriff. He was well-read in French and Latin, and wrote, from the monkish chronicles and his own contemporary knowledge, an account of events in England and France down to 1504. *Polydore Vergil*, a native of Urbino in Italy, came to England, and was made Archdeacon of Wells. He wrote in Latin a chronicle of England in twenty-seven books. *Bernard André*, born at Toulouse, was an Austin friar, who saw Henry VII.'s entry into London after his victory at Bosworth, and became tutor to Arthur, Prince of Wales. He finished in 1502 a Latin "Life of Henry VII.," and there are also extant his accounts of two later years of the reign.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND UNDER HENRY VIII.

Henry's character. Home and foreign affairs. War with Scotland. Flodden field. Wolsey's rise to power. Henry and foreign monarchs. Wolsey's dealings in Church and State. Parliament and Wolsey. National spirit against misrule.

THE new king, Henry VIII., began his reign, at eighteen years of age, on April 22, 1509, and brought with him to his high position almost all the outward advantages that can wait upon a ^{Henry VIII.} monarch. Just "entering into the flower of pleasant youth," 1509-1547. with a tall, athletic frame, a handsome face of fair and ruddy hue, vivacious air, and charming manner, he was well skilled in all the manly feats and graceful arts that could win success and admiration in the chase, the tilting-ground, and the scene of dance and revelry. Gifted thus with all the endowments that could attract the eye and gain the applause of the great mass that never care to look below the surface, he had abilities, accomplishments, and learning that obtained respect from graver persons. He possessed a sound knowledge of three languages besides his own, in French, Latin, and Spanish, and his attainments included an acquaintance, rare in royalty, with the doctrines and polemics of theology. The vigour and versatility of the man are shown in his power of tiring out his retinue, and near a dozen horses, in a long day's hunting, and of delighting the ears of men in his hours of leisure as a musical performer and composer. He gained at once a popularity that he never wholly lost, as the evil side of the man and monarch were revealed in the transition from his profuse and joyous youth to a savage and imperious old age. His soul was not by nature insensible or ungenerous, his temper was open and noble, and his demeanour was bluff and hearty. The growth of tyrannical passions in Henry was due to the unchecked arrogance and self-assertion of a stubborn will that nothing could turn from a purpose once formed. Ruin of fortune, or death by the headsman's axe, were the risks run by ministers and courtiers who, after long and faithful service, should venture, in an evil hour, to thwart his aims or to offend his pride. Justice and mercy were then forgotten, and vengeance was the king's only thought. Henry VIII. was, mentally and morally, a strong man, capable of controlling and subduing all but himself: that power possessed, he might have been one of the best and greatest of English sovereigns. His throne was from the first secure. Uniting in his person the title of the rival houses, he found each party anxious to claim him as their own, and concurring in devotion to his government. The nation, weary of the father's sordid sway, welcomed as their ruler a son who soon

displayed a taste for magnificently spending, in tournament and feast, in masque and dance, in hawking, hunting, and athletic games, and gay carousal, the vast treasures which his predecessor had extorted and hoarded as a fund for defending the realm against armed assaults from within or from without. The kingdom was at peace with all foreign powers. James IV. of Scotland was husband of Henry's sister Margaret. Catharine of Aragon, the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, remained in England under her contract of marriage to the young king. Louis XII. was king of France. Maximilian was Emperor of Germany. Julius II., more of a soldier and a statesman than a churchman, and a determined foe of the powerful aristocratic republic of Venice and of the present ascendancy of France in the north of Italy, was Pope. The chief powers of Europe were France and Spain. The skill of Gonsalvo de Cordova, called by his countrymen "the great captain," and the courage and discipline of his Spaniards, then the first soldiers in the world, had made Spain mistress of southern Italy. The crafty and ambitious Ferdinand had married his daughter and heiress Joanna to the Archduke Philip, son of the Emperor Maximilian, and from this union came the son, born at Ghent in the last year of the fifteenth century, who was to become renowned as the Emperor Charles V. In 1509, the forces united under the League of Cambrai, formed by the Pope with the Emperor, France and Spain, drove Venice from all her possessions on the mainland of Italy, and Julius was now turning his thoughts to the expulsion of French power from the peninsula. Such were the elements of foreign politics with which Henry would have to deal.

The young and popular king aimed at popular measures in the outset of his reign. The first act of Henry and his council was the arrest of Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, the ministers of extortion under Henry VII. Their gangs of informers and false witnesses were sent to gaol or exposed to the people's wrath in the pillory, and prompt severity, if scant justice, was dealt out to the chief delinquents. They declared before the council that they had only acted by the late king's commands, and according to precedent and the letter of the law. When it seemed that they could not be brought in guilty of a capital charge as regarded their late evil practices, they were assailed in Parliament by a bill of attainder early in 1510, after a conviction before a jury, on a false indictment for high treason against Henry. Their heads soon fell at a scaffold on Tower Hill. In June 1509, the king married his brother's widow, Catharine of Aragon, and this ceremony was followed by their coronation at Westminster. The chief advisers of Henry VII. were retained in office. Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, was Chancellor; Howard, Earl of Surrey, Lord Treasurer; Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Secretary and Lord Privy Seal. A greater man than any of these was soon to come to the front. The free temper of the young king was shown in the first two years of his reign by his public share in the manly

exercises of the day at sword-play, archery, tilting, wrestling, and casting of the bar, and, within the circle of his court, in singing, dancing, playing on the recorders, flute, and virginals, and in setting of songs and making of ballads. His attention was then drawn to matters of higher import.

The old dream of French conquest had not yet vanished from the minds of English sovereigns. Henry was yearning for a new hold on Normandy and Guienne. Pope Julius gave him an opening in 1511. The Pontiff formed his *Holy League* against France with Maximilian of Germany, Ferdinand of Spain, and his old foe Venice. The Spanish king was eager for the conquest of Navarre, then held by France, and the Emperor wished to win the Milanese. The English king joined in the struggle, and Parliament readily voted supplies. An English force was sent to the north of Spain, under the Marquis of Dorset, to aid Ferdinand in gaining Navarre. When that object was attained, the perfidious Spaniard refused to perform his promise of helping his allies to attack Guienne, and our troops returned home in 1512. The French had been driven across the Alps, but the warlike Julius was succeeded, on his death, by the milder Leo X., a man devoted to art and literature, and the League was coming to an end. Henry then resolved to act for himself, and attack France from the north, by our entrance-gate at Calais, assisted by the Emperor on the side of Flanders. A large army, under Henry in person, landed in France in June 1513, and the flight of a French force near Guinegate, under the influence of a sudden panic, was styled by the reckless wit of the discomfited foe the *Battle of the Spurs*. The towns of Terouenne and Tournai were captured, and our army returned with credit across the Channel. In 1514, the League ceased to exist, through the withdrawal of Ferdinand and Maximilian, and Henry concluded a peace with France, cemented by the marriage of his sister Mary to the French King Louis. His death on the first day of 1515 gave the throne of France to the Count of Angoulême, the famous Francis I. Louis' widow Mary married the English king's favourite, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the handsomest man of his time, and then ambassador at the French court. From this union, in the next generation, came the hapless Lady Jane Grey.

The old hostility between England and Scotland was now to be renewed with disastrous issue to the northern realm. James IV. had been ruling his country with vigour and wisdom since his marriage alliance with England in 1502. The Highlands had been divided into sheriffdoms, and permanent judges were appointed to administer justice. In 1504, the turbulent dwellers on the Scottish side of the border were reduced to order by a royal army in the "Raid of Eskdale." For the only time in her history, Scotland had a powerful navy. James had always encouraged seamanship and shipbuilding, and he took into especial favour Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, a famous

Foreign
affairs:
France,
1511-1515.

Scotland:
Flodden,
1513.

sea-captain of the previous reign. In 1490, five English privateers came into the Scottish seas and made raids upon the native commerce. Wood attacked them with two vessels, and carried them all as prizes into Leith. The English then sent as their champion a naval captain named Stephen Bull with three strong ships. His orders were to bring Wood, dead or alive, to England. A fierce fight, off St. Abb's Head, ended in the three English ships being taken to Dundee. Bull was sent back to his country, without ransom, by James. Another ground of quarrel with England arose in the exploits of the Scottish sea-captain Sir Andrew Barton. He and his brother cruised in the English Channel, furnished with letters of marque against Portuguese ships. They preyed also upon English vessels, and in 1512 Barton was attacked in the Downs by Sir Thomas Howard, son of the Earl of Surrey. In a fierce fight the Scot was killed, and his ship, the *Lion*, was carried into the Thames, where it became the second man-of-war in the English navy, ranking next to the famous *Henry Grace à Dieu*. In 1511, the Scottish navy of fourteen men-of-war included the largest and most powerful ship afloat. The *Michael* was 240 feet long, with a hull of solid oak ten feet thick, which no ordnance of that age could penetrate. When James IV. demanded satisfaction for the death of Barton, the English government declared that the man was nothing but a pirate, whom it was a duty to destroy. Another Scottish grievance was the refusal of Henry to deliver to his sister Margaret, queen of Scotland, certain valuable jewels bequeathed to her by her father, Henry VII. When England was at war with France in 1512, the French sought Scottish aid, and James, already embittered against the English, bethought him of old friendships and alliances. He made a peremptory demand upon Henry for the settlement of his claims. A scornful answer was returned, and the Scottish king resolved on war. In August 1513, while Henry and his army were encamped before Terouenne, James crossed the border with fifty thousand men. The Earl of Surrey, charged with the defence of the realm, advanced to meet him with half the number. Near the foot of the Cheviots, on the English side, lies the rising ground called Flodden Edge, with the moor of Branxton below, flanked by the Tweed and its tributary, the Till, a deep and sluggish stream with lofty rugged banks. The position of James on Flodden Hill could not be safely attacked, secured as it was by the Till on the east, and a marsh on the west, with a powerful artillery massed in front. Surrey then made a skilful movement, and swept round the enemy, crossing the Till to the north of Flodden, and cutting the Scottish host off from their country and supplies. On the afternoon of September 9th, at four o'clock, the fatal fight began. The Scots faced north, and their right wing, composed of Highlanders, was almost destroyed by the Lancashire archers. James and Surrey met in close battle with their centres. The best and bravest of the Scottish nobility surrounded their king, and so fierce was their courage that the

English commander's standard was in peril, as our men were forced back by the enemy's charges. On the English right, the two sons of Surrey made an equal fight with the Scottish Earls of Homo and Huntly. The endangered English centre was relieved, and the battle won, by the action of Sir Edward Stanley, whose force, on our left wing, had disposed of the Highlanders. He fell fiercely on the Scottish centre in its rear, and James died within a lance's length of the English commander, the Earl of Surrey. The Scottish nobles in that division died to a man around their king, and, as night drew on, the battle ended with the loss of ten thousand Scots, as against seven thousand of the English. It was the direst day in Scottish history. The great master of northern romance and song declares "Scarce a family of eminence but has an ancestor killed at Flodden." In the plaintive words of the ballad, "The Flowers of the Forest are a' wede away."

The victor did not follow up his success by an invasion of Scotland, and the young king, not yet three years old, was crowned at Scone as James V. His mother, Queen Margaret, was appointed regent and guardian by a Parliament mainly composed of clergy, for lack of barons dead in battle. In 1514, the queen married the young Earl of Angus, whose father had fallen at Flodden. From this union was descended Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots, who sprang, in the second degree, from Margaret and James IV. In 1515, the queen was superseded as regent by the Duke of Albany, a Frenchman by birth and education, son of James III.'s younger brother, who had retired to France in 1484. The land was troubled for some years by the feuds of the Douglasses and their rivals, the Hamiltons, and by the presence of French troops and intriguers, introduced by Albany, who finally quitted Scotland for France in 1524. For the success at Flodden, Surrey was created Duke of Norfolk, and his son Thomas took his father's former rank and title as Earl of Surrey.

A man of supreme ability and energy came to the head of affairs at the end of 1515. Thomas Wolsey, born at Ipswich, a son of a wealthy tradesman, in 1471, was chosen a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and took orders in the Church as priest. After serving as tutor to the three sons of the Marquis of Dorset, he became, under his patronage, rector of Lymington in the year 1500. As chaplain to Henry VII., he gained high favour by the wonderful speed, good fortune, and tact which marked his discharge of a confidential mission to Flanders. Leaving Richmond Palace at noon, he was back there, with his task fulfilled, and a difficult matter well arranged in an interview with the Emperor Maximilian, on the fourth evening after his departure. The angry reproach of the king, inquiring "why he had not started," was changed into wonder and delight by the news of so swift a journey and so complete a success. From that hour Wolsey's fortune was made. In 1508, he was appointed

Dean of Lincoln. Recommended to Henry VIII. by Fox, Bishop of Winchester, he was at once sworn as a member of the Privy Council, and, in his capacity as king's almoner, acted as the royal secretary. Nothing came amiss to his marvellous gifts as a man of business. The young king, bent on pleasure, found that he could leave the most weighty matters to his *alter ego* in the council, and, whenever the demands of work permitted, the courtly churchman was ready to promote and to share all the royal schemes of amusement. Men of lowly origin rise more swiftly under an arbitrary monarch than under any other form of government. Envy checks their progress where they contend with equals, but a despotic sovereign takes delight in exalting the creatures of his own choice. In 1513, Wolsey joined the king on his expedition to France, and acted with consummate ability as minister of war. The commissariat, ever a difficult department of military service, was so managed that the troops lacked for nothing. Wolsey was made Bishop of Tournai, on the conquest of the town in 1514, the king thus at once rewarding a faithful servant and maintaining his own claim to be ruler of France. The same year saw the "coming man" created Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of York. On the death of Bishop Fox, he obtained the see of Winchester, and some years later he held the bishopric of Bath, and the abbey of St. Alban's, which was the richest in England. In 1515, on the retirement of Warham, he became Lord Chancellor, and in the same year, at Henry's request, was created Cardinal of St. Cecilia by Pope Leo X. In 1516, Leo made him Papal legate *a latere*, which gave him precedence over the Archbishop of Canterbury, and full control, under the Papacy, of the Church in England. Never had any English subject risen to such a height of power. Under king and pope, he was master of both State and Church as chancellor and legate. The wealth derived from his many posts was enormous, and his splendour of life rivalled that of the king. Hundreds of persons of good birth, controlled by barons and knights, composed his household, and two of his mansions, Hampton Court, and York House, London, afterwards Whitehall, were destined to become royal palaces. Some of his resources were nobly spent in the promotion of learning, when he founded the still flourishing school at Ipswich, and the great Oxford house, first called "Cardinal College," and now known to all the world as "Christ-Church." As Chancellor, he was one of the best judges that ever presided in the court, and his decisions were marked alike by learning, insight, and impartiality. Undertaking in his own person the work which is now shared by the able men of half a Cabinet, he did it all well, as financier, foreign secretary, and supreme director of all home affairs. Wolsey's haughty bearing and pride of life made for him many bitter foes among the nobles whom he dominated in the power of his intellect and by the favour of his sovereign.

The tact and acumen of the great minister were best shown in his management of foreign affairs. The events of the first few years of the reign were but a prologue to the great drama which we are now to see enacted. In 1516, Ferdinand of Spain died, and was succeeded by his grandson Charles, child of his daughter Juana, and of the Archduke Philip of Austria, son of the Emperor Maximilian. On Philip's death in 1506, the young prince had already inherited the Netherlands, and he now came to the crowns of Spain, Naples, and Sicily. A youth of sixteen held the frontiers of France, to north and south, on the side of Flanders and on the Pyrenees. It was a proximity which threatened war between two such monarchs as Francis and Charles. Both were very ambitious, but Charles was cool and crafty, while the French king, deceitful and unscrupulous, was also reckless and adventurous in spirit. His first act had been to assert by arms his claim to the duchy of Milan. Leo X., Ferdinand, and the Swiss were his opponents, but Francis crossed the Alps, routed the Swiss in September 1515, at the battle of Marignano, and entered Milan as a conqueror. Wolsey so managed as to make both the rival monarchs of France and Spain court the alliance of England, and a league for mutual defence was made between the three powers in 1518. The position of England in Europe was rapidly rising in importance, when a new era opened with the death of the Emperor Maximilian in 1519. The highest secular post and dignity in the world were thus thrown open to the competition of the chief monarchs of Christendom. The most prominent claimant was the young Charles of Spain, grandson of Maximilian, and a man of rare sagacity, firm will, and perfect self-command, formed by nature and by education to pursue a career of ambition, in which the subtle diplomatist would command as great success as the skilful warrior. His chief rival for the coveted honour was the bold, energetic, and enterprising Francis. Henry put in a claim, but found himself forestalled, with the electoral princes of Germany, by the two other candidates. Bribery and intrigue were freely used. The gold and interest of Charles prevailed, and he was chosen emperor, with the title of Charles V. He was now the most powerful of monarchs, and Francis and he were determined foes for the rest of their lives. They both at first competed for the favour and alliance of Henry. The position was a difficult one for Wolsey to deal with. On the one hand, the English king was thinking of conquest in France, and so desired the depression of her influence and power. On the other, Wolsey was aiming at the Papacy as a prize for himself, and, in view of his possible election by the cardinals, it was hard to decide on the policy of increasing the power of a monarch who already possessed so firm a hold on Italy as the new Emperor. On the whole, Wolsey decided to throw himself on the side of Charles, who could best help him to election as Pope, and to deal with the French king so as, at present, to

preserve the peace. In May 1520, the English and French kings met in the plain of Ardres, near Calais, where Francis was cajoled by professions of friendship, and the renewal of a treaty of marriage between the Dauphin and the young Princess Mary of England. The place of meeting was midway between the English castle of Guisnes and the French castle of Ardres, and was entitled "*The Field of the Cloth of Gold*," from the splendid display made by the two monarchs and the nobles and knights of their retinues. Before the castle-gate of Guisnes two thousand workmen, brought from England and Flanders, constructed for the English king a temporary palace of stone walls and framed timber, with glazed windows and canvas roof. The walls were "curiously garnished" with devices and historical paintings, planned by "Master Barclay the poet," and the building was finished in a little more than two months. The ceilings were draped with silk, and the walls were partly hung "with rich and marvellous cloths of arras wrought of gold and silk." Francis made, on his side, a show of equal magnificence, and for the space of ten days there were tilting with lances, tourneys on horseback with the broadsword, fighting on foot at the barriers, and other feats of arms. The French nobles had put on their backs a large part of the value of their lands in order to rival the jewelled satins and velvets of England. The whole scene of gaiety and revelry lasted for nearly three weeks. The kings may have had a political aim in thus vaunting the resources of their realms, but, for the professed purpose of their meeting, the whole gaudy show was a trick played on the French monarch. The interest of Wolsey and his master had been already secured by the wily Charles. He had been informed of the coming interview, and took his measures to gain the ear of Henry and his powerful minister before they should be subjected to the arts of his French rival. He was leaving his southern dominions to visit his territories on the North Sea, and landed at Hythe on his voyage from Spain to the Netherlands. He was welcomed by Henry and by Catharine, his aunt, and the two monarchs began to arrange an alliance, which was further discussed and finally settled in a meeting at Calais, after the Field of the Cloth of Gold. There can be little doubt that Wolsey's diplomacy brought Charles to the English coast at the precise moment when his presence was needed. The Cardinal afterwards visited the Emperor at Bruges, and is believed, on good authority, to have there received his promise of support in the next vacancy of the Papal chair. In December 1521, Leo X. died, but the new Pope was Adrian VI., a Fleming who had been tutor to Charles. In the same year, war had broken out between the Emperor and Francis. The French lost the Milanese, and in 1522 Charles again visited England, and made new promises to Wolsey of support at the next Papal election. England declared war with France, and two abortive expeditions were despatched under the command of the Earl of Surrey and the Duke of Suffolk. In 1523, the French king appeared

to be in great peril. The Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, entered the service of the Emperor, and a plan was formed for the conquest and partition of the French dominions. At this time, the Papacy again became vacant by the death of Adrian, and Wolsey's hopes were again on the alert. He was doomed to a second and final disappointment. His interests were once more betrayed by the Emperor, and the new Pontiff was Julius de Medici, with the title of Clement VII. In 1524, the French army, striving to recover the Milanese, was defeated by the Imperialists near Romagnano, and the gallant Bayard fell. In the following year, the cause of Francis was for the time ruined by the decisive defeat of Pavia. The moment for Henry's designs against France appeared to have come, but Wolsey and the Emperor, with different motives, took the same line of policy. A coolness had arisen between Charles and the English king, and he did not choose to help Henry to conquer France. Wolsey was sore at his second betrayal by the Emperor in the matter of the Papal chair, and now aimed, like a good Catholic, at joining France in supporting the Papacy against Charles. In 1527, the Imperialist troops, led by Bourbon, had shocked Catholic feeling in Europe by the sack of Rome and the virtual imprisonment of Clement, and a close alliance was now formed between England and France to resist the great Continental ruler.

There can be no doubt that it was the desire of Henry VIII. to be the faithful son and devoted champion of the Roman Church, at the time when he assumed royal power. It was in accordance with this feeling that so jealous a monarch permitted Wolsey, as Papal legate and cardinal, to make a display of extraordinary magnificence in his way of life. His sumptuous household, his processions, with the silver crosses and silver pillars, his banquets to the king, with masques and mummeries, dancings and quaint devices, were all exhibitions, not of the childish pride of a man swiftly risen from a lowly condition to a giddy height, but of the policy of a statesman resolved to use to the utmost his authority and wealth in maintaining the supremacy of the Church. In the splendour of his great minister Henry might well believe that his people would recognise and bow before the authority of the hierarchy, in opposition to that of the temporal nobles of the realm. There was no fear, in such a monarch, of any overshadowing of the regal power. Wolsey was pope in England, but he was also the devoted servant of the crown. The Papal representative, however, was a man who could read the signs of the times, and these signs were growing formidable. In the second year after Wolsey received from Rome his cardinal's hat, the Augustine friar, Martin Luther, denounced the sale of "indulgences," the "pardons hot from Rome" of Chaucer's sarcastic verse, in his letter to the Archbishop-Elector of Mentz. His controversy with Tetzal, a Dominican friar, one of the chief agents for the market in indulgences, ended in

Luther's condemnation by the Pope, Leo X., from whom the reformer boldly appealed to a general council of the Church. The new movement rapidly spread, and the mental and spiritual world of central Europe was on fire. The time for suppressing opinions was past, and the printing-press did its work in the face of Papal bulls and excommunications. In 1520, Luther publicly burnt the Papal document condemning his errors, and, protected by the Elector Frederick of Saxony, he defied the young Emperor, Charles V., at the Diet of Worms. The English king took the field in support of the orthodox belief, and his work against Luther *On the Seven Sacraments* won from Leo the title of *Fidei Defensor*, still marked on our coinage by the letters F.D. Wolsey was fully aware that the Church needed reform, and his only condition was that beneficial change should come from within, and not from without. His legatine authority had given him the right of "visiting" all the clergy and inspecting all religious houses, and his great foundation at Oxford was the measure of a bold and energetic statesman to convert a number of decayed monasteries into a flourishing place of education. He was preparing to redress the abuses in the Church with a vigorous and unshrinking hand, when the fatal turn arrived in the tide of his fortunes. Before dealing with this momentous event, we must give a brief review of Wolsey's internal administration.

In the roll of illustrious names of nobles and knights at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the style and title of the Duke of Buckingham were most conspicuous. He was descended, in the female line, from the Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III., and was the son of that Buckingham who was beheaded under the last Yorkist king. Strong as he was in his royal position, Henry was not devoid of jealous fear concerning other possible claimants of the throne, and to this feeling, fostered by Wolsey, according to popular belief, the Duke fell a victim. His position, under such a king, needed a prudence in speech and act which his pride of ancestry caused him to relax. The wrath of Henry had been already aroused in 1519, when Sir William Bulmer quitted the king's service to enter that of the Duke. The suspicious tyrant forced Bulmer to acknowledge his fault in the Star Chamber, and to implore the king's mercy. This was granted, but the matter rankled in Henry's mind, and was treasured up against Buckingham. Wolsey also owed him a grudge for an expression of disgust at the wanton extravagance shown in the pageantry as Guisnes. In May 1521, the Duke was arrested, and indicted before his peers for treason. A discharged servant of Buckingham's was the chief witness against him, and the utmost that could be proved, even on such tainted testimony, was some unguarded expression implying that, if the king died without issue, the throne might come to him. The subservient and cowardly nobles held that he had thereby, under the Act of Edward III., committed the crime of imagining the king's

Wolsey
and
home
affairs,
1515-1529.

death. The unhappy man, convicted and doomed, showed a heroic composure in his attitude. His words to his judges were, "May the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do. I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I deserve." Buckingham went to the scaffold, the first victim in the series of judicial murders which have left an ineffaceable blot upon the records of the reign.

During the greater part of Wolsey's administration, the powers of Parliament were superseded by arbitrary rule, and money was raised by any means rather than by legal taxation under the sanction of the House of Commons. During the seven years of peace, from 1515 to 1522, the Houses were not summoned at all, and a like period of abeyance occurred between 1523 and 1528. The system of Edward IV. was revived, and forced loans or "benevolences" were exacted from wealthy persons and corporations, on promise of repayment when Parliament should grant a subsidy. When war was declared against France in 1522, money was needed, and the City of London was forced to furnish twenty thousand pounds on loan. This was but a beginning, and in August of that year we find Wolsey sitting as a commissioner of property-tax. He sent for the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and most substantial merchants of the city, and informed them that the king had appointed persons throughout the realm "to swear every man, worth a hundred pounds and upwards, of what value he is in movables." The king claimed a tenth part for himself. Remonstrance was made, but it was left unheeded, and in the end people were ordered to pay, for the king's service, the equivalent of an income-tax of two shillings in the pound. The sum obtained fell far short of the needs of war, and in 1523 Wolsey caused a Parliament to meet at Blackfriars. Sir Thomas More was elected Speaker, and he soon had on his hands the task of defending the rights of the Commons. The Cardinal came in person on April 29th, and demanded a fifth part of every man's goods and lands, or a property-tax of twenty per cent., which was estimated to amount to eight hundred thousand pounds. The members stood aghast, and appointed a committee to reason with the Chancellor, and induce him to beseech the king to be content with a smaller sum. He replied that "he would rather have his tongue plucked out of his head with a pair of pincers, than to move the king to take any less sum." Again Wolsey came to the House in full pomp of his splendid retinue, and "desired to be reasoned withal." The answer was "that the fashion of the nether House was, to hear and not to reason, except amongst themselves." He was forced to retire in dudgeon, and then a warm debate ensued, lasting for fifteen days. We gather from a letter of one of the members, written to the Earl of Surrey, that the taking of a division was then a rare event in the Commons, and that a majority of the House were nominees of the crown. The issue was, that about half the amount demanded, or a

tax of ten per cent., was granted as a subsidy. The infliction extended down to the lower part of the working-class, even to those whose wages reached the yearly amount of but twenty shillings, equal to ten pounds of present value. The clergy debated the matter in Convocation for four months before the amount of their grant was settled.

The trouble caused on this occasion by the resistance of the House of Commons induced Wolsey and the king, in 1525, to resort again to the demand of supplies without the intervention of Parliament. Commissioners were appointed to levy the illegal claim of the sixth part of every man's property. Then the cup of the nation's endurance was full. The good Archbishop Warham wrote to Wolsey that "the people sore grudgeth and murmureth, and speaketh cursedly among themselves, as far as they dare, saying that they shall never have rest of payments as long as some liveth, and that they had better die than to be thus continually handled." The people of England, thus provoked, did more than "speak cursedly." The old spirit swelled high against oppression so monstrous and unlawful. They declared that "if men should give their goods by a commission, then it would be worse than the taxes of France, and England should be bond, and not free." Liberty, in the last resort, with a House of Peers composed of timorous nobles, and a House of Commons packed with place-holders under the crown, took refuge behind the strong arms and uplifted weapons of peasants and artisans. The men of Suffolk, where the wool trade would be ruined by withdrawal of the clothiers' capital, began "to rage and assemble themselves in companies." There was open rebellion, and the gentlemen of the shire, on the demand of the Duke of Suffolk, refused to fight against their poorer neighbours. The Duke of Norfolk assembled a force, but did not attack the insurgents, preferring to come to a parley. He demanded "who was their captain?" A man named John Greene came forward and said, "Our captain's name is Poverty, for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing." He then showed that the cloth-makers and the farmers, deprived by taxation of much of their capital, had discharged great numbers of workmen, and that they, their wives and children, scarcely able before to live on their poor wages, were now like to perish miserably. The Duke then dismissed them to their homes with kindly words, and a promise of intercession with the king. In Kent, the royal commissioners were forced to flee for their lives. Wolsey prudently bowed before the storm which he had stirred. A general pardon was issued; the commissions were revoked, and the wealthier class were again plundered by a "voluntary benevolence." The rich did not dare to show the spirit of the poor, and loans and gifts were made, under the terror of such speeches as one addressed by Wolsey to the mayor and aldermen of London—"It were better that some should suffer indigence than the king at this time should lack; and therefore

beware, and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their heads."

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREAT ANTI-PAPAL REVOLT.

The divorce-question. Wolsey's fall from power. The Reformation : abroad and at home. The rupture of Henry with the Pope. Great legislative work. Henry's victims, Fisher and More.

It was probably the question of the succession to the throne that first suggested to Henry the thought of taking another wife, in the hope of obtaining a male heir. In 1524, after fifteen years of married life, the king and queen had only one living child, the Princess Mary, now eight years of age, several others having died in infancy. The marriage with Catharine had been distasteful to Henry from the beginning. In spite of the dispensation granted, in the previous reign, by Pope Julius II., Archbishop Warham had protested against the union, as contrary to the law of the Church, and Henry VII., who at first promoted it, caused his son to renounce the contract, and enjoined him not to fulfil it. The urgent advice of the Council, eager for the Spanish alliance, induced Henry to set aside his father's wish, and his own inclinations. It was in some sense a national object to have a male and undoubted heir to the throne. The Wars of the Roses were still fresh in the remembrance of the people, and the prospect of a disputed succession could only be viewed with the deepest concern. The chief men in the kingdom were fully alive to the advantage of maintaining the Lancastrian line under which they were flourishing. There were several possible claimants of the crown, in the event of the king's death without male issue. In the Yorkist line, the Countess of Salisbury was daughter of the Duke of Clarence, brother of Edward IV. The Marquis of Exeter was grandson of the same monarch, by his daughter's marriage with Sir William Courtenay. The king of Scotland was Henry's nephew, and the Duke of Suffolk might put in a claim through his wife, the king's sister. It is not the business of the historian to insinuate motives, but to record facts. The vices and crimes of Henry VIII. have thrown suspicion, in minds subject to a prejudiced or a hasty judgment, on every word and act of his life. It may even be supposed that, in the vulgar opinion, he is placed at a disadvantage from the misfortune of being furnished with six successive wives, in which point he bears a resemblance to the atrocious hero of nursery romance. In truth, this able and vigorous monarch has been too often held up to abhorrence as a mere monster

of wickedness, while he has also suffered under the force of reaction from the extreme view taken by one zealous and eloquent defender. Let those who choose degrade, if they can, the memory of the man by the coarse suggestion that Henry was tired of an elderly consort, of staid demeanour and waning charms, and that he was burning with love of her maid of honour. The assured fact is, that the first open suggestion of the unlawful character of a marriage so long before the world proceeded from a foreign and independent source. The Princess Mary had been offered in marriage to the Emperor Charles V., and, when he did not favour the proposal, a match with the French king, or one of his sons, was propounded. In the spring of 1527, the Bishop of Tarbes came to England as ambassador concerning the suggested union, and it was at this time that the doubt was first publicly raised as to the validity of the king's marriage with Catharine. Henry was now anxious for a divorce, and Wolsey, for reasons connected with affairs of both Church and State, was quite ready to further his views. The Pope, Clement VII., was a prisoner of the Emperor's in the Castle of St. Angelo at Rome. The maintenance of the Papal power was the great aim of Wolsey, with a view to a thorough reform of corruptions in the Church, and it was his desire to rescue Clement that caused him to abandon the German for the French alliance. In helping the Pope to freedom, he fully expected to secure his indispensable aid in the matter of the divorce, and his own ultimate downfall was mainly due to the king's disappointment in hopes inspired by his over-confident minister. The efforts of Henry and Francis in Italy failed to release the Pope from his thralldom. He was in the hands of Charles V., and Charles V. strongly supported, throughout the proceedings, the cause of his aunt, Queen Catharine. Another danger for the Cardinal lay in the king's passion for the young, gay, and beautiful Anne Boleyn. This lady was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, of Hever Castle, in Kent. She had been brought up at the French court, but returned to England in 1525, and became one of the maids of honour to Queen Catharine. Her family was closely connected by marriage with that of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Howards, as leading nobles, were jealous of the position of Wolsey, and eagerly desired his ruin. Anne had a personal enmity against the Cardinal, on account of his having interfered to prevent a match between her and the Lord Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland. She had declared that "if it ever lay in her power, she would work Wolsey as much displeasure." It was at the end of the year 1527, that application was first made to the Pope, on Henry's behalf, to revoke the bull of Julius II., and declare the king's marriage with Catharine null and void. Clement had escaped from Rome, but was still virtually in the power of the Emperor, and he now sought to gain time. In February 1528, he granted a commission authorising Wolsey, as legate, with the aid of one of the English prelates, to inquire into the sufficiency of the dispensation of Julius, and to pronounce upon

the validity of the marriage. Wolsey made objections to this course on technical grounds, and this was the beginning of troubles for him with Henry. In June the Pope issued a new commission, under which Cardinal Campeggio, along with Wolsey, was to sit in London and decide the question. The whole proceeding was really a solemn farce. Clement dared not, in resistance of pressure from Charles V., give his sanction to the divorce sought by the English king. Campeggio arrived in England in October, but delay after delay occurred, on pretence of seeking further powers from the Pope. The foreign cardinal tried in vain to induce the queen to renounce her claims, and retire to a nunnery. The king, meanwhile, was torturing Wolsey with angry reproaches, and the baited minister was turning his thoughts to retirement into a peaceful privacy. At last, in May 1529, the two cardinals opened in London their legatine court, and on June 21st, the king and queen appeared before them in the great hall of the Blackfriars Monastery. It was the same place in which, nearly a hundred and fifty years before, the Convocation had assembled to condemn the doctrines of John Wyclif. The feeling of the country was mainly with the queen. English sympathy instinctively goes with the weaker side. The commercial class, enriched by the lucrative wool trade with Flanders, which was part of the Emperor's vast dominions, were averse to a course that must give just offence to Catharine's nephew. Sound churchmen were influenced by the expressed opinion, against a divorce, of one of the leading prelates, Bishop Fisher of Rochester. The feeling favourable to the queen was enhanced by the pathos and dignity of her demeanour in presence of the legates. When her name was called, she did not answer, but flung herself at the king's feet, appealing to him for justice and right, as "a poor woman and a stranger born out of his dominions." "For twenty years," she declared, "she had been his true and loving wife. She had borne him divers children, and, although it had pleased God to call them out of this world, it had been no default in her." She then dwelt upon the wisdom of Henry VII. and of her own father, Ferdinand, who would not have promoted her second marriage, had it not been good and lawful. She then rose, and quitted the court, refusing to appear again. The legates declared her to be contumacious, and proceeded to take evidence touching the marriage of Prince Arthur. Their sittings lasted until late in July, and Wolsey's life at this time was that of a victim to the impatience of one of the most wrathful and violent of men and monarchs. At the breaking-up of the court one day, the Cardinal had an interview with Henry, "in his grace's privy chamber." Then he "took his barge at the Black Friars, and so went to his house at Westminster. The Bishop of Carlisle, being with him in his barge, said unto him (wiping the sweat from his face), 'Sir,' quoth he, 'it is a very hot day.' 'Yea,' quoth my Lord Cardinal, 'if ye had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it were hot.'" During the time of the

sitting of the court, the queen was removed from the palace, and Anne accompanied the king in his pleasure-progress during the hunting season. At the moment when Henry was expecting to realise his hopes, the Pope made a new move in the game which he was playing under the direction of Charles V. On July 23rd, instead of pronouncing sentence, Campeggio adjourned the court until October. A few days later a citation arrived from Rome, summoning Henry and Catharine to appear before the Pope in person. The Italian cardinal applied for leave to return, and all proceedings in England were ended.

The anger of the king was turned full upon the man to whom he attributed this most unwelcome check. Henry did not merely charge Wolsey, in his own mind, with having rashly aroused ill-founded hopes of success with the Pope, but he suspected him of double dealing. To suspect, with the king, was to condemn unheard. Thus embroiled with his royal master, the minister had no support to fall back upon. He was hated by nearly all the nobles, and he had no friends among the people. The crushing burden of his taxation, and his change of policy towards Charles V., who controlled our chief markets in Flanders, had alienated from him all interests. At the beginning of 1528, war had been formally declared against the Emperor by France and England. The clothiers of Suffolk and London could not sell their goods, and the mass of the people, suffering from a dearth of corn, lacked their wonted supplies from the Netherlands. The fate of Wolsey was settled. When Michaelmas-term commenced on October 9th, he went with his usual state to the Court of Chancery, but it was the last time that he sat there as Chancellor. On the 17th he surrendered the great seal, which was delivered to Sir Thomas More, and the Duke of Norfolk became chief minister. The Cardinal had presented to the king, in 1525, his splendid house of Hampton Court, and he was now deprived of his London residence, York Place, and of most of his other possessions. The last great diplomatic scheme of Wolsey, the combination of England and France against the Emperor, was doomed to end in failure, and to furnish his foes with fresh cause of mockery. Francis and the Emperor came to terms at Cambrai in August of the same year, and the French policy of the fallen statesman was exchanged for one of friendship with Charles V. His enemies were not satisfied with his deprivation of office. The king called a Parliament, and Wolsey was there accused of treason by the Lords on forty-four articles, mainly based on his assumption of authority as legate. They were all thrown out in the Commons, through the zeal of his dependant, Thomas Cromwell, who had procured, with this view, his own election as member for the city of London. The Cardinal was then indicted, in the Court of King's Bench, under the *Act of Præmunire*, for procuring bulls from Rome, and acting as Papal legate. It was then that he forfeited his goods, in throwing himself on the king's mercy, and a pardon was thereupon accorded. He withdrew up the

Thames in his barge on his way to his house at Esher, while "a thousand boats full of men and women of the city of London" were watching near the bridge in the hope of seeing him conveyed to the Tower. The great man would have taken a higher place in the judgment of history, had he shown a dignified resignation in the hour of adverse fortune. He writes in abject terms to Stephen Gardiner, the secretary, praying for his benevolence, and the French ambassador declares that Wolsey could say nothing so expressive of his pitiable condition as what was spoken in his face, "reduced to half its usual size." Wolsey had been permitted to retain his post as Archbishop of York. Absorbed in his work as minister, and full of his grandeur as cardinal-legate, he had never been installed in the throne of his northern province, nor even visited the diocese. In the early spring of 1530, he repaired to his new scene of duty, and seems to have won the favour of the people, and gained the respect of the clergy, in his progress towards the north. He made halts at Peterborough Abbey, at Newark Castle, at Southwell Minster, and at Newstead Abbey, and then retired to Cawood Castle near Selby. There and at York he employed his time and means in a manner worthy of a prelate, in preaching to the poor, in showing charity and hospitality, and discharging the general duties of his high position. Even there the hate of his enemies followed him, and in August 1530, a letter from his friend Cromwell, dated from London, warned him of their evil tongues. Two months later, hostile speech was turned into action. Wolsey was about to be installed at York with something of primitive solemnity and splendour, when he was arrested by the Earl of Northumberland on a charge of high treason. Nothing whatever is known of any new offence. He left his home at Cawood, amid the tears and prayers of his household, and as he passed out of the castle-gates, three thousand or more of his humble neighbours were there, with cries of "God save your grace! Evil take them that have thus removed you from us!" The unhappy man might depart now with thoughts to cheer him by the way. He was not wholly deserted. He had earned the blessings of the poor. At Sheffield Park he became ill, and thence and thither arrived "Master Knighton," the constable of the Tower. The prisoner rose from his bed, and, after three days' riding, he and his guards reached Leicester Abbey. The end of his life's journey was come. Worn out by toil and disease, his spirit utterly broken, he told the Abbot, who received him with great reverence, as the gleam of torches fell upon his guest's faded face, that he had come to leave his bones among them. Three days later he died, in the sixtieth year of his age. Among his last words were a solemn warning to Sir William Knighton, in case he should ever come to be sworn of the privy council. "Take care," he cried, "what matter you put into the king's head, for you shall never put it out again." They were the words of one who knew, by a bitter experience, the nature of the despot whom he had served too well.

The great revolt of the human mind, in northern and central Europe, against Papal domination and Papal doctrine, assumed in England a special form, and proceeded in a peculiar course. In other countries the impulse, in a large degree, went upwards from the people to the rulers. In England, the first steps were taken by the monarch himself, in his quarrel with the Pope on a matter partly concerning his private desires, and partly involving national interests. In this quarrel he was aided by ministers void of principle, by a servile Parliament, and by a rapacious aristocracy. The Reformation was regarded, by its most powerful promoters, as a merely political work. The task begun by Henry, always an orthodox Catholic, except that he chose to be his own Pope, was continued by the unscrupulous Somerset, in the following reign, and completed, after a brief interval of Papal reaction, by Elizabeth, who was probably a Romanist at heart, but saw in the firm establishment of the new religious system the only means of securing a solid political settlement. It seems as if the nation were taking its faith simply according to the sovereign's will. The reformed religion established by Edward gives way to the Catholic Church under Mary, and that succumbs in turn to the Protestantism finally confirmed under the great Tudor queen. Neither religious party ever took up arms, in any serious contest, for the sake of the faith which it professed to love. Neither fought for freedom of conscience, the most sacred of human rights. Both submitted in turns to cruel persecution. The people were, as a body, wavering between the two beliefs. They were not disposed to engage in an armed struggle either for the old or the new doctrines. They cared more for the cause of peace, property, and order than for any speculative opinions or religious practices, and they ended by drifting into the compromise known as the Church of England, the seceders from which were afterwards able, by force of arms, and with the growth of enlightenment, to establish the sound and beneficent principle of complete religious toleration. In the beginning of the great change which we are now considering, there was a small party of zealous Protestants, and a small party of zealous Catholics. Each side had a few adventurous champions, and a few heroic martyrs, but four-fifths of the nation were halting between two opinions, and it was for this reason mainly that Henry VIII. was able to maintain himself so long in an intermediate position between the two parties. The government placed itself at the head of the new movement, and thus gained the power of regulating, and, on occasion, of arresting its course.

In Germany, France, Switzerland, and Scotland, the contest against the Papacy was mainly a religious struggle. Luther, Calvin, and Knox gave the character to the movement. They were men who, in spite of great errors and frailties, were possessed of sincerity, courage, energy, and disinterested zeal, and had at least some of the attributes of apostolic leaders. There were many powerful

supporters of religious change in all these countries who had no real principle at all. They quitted the Church of their forefathers because they thought her in danger, or because they hated her restraints, or were eager to despoil her. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Prince of Condé, the Earls of Morton and Murray, might or might not really hold the Protestant opinions which they professed to embrace. It was not, however, such men as these, but earnest religious reformers, who were the real directors of the Continental and Scottish Reformation.

Twice during the Middle Ages the mind of Europe had risen up against the spiritual dominion of the Roman see. Early in the thirteenth century, the Albigensian heretics in the south of France had been crushed by the warriors summoned to his aid by Pope Innocent III., and by the ferocious zeal of St. Dominic and his friars. Early in the fifteenth century, the religious revolt in Bohemia had its rise in England, from the teaching of John Wyclif. The movement was headed by John Huss and Jerome of Prague, and ended, for that time, in the burning of those leaders as heretics. The Council of Constance settled disputes between rival Popes, composed other disorders of the Church, and brought back outward peace and seeming unanimity by the unsparing use of fire and sword. Now, early in the sixteenth century, about a hundred years later than the close of the Council of Constance, the fulness of time was come. The printing-press had enabled the laity to search the Scriptures for themselves. The clergy had ceased to be the sole or the chief possessors of knowledge. Many men and women declined to receive any longer the word of a priest or the decree of a pope as the undoubted voice of divine truth. Reason came to the front in the place of, or alongside of, blind and uninquiring faith. The childhood of Europe had passed away, and her manhood, putting away servile credulity, demanded of the Papal see, and of the priests and monks who supported her, what were the bases of their claims to spiritual belief, secular power, and enormous pecuniary emolument, and what use they were now making of so vast a heritage of wealth and authority. Complaints began to be loudly raised against alleged practical abuses in the Church, against her claim to dictation in matters of faith, and against undue Papal interference with national churches, and with the civil rights of governments. The vices of the Roman court, and the exactions of the Roman chancery, were fiercely attacked. The wealth and privileges of the clergy were regarded by laymen with great and growing jealousy. National feeling came into play. "The dominion of the Papacy was felt by the nations of Teutonic blood as the dominion of Italians, of foreigners, of men who were aliens in language, manners, and intellectual constitution. The large jurisdiction exercised by the spiritual tribunals of Rome seemed to be a degrading badge of servitude. The sums which, under a thousand pretexes, were exacted by a distant

General
view
of the
Reforma-
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court, were regarded both as a humiliating and as a ruinous tribute." The rapid and decisive victory of Protestantism in the northern parts of Europe was brought about by "sovereigns impatient to appropriate to themselves the prerogatives of the Pope, nobles desirous to share the plunder of abbeys, suitors exasperated by the extortions of the Roman Camera, patriots impatient of a foreign rule, good men scandalised by the corruptions of the Church, bad men desirous of the license inseparable from great moral revolutions, wise men eager in the pursuit of truth, weak men allured by the glitter of novelty. Alone among the northern nations, the Irish adhered to the ancient faith; and the cause of this seems to have been that the national feeling, which, in happier countries, was directed against Rome, was in Ireland directed against England." Within fifty years of the day on which Luther publicly renounced communion with Papacy, and burned the bull of Leo X. before the gates of Wittenberg, Protestantism had triumphed in England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Saxony, Hesse, Wurtemberg, in part of Switzerland, and in the northern Netherlands. Spain, Portugal, and Italy, with much of central and southern Germany, remained from the first in communion with Rome. In France, the contest was for a time undecided, and the victory of Catholicism was only achieved after two desolating civil wars. The Reformation was followed by a Catholic reaction, in which much success was won by the adoption of three measures on the part of the rulers of the Church. These were internal reform, the recognition and development of the powerful order of the Jesuits, and the working of the machinery of the Inquisition. A reformation of manners and discipline in the south of Europe followed the change of doctrine in the north. A revived zeal was shown throughout the Catholic world. Old institutions were remodelled, and new methods were called into action. The monastic orders restored old strictness of discipline, and devoted themselves anew to the relief and instruction of the poor. The austere and fervent Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV., founded a new order of poor priests called *Theatines*, devoted to the work of preaching against heresy, and of succouring the afflicted. A new Luther arose, on the Catholic side, in the person of Ignatius Loyola, founder of the Order of the Jesuits, or Society of Jesus, the most famous and powerful organisation of its kind which the world has ever seen. Its members have never been equalled for their ability and zeal as preachers to all classes, missionaries in heathen and heretical lands, defenders of the Church, instructors of youth, confessors of princes, spiritual guides in families, religious and political intriguers. It was mainly due to their energy, discipline, skill, self-denial, courage, tact, and versatility, backed by the unrelenting use of persecution by the Inquisition, that, within half a century more, the Catholic Church was dominant in France, Belgium, Hungary, Poland, and other lands where the contest between the faiths had hitherto been undecided. The Continental limits of the two religions

were finally settled, in the first half of the seventeenth century, by the great struggle known as the Thirty Years' War, beginning in 1618, and ended in 1648 by the Treaty of Westphalia. It was the last armed contest of the religious sects in Europe. Returning to the fifteenth century, we observe the effect of the revival of learning in this great crisis of the fortunes of the human race. The liberal patronage of letters by such men as Pope Nicholas V. had produced an effect which they had never contemplated. "Ignorance was the talisman on which their power depended; and that talisman they had themselves broken. They had called in Knowledge as a handmaid to decorate Superstition, and their error produced its natural effect." In that age, the studies of grammar, rhetoric, and poetry, and especially of the ancient classics, called *literae humaniores*, were known in European schools and colleges as the *Humanities*, in opposition to philosophy and science. The votaries of classical learning, and, in particular, the votaries of Greek learning, were styled the *Humanists*. These men bore a great part in the movement against spiritual tyranny, and formed, in fact, the vanguard of the assault. Every one of the chief reformers was a Humanist, and, in the north of Europe, almost every eminent Humanist, according to the measure of his uprightness and courage, was a reformer. In Scotland, Knox, Buchanan, Maitland, and Melville took the same side as many of the most learned Grecians in England. "Minds that were daily nourished with the best literature of Greece and Rome grew too strong to be trammelled by the cobwebs of the scholastic divinity." On the Continent, such scholars as Reuchlin and Erasmus, without themselves taking any decisive step, undermined the position of the Roman see with many cultivated persons by the expression of free thought on the subject of religion. Satirical epigrams floated about among the mass of the people, with allegories, jokes, and tales, all aimed at the Church and the monks. The doctrines and ceremonies of the old religion were attacked by assertions that many of them were contrary to Scripture, and to the primitive faith and usage of Christianity. The use of images, and the asking for the intercession of saints; the enforced celibacy of the clergy, the use of Latin in the church-services; the enforced confession of sins to a priest; and, in particular, the doctrine of the real bodily presence of Christ in the consecrated elements used at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, were all denounced with unsparing vigour. It was this last dogma, as to the change of substance in the bread and wine after consecration, which, under the name of transubstantiation, became a great test in England of orthodox belief. Such was the change that was taking place in the mental and spiritual condition of northern Europe, when the ferment began to work upon the fortunes of our own country. The English people had been, for ages, growing more and more alienated from the system of the Church of Rome. Even in reference to doctrine, as well as to practical abuses, the public mind had been

deeply stirred by the denunciations of the earliest, and, in some respects, the greatest reformer, John Wyclif. The determined Reformation in England. orthodoxy of the Lancastrian kings had been a main prop of the Papacy, and the Church never seemed so strong as in the earlier times of Tudor sovereignty. Yet it was clear, at the very beginning of the reign with which we are dealing, that a great many persons were becoming hostile to the hierarchy and the clergy. This feeling was specially marked in the people of the capital, and one of the bishops declared that, if Abel were a priest, a London jury would find him guilty of the murder of Cain. A strong and general desire for the reform of the clergy and the monks had arisen. A large party in the land were filled with dislike of Papal interference, and wished to lessen Papal power, if not to establish, on a new basis, a thoroughly national Church. A smaller party, composed of the spiritual descendants of the Lollards, and of a certain section of learned men, both among the higher clergy and the laity, were aiming at a reform of doctrine. Of these three parties, the first two now began to look for assistance to Henry. The fall of Wolsey was, in fact, a sign that the rule of great churchmen, in affairs of state, had almost come to an end. The Church, in lack of all other support, and in dread of what the future might bring, had formed a close alliance with the monarchy. Henry had now special interests of his own, which partly concerned the nation, to serve, and relied on the help of the lay-nobles, and of a large part of the people, to enable him to work his will. He had no further want of the support of bishops or abbots, and he resolved, with his usual vigorous policy, to sacrifice, if needful, their attachments, their prejudices, their position, and their wealth to the execution of his plans, and to the jealous hatred of many of his subjects.

During the legatine rule of Wolsey, the exactions of the Church had become oppressive to all ranks of the laity. In the Parliament of 1529, the Commons, during the six weeks of their session, asserted their resolve to set some bounds to a power which was more obnoxious, because more systematic in its pecuniary inflictions, than the illegal subsidies and compulsory loans of the crown. Sir Thomas More, as we have seen, was the new Chancellor. He was as strongly opposed as Wolsey to all reformers of doctrine, whom the dying Cardinal had styled "this new pernicious sect of Lutherans." He was, however, too wise and honest not to see that the rapacity of the church officials, and the general laxity as to pluralities and non-residence, were shaking the foundations of ecclesiastical authority. It was probably with his sanction that three important statutes were now passed. The first greatly curtailed the fines and sums of money paid in church courts for the probate of wills. This was a grievance which touched every owner of property. Sir Henry Guildford declared in Parliament, that, as executor to Sir William Compton, he had paid for the probate of his will, to the Cardinal and to the Archbishop of

Canterbury, the sum of a thousand marks. The value of the mark was two-thirds of a pound sterling, and the whole sum, in the present worth of money, would represent nearly seven thousand pounds. Another measure dealt with an odious exaction, which reached even the humblest in the land. This was the taking of excessive "mortuaries," or fees for burial, which were now strictly limited by statute. A third law forbade the clergy to engage in trade, and dealt to some extent with the evils of non-residence and the holding of several benefices by the same "clerk." The bishops in the Lords, headed by Fisher of Rochester, made a stout resistance, and charged the Commons with being all for a cry of "Down with the Church," proceeding from "a lack of faith." Much railing occurred between the promoters and opponents of the legislation, which was ultimately forced through by the intervention of the king. The same Parliament, before its prorogation in December, committed the gross injustice of renouncing for themselves, and for all other royal creditors, all claim to the loans raised by Wolsey, with promise of repayment, after the Suffolk insurrection of 1525.

The king spent a joyous and festive Christmas at Greenwich Palace, with "Mistress Anne Boleyn" the gayest of the throng, whilst the queen sate pensive in her solitary chamber. Anne's father had been created Earl of Wiltshire, and in January 1530, he and two other envoys were despatched to Bologna, where the Emperor, Charles V., was about to be crowned by the Pope. One of the party was a divine named Thomas Cranmer, an inmate of the Earl's house. He seems to have maintained the view that Henry's marriage with his brother's widow was condemned by the authority of the Scriptures, and that of councils and fathers of the Church, and that the Pope had no power to give a dispensation, against those sources of belief. He is said to have also proposed the submission of the question to the opinions of all the universities in Europe. The king caught at both these suggestions, and both were promptly put in action. The coronation took place at Bologna on February 24, and the Earl of Wiltshire arrived before the departure of the Emperor. He entirely failed in moving the Pope to a decided course, in presence of Charles, who strenuously opposed the divorce, and the embassy returned to England. Then resort was had to the universities of Europe. Bribery and intimidation were freely used, and many of these seats of learning pronounced against the lawfulness of marriage with a brother's widow. The decision, however, was far from unanimous, and the close of the year 1530 saw the king as far as ever from the attainment of his wishes.

We have now brought before us in a prominent way the Church assembly known as "Convocation." Every bishop had the right of convening his clergy to a diocesan synod, and the two archbishops could summon the bishops and clergy of their provinces to a provincial council. The kings of England had by

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degrees adopted the practice of requiring them to convoke their clergy, not to a purely ecclesiastical synod, but to a meeting connected with the Parliament, and exercising some temporal functions. This was called the Convocation, of which there was one for either province, Canterbury and York. These assemblies voted all the taxes which were paid by the clergy; and it was chiefly on this account that the sovereigns had an interest in convening them. The convocations of the two provinces, which always sat at the same time with the Parliament, were recognised as the synod of the Church in England. In Convocation, the whole body of the clergy were now assailed under the Statutes of Praemunire. An indictment in the Court of King's Bench declared them to have violated the Acts, in having obeyed the power of Wolsey as legate. It was at once resolved in Convocation to avoid forfeiture of property by offering the king a sum of money. An amount equal to more than a million sterling in present value was accepted for a pardon granted to the province of Canterbury. That of York was mulcted in a smaller sum in the following year. These payments out of their enormous wealth were deemed by the clergy a light infliction compared with the blow now aimed at their spiritual allegiance. The king insisted that Convocation, in making the grant of money, should style him "*the protector and only supreme head of the Church and clergy of England.*" The clergy had long ago admitted that the king, within his dominions, has no earthly superior, in opposition to Papal claims of making or annulling laws in countries owning the Pope's religious supremacy. It was believed, however, that a king like Henry, in his present mood concerning the divorce, meant something far wider than this, and intended to affirm his right to making, through Parliament, or by order in council, such laws as might seem good touching religious affairs. The clergy knew that Parliament was greatly under royal control, and their fears were justly and strongly aroused. After three days' debate, the Convocation of Canterbury yielded to the royal demand, with the addition, to the clause admitting the king's headship of the Church, of the words "as far as is consistent with the law of Christ." With this Henry was content, as either party could put such interpretation on the words as might be found convenient. His assumption of the new position was probably intended as a warning to the Pope in the matter of the divorce. It clearly showed him that the clergy in England were in Henry's power, and that, failing the Papal consent, he might resort to his own Church for a decision, backed by the award obtained from the Universities. It was, in fact, significant of the nation's purpose of becoming fully independent of all foreign power and jurisdiction. A few months later, the Convocation of the province of York made the same submission to the king.

The year 1532 is an important date in the history of the severance of the English Church and nation from all connection with the Papal power.

Then was passed an "Act concerning the payment of *Annates* to the court of Rome." Herein a blow was dealt at one of the main sources of the Papal revenue. The *Annates*, or first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics, consisted of a year's income of their sees, given by all prelates to the Pope, on presentation to their high office. The statute now limited the payment, on receipt of the Papal bulls for consecration, to five pounds for each hundred of yearly value, and further provided that, if the Pope should refuse to consecrate bishops, the king might order the archbishop, or, on his refusal, any two bishops, to perform the ceremony. If the Pope should place the kingdom under an interdict, the king could cause the sacraments and other rites of the Church to proceed as heretofore. As the king's quarrel with Clement had not yet come to a final rupture, Henry was empowered to give or withhold his assent to the Act, by issue of letters patent. The English monarch was thus stopping the Pope's supplies, and holding the new statute over his head *in terrorem*, as a means of forcing his consent to the divorce. Henry's confirmation to the Act was not given until July 1533. On the petition of Parliament, the Convocation made a further and final submission to royal power by undertaking not to enact or execute any new canons whatever without the royal license. Thus the Church lost the power of legislation in her own affairs, and became, for the first time since the Conquest, fully subject to the crown. In the same session, the abuse called "benefit of clergy" was dealt with. It had been held that any person who could read was thereby proved to be a "clerk," and in this way criminals were relieved from punishment in the lay-courts, and handed over to the Church tribunals. Lenient treatment could be there procured by bribery or favour, and the matter had grown into a public nuisance. By a new statute, no person not holding at least the rank of sub-deacon in the Church, if charged with felony, could "plead his clergy," as the phrase was, but was to be sentenced by the lay-court which tried him. One consequence of all this legislation against the Church was the resignation by Sir Thomas More of his office as Chancellor, in which he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Audley. The good Archbishop Warham of Canterbury also resigned his post, and the primacy was given by the king to Cranmer. Another important Act passed at this time was the *Statute of Appeals*, by which it was forbidden to carry any causes to the Papal court at Rome for final judgment, an offence already dealt with in the Act of *Praemunire*. The present Act was probably designed to hinder any appeal of the queen's to Rome, whenever sentence of divorce should be pronounced by an ecclesiastical court in England.

All the hostile legislation and covert threats of the English king had failed to work upon the will of the Pope. The distant danger has less terror than the near, and Clement was ever subject to the coercive influence of Charles V., who was the virtual master of Italy. The con-

Parliament,
the
clergy,
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power,
1532-1533.

duct of Henry towards Anne had already foreshadowed his intention of dealing in a summary way with the protracted question of the divorce. The tone of Clement had grown bolder, and he, in turn, began to threaten. Henry was forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to entertain Anne Boleyn in his palace, and was commanded to replace Catharine in her full position as queen. The king, for his part, had created Anne Marchioness of Pembroke, and a meeting had been arranged between him and the king of France. In October 1532, Henry, accompanied by Anne, went over to Calais, and her formal introduction to the French monarch took place. Great festivities followed, and the royal pair, as we may now term them, returned to England in November. In January 1533, they were privately married, and the great object of Cranmer's promotion to the highest ecclesiastical office in the realm soon became apparent.

Henry was a shrewd judge of character, and he had seen in the ^{The} divorce. supple Cambridge divine a fit instrument for the work which was in hand. The Convocation, under strong pressure, had agreed to take the view as to the divorce which was held by some of the universities. The king and council had resolved upon the course to be pursued. On April 11, Cranmer wrote a letter to Henry, stating that much public anxiety existed as to the "uncertainty of succession," and begging the king to license him "to proceed to the examination, final determination, and judgment on the said great cause." The license was at once graciously accorded. Queen Catharine was now residing at Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, and Cranmer proceeded to Dunstable, six miles distant, and summoned the queen to appear before his court on May 8. She refused to come, and was declared contumacious. On May 23, Cranmer pronounced her marriage with the king to have been null and void from the first. The marriage with Anne Boleyn was then ratified. On Sunday, June 1, she was crowned with great splendour at Westminster. Cranmer, who was assisted by the Archbishop of York, five other prelates, and a dozen abbots, himself describes their procession from the Abbey to Westminster Hall, where the queen was ready, "apparelled in a robe of purple velvet, and all the ladies and gentlewomen in robes and gowns of scarlet." There was another queen at Ampthill, alone, and sick at heart, but sustained to the last by an unconquerable will in asserting her rights, and denying the legality of all the proceedings against her. The coronation of Anne was followed in September by the birth, at Greenwich Palace, of the Princess Elizabeth.

The Statute of Appeals was a declaration of war against the Papal see, and as such it was received by Clement. The divorce pronounced by Cranmer, with the marriage and coronation of Anne, drove the Pope to extremities. The Emperor was urgent for him to take some decisive step, but he still forbore to

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of Anne, drove the Pope to extremities. The Emperor was urgent for him to take some decisive step, but he still forbore to

declare England out of the bosom of the Church. At last, in July 1533, a brief was issued declaring Cranmer's judgment illegal, and the king was held to have incurred the penalties of excommunication. Then Henry confirmed the Act concerning the *Annates*, and his government proceeded to prepare the nation for the great impending change. In December, an Order of Council was issued, bidding all preachers at Paul's Cross, from Sunday to Sunday, to teach and declare to the people, that he that now calleth himself Pope is only bishop of Rome, "and hath no more authority and jurisdiction, by God's law, within this realm, than any other foreign bishop hath, which is nothing at all; and that such authority as he hath claimed heretofore hath been only by usurpation." The mode in which opinion was to be influenced, in a time before newspapers and reviews, is curiously shown in the fact that a strict commandment was given to the mayor, aldermen, and common-council of London "that every of them in their houses shall liberally speak at their boards, and also teach their servants to declare, that he that calleth himself the Pope is but the bishop of Rome." The same principle was ordered to be declared to their families by the nobility of the realm, "and to command their said families to bruit (noise abroad) the same in all places where they shall come." The people were thus appealed to in their most sensitive point, that of the national honour. They forgot the origin of the contest between the king and the Pope, and looked only to its results as their deliverance from a thralldom. No reply was sent to Clement's offer of giving Henry a favourable trial, if he would recall his resolution of renouncing the supremacy of Rome. On March 24, 1534, the Papal conclave pronounced the marriage of Catharine valid, and the king excommunicated, if he should refuse to take her back as his wife. The Parliament had met early in the year 1534, and a series of laws was passed by which the Papal authority was finally renounced and superseded. The law of Henry IV. was repealed, by which heretics might be burnt without waiting for the king's writ. Men could still be burnt for heresy, but not by the will and decree of the bishops. Another Act confirmed the submission of the prelates made in Convocation. Another statute settled the election of bishops on the basis existing at the present day. The appointment was now placed entirely with the crown, and any cathedral chapter refusing to choose the person named in the sovereign's license to elect, called the *congé d'élire*, would incur the penalty of *praemunire*. It was at the same time forbidden that any bishop should be presented to the Pope for confirmation in his see, and bishops refusing to consecrate the person nominated by the crown, and, perforce, elected by the chapter, were also liable under the Act of *praemunire*. It may be observed that this statute was a direct violation of the first article of *Magna Charta*, that the Church should enjoy liberty in its elections. In a later session of the same year, the great Act of Supremacy sealed the final separation of

England from the Papal authority. The king was declared to be "Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England," to have and enjoy all the jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, and profits thereto belonging, with full power to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the Church. The temporal and spiritual supremacy in the realm were thus combined in the person of the monarch; the old ecclesiastical authority was swept away; the unity of the nation was at last achieved. The denial of the title and powers claimed by the sovereign in this Act was made subject to the penalties of high treason. A submission that was immediate and almost complete was made to the new statute. The whole body of the clergy in Convocation, as with one consent, signed their names to the renunciation of the Pope's authority. Bishops, deans and chapters, priors and abbots, and parish priests, all concurred in this proceeding. All the bishops, except Fisher of Rochester, took the oath to the king as head of the Church. The Act was not permitted to rust for want of use. The clause which made it treason to deprive the king of any name or dignity was so administered as to render silence itself treasonable. John Haughton, the prior of the Charter-house, or London house of Carthusian monks, and two other priors and four monks of the same order, were condemned by juries and executed. The society was broken up, and many of the monks died in prison. Nobler victims than these were to perish in the same cause.

The course of rapid and momentous change in the ecclesiastical constitution of the realm had aroused grave discontent in many quarters. The divorced queen had a party of adherents. The Courtenays, the Nevilles, and other descendants and partisans of the House of York were willing to aid indignant churchmen in attempts to shake the power of Henry. The lingering superstition of the time came to their aid at this conjuncture. A half-witted female servant, named Elizabeth Barton, who became known as "The Maid (or Nun) of Kent," had long been subject to trances, and the utterance of wild words. A cure of her fits was said to have been wrought at a certain chapel dedicated to the Virgin, but when the affair of the divorce became prominent, her fantastic dreams were resumed, and she was taught by some of her spiritual guides to make pretended revelations. Even Warham and Fisher were deluded, and Sir Thomas More himself had a narrow escape from being implicated. She uttered prophecies of divine vengeance against the king, in case he should marry Anne Boleyn. Her fame spread abroad, and she was brought into correspondence with the Emperor and Queen Catharine. The government then attacked the alleged "treasonable practices" of the nun and her abettors, and she and seven others were condemned and executed by the Star Chamber. It became plainly necessary for the king to use means for securing the royal position. The Parliament submissively passed the "Act for the establishment of the king's suc-

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cession," a statute which brought within the penalties of treason all the covert hostility to the divorce and the second marriage. The marriage with Catharine was declared to be unlawful and void; the union with Anne was alleged to "be undoubtful, true, sincere, and perfect," and the king's issue by the Lady Anne, the Princess Elizabeth, was pronounced to be the heir to the crown. Every manifest deed, by writing or printing, against this marriage, or this succession, was to be taken as high treason; if by spoken words, as "misprision of treason," an offence here implying something short of the higher crime. The last clause of this Act ordered that all the nobles of the realm, spiritual and temporal, and all other subjects of full age, should take on demand an oath to maintain and defend the statute; a refusal so to do was to be held misprision of treason. The government was at once enabled to attack two of its chief opponents.

John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, was one of the most learned and saintly men of the age. He had been confessor to Margaret, Countess of Richmond, the mother of Henry VII., and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, before his promotion to the see of Rochester in 1504. To his influence with the Lady Margaret were due the establishment of the divinity professorships, called after her name, at both the universities, and the foundation of Christ's and St. John's Colleges at Cambridge. He was a warm supporter of the new learning, and brought to his university, as a teacher of Greek, the illustrious Erasmus. Fisher, however, was not one of those "Humanists" who swerved from allegiance to the ancient faith and to the Papal supremacy in the Church. He was the author of one of the replies to Luther, and was the only prelate who, in 1527, had the courage to refuse his signature to a declaration that the king's marriage with Catharine was unlawful. He had stood alone in the Convocation in resisting the denial of the Pope's control over the Church in England. By this firm attitude he had provoked the bitter hostility of Henry. An even greater and more attractive personality than that of the venerable and excellent Fisher is the ex-Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. He, too, was one of the chief promoters of the new learning. In early youth, his coming greatness was predicted by Archbishop Morton and Dean Colet, who observed the lad's rare and precocious ability. He won distinction, in early manhood, as a member of the House of Commons. At the beginning of the reign, More served Henry VIII. in embassies. He had gained a large practice in the law-courts, and rapidly rose in public esteem. We have seen that in 1523 he was Speaker of the House of Commons, and that his official distinction culminated in his appointment as Lord Chancellor. Only a part of the powers of More was seen in his brilliant capacity as a public man. His genius as a writer will be dealt with hereafter. He possessed an almost unrivalled charm in his witty discourse and sweetness of temper, and Henry VIII. used to visit him, in his house at

Fate of
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More,
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Chelsea, with the freedom of a fellow-subject. Like Fisher, More strictly adhered to the old faith, and wrote against the views of Luther, but some advance was shown in his maintaining that the English people had a right to have the Scriptures in their own tongue. With all his reckless humour, gaiety of talk, audacious speculation, and winning freedom of demeanour, More was a deeply religious man, who might, in another age, have become a monk instead of a statesman. In him the source of laughter lay very near to the fount of tears, and a jest was often used to hide the saddest thought. He was a man to be fully known only by his nearest and dearest friends; one whose vivacious and careless exterior masked a soul that could do and dare the utmost in defence of what he believed to be duty and truth. His keen intellect, his moral purity, his delightful converse, his loving and engaging ways with wife and children in the home which he could not bear to leave for life at court—these were the gifts and qualities that won the admiring love of Erasmus, and have gained for Henry's greatest victim the high regard and esteem of his countrymen. Both Fisher and More were fully determined not to swear to the royal supremacy. On April 13, 1534, More was summoned to attend at Lambeth before Cranmer and the other commissioners. He felt, as he left his house at Chelsea, that he should never return to it, and he could not trust himself to kiss and bid farewell to his wife and girls, as he was wont to do when he entered his boat. He passed out of his garden to the river-side, suffering none of his household to follow, "but pulled the wicket after him, and shut them all from him." The strength of his love might have triumphed over his heroic resolve to die rather than to affirm what he did not honestly believe. His soul won the victory in that hour of struggle, and he whispered to his son-in-law, William Roper, married to More's learned and affectionate daughter, Margaret, "I thank our Lord, the field is won!" He was willing, as he told the council, to take the oath to the Act of Succession, but not to swear to the preamble, which affirmed the king to be head of the Church, and declared the marriage with Anne to be lawful. Fisher adopted the same course, and both were committed to the Tower, where they remained till the following summer. Late in 1534, Clement VII. died, and was succeeded by Paul III. One of his first official acts sealed the fate of Bishop Fisher. He sent a cardinal's hat to the aged prelate, and this aroused the wrath of the king. "He shall wear it on his shoulders," cried Henry, "for I will leave him never a head to set it on." One of the most infamous men that ever disgraced the bar of England, Robert Rich, the Solicitor-General, afterwards Chancellor, was employed to entrap both the prisoners into admissions that should serve for a verdict of guilty. Fisher was tried in June 1535, before a special commission in Westminster Hall, found guilty as of course, and, five days later, beheaded in the Tower. On July 1st, More, with body bent and limbs weakened by long confinement, tottered into the hall,

clad in a coarse woollen gown, and leaning upon his staff. He had often entered the same stately and spacious building, arrayed in the Chancellor's robes, attended by all the pomp of his high office, with mace and seals borne before him. He now came with the axe marshalling him on his road to certain death, and stood at the bar before his successor, Audley, as his judge. He denounced, in his defence, the base treachery of the Solicitor, and returned, condemned as a traitor, to the Tower, where he died by beheading on July 6th. His daughter, Margaret Roper, had fallen on his neck, with loving kisses, when he came back from the Hall, and her reverence and affection were strongly marked after his death. His head was exposed for fourteen days on London Bridge. She then obtained and carefully preserved it, to be placed in her arms, by her dying request, and so at last buried with her. The innocent mirth in which More indulged on the very scaffold has been amply vindicated from the charge of levity by one of the most delightful of English writers, a man who himself knew "how a Christian should die."

The tragical deaths of these eminent men aroused much indignation abroad. The king of France wrote in condemnation of the severity shown, the Pope drew up a bull of deposition against Henry, which was issued three years later, and Reginald Pole, son of the Countess of Salisbury, a man of high character and amiable mind, was stirred to a great display of wrath. He was now Dean of Exeter, but chiefly resided in Italy, where he was pleading with the Pope for reforms in the Church. When he heard of the execution of his friend More, he issued a book entitled a "Defence of the Unity of the Church," addressed to the Emperor, the avowed enemy of the English king. Pole called upon Charles V. to invade England, and fight against the foe of Christendom. His assertion that Henry had outraged the feelings of his subjects, in denying the Papal supremacy, was stoutly denied by Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, the former of whom wrote to Pole on the subject, while the latter defended the king in a book entitled "Of True Obedience." In the first days of the year 1536, the unhappy and innocent occasion of the political and religious changes in the realm passed away to her rest. In the fiftieth year of her age, Queen Catharine died at Kimbolton, after despatching to Henry an affectionate letter, in which she wrote of their former loves, commended her daughter Mary to his care, and assured him of forgiveness for all her wrongs.

CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS OF THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION.

The work of Thomas Cromwell. Suppression of religious houses. The successive queens. Tyndal and the English Bible. Religious views and victims. Hugh Latimer. Popular risings. Monastic plunder. The Six Articles of faith. Fall of Thomas Cromwell.

THE main agent of Henry in effecting what may be styled the political part of the Reformation in England was the great statesman Thomas Cromwell. He was the instrument used by his sovereign in completing the fabric of almost absolute rule which constitutes the one great despotism of English history, since the Charter, that did not provoke a general armed and successful revolt. In this terrible time, we see the headsman's axe and the soldier's sword wielded, with ruthless severity against all who dared to oppose the will of the reigning tyrant and his hard-hearted and unscrupulous minister. There was no thought, indeed, of a general rising on the part of the nation. The mass of the people endured nothing which could warrant the risk of anarchy or civil war. The plunder of the Church enabled Henry to abstain from the oppression of fiscal burdens which had already stirred a resistance that caused himself and Wolsey to relinquish a large part of their intended prey. The victims of the Tudor sultan were sought in the higher ranks of the realm, and the people looked passively on while the noblest heads were laid low. The land was at peace, for the most part, both at home and abroad. The country gentleman hunted and hawked, the peasant sowed and reaped his crops, the merchant and shopkeeper bought and sold, the artisan toiled at his craft, undisturbed by the hatreds and jealousies, the intrigues and cruelties, which reeked in the political and social atmosphere of Whitehall. The omnipresent and omniscient spies of Cromwell did not lurk under the eaves of the humble abode of the toiler in country or town. Their noxious trade was rife in the galleries of the palace, the saloons of stately mansions, and the refectories of wealthy abbeys. A slavish Parliament, by its own Acts; a terrorised Council, by its own decrees; bribed judges and menaced juries, in their legal decisions and verdicts—these were all tools of the royal and ministerial pleasure, but the people abode in quietness, save when a rapacious hand was laid on the rich resources of the monasteries, and the best friends and employers of the poor became themselves needy and helpless. The bold, hard-headed man, with nerves of steel, and heart like the nether millstone, who wrought out this tremendous work of arbitrary power, and trod constitutional law and even-handed justice into the dust, was sprung from almost the lowest rank of life. Thomas Cromwell, the son of a petty tradesman at

Putney, was born about the year 1490. Of his earlier life little is told that can be trusted for truth, but he seems to have been a clerk in an English house of business at Antwerp, a trooper in the Duke of Bourbon's army at the sack of Rome, a successful wool-dealer in Holland, and a money-lending lawyer in London, before he turned his thoughts to public life. He had acquired substantial means in business when he entered the House of Commons about the year 1521. His ability and courage soon made him a man of mark, and he became a confidential servant or secretary of the great Cardinal, who was then at the height of his power and fame. He served Wolsey well in the suppression of some of the smaller monasteries. We have seen that he proved his possession of the rare virtue of gratitude, when his master fell with a great fall in 1529. He had nothing more to hope for at the hands of the disgraced statesman, and for a brief space Cromwell seems to have thought that his own career was also ended. In the autumn of the year when Wolsey, bereft of York Place and his other mansions, retired to his desolate house at Esher, his secretary followed him into privacy. There Cavendish, the gentleman-usher, saw him leaning on the window, primer in hand, repeating his matins. "He prayed not more earnestly," we read, "than the tears distilled from his eyes." Cavendish asks, "Why, Master Cromwell, what meaneth all this your sorrow?" "It is my unhappy adventure, which am like to lose all that I have travailed for all the days of my life, for doing of my master true and diligent service." He then declared his purpose of riding to London that afternoon, and "so to the court, where I will either make or mar, ere I come again." That very day Cromwell said some words in Wolsey's favour to the king, and Henry marked the man's fidelity and courage. In 1530 he entered the king's service, and rapidly rose to distinction. He was knighted and sworn of the Privy Council, and in 1534 he had become chief Secretary of State and Master of the Rolls. His grand political object, through his whole career, seems to have been the establishment of absolute power for the sovereign, in the sweeping away, with a merciless hand, of every person, institution, and privilege that barred the way to that portentous prize of a political struggle. It is likely enough that this aim was, in Cromwell, but the means to the further end of establishing the Protestant faith. He seems to have had before his view a coalition of northern nations, as a grand bulwark of the new form of religion against all assaults from the powers that were champions of the ancient system. It is certain that he and Cranmer, beyond any other statesmen of the time, effected the work of the Reformation in England. The key to the conduct of two men so widely divergent in character may be found in the fact that both, having before them what they deemed a good object, had no scruples as to the means employed in its attainment. Cromwell, fearless of all risks, and full of Italian craft, encountered every open foe, and detected every hidden plot. Cranmer, timid and time-serving, was the tool of every bolder man,

bowed to every storm, forgave every insult and wrong, and shrank from no violation of moral principle, in order to complete the religious side of the work which had been taken in hand.

In 1535, Cromwell had gained as great an ascendancy over the king, and nearly as much power, as Wolsey had ever possessed. Whatever office he happened to hold, men looked upon him as the mover of the whole machine of the state. The king had now resolved to seize part of the monastic wealth, rather than risk the ill-will of the nation by demanding subsidies.

Cromwell was now appointed by Henry, in the exercise of his royal supremacy, to be his vicar-general, or vicegerent, in all ecclesiastical affairs. The office was borrowed from that of vicar-apostolic, or legate of the Roman see. Parliament had lately vested in the crown the visitation of monasteries, and Cromwell, under this commission, appointed three learned doctors, Layton, Legh, and Aprice, to visit all the religious houses, inquire into their present state, and draw up each a report for Parliament. They started on their journey through England in the summer of 1535, and their separate reports were presented to the Lords and Commons in the following year. Many of the houses were allowed to be well conducted. In many more the monks and nuns were found to be living an evil life, and the management of their property was proved to be reckless and wasteful. There can be no doubt that, as a rule, these institutions had outlived their original purpose of serving the ends of religious fervour, providing a calm retreat for men given to literature and learning, and forming a centre of civilisation and culture, physical and moral, to a rude and rugged world beyond their walls. The monkish life had become a proverb for lazy self-indulgence, and even worse things were imputed to many of its votaries. Abbots and priors were more concerned, in many cases, for the increase of wealth than for the maintenance of discipline. Yet the larger part of the great abbeys were allowed to be well managed, and, in any case, a gradual reform and partial abolition were measures of greater wisdom and mercy than a wholesale and sudden suppression. It is probable that one reason that prevailed with Henry and his minister was the knowledge or suspicion that the monastic houses were, through the pulpit, and in the confessional, centres of open or secret hostility to the religious revolution now, in one of its phases, almost brought to completion. After a warm debate in Parliament, in 1536, an Act was passed granting to the king all monasteries and nunneries, with their property, which were not above the yearly value of two hundred pounds. The futile provision was inserted in the statute that the grantees, or the purchasers, of the properties from the crown should be bound to maintain the hospitality of the former owners. The monks and nuns of these smaller houses, thus suppressed, were to be removed to "divers great and solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein religion is right well kept and observed." The power

Suppression of lesser monasteries, 1536.

and terrorism wielded by Cromwell are strikingly shown in the fact that this measure was carried through a House of Lords where twenty-six mitred abbots sat as barons, and the number of spiritual peers exceeded the number of lay-peers having seats in the House. The number of religious houses thus dissolved was three hundred and seventy-six, with an annual revenue amounting to thirty-two thousand pounds, and about one hundred thousand pounds ready capital in plate and money. A multiple of ten is needed to make these sums represent the real value thus obtained by the crown. Cromwell was rewarded with the office of Lord Privy Seal, and took his seat among the peers as Baron Cromwell of Okeham.

The religious revolution in England soon began to devour its own children. The light-hearted young queen had been, from the first, in a position of great peril, as the wife of a man so Fall of Anne Boleyn, 1536. fickle and so prone to suspicion, as Henry. His desire for the birth of a male heir was again disappointed in February 1536, when the queen's second child, a son, died in the hour of its birth. She had been, it appears, an affectionate helpmate, cheerful and gay, kind to all her dependants, and full of charity to the poor. Her religious views were quite in favour of the new doctrines, and her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, with a bigoted horror of "heresy," had now become her bitter foe. Many eyes had looked with jealousy on her rise to an exalted position, and she was surrounded with spies at court, watching her every look and word, with a view to founding upon them charges of evil-doing. The king had been thought to be growing cooler towards his beautiful wife, and his enemies assert that he had already, to Anne's knowledge and grief, but not to her surprise, cast the eyes of affection on one of her maids of honour, the lady destined to succeed her. Foes of another class than the cruel and treacherous watchers of a gracious and kindly mistress might, on political grounds, whisper hints to the king with effect disastrous to Anne. A foremost opponent of Cromwell at the council was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. A political and religious ally of the Duke of Norfolk, he adhered strongly to the old faith, and favoured, in foreign policy, the cause of alliance with Charles V. He might suggest that the want of a male heir was an intimation of divine displeasure at the king's second marriage, and that the Emperor would never acknowledge the lawfulness of any issue of Anne. Audley, the Chancellor, and the base Rich, the Solicitor-General used to bring Fisher and More to the scaffold, were just the men to be employed for the manufacture of evidence, and for the grounding of indictments for treason upon a statute bearing no such construction. Against such a conspiracy any woman, with perfect innocence alone to defend her, would be entirely helpless. On May 2nd, after being examined before the council at Greenwich, where her uncle, Norfolk, showed his hostility, Anne was committed to the Tower, charged with gross misconduct with her own brother, Viscount Rochefort,

and with several gentlemen of the court. There was no legal or trustworthy evidence against any of the accused persons. Four of the queen's alleged lovers were tried by a special commission, condemned, and executed. Anne and Rochefort appeared before a jury of peers, presided over by Norfolk in his capacity as Lord High Steward. Both were found guilty, and sentenced to die. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, with his usual readiness of compliance with the wishes of a powerful earthly master, pronounced Anne's marriage with Henry null and void from the beginning, on the ground of a previous contract of marriage with the Earl of Northumberland, when he was Lord Percy. It must be remembered that the same amiable prelate, with a full knowledge of all the circumstances, had promoted this very marriage, and declared it to be a perfect and legal union. Anne Boleyn was beheaded in the Tower on the 19th of May, and on the following day Henry was united to his third wife, Jane Seymour. Lord Rochefort had been executed with the four commoners on May 17th. It is to be observed, in leaving this dreadful story, that Anne Boleyn died for high treason, on the ground of misconduct as the king's *wife*, an offence which, according to Cranmer's view of her marriage as "null and void from the beginning," she could not possibly have committed.

A new Parliament met on June 8th, and the very time of its sum-
New Act mons, for the special work of settling anew the succession to
of Suc- the crown, is a distinct proof that the condemnation and
cession, death of Anne Boleyn had been predetermined. The mem-
1536. bers could not have met at the date named, unless the writs of
 summons had been issued before the order for a special commission,
 to try the queen's accomplices in her "treason," had been sent out.
 The Houses proceeded at once to the work laid before them by Audley,
 the Chancellor. Their ready compliance with the king's wish for any
 statute, however unconstitutional, shows us an England delivered over,
 bound hand and foot, to the will of a tyrant, by the utter prostration
 of the body whose duty it was to guard the rights of the nation. It
 was now enacted that the issue of the late queen, the Princess Eliza-
 beth, was illegitimate, since the king's marriage with Anne had been
 "never good nor consonant to the laws." An oath was to be taken
 to maintain the issue of Henry's present marriage with Jane Seymour,
 his "entirely beloved wife," as she was called; and all who should
 assert the lawful birth of the Princesses Mary or Elizabeth should be
 guilty of high treason. It was also settled that, if the present queen
 died childless, the king should have the power of limiting the descent
 of the crown, by letters patent, or by his will, to any person, who was
 to be obeyed accordingly, whether male or female. The object was, to
 enable Henry to bequeath the crown to his illegitimate son, the Duke
 of Richmond, of whom he was extremely fond. This aim was at once
 defeated by the death of the lad during the passage of the bill through
 the Houses. The Princess Mary, now a little over twenty years of

age, had incurred great danger by her undaunted refusal to admit the unlawfulness of her mother Catharine's marriage. She was kept away from court, and lived in utter seclusion. It is even alleged that Henry was only restrained by Cranmer's entreaties from putting her to death. Cromwell at last induced the Princess, by mingled threats and prayers, to make an entire submission to her father, accepting him as the supreme head of the Church, renouncing her belief in the authority of the Pope in England, and also admitting her mother's marriage to have been against the laws of God and man. She declared her readiness to receive her religious opinions from a king and father of such "excellent learning, virtue, wisdom, and knowledge." By this duplicity she saved her head, and she took her revenge afterwards in a free use of the gibbet and the stake on those who dared to differ from herself.

The slight and gradual progress, under Henry, of change in doctrine and practice is in marked contrast to the series of strong and **Religious** swiftly-delivered blows which effected the separation of the **changes.** Church in England from all connection with the Papal see. In this respect, it was a time of wavering and contention between the old and the new religions. The party resolved to support the Catholic dogmas and services was exceedingly strong. It included the king himself, the able and influential Duke of Norfolk, and the Bishop of Winchester, Gardiner, a statesman of no mean talents, and well read in classical literature and in civil and canon law. The chief men at court in favour of religious change were Cromwell and Cranmer. All those of the reforming party who surrounded Henry were very cautious in avoiding offence to his views on matters of faith and practice, but an active spirit was abroad in the land, and the minds of men were in a state of ferment which could not but show outward signs of that which was at work within them. The chief factor in Protestant reform was the authority now acquired by a Book, as opposed to the traditions of the past, and the voice of popes and councils. The two men whose names will ever be connected with this part of the movement in England are Desiderius Erasmus and William Tyndal. Erasmus, a native of Rotterdam, was one of the greatest classical and theological scholars of his age, or of modern times. He was full of wit, good sense, geniality, shrewdness, and piety. His conversation was so charming and so renowned that, when he came to England, and visited Sir Thomas More, without making his name known, the Chancellor, a kindred spirit, exclaimed in his delight, "You are either Erasmus or the devil." It was an era in the history of religious opinion when this great man published his edition of the *New Testament* in a revised Greek text. In his preface he insisted on the need of all becoming acquainted with the Scriptures, as a blessing meant for all, and especially with the New Testament, as the true source of Christian doctrine. The book included a Latin version, with the

correction of passages mistranslated in the *Vulgate*, or the Latin translation of the Bible stamped with the official sanction of the Catholic Church. This work was followed by Latin paraphrases of all the books of the Gospels and some of the chief Epistles. In the preface to his edition of the works of St. Jerome, Erasmus denied that truth depended on authority, and declared that the Christian faith was purest when there was but one short creed, that named from the Apostles. William Tyndal, born about 1480 in Gloucestershire, was educated at Oxford, where he became a canon of Wolsey's new Cardinal College, but was ejected for his "heretical" opinions. He then passed to Cambridge, where he seems to have become acquainted with the writings of Erasmus. He translated into English one of them which declared for obedience to Christ as contrasted with mere faith in theological dogmas. He declared once that, if he lived, he would cause, ere many years, that "a boy that driveth the plough should know more of the Scriptures" than the clergy of the day. The appearance of the New Testament of Erasmus had kindled the enthusiasm of Reformers, and Tyndal began a translation of the new text into English. Not feeling safe from interruption in England, or perhaps from burning, he retired to Hamburg, where he improved his linguistic knowledge, and became a good scholar in Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, along with Spanish, Italian, German, and French. His first complete translation of the New Testament appeared in print at Worms about 1526, and thousands of copies, exported to England, began to spread alarm amongst the high ecclesiastics of the realm, still mainly zealous for the old opinions. These books, along with translations of Luther's tracts, and reprints of portions of Wyclif's stirring appeals, were smuggled over to England from Antwerp and other ports, concealed in bales of merchandise by favour of English traders living abroad. In 1526, Tunstal, Bishop of London, denounced Tyndal's New Testament in a sermon at Paul's Cross, and copies of it were burnt in public by his orders, and those of Archbishop Warham. A few years later, an Act of Parliament repealed the statute of Richard III, which had allowed the free importation of printed and written books. The sale of all foreign books by retail was now forbidden, on the ground that "there are enough printers and binders in England." Nothing was stated about the suppression of dangerous views, but there can be little doubt that the statute was aimed at the busy Dutch printing-offices, which were unpleasant neighbours to a government that had undertaken, in the person of the new "Supreme Head of the Church," to regulate every man's opinion. In spite of all efforts, "heretical" views were rapidly spreading at both Universities, and among the mercantile and working classes. More and Tyndal engaged in controversy; neither convinced the other; but the change of opinion slowly and steadily proceeded, in spite of persecution to death. In July 1532, Thomas Bilney, a Fellow of Trinity Hall, Cambridge,

was burnt at Norwich, under the order of Dr. Nix, the bishop of the diocese. One of the persons who witnessed the calmness of Bilney as the flames rose around him was Matthew Parker, afterwards the famous Primate, of moderate rule, under Elizabeth. Another man, named Richard Byfield, had died by fire in November 1531, for the crime of smuggling into the country parcels of Reformation tracts. These victims were only precursors of the martyrdom of the arch-heretic Tyndal. He had kept abroad, under the protection of English merchants, and in 1535 was living at Antwerp with one of them, named Thomas Poyntz. The care of his person needed constant vigilance, as Antwerp was under the rule of the Catholic champion, Charles V., who had issued a decree against heresy in 1530. Through the agency of Henry VIII., he was betrayed to the Emperor's officials, and in October 1536 he was strangled and burnt at Vilvorde, after condemnation by the Privy Council at Brussels. One of Tyndal's chief assistants in his translation of parts of the Old Testament was Miles Coverdale, who had been an Austin Friar at Cambridge. He was forced to flee to the Continent, and there he printed at Zurich a complete translation of the Bible into English. At last Henry, under the influence of Thomas Cromwell, permitted the Bible to appear in the "tongue understood of the people." In 1534, the Convocation, against the opposition of Gardiner and his party, had carried an address to the king for an English translation of the Scriptures. Anne Boleyn, then in her brief period of royal favour, was a reformer, and even ventured to possess a copy of Tyndal's forbidden version, which may still be seen in the British Museum, with her initials, A. R., as queen. It was in 1536, the year of Tyndal's martyrdom, that the first printed copies of the whole Bible were admitted into the country, and that Tyndal's version of the New Testament was first printed in England. The book known as "Coverdale's Bible" was ordered to be placed in every church for the people's use. In 1538, this order was renewed, and repeated in 1541, but the version then prescribed was the "Great Bible," or "Cranmer's Bible," a revision of Coverdale's, with a preface by Cranmer. The translation of the Psalms there found is the one still used in the Book of Common Prayer. In 1543, the influence of Gardiner was in the ascendant, and the king, forbidding the sale of Tyndal's "false translation," and the reading of the Scriptures by "tradesmen, apprentices, yeomen, labourers, and women," also rescinded the order for the placing of the Great Bible in churches. In 1536, the Epistles and Gospels, in the service-books, appeared for the first time in English, in addition to some small previous portions. In the same year, Convocation accepted Ten Articles of Religion, partly taken from the famous Protestant manifesto known as the "Confession of Augsburg," presented to Charles V. at that city in 1530. These articles declared that the only authority in matters of faith was the Bible and the three Creeds. Before the end of the reign, various

revised forms of church-service appeared, but we shall see that the advances towards a reformed religion permitted by the capricious monarch were followed by a strong reaction. Indeed, nothing could be more extraordinary than the anomalies of the time now under review. There seemed to be no secure resting-places for honest opinion. Those who held to the principles and forms of the old religion, based as it was upon obedience to one spiritual head of the Church, were traitors, fit only for beheading. Those who, in rejecting the Papal supremacy, renounced also the doctrine of transubstantiation, were heretics, fit only for burning. A king of England sits in Westminster Hall, before a great crowd of people, to engage in disputation with a kind of heretic known as a "Sacramentarian," or a man who denies the corporal presence in the Eucharist. Henry, dressed in white satin, with his guards clad all in white, argues for five hours, aided by his bishops, with poor John Nicholson, commonly known as Lambert. At last the solitary heretic, engaged in turns with ten opponents, is reduced to silence. The people in the hall shout applause at the royal victory, and the accused is asked whether he would live or die. Refusing to surrender his opinions, he answers "that he commits his soul to God, and submits his body to the king's clemency." He is then sent off, to die by burning in Smithfield.

One of the most notable figures of the time, a man in favour of religious reform, was the blunt, rugged, honest Hugh Latimer. He was born about 1490, the son of a yeoman at Thurcaston, in Leicestershire. He was a student and Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, and in time became known for his attacks upon tradition, and upon the pride and usurpation of the Roman hierarchy. Nothing daunted the man's boldness. He wrote a letter to the king on the evil of prohibiting the use of the Bible in English. This epistle produced no effect at the time, but Henry soon presented the writer to a living. In 1535, he was appointed Bishop of Worcester, at the time when Shaxton was made head of the see of Salisbury. Two Italian cardinals, Ghinucci and Campeggio, were thus, by Act of Parliament, deprived in favour of two reformers. At the same time, other men in favour of religious change became prelates, as Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, Hilsey of Rochester, Goodrich of Ely, and Edward Fox, a zealous and learned man, Bishop of Hereford. Latimer was one of the most popular preachers that the Church ever produced in England, and his courageous simplicity of speech and demeanour won for him great favour with the king. His sturdy English feeling is shown in his commendations of the national sport and arm of archery. When he complains of its decay, he tells us that "In my time my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot, as to learn me any other thing. . . . He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as other nations do." He then declares of archery, with the zeal of a patriot, "It is a gift of God that He hath

given us to excel all other nations withal: it hath been God's instrument, whereby He hath given us many victories against our enemies." His sound sense is shown when, in order to deal with the rampant corruption of ill-paid civil officers, he cries to Edward VI., "Such as be meet to bear office, seek them out; hire them; give them competent and liberal fees, that they shall not need to take any bribes." In another sermon, he anticipated the wisdom of modern sanitary reform by a strong remonstrance against the folly of burying the dead within the city walls, "specially at such a time when there be great sicknesses, so that many die together. I think verily that many a man taketh his death in Paul's churchyard." The homely wit, the straightforward, practical appeals, the shrewd sayings, of such a man as this, had much effect on the popular mind, in promoting the cause of the religion which he had at heart.

There were several matters at work tending to produce a strong sense of uneasiness in the body politic. The land question was coming to the front. A document of the following reign, ascribed to the young king, reveals the change that had taken place, or was still in progress. "The grazier, the farmer, the merchant, become landed men, and call themselves gentlemen, though they be churls." The commercial prosperity of England had grown with great rapidity, and territorial wealth, landed property, was in great measure changing hands. The number of land-owners was vastly increasing, and a large part of the soil was passing into the hands of the gentry, or lesser nobility, and of the citizens. The men of the towns, who had saved money as artificers or dealers, were coming to share the advantages to be derived from the judicious occupation of land. There were some of the richest soils in the kingdom ready for owners. There were abbey-lands to be sold or let, where flocks and herds had cropped the richest pastures, and the barns had been filled with the finest wheat. There were vast unenclosed grounds, which the manorial lords would gladly grant as copyhold to the provident burgess who had been dealing in broad-cloth, and now wanted to become richer by raising the great material for its production. Rents were everywhere rising, and this encouraged the diligent man who had saved money to invest it in land for profit. The commercial spirit had sunk into the whole system of rural affairs, and the old iron bond of feudal protection and dependence was changed for the lighter link of mutual interest. There were still vast tracts of marshland in every county, and not only in the fenny countries. These homes of the crane and the bustard, the heron and the bittern, and great flocks of wild ducks, widgeon, and teal, were being encroached upon by cultivation. Enclosure Acts were turning heath into tillage and pasture. So entire a revolution in the distribution of property never before occurred in England, and has never occurred since, as that caused under Henry VII. and Henry VIII., through economical changes, and by the dissolution of the monasteries.

The benefit was to come thereafter. At the time, the change was productive of great misery to the humblest classes of society. One of the chief evils was the conversion of arable land into pasture for the breeding of sheep. The growing population demanded increased clothing. One of the greatest exports of native produce was wool. Immense flocks of sheep were kept upon the newly-enclosed lands, and upon many of the farms where the old cottier-tenants had given place to a farmer or grazier who conducted his business upon a larger scale. Countless evictions threw the smaller holders of land upon the world, to become labourers, or to swell the crowd of the utterly impoverished. Labour was becoming a drug in the market, as land, previously used for tillage requiring many hands, was turned into pasture-farms needing only one or two shepherds and herdsmen. The monastic houses had employed a large number of labourers, and the loss of old masters sent most of the men, with their wives and children, into the ranks of pauperism and vagabondage. There was then no outlet in emigration, and the coming resource of manufactures was still, on a large scale, a century distant. These causes were much more potent in producing armed disorder than the disgust of the country-folk at the loss of the relief which the religious houses had been wont to give in doles to the poor.

In October 1536, the ecclesiastical commissioners, holding a visitation at Louth, found themselves confronted by a great body of peasantry in arms. They proclaimed that they were gathered for the maintenance of the faith, which was about to be destroyed, and objected to the councillors that were about the king, and the prelates that he had appointed. They were headed by a man named Mackrell, Abbot of Barlings, disguised as a mechanic, and calling himself "Captain Cobbler." The king's reply to their petitions was more forcible than polite. He asked how they, "the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the most brute and beastly of the whole realm, and of least experience, dared to find fault with their prince, for the electing of his councillors and prelates?" Soldiers were approaching under the command of the Duke of Suffolk and other lords, and, as hard words seemed likely to be followed by hard knocks, the Lincolnshire rebels soon dispersed.

A far more formidable insurrection occurred in Yorkshire and other northern counties. The people there were generally opposed to change, both in the political and religious aspects of the Reformation. Nobles and commons were there found on the same side. A lawyer named Robert Aske, of Doncaster, headed a force of over thirty thousand men. They marched with a great crucifix before them; their banners and dress bore a cross; and their expedition was styled "The Pilgrimage of Grace." Their avowed objects were the removal of low-born councillors, in a clear allusion to Cromwell, the suppression of heresy, and the restitution of the Church.

Rising in
Lincoln-
shire,
1536.

The "Pil-
grimage
of Grace,"
1536.

Pontefract Castle was taken, along with Lee, Archbishop of York, and Lord Darcy, who feigned a yielding to force, but were really at one with the rebels. The insurgents were far too strong for the few thousands of men under the Duke of Norfolk, and he was instructed by the king to temporise. The nobles of Durham joined the movement, and the Percies, except the Earl himself, had risen in Northumberland. York and Hull were captured, and soon the whole of the country north of the Humber was in open rebellion. The Earl of Shrewsbury, who was, like Norfolk, a strong Catholic, joined the Duke in negotiations, and their influence induced the insurgents to disperse, on promise of a pardon, and of a Parliament to be held at York for the consideration of all their demands. Aske was invited to come and see the king, and it may have been through him that Henry discovered the chief authors of the plot. During the winter the royal troops were reinforced, and a new rising in February 1537 was promptly crushed. Attacks upon Carlisle and Hull were repulsed, and many rebels were hanged. In May, Sir John Bulmer and five others, including three abbots, were executed at Tyburn, and Lady Bulmer was burnt at Smithfield. In June, Sir Thomas Percy and others were hanged, and then beheaded, at Tyburn; Lord Darcy died on the scaffold at Tower Hill; Lord Hussey, one of the Lincolnshire rebels, was executed at Lincoln, and Robert Aske perished at York. Martial law had been proclaimed in the north, and the Duke of Norfolk, by the king's command, inflicted a dreadful vengeance in hanging and quartering, with the exhibition of heads and bodies in every town. Among the victims of this ruthless punishment were the heads of the splendid Yorkshire abbeys of Fountains and Jervaulx.

The happiness of Henry seemed to be crowned in the birth of a son of Queen Jane on October 12th. She was the best beloved, it seems, of all his consorts, and his grief was great when the little Prince Edward's mother died ten days later. The State ^{Birth of a prince, 1537.} Papers inform us, that at the earnest entreaty of the Council, "that his Grace will again couple himself," the king desired his ambassador in France, Lord William Howard, to report of "the conditions and qualities" of the French king's daughter, and also of the widowed Duchess de Longueville. Like instructions were given to ministers at other courts. In December, John Hutton writes from Brussels to Cromwell, after mention of a daughter of the Duke of Cleves, that "he hears no great praise neither of her personage nor beauty." He adds that "he has not much experience amongst ladies." It would have been well for Cromwell if he had been as cautious as the ambassador to the Netherlands.

With their hands greatly strengthened by the suppression of the northern rebellion, and eager for more Church plunder, Cromwell and the king proceeded to deal with the greater religious houses. The government now adopted the principle of terrifying or cajoling the

abbots and priors into a surrender of their possessions. About a score of houses, some of the class of larger abbeys, were thus given up in 1537. In the following year, one hundred and fifty-nine resignations were obtained, including the abbeys of Woburn and Burlington, whose abbots had been executed for their share in the late rebellion. Popular feeling was appeased, in some measure, by stories of the extreme wickedness of the monks, and nobles and leading gentry were bribed into compliance by grants of the sequestered lands, either as a free gift, or at a very low rate of purchase. The silver shrines, the rich plate, the embroidered copes, the very lead and timber of the conventual buildings, were turned into money for the king's use. In 1539, an Act of Parliament granted and confirmed to the royal possession all such monasteries as had been or should be surrendered. The seventeen abbots who were present in the House of Lords which assembled at Westminster in April knew that they were now to pass away from their high position in the state. They had met to register their own fall. No more would the mitred lords of Tewkesbury and St. Alban's, of St. Edmondsbury and Tavistock, of Malmesbury and Colchester, ride to the capital escorted by their armed and liveried servants, with people on the highways kneeling for their blessing. The Parliaments had now become so subservient as to attract, in this respect, the notice of foreign observers. An acute Venetian of the day writes of the king's power "to keep out or bring in whomsoever he pleased as representatives," and declares of the members that "servants they enter Parliament, and servile are their proceedings therein." Cromwell writes to Henry to promise him a "tractable Parliament" for the session of 1539, and it was by this machinery that tyranny did its work in England, while the old spirit of freedom was in abeyance. It was thus that the artful minister put the drapery of representative rule over the naked form of despotism. The real ground of hope for English freedom lay in the very fact that the institutions of the country, though thus for a time misused, were maintained in working order for a future day of healthy reaction.

The Act which completed the dissolution of the abbeys was met in some quarters with a refusal to surrender religious houses to the crown. The abbots of Glastonbury, Reading, and Colchester paid the forfeit with their lives. Richard Whiting, the last abbot of Glastonbury, was a man of great age and high character. He had one hundred monks in the monastery, and three hundred monks or lay-brothers in the cells dependent on it. He maintained many young men at college, distributed abundant alms, and exercised a princely hospitality. In his case, the innocent was to suffer for the sins of the guilty. On his return from a summons to London, where he steadfastly refused to surrender his rights, he was tried in his own county on a charge of burglary and treason, for having, as was alleged, applied

some of the jewels of the abbey to the support of the northern insurrection. After condemnation, he was dragged on a hurdle to the Tor Hill, overlooking the splendid church and buildings of his monastery, and there, with two of his monks, he was hanged and quartered. The church at Glastonbury was one of the finest in England, and superior to most cathedrals. It was four hundred and twenty feet in length, and beyond it was St. Joseph's Chapel, of one hundred and ten feet. In all, the structure extended five hundred and thirty feet, or to the same length as Canterbury Cathedral, and six feet beyond the minsters of York and Lincoln. This grand edifice was now, by order of the king, unroofed, with all the other buildings, including the library, and the whole house was desecrated. Similar deeds were done elsewhere, but in some cases the churches were saved by the parishioners, who bought them of the king. It was thus that the churches of the abbeys at Tewkesbury and St. Alban's were, for the time, preserved from destruction. The whole number of religious houses suppressed was six hundred and sixty, the revenues of which amounted to at least a million and a half of money at present value. The value of the effects seized in gold and silver from the shrines, and in plate, bells, furniture, roofing-lead, timber, and stones, may be taken as, at least, a million sterling.

The suppression of the monasteries was followed in 1545 by the seizure of all other religious foundations. Over two thousand chantries and chapels, above a hundred hospitals, and nearly a hundred colleges, all outside the Universities, were thus dealt with. The houses of the Knights-Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, suffered the same fate. The Order began with the military vow taken by the monks of the convent and hospital of St. John at Jerusalem, founded for the benefit of sick pilgrims. The president of the Order, which spread over Europe, divided into eight "tongues," or "languages," was styled the "Grand Master." After the loss of Palestine by Christendom, the Jerusalem Order settled at Cyprus, but early in the fourteenth century established their head-quarters at Rhodes, of which island they became masters, whence their name of "Knights of Rhodes." In 1522, they were driven from their home by the Turks, and settled at Malta, bestowed upon them by Charles V. They then became widely known as "Knights of Malta," where their work was supposed to be the waging of perpetual war against pirates and infidels. These high-born and wealthy knights refused to surrender their houses, and they were dissolved by Act of Parliament in 1540.

A war had been also waged against what were deemed to be superstitious things and practices that the people had, in many places, continued to make of much account. The clergy were entirely under the control of Cromwell, in his capacity as vicar-general, and he ruled them with a stern hand. No priest could preach except by royal license, and all who were permitted

Dissolution of colleges, chantries, &c.

Relics, pilgrimages, shrines, 1538-1539.

to hold forth were subject to the will of Henry and Cromwell in the tone and matter of their utterance. The pulpit was made a ready means of teaching the people their master's wishes. We have seen that the bishops, abbots, and clergy had been called upon to denounce Papal supremacy, and to set forth the king as the supreme head of the Church. The parochial clergy were now required to cease from teaching that there was any virtue in relics or images, or that pilgrimages to the shrines of saints were beneficial exercises of faith. At the Abbey of Hales, in Gloucestershire, a relic was exhibited as "the blood of Hales." Latimer made this relic famous by preaching at Paul's Cross that it was "no blood, but honey clarified, and coloured with saffron." The same honest witness afterwards declared, in a sermon preached before Edward VI., that he had great difficulty in persuading Henry VIII. himself that this very liquid, contained in a crystal vessel, opaque on one side, and transparent on the other, was not the blood that dropped from the brow of Christ during the Agony in the Garden. The "blood" was shown, or not, to the pilgrim, according to the price paid. All over the land like impostures were rife. At Caversham, near Reading, the friars were wont to show "the holy knife that killed St. Edward," and the "holy dagger that killed King Henry." The abbey at Reading was full of such relics. The Abbey of Walsingham, in Norfolk, furnished a large number of these memorials of a decaying belief to the bonfire which Cromwell made at Chelsea. Some of the images were shown, and then broken in pieces, at Paul's Cross. The famous "rood," or image of Christ on the cross, with the forms of St. John and the Virgin, which had been kept at Boxley, was now carried about in scorn from market to market, and exhibited as one of the "miracles" of the day. The figure moved its eyes, threw back its head, or nodded approbation. The imposture was at last brought to London, and there the image was broken up, the machinery was disclosed, and the whole was consigned to the flames. On political grounds, a special hostility was shown to the relics at the renowned shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. Colet had long before shown his disgust for the martyr's rags, and the shoe which was offered for the reverence of his lips. In 1538, Cranmer wrote to Cromwell that he strongly suspected "that St. Thomas of Canterbury his blood, in Christ's Church in Canterbury, is but a feigned thing, and made of some red ochre, or of such like matter," and that he desired a royal commission to try and examine the matter. The hatred of Henry to the memory of the great churchman of course arose from the fact that Becket had been a chief agent in fastening the chains of Papal power on the realm. A trial was now held, in which the Archbishop was pronounced to have been a traitor. The treasures of the Canterbury shrine were seized for the use of the crown, the bones of the saint were burnt and scattered to the winds, and his name was erased from the calendar and service-books. This outrage aroused the wrath of the Papal court to such a degree that the

bull of excommunication and deposition, passed against Henry three years previously, was published in December 1538. A copy was ordered to be affixed to a church in each of the kingdoms of France, Scotland, and Ireland, and the kings of France and Scotland were exhorted to invade the country, and drive Henry from the realm.

The action of the Pope was as a sentence of doom to the remaining chief scions of the House of York—the Courtenays and the De la Poles. Cardinal Pole had already incurred the bitter ^{Henry and the} resentment of Henry. During the "Pilgrimage of Grace," ^{Yorkists.} Pole was sent by the Pope, as his legate, into the Netherlands, to distribute a manifesto approving of the rebellion, and to obtain aid for the insurgents. Before the issue of the Papal bull, he had conducted negotiations to induce the Emperor and the king of France to unite in hostilities against England. Each shrank singly from the task, and their jealousy of each other was a bar to combination. The revenge of Henry was provoked against those who were within his reach. The spies of Cromwell informed him that the Courtenays, who were powerful in the west of England, headed by the Marquis of Exeter, a grandson of Edward IV., were plotting with the De la Poles against the throne. The minister resolved to strike swiftly and to strike hard. The Nevilles, the family of the "Kingmaker" in the Wars of the Roses, closely connected with the Cardinal's family, were also implicated, and Cromwell at once arrested the Marquis, with Lord Montacute (or Montague), a brother of the Cardinal's, Sir Edward Neville, and Sir Nicholas Carew, Master of the Horse. There was nothing against them but evidence to language which they had used, and this evidence mainly consisted of the tainted depositions of a treacherous member of the Pole family. The Council then perpetrated another series of judicial murders, in sending all the accused to the block. Cardinal Pole's aged mother, the Countess of Salisbury, went to the Tower under a bill of attainder. After more than two years' imprisonment, on May 27, 1541, Margaret Plantagenet, the last in the direct line of that illustrious race, was brought out to suffer death on Tower Hill. It is one of the worst acts of tyrannous cruelty recorded in the monarch's career, but it was not a crime of Cromwell's, who had then paid his own penalty. The venerable Countess, who had the spirit of a very intrepid man, refused to lay her head upon the block, and was held down by force, her grey hairs being covered with blood before the head parted from the body.

It is a matter of much interest to inquire what use was made of the vast resources gained by the crown in the series of revolutionary confiscations known as the suppression of the monasteries. A commission had been appointed to value and dispose of the lands, and to receive their revenues. This ^{Use made of the monastic wealth.} body was called the "Court of Augmentations," because its avowed purpose was to increase the royal revenue. Even Henry did not dare

to appropriate these great possessions without a pretence that he was about to devote some portion of them to great public uses. The Act for the dissolution of the greater abbeys was followed by "an Act for the king to make bishops." In the preamble to this statute, all kinds of noble intentions are set forth, for the preaching of the Gospel, the education of children, the encouragement of learning, the relief of indigence, and the making of roads. In fact, the king's share of the plunder was largely spent in maintaining his extravagant household. Six new bishoprics were founded at Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester. The foundations made at Cambridge University will be hereafter noticed. Some improvements were made at the harbour of Dover, and in the defences of the south coast. A large part of the material wealth of the religious houses, in plate and jewels, was made away with by various speculators, on transit to the royal treasury. Part of the confiscated revenues was employed in pensions to the deprived monks and abbots. A great portion of the land, as we have seen, was made over to court-favourites, and in this way about a fifth of the actual soil of the realm passed from the Church into the hands of laymen. Some few great families, including those of Cavendish and Russell, still hold the church-lands on the possession of which their first rise to importance was founded. A new class of nobles sprang thus into existence, to replace the ancient houses that had vanished in the Wars of the Roses. The ultimate good effects of the change need not here be noticed. The harm done to the cause of religion was great and lasting. The tithes paid to the monasteries were, on the dissolution, sold at a low figure to nobles and gentry, who thus became *lay-impropriators*. These men purchased their rights on condition of augmenting the poor stipends of the vicars who, under the monasteries, had done the ministerial work of the churches in the towns. This condition was soon set aside. The tithes were mainly retained by the laity, and to this day the stipend of a town-vicar is, in general, wholly inadequate to provide for the parochial duty. A lamentable and irreparable loss to the nation was also incurred in the destruction of the monastic libraries.

The supreme head of the National Church not only deemed it his
 L The "six Articles." duty to appropriate the revenues of the establishment, to ap-
 point its rulers, and to control its preachers, but also to dictate its doctrine. The nation was to learn from the king, instead of from popes and councils, what it ought to believe. Some reason for his next action was presented in the scandals caused by the zeal of ignorant and low-minded reformers. At the destruction of the religious houses, and of the images and relics deemed superstitious, "Protestant" mobs had given grave offence by sacrilegious words and deeds. The reading of the Bible in churches had led to great disorder through the vagaries of fanatical and unlearned expounders. Scurrilous songs were heard against doctrine and practice still held

sacred by a large part of the nation, including the king and leading nobles, and profane acts, aimed at the holiest Catholic mysteries, shocked all decent feeling. The king had never intended to change the national faith. His admirers hold that his grand idea was a National Church, holding Catholic truth, independent of the Roman see, and presided over by a patriot king. He had, indeed, made concessions to reform even in matters of belief, but this, he conceived, had gone far enough, and the time was come to apply a curb. Norfolk and Gardiner, bitterly hostile to Cromwell and Cranmer, encouraged Henry in the new course, and the result was seen in the famous Act known as "The Six Articles." In May 1539, the same Parliament which had just confirmed the dissolution of abbeys, passed the Act "abolishing diversity in opinions." The statute sets forth that the desired unity was to be "charitably established." The penalties of the Act made it, in fact, a terrible scourge with six lashes. It breathes the amplest threats of the stake of Smithfield and the gallows of Tyburn. The first article affirmed the doctrine of transubstantiation. The second forbade the cup, in the Mass, to be given to the laity. The third interdicted the marriage of priests. The fourth insisted on the keeping of all vows of chastity which had been taken by nuns or monks. The fifth upheld "private masses" as laudable and lawful. The sixth declared "auricular confession," or the confession of sins to a priest, to be a necessary thing, and one to be retained in the Church. Any violator of the first article was to be burned as a "heretic." Every offender against any of the five other articles was to be hanged as a felon. It is not the historian's business to argue upon matters of religious belief, but it is impossible to avoid reference to the cruelty of first turning out into the world thousands of nuns, with no strict or tender mother-abbess to watch over them, and then forbidding them marriage under the pains of felony. It is evident, however, that no such statute could have been passed, unless a majority of the people had still favoured the old religion. Cranmer opposed the bill in Convocation and Parliament, both by speech and vote, but yielded to its provisions on its passing, and sent away his wife, like many other clergy. Latimer, of Worcester, and Shaxton, of Salisbury, at once resigned their episcopal sees. The Act remained in force until the end of the reign, but its operation was checked during the short remaining lifetime of Cromwell.

In 1539, the king had remained without a wife for the space of nearly two years. Anxiety for the succession to the crown has been called "the ruling frenzy of Henry's mind." He was eager for another marriage, and Cromwell, on the grounds already stated, aimed at a Protestant alliance for his master. The Duke of Cleves was one of the leading German princes who favoured the cause of the Reformation, and one of his daughters was already married to the Elector of Saxony, head of the Protestant

Fall of
Crom-
well,
1540.

League on the Continent. In spite of the warning received from Hutton, Cromwell wrote to the king, in March 1539, in praise of the beauty of Anne of Cleves, an unmarried daughter of the Duke. The great painter Holbein was employed to produce a flattering portrait of the lady, for the inspection of the proposed husband. The match was arranged, and in December the Lady Anne crossed from Calais. The king met his new bride at Rochester, and the interview caused him great dismay. The lady was a plain, homely German, devoid of dignity or grace, ignorant of French or Latin, and so unable to utter a word that the king could understand. The disgust of Henry was such that he forbore or forgot to produce the present which he had brought. Cromwell had played a dangerous game with one of the most formidable of mankind. For political ends, he had deliberately deceived the king, and had hurt him in one of his most tender points. There was, moreover, no remedy. It was impossible to offer the insult of sending back the lady, and Henry, perforce, found himself mated with his fourth wife. On January 6, 1540, he "put his neck in the yoke," as he described the union, in sullen wrath, to Cromwell. The unwilling husband then cast about for means to be rid of the new spouse. This was a matter requiring time, but the minister soon became the victim of this and other errors. At first, Henry had seemed to be gracious, and to be striving to overcome his aversion. Cromwell became Earl of Essex, and a knight of the Garter, and the king treated the queen with a fair show of courtesy. The minister was, however, in a position of great peril. Thoroughly hated by the nobles, as a low-born usurper of power, who had lorded it with rare insolence over men of long descent, he had incurred popular odium by his dealings with the monasteries, and by his latest measure of finance. On April 12th, a Parliament had been gathered, and there, to the surprise and indignation of all men, a bill was carried for a great subsidy to be raised upon the laity and the clergy. Not the least apology was made for the violation of promises that the necessities of the state should be provided for from the spoil of the Church. The Catholics viewed with horror his reforming tendencies, and the Protestants regarded with suspicion the man who had, at least outwardly, sanctioned the "Six Articles." The king was finally estranged by the total failure of Cromwell's plans in foreign policy. The king of France, and the Protestant princes of Germany, alike refused to come into his proposed alliance against the Emperor, and thus Henry found that he had, to no purpose, sacrificed his own feelings by the marriage into which Cromwell had betrayed him. The Duke of Norfolk and his party had little difficulty in getting the king to accept their hints of treacherous dealing, and on June 10th, by royal order, Norfolk arrested his foe in the council-chamber itself. On the 29th, Parliament passed an Act of attainder for treason and heresy, and the fallen man was executed at the Tower a month later. Four days before his head fell, the divorce of Anne

of Cleves had been completed. Convocation and Parliament, now thoroughly drilled to obey the dictates of despotism, had managed to discover that the Queen Anne had been contracted in marriage, as a child, with the Marquis of Lorraine. Her union with Henry was, therefore, "null and void from the beginning," according to the formula in such cases made and provided. The lady was nothing loth to become again single, with a handsome pension to cheer her solitude. She was granted precedence, as the king's adopted sister, next to any future queen, and to the king's own daughter, and received an annual payment of three thousand pounds, a sufficient income in those days even for the daughter of a sovereign prince, and one who had shared a throne. Anne of Cleves procured a house at the pleasant village of Chelsea, and there ended her life in 1557. In the proceedings against his old friend Cromwell, and his new queen, Anne, the amiable Archbishop Cranmer, with his usual placid baseness, had not failed to concur.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST YEARS OF THE REIGN.

Catholic reaction. Affairs in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. The Scottish Reformation. Patrick Hamilton, George Wishart. Foreign affairs: war with Scotland and France. Henry and the Howard family. Execution of Earl of Surrey. New statute on succession. Death of King.

THE Duke of Norfolk, after his triumph over Cromwell, became the chief minister of the crown, and his position seemed to be strengthened, both in a political and a religious aspect, by the marriage of Henry with the Duke's niece, the Lady Catharine Howard. She was a votary of the old faith, and became the king's fifth wife on the day that Cromwell was beheaded. Gardiner aided Norfolk in the work of maintaining the Catholic position through the Act of the Six Articles, which was now applied with some vigour. The public executioners were soon at work. On July 30, three clergymen named Barnes, Jerome, and Garrard were burned at Smithfield for heresy, in denying the Papal doctrine of transubstantiation. On the same day, Dr. Powell and two other priests were hanged, beheaded, and quartered as traitors for affirming the legality of the marriage with Catharine of Aragon, and denying the royal supremacy over the Church. A few days later, seven persons were executed at Tyburn on the same charge. A man of evil name in our history had been lately translated from Hereford to the see of London. This was Edmund Bonner, a skilled man of business, who had formerly served under Wolsey, and then became one of the royal chaplains. He now won distinction by causing a boy of fifteen, named Richard Mekin, to be

burnt for heresy under the Act. Latimer lay a prisoner in the Tower till the end of the reign. Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury, saved himself from burning by a written withdrawal of his views against transubstantiation. He was then punished for his former boldness by being forced to preach the "condemned sermon" at the execution of Anne Askew in 1545. This lady was the daughter of a Lincolnshire knight, and had warmly embraced the reformed faith. Married against her will, she was driven from her new home by a Catholic husband who could not overcome her convictions. Examined by the Council, and by Bishop Bonner, she was condemned for heresy, and burnt at Smithfield with two others, in presence of the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Mayor, and other high dignitaries. The new views were slowly winning their way in the minds of men, amidst all the distractions of the time, and against all the efforts of Bonner, Norfolk, and Gardiner. Cranmer himself, in this time of peril for reformers, seems to have had a narrow escape, and to have owed his life to the favour of Henry. Gardiner had denounced him to the king as an encourager of heretical opinions, but the Archbishop escaped prosecution, perhaps through the influence of the king's last wife.

For fifteen months after his marriage, Henry rejoiced in the society of his young and beautiful wife, and, during a progress in the north, even offered public thanksgiving for his matrimonial happiness. Then the cloud arose on the horizon. Evil news awaited him on his return to London. Cranmer had a private audience of the king, and laid before him undoubted and indubitable proofs of the queen's gross misconduct both before and after marriage. She was thereby liable to the penalties of treason, and an Act of attainder, in this case just, sent her to the Tower scaffold on February 12, 1542, along with her accomplice, the Viscountess Rochefort, who had been the means of condemning Anne Boleyn. As his sixth and last wife, Henry espoused, in July 1543, the Lady Latimer, twice before married, and now the widow of Lord Latimer. Her maiden name was Catharine Parr, by which style she is best known. She was a sound Protestant, and only escaped the machinations of Gardiner and the Catholic party by her discretion, humble demeanour, and tact in theological talk with her jealous and orthodox husband. Under her judicious handling, backed by her wifely care of the king's declining health, Henry was induced, as we have seen, to permit some slight further advance in religious change to modify the service-books of the Church.

It was in the year 1536 that the principality of Wales assumed its present political position, and was finally and thoroughly incorporated with the realm of England. A number of independent nobles or chiefs, known as the "lords-marchers," had hitherto existed. Within their territory the king had no jurisdiction, and great disorder prevailed. An Act of Parliament now dealt with

Fall of
Catharine
Howard,
1542.

Wales,
1536.

all the marches or border-lands between the two countries, and either formed them into new shires, or added them to those which had been before constituted by Edward I. The new counties thus created were Brecon, Montgomery, Denbigh, and Radnor. Monmouth, which was now also formed as a county, was made for the first time a part of England. Other small changes of territorial arrangement added to the English border counties of Shropshire, Gloucester, and Hereford. ~~The Welsh people now acquired the same laws and rights as English subjects.~~ The law of "gavelkind," involving the practice of dividing a man's lands, at his death, among all the males of his family, came to an end. Each Welsh shire, and one borough in each, sent one representative to the House of Commons, making a body of twenty-four members for the whole country.

The English conquerors of Ireland had become by degrees so fused with the native race, that the barons were, in effect, nothing but ^{Ireland} Irish chieftains. In vain did the Statute of Kilkenny, passed ^{under} under Edward III., strive to check the use of the Irish tongue, ^{Henry} VIII. customs, and dress. The marriage of English and Irish was forbidden under the penalties of treason. The people of the "English Pale," as the country was called on the eastern coast from Dundalk to beyond Dublin, extending a few miles inland, had become, as has been said, "more Irish than the Irish themselves." They were nearly independent of English rule when Richard II. made a fruitless effort to reduce the land to a permanent submission. In 1515 we find the country beyond the Pale in a state of chaotic disorder. There were sixty districts, inhabited by those who are officially styled the "king's Irish enemies." As many petty chiefs obeyed no law but that of force, and each ruler made war or peace for himself. Besides these native chieftains, about thirty nobles of English descent had the same fashion of disorderly misrule, in utter contempt of English authority. The Desmonds, Fitzgeralds, Butlers, Delameres, and other great families joined the Irish chiefs in universal oppression of the peasantry in or near their domains. The State Papers of the time declare that such utter misery as that of the "common folk of Ireland" had never been seen in the world. The deputy and his council were mere extortioners. The Church was wholly given to gain, and there was no teaching or preaching except that of the mendicant friars. Only within the fortified towns of the coast was there any semblance of sound rule. The native clans were at deadly war with each other, and the whole land was a scene of wretchedness that wrought despair. Under Wolsey's administration in England, the government, such as it was, of Ireland, had been chiefly committed to the Irish Earl of Kildare. In 1520, the Earl of Surrey, the victor of Flodden, replaced him for a season, but soon sought relief from a task which he considered hopeless. Kildare returned to his post, but was soon himself suspected of encouraging disorder, and even of planning revolt. In 1534, he had been providing his castles with

arms and ammunition out of the royal stores. Henry had long been resolved to deal sternly with Irish disorder and disaffection; and he now summoned Kildare, the head of the Geraldines, to England, and committed him to the Tower. His son, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, was sent over as vice-deputy. His father was then attainted for treason, and the young man determined on open revolt. On June 11th he entered Dublin with a body of mailed horsemen, rode to St. Mary's Abbey, where his council was then sitting, and proclaimed himself the king's foe. The castle of Dublin was besieged, and the Archbishop, John Allen, a former chaplain of Wolsey's, and an able statesman opposed to the Geraldines, was captured near Clontarf and murdered. The chieftain known as Butler, Earl of Ormond, made a brave resistance to the rebellion, and declined Fitzgerald's offers to "divide all Ireland with him." In a few months' time, Sir William Skeffington arrived from England, bringing with him batteries of cannon. The strong castle of Maynooth was soon forced to surrender; Fitzgerald and five of his uncles were captured soon afterwards; and all died by hanging at Tyburn, in February 1536, under sentence of an Act of attainder. Kildare, the father of the rebel, had already died in the Tower, and the power of the Geraldines came to an end for ever. The English arms were then carried with success into the south and west of the country. The great Norman family once called the De Burghs, who had assumed, in their Irish transformation, the name of "Burkes" or "Bourkes," was reduced to perfect submission in Connaught, and the clans of the north were also conquered. Lord Leonard Grey, the successor of Skeffington, carried into vigorous action the plans of Cromwell and Henry, and in 1541 the English monarch took, with a sense of real dominion, the title of "King of Ireland." The English sovereigns had hitherto been regarded only as the "Lords" of the country, and the Popes were held to have supreme authority. An attempt was then made by Henry and Cromwell to reconcile the chieftains and people to English rule. An Act of Parliament first swept away the Papal authority, and transferred to the English king the payment of *Annates*, "Peter's pence," and all other exactions which had heretofore enriched the treasury of the Roman see. Many of the Anglo-Irish and pure Irish leaders received peerages, along with gifts of house and land near Dublin, and a set of robes, with the view of encouraging their attendance in the Irish Parliament. The chieftain O'Donnell thus became Earl of Tyrconnel, and the powerful O'Neill was created Earl of Tyrone. The monastic possessions in Ireland followed the lead of those in England, and grants of the lands were made over, as bribes to bind their allegiance, to the new body of Irish peers. Some isolated efforts had been made, shortly before this epoch, to win the people from their semi-barbarous life. Sir Pierce Butler, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, with the aid of his energetic wife, who was sister of the Earl of Kildare, had striven to introduce the manufactures of Flanders into the counties of Tipperary and Kilkenny. The example

did not spread. The time was yet far distant when prosperity could begin for Ireland. The great wants were capital, and security for its use and its profits, and neither of these was yet forthcoming. [A vain idea was entertained by the English government of civilising the people by ruling them according to English ideas.] The native law, institutions, language, dress, and manners were to be superseded by English importations. Nothing but a complete subjugation and a large intermixture of English settlers could have made any approach to such a result, and from such tasks the English rulers recoiled, in their want of men and money. It was hoped that, in course of time, the nobles would lead the people in the path of English civilisation. They were now made possessors of all the land in their districts, in opposition to the old Irish custom of common tenure by the whole tribe, "sept," or clan. They were required, in return, to give a promise of loyalty, to maintain order, and to supply men and money, to a settled amount, for service in time of war. In any case, the work of bringing the Irish people into a quiet submission to the English system of government, and of imbuing them with English civilisation, would have been a matter of great difficulty, owing to the peculiar character of the race with whom the English conquerors had to deal. It was not that the people were cursed, as a modern statesman has suggested in bitter irony, "with a double dose of original sin," but that their qualities made them subjects who needed very careful and scrupulous treatment on the part of their rulers. These elements of character were just those which tend to make men interesting rather than prosperous. Ardent and impetuous, they were easily stirred to laughter or tears, to love or hate. Susceptible, vivacious, born actors and orators, they alone, among the peoples of northern Europe, resembled the Greek-Latin races of the sunny south. This humorous, poetical, pious, credulous, shrewd, patriotic, clannish, brave, undisciplined, clever, indolent, amiable, and impracticable nation, or rather, in this stage of their history, these disunited tribes, who might hereafter form a nation, required to be ruled with a hand of steady firmness, tempered with indulgence and consideration for their particular faults and failings. In their capacity as subjects of a conquering race, aliens in blood and language, the one thing which they ever strongly desired, and rarely obtained, was justice, the even-handed administration of equal laws for all, without fear or favour. The eminent English chief-justice and jurist, Sir Edward Coke, declares that "there is no nation of the Christian world that are greater lovers of justice than the Irish are." An attorney-general of the same epoch, Sir John Davies, writes of them that "they will gladly continue in this condition of subjects without defection, or adhering to any other lord or king, as long as they may be protected and justly governed, without oppression on the one side, or impunity upon the other. For there is no nation of people under the sun that doth love equal and indifferent

justice better than the Irish, or will rest better satisfied with the execution thereof, although it be against themselves." From the first, little or no heed was paid to the just rights of the conquered people. From the first, Ireland was ruled as a dependency won by the sword. Pronounced to be fellow-subjects of the English, the Irish were constantly treated as aliens and foes. The English colonists were submissive to the rule of the mother-country, without whose support they could not exist, and they sought satisfaction in the oppression of those among whom they had settled. The executive administration was intrusted to men taken either from England or from the English Pale, and both classes of rulers were regarded as foreigners, or even as enemies, by the Celtic population. In this ominous state of affairs, the one thing needed to make the position desperate was precisely that which came to pass in Tudor times, the attempt to enforce a religious change. When Henry VIII., for the first time in our history, effected a kind of conquest of Ireland, the religion of victors and vanquished was the same, save only in the matter of submission to the Papal see. Even then, a distinction was made which boded ill for future peace. No Irish priest was allowed to officiate within the English Pale; no English priest was permitted to serve outside its limits. The Church, on both sides of the boundary, was at the lowest point of efficiency, and a man might traverse large districts without seeing a priest, or a church where mass was ever performed. Little or no difficulty occurred with regard to the renunciation of Papal supremacy or the dissolution of religious houses. The dispersion of the monks, who were almost the only teachers that the land possessed, had a bad effect on the cause of civilisation and learning, but no hostile feeling found outward expression among the natives. They passively submitted at first to the political results of the Reformation, and never dreamed of any attempt to interfere with the objects of popular veneration, or the doctrines of popular belief. The people would certainly resent any attacks upon these, made by men of the conquering race. Patriotism, rather than religious bigotry, stood in the way of any conversion of the vanquished people to Protestant principles. Coercion, applied to their religious tenets and practices, would only serve to engraft a new religious feud upon the old grievance between Saxon and Celt. The English conquerors, however, neglected all legitimate means of effecting a change of faith. No instructors were sent to teach the Irish people in their own tongue. No translation of the Bible was issued in the Irish language. A fatal lack of wisdom was shown at this most important crisis in the history of two nations. A new prelate was sent to Dublin in place of Allen, a victim of the late revolt. Archbishop Browne belonged to that most mischievous class of officials, men gifted with much zeal and little discretion. His avowed object was that of putting an end to "idolatry" and superstition in the reverence shown to images, and in the journeys undertaken

to shrines. Neither he nor his employers in England recognised the principle that "circumstances alter cases." The people of England were, in that age, two centuries in advance of the people of Ireland in mental enlightenment. They had seen, as a rule, with all the satisfaction of calm contempt for exploded impostures, the raid made by the government on mediæval toys and follies. The semi-savage peasants of Ireland would be moved to bitter resentment by what they deemed sacrilegious outrage. From that time, a quiet and stubborn resistance met all attempts to enforce religious change. Neither bishops nor clergy would now consent to renounce the Pope, or to preach in accordance with instructions from England. The efforts made in the next reign met with a like reception, and in the end the English government, after cruel persecution, had to remain satisfied with the establishment of a great Protestant hierarchy, who had a mere handful of adherents, and "were paid, for doing nothing, out of the spoils of a Church loved and revered by the great body of the people."

The minority of James V. was a time of trouble for Scotland, caused by contests for the regency between Margaret, the queen-mother, her husband the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Arran, and other persons intriguing for the possession of the young king. It was only in 1528 that James, then in his eighteenth year, became a free agent. In 1531, he showed some vigour against the turbulent Border-chiefs, and hanged many at their own castlegates. He then pacified the Western Highlands, and was king for a time in something more than name. When the quarrel arose between Henry and the Pope, James found his alliance much courted by foreign powers. His uncle, the English king, sent him the Order of the Garter. Charles V. bestowed on him the insignia of the famous "Golden Fleece," and the Pope despatched a cap and a consecrated sword to one whose aid was desired as a champion of the Church against the arch-rebel in England. In 1538, James took as his second wife a French lady of high rank, Mary of Lorraine, daughter of the Duke of Guise. His first wife, who died soon after her arrival in Scotland, had been a daughter of the French king. Two sons were born of the king's second marriage, but both died in 1541, and then further trouble came. Henry had long resented his nephew's rejection of his friendly advances, and the preference shown to the French alliance. Mary of Guise had confirmed the devotion of James to the old religion, and the English king had tried in vain to tempt him to seize the monastic property. The most powerful subject in Scotland at this time was Cardinal Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, head of the French and Catholic party. He was a man of great abilities and of unscrupulous character, and it was through his influence that James was induced to affront his powerful uncle and neighbour, by failing to keep an appointment for a conference between the two monarchs at York. Henry at once declared war, and put forward the old claim to the Scottish crown.

Foreign
affairs:
Scotland.

In 1542, the Duke of Norfolk crossed the border with a powerful force, but, after the usual raiding, retreated for want of supplies. James assembled an army for the invasion of England, but soon found himself powerless from the spirit of disaffection existing among his nobles. The Douglasses, long rebellious, favoured the English cause, and many other leading men desired to promote religious reform, which the king stoutly opposed. James was compelled to disband his troops, and returned, in grief and shame, to Edinburgh. Another army was raised, but the attack made on England ended in utter and disgraceful defeat. The king was not present, and mutinous disorder led to a panic at Solway Moss, in Cumberland, where the Scottish force fled before a few hundred English cavalry. The failure was a death-blow to James. He retired to Falkland Palace, and there died on December 14, 1542, a few days after the queen had given birth to a daughter, who was to become one of the most famous women in history. The broken-hearted monarch, as he thought of the past history of the Stuart line, which began with a son of Marjory Bruce, and of the dangers surrounding an infant female heir, feared that the end would now be the conquest of Scotland by England. In his dying words he murmured, "It cam' wi' a lass, and it will gang wi' a lass." The English king, however, was not aiming at conquest, but desired to effect a peaceful union between the two countries by means of a marriage between his son Edward, and the little Scottish queen. He had in his hands a number of Scottish lords taken in the "Rout of Solway," and these he released on their promise to carry out his plans. The Scottish people were extremely averse to the English alliance. The Earl of Arran, as presumptive heir to the throne, became Regent. He was one of the Reforming party, and some steps were taken towards meeting the wishes of Henry. Arran then went over to the party of the Church. In December 1543, Cardinal Beaton became chancellor, and in the next year Papal legate. As supreme official in church and state, he was now, with the queen-mother, Mary of Guise, director of all Scottish affairs. The English alliance was at once renounced, and the French cause was in the ascendant. Henry then prepared for another attack upon Scotland. The Earl of Hertford arrived in the Forth in May 1544, with a powerful fleet, carrying a force of ten thousand men. He demanded that the infant queen should be surrendered, and, on the Regent's refusal, marched upon Edinburgh. The city was taken, plundered, and partly burnt. On the approach of a large Scottish force, Hertford retired to Berwick, and for two years the contest continued, with the usual terrible inflictions upon the peaceful cultivators of the soil. The abbeys of Kelso and Melrose were ruined, and the southern districts of Scotland, then rich in corn-lands, were mercilessly ravaged. Cardinal Beaton was the special object of Henry's hatred, and the English council, without directly implicating their sovereign, began to intrigue for the Scottish statesman's assassination. Beaton had many powerful

enemies among the Protestant party, headed by the Earl of Lennox, and had given grave offence by his persecution of heretical opinions. On May 29, 1546, the Cardinal was murdered by a party of men at his castle of St. Andrews. The cruel bigotry of the age is shown in the fact that John Knox, the reformer, writes of the foul deed in a tone of exultation, and George Buchanan, one of the glories of Scotland as a reformer, a scholar, and a Latin poet and historian, records it with no word of disapproval. Peace was concluded a few days later by the treaty which ended the war with France.

The ritual of the Scottish mediæval Church was almost identical with that of England, the liturgies and service-books being modelled upon the Salisbury missal and breviary. In all essential points, the external system of the Church—cathedral, parochial, and monastic—was the same as that which was established beyond the Border. The Benedictine and other important religious orders flourished, and in the thirteenth century the Dominican, Franciscan, and Carmelite friars were introduced. We have seen that metropolitan and archiepiscopal dioceses existed, under Papal bulls, at St. Andrews and at Glasgow, towards the end of the fifteenth century. The clergy resembled their English brethren in the acquirement of vast wealth, and of influence in state affairs, and the Papal see made large profits on the same system as that which so long prevailed in England. New opinions on religious matters spread to Scotland in the time of Wyclif, and in 1408 John Reseby, a Lollard who had fled from England, was burned for holding "forty heresies." In 1432, a German Hussite died at the stake at St. Andrews. In the sixteenth century, the effects of Luther's teaching soon began to appear, and an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1525 forbade the importation of Lutheran books, and the spreading of heretical doctrines. The ecclesiastical power was dominant in Scotland at this epoch, from the terrible loss of lay nobles at Flodden, and persecution soon began under the auspices of Beaton. Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish reformer in that age, was burnt in 1528 at St. Andrews. Hamilton was the well-born and accomplished Abbot of Fern, who had become imbued with the new faith in conversation with Luther and Melanchthon during his Continental travels. In 1538, several friars and laymen, with a parish-priest, were condemned by a convocation of bishops, and burned on the Castle Hill at Edinburgh. Many friends of the new faith now went into exile, but by degrees a strong party was formed, including many of the clergy, the gentry, and the chief townsmen, with a determination to carry the reform of religion far beyond the point yet reached in England. The bishops and the government strongly resisted all innovations, and a fresh collision soon occurred. In 1544, George Wishart, who had been driven into banishment by the Bishop of Brechin for teaching the Greek Testament at Montrose, returned to Scotland from his residence at Cambridge. In the winter of 1545, he attracted much attention by

the boldness of his preaching at Haddington, and being condemned, he was burned at St. Andrews, opposite to the castle-windows, from which the Cardinal watched the scene. Two months later Beaton followed his victim to death.

In 1544, Henry, under a feeling of irritation caused by the French alliance with Scotland, formed a league with the Emperor for a combined invasion of France. The Parliament granted supplies, after passing a statute for the robbery of their fellow-subjects, which declared all loans made to the king in the two previous years to be entirely remitted, and all securities for the same to be utterly void. The joint-campaign was a failure. In July, the English king crossed to Calais with thirty thousand men, and was then joined by a large force of Flemings sent by Charles V. Two months were wasted in the capture of Boulogne, while the Emperor, who had invaded France, by way of Champagne, with a powerful army, was waiting for his ally to unite with him in a march on Paris. Francis and Charles then concluded a separate peace, and Henry, in great disgust, returned to England at the end of September. The king of France then projected an invasion of England, and the country was in some danger. The government was straitened for money, and the means of defence, apart from the fleet, were sorely wanting. A powerful squadron was in the Channel, carrying twelve thousand men. The ships, over a hundred in number, varied in size from the *Henry Grace à Dieu* of one thousand tons and seven hundred men, to the *Mary Winter* of Plymouth, of forty tons and thirty-two men. Only twenty-eight vessels exceeded two hundred tons burthen. The watchword and countersign, given in "The Order for the Fleet" of August 10, 1545, point to the traditionary origin of the national song. "The watchword in the night shall be thus," runs the order, "God save King Harry;" the other shall answer, "And long to reign over us." A great loss was suffered at this juncture by the accidental sinking, in Portsmouth harbour, of the large ship *Mary Rose* with four hundred men, before the eyes of the king, who stood on the edge of the quay. The French fleet of two hundred ships, carrying an army of sixty thousand men, appeared off the Isle of Wight, and a landing was there effected by a portion of the hostile force. Some indecisive fighting occurred between the fleets; the French failed in resolution to attack Portsmouth; disease broke out on board their ships; and they returned home with no success to record. In 1546, the French failed in efforts to retake Boulogne, and a peace was made, in which Scotland was included. This futile contest ended the wars of Henry VIII.

During the last years of the reign, the party of the Reformation was gaining strength. The rising statesman of the day was Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, brother of the king's best-loved wife, and uncle of the young heir to the throne. The party of the Howards, led by the chief Catholic subject, the

War with
France
1543-1545.
Home
affairs,
1543-1547.

Duke of Norfolk, was fast losing ground. Norfolk and Seymour were both political and theological foes, and the king's jealousy may have been roused against the Duke's family by the malevolent hints of his rival. The morbid anxiety of Henry concerning the succession favoured such an attempt. The Duke was at the head of the English nobility. He could look back upon a long line of ancestors, who had served the state in high civil, naval, and military office. Sir William Howard had been chief-justice of the Common Pleas under the first two Edwards. His grandson, Sir John Howard, was an admiral who assisted the third Edward at the long siege of Calais. It was his grandson again, Sir Robert Howard, that married the co-heiress of the Mowbrays, Dukes of Norfolk, and by this union raised his house to a position of great wealth and importance. Their only son, Sir John Howard, a leading supporter of the House of York, fought bravely in France, became a peer, as Lord Howard, in 1470, and was created captain-general of the naval forces under Edward IV. His later honours included the Garter, the office of constable of the Tower, the Dukedom of Norfolk, bestowed by Richard III., and the high dignity of Earl-Marshal of England, which still belongs to this illustrious house. He was also High-Steward and Admiral, when he fell fighting at Bosworth in the cause of the White Rose. His son had been created Earl of Surrey by the usurper, and, on restoration to the honours which had been attained by Parliament when the Tudor claimant gained the throne, he rose to distinction of his own winning, as the victor of Flodden, and the second Duke. It was his son, Thomas Howard, the third Duke of Norfolk, that was now struggling with Hertford for the place of supremacy in political power, and for the maintenance of the olden faith. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, son and heir of the Duke, had royal blood in his veins through his father's second marriage with a descendant of Edward III. Surrey was one of the most distinguished men of the age, and one of the brightest ornaments of his house. Excellent alike in arts and in arms, a man of learning and poetical genius, of a generous temper and refined taste, he was wanting in qualities most needful for safety under the rule of such a monarch as Henry. Prudence and self-control would have kept him secure amidst all the dangers of the time. In July 1542, when he was already a knight of the Garter, he was imprisoned in the Fleet for seeking to fight a duel with a gentleman of Middlesex. He ascribed the offence to "the fury of reckless youth," and in the following year, was summoned before the Privy Council, on a charge of the Corporation of London, for parading the streets of the capital at midnight with Thomas Wyatt the younger, and breaking the windows of the citizens for sport. Soon after his second detention in the Fleet, he had the command of the army before Boulogne. In 1546, he was superseded by Hertford for a failure to intercept a French convoy. He let fall some angry words against the king and his own enemies

in the council, and was imprisoned in Windsor Castle. His doom was sealed by his rashness in having quartered in his escutcheon the royal arms of Edward the Confessor, from whom he claimed descent. His foes used this act in order to suggest that he would aspire to the throne during the minority of the young Edward, and both he and his father were committed to the Tower. On January 13, 1547, he was condemned at Guildhall as a traitor, after trial before a common jury, and died six days later by beheading on Tower Hill. He was but thirty years of age when he thus became the victim of tyranny. The many services of his father availed nothing against the jealous rage of Henry, and a bill of attainder for treason was hurried through Parliament. The Duke was saved by a miracle of good fortune. The dying king had despatched the order for Norfolk's execution on the morning of January 28th, but news then reached the Tower that Henry had expired. The governor stayed the headsman's hand, and the council, freed from the power which had so long exerted its irresistible will, issued a respite, followed by imprisonment till 1553.

In 1544, a third Act of Succession left the throne, by turns, to Edward, Prince of Wales, and his issue, if any, and then to the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. There was no declaration of their legitimacy, which would have been to declare unlawful the divorces of Catharine of Aragon and of Anne Boleyn. The king, by the authority conferred on him in the Succession Act of 1536, directed in his will that, in case none of his three children should leave any issue, the crown should pass to the descendants of his younger sister, Mary, Duchess of Suffolk. The Scottish branch of the Tudors, descended from Margaret, elder daughter of Henry VII., was thus excluded from the throne, an arrangement afterwards disregarded, in the succession of James VI. of Scotland. The great Tudor king, "the majestic lord that broke the bonds of Rome," died at two o'clock in the morning of January 28, 1547, in his palace at Westminster, in the faith of the Church whose ecclesiastical supremacy he had swept away from his realm. The body lay in state for twelve days in the chapel of Whitehall, and was then buried at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

**New Act
of Succession,
1544.
Death of
Henry,
1547.**

CHAPTER VII.

SOCIAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONDITION OF EARLY TUDOR TIMES.

The labouring class. Culture and learning. Archbishop Warham, Ascham, learned ladies. Trinity College, Cambridge. Literature. More's *Utopia*. Skelton's satirical verses. Poetry of Wyatt and Earl of Surrey. The first English comedy. Scottish writers.

HENRY VIII. has a strong claim to be regarded as the founder of an English navy. In his reign, dockyards were established at Deptford, Woolwich, and Portsmouth, and legal provision was made for the growth of timber to meet their wants. In previous reigns, the supply of vessels for the purposes of war had been partly obtained from the Cinque Ports, and partly by hire from English and foreign merchants. The germ of our Admiralty was now seen in the "Navy Office," and a due regard for the interests of trade was shown in the founding of the Corporation of Trinity House in 1514, for the promotion of commerce and navigation, by licensing and regulating pilots, and providing lighthouses, beacons, and buoys. Smaller institutions of the same kind were formed at Hull and Newcastle.

The economical condition of the labouring class has already been noticed, and is further illustrated by the Acts passed against vagrancy. From the time of Richard II. to the year 1531, vagabonds had been liable to be put in the stocks. The terror of the whip was now added to the restraint of the wooden frame for wandering beggars not furnished with a license from a justice of the peace. In 1536, a new statute forbade private charity, save in the shape of "broken meat," ordered the collection of alms on Sundays and holy days by the parish priest, and sentenced to death as felons able-bodied vagrants found begging for the third time. Some of the trouble of the age is seen in a statute of 1545, denouncing penalties against the "cutting the heads of conduits," setting fire to heaps of felled wood, barking apple and pear trees, and maiming cattle. In this war of the savage against the settler, we are enabled to estimate the mental and moral condition of the poorest class of country labourers. It appears that over seventy thousand thieves and vagrants were hanged during the reign, and yet we find Edward VI. declaring "for idle persons, there were never, I think, more than be now." The world, in truth, was being remodelled, and the time of transition from the days of bounty at the monastery door to the provision of legal relief under Elizabeth could not but witness much disorder and suffering.

Amidst the follies of an age in which we find a man so highly placed as Bishop Hooper calling upon a statesman to "take order upon the price of things," we may note the lowering of the value of money by

the introduction of an ever-increasing amount of copper into the gold and silver coins. This was one of the works of Henry VIII., for the relief of the royal necessities, and the evil was carried further still under his son. Latimer fell into some trouble with the Council, when he denounced the fraud, with his usual bluntness of speech, in a sermon preached before Edward. The restoration of the minted metal to its true value was to be one of the glories of the reign of Elizabeth.

In the long line of men who have ruled the see and ecclesiastical province of Canterbury, some illustrious both by ability and character, some more distinguished by piety than by learning, and some more renowned for statesmanship than for personal religion or literary culture, one of the most pleasing figures is that of Archbishop Warham. He was the firm friend of the new learning and of its foremost representative, Erasmus. Nothing can be more delightful than the picture which the great scholar has drawn for us of the sincere piety, the generosity, the innocent gaiety, the love of learning and of learned men, which marked the character of his judicious and faithful patron. The good Archbishop was a true father of the Church. His simple ways of life place in the highest relief the ostentatious and gorgeous display of such a prelate as Wolsey. Warham was zealous for the good discipline of the body which he ruled, and we find him complaining, in 1529, that priests and clerks in sacred orders are not ashamed to go about publicly like laymen, with hounds in leash and hawks in hand. He strove to induce Erasmus to do honour to the Church in England by the acceptance of preferment, and when the illustrious "Humanist" shrank from clerical office, he bestowed on him a liberal pension. It was to Warham that the Dutch scholar dedicated his edition of the works of St. Jerome, which forms an era in the history of biblical criticism. The introduction of the new culture, especially in the study of Greek, had at first met with warm opposition. The men who feared religious change bade their friends and pupils "beware of the Greeks, lest you be made a heretic." At Oxford a strong party of students and their teachers took the name of "Trojans," as men battling against the Greek assailants of the old learning and the old ideas. All resistance, however, was helpless against the royal patronage and the innate power of the progressive movement. A new generation of scholars arose in the pupils of the grammar-schools which were founded in the reign of Henry. The lovers of learning could point their children and their young students to models of classical culture in the places next the throne, and among the ladies of the land. A writer of the time informs us that it was "no strange thing to hear gentlewomen to use grave and substantial talk in Latin and Greek, with their husbands, of godly matters; and for young damsels in noble houses and in the courts of princes to have continually in their hands either psalms, homilies, and other devout meditations, or else St. Paul's Epistles, or

other book of Holy Scripture; and as familiarly to read or reason thereof, in Greek, Latin, French, or Italian, as in English." Henry himself set an example to his nobility, in giving a learned education to his daughters, as well as to his son. The training of the young Edward was partly intrusted to Sir John Cheke, who, like his friend Sir Thomas Smith, was famous at Cambridge as a student and teacher of Greek. The British Museum has letters of the Prince in Latin and French, written before the age of nine, and at thirteen he was reading Aristotle in the original. One of the tutors of the Princess Elizabeth was the famous Roger Ascham, a lecturer in Greek at St. John's College, Cambridge, who was so good a Latinist that he succeeded Cheke as public orator, and wrote the official letters of the University. Eminence in classical learning was then a great help to promotion in the public service. Under Edward, Cheke and Smith both became secretaries of state, and Smith and Ascham served the king as ambassadors. The Princess Mary was a writer of good Latin, and Elizabeth enjoyed the reading of the Greek Testament, and the great Attic masters of tragedy and oratory. Sir Thomas More's eldest daughter, Margaret Roper, was mistress of the two classical tongues, and wrote Latin in an elegant style. A great modern historian and critic has written of "those fair pupils of Ascham and Aylmer, who compared, over their embroidery, the styles of Isocrates and Lysias, and who, while the horns were sounding and the dogs in full cry, sat in the lonely oriel, with eyes riveted to that immortal page which tells how meekly and bravely the first great martyr of intellectual liberty took the cup from his weeping gaoler." Aylmer, who was to become Bishop of London under Elizabeth, was one of the tutors of the best female Greek scholar of the day, the gentle Lady Jane Grey, destined to be the hapless victim of another's wicked ambition. The complete triumph of the champions of learning was marked by the new foundations at the University of Cambridge. In 1540, Henry established the five royal professorships in Divinity, Law, Physic, Hebrew, and Greek. In the first years of his reign, he had fulfilled the intention, and executed the bequest, of his father's mother, the Countess of Richmond, by instituting the seat of learning destined to renown as St. John's College. Among its early students were Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and "rare" Ben Jonson. In 1542, Thomas, Lord Audley, Chancellor of England, obtained a grant and letters-patent from the king for the foundation of Magdalene College, among whose curious MSS. are the love epistles of Henry, before marriage, to Anne Boleyn. The catalogue of service to the cause of the highest intellectual culture may fitly close with the noblest of all educational institutions. The last complete year of the Tudor king's reign was signalled by the foundation of Trinity College, Cambridge. In 1546, a number of earlier halls, hostels, and inns, some due to the second and third Edwards, were combined to form "one fair college, the stateliest and most uniform in Christendom." The Great Court, built soon after

Henry's death, is reputed to be the most spacious quadrangle in the world, covering an area of more than two acres. A list of the famous men who here worked and played in the bloom of youth and early manhood would include philosophers, poets, peers, prelates, and statesmen of the first rank in the annals of the country.

The one great book of the age was the *Utopia* of Sir Thomas More, first printed at Louvain in 1516, under the care of Erasmus and other friends of the author in Flanders. It was composed in Latin, and first appeared as an English publication in 1551, in a translation by Ralph Robinson. This wonderful work of a wonderful man sketches a land of impossible excellence in its institutions. The writer proves himself to have been whole centuries in advance of the ideas of his age on social, political, and religious questions. Under the guise of the kingdom of "Nowhere" he aims sly satire at the evils prevalent in the England of Tudor times. The severe justice which made death a penalty for theft; the decay of tillage and the increase of pasture; the lack of manufactures; the failure to prevent crime by sound training of the youthful poor; the faulty rule of monarchs who covet other kings' dominions instead of making the best of their own; the quarrels about religious belief; and the use of persecution instead of gentle persuasion; the system of law and society which seemed nothing but a series of devices to enable the rich to plunder and oppress the poor—all are exposed and denounced by a man who then proceeds to set forth remedies for the diseases of the body politic. The genius of the writer propounds changes which have, in the England of the nineteenth century, become the triumphs of legislative, social, and industrial reform. He anticipates problems still discussed at a congress of trades-unions. He claims for the hand-workers of the commonwealth the right to mental culture as well as to provision for the bodies which toil for the good of all. Every child, he hints, should be taught to read in his own tongue. The lowly citizen should not dwell, as in the author's day, in a hut with walls of mud and roof thatched with straw, but in a house planted in a broad street, and built with pieces of flint, or brick, or stout timber well plastered. The day of Sir Samuel Romilly is foreseen when More argues that to execute the mere thief is to tempt the marauder to turn murderer, in order to escape punishment for the lesser crime. All punishment should aim at the reformation of criminals, and so endeavour to secure at once "the destruction of vice and the saving of men." One of his suggestions foreshadows the part of our criminal system which affords hope to the convict by allowing marks for good conduct to shorten his term of detention in gaol. The author strikes to right and to left, at the hardships of the monastic cell, and at the sour fanaticism of Puritanical restraint, when he pleads that Divinity desires the happiness of mankind, and that it is mere ingratitude to forego the innocent pleasures of life. It would be better for the fame of More, the admir-

able, the lovable, the learned, and the original man that he was, if we could record that he always practised that which he preached with so much enlightenment and zeal. The man who saw and advocated the principle of tolerance in religious belief was overcome, in practice, by the prejudice of the time. If he did not burn for heresy, he defended, at a day later than *Utopia*, the conduct of those who did, and the Lord Chancellor of England entered the lists of controversy as a champion of the policy of persecution. Some of the best English prose of the time was given to the world by John Bouchier, Lord Berners, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer and governor of Calais. His translation of Froissart's Chronicle was published in 1523. Cranmer may justly claim a high place in our literature by the ability of his controversial tracts, and especially by the part which he took, under Edward, in framing that model of beautiful English, the Church Liturgy. John Leland, the "King's Antiquary," a pupil under Lilly at St. Paul's School, became chaplain and librarian to Henry, and did much useful work in his six years' travel over England. The information thus gained concerning the cities, towns, villages, castles, abbeys, cathedrals, monuments, libraries, and natural features of the land is partly contained in the work known as his *Itinerary*, compiled at a later day from the vast materials which he gathered.

John Skelton, rector of Diss, in Norfolk, was a bold satirist of Wolsey, sharing the people's feeling against the haughty and oppressive minister. In a popular form of verse, mingled with scraps of Latin, he assailed the supremacy of the proud prelate, before whom the barons crouched, and hinted at his foe's parentage in words about "a bragging butcher" and "the butcher's dog." In about twelve hundred coarse and vigorous lines of rhyme Skelton's "Why come ye not to Court?" attacked the character and rule of the lord of York Place and Hampton Court. His *Colin Clout*, also inveighing against the Cardinal, makes a poor man of the day rail at the state of the country and the corruption of the clergy. Some faint prelude of the glorious outburst of song that was to resound in the age of Elizabeth was heard in the days of her sire. Sir Thomas Wyatt the elder, of Allington Castle, in Kent, was an accomplished courtier, wit, and diplomatist in the service of Henry. Skilled in the use of arms and in the music of the lute, he spoke French and Spanish, and his poetical tastes were nurtured in a good knowledge of Italian song. He was one of the reforming party, and spent some months in the Tower, after the fall of his friend Thomas Cromwell. He was acquitted upon trial for treason, and regained the favour of the king. His poetical works chiefly consist of love elegies and odes, displaying elegance of thought, with a somewhat strained and artificial expression. The real poet of the day was the hapless Earl of Surrey, also trained to poetical utterance under the influence of the Italian muse. His sonnets, complaints, and other poems, nearly all dealing with amorous topics,

Poetry,
satire,
drama.

are kindled by the fire of genius, and in his imitation of Italian models he showed the way to Spenser and Milton. Both he and his friend Wyatt enjoy the honour belonging to pioneers in particular forms of English verse. It was Wyatt who introduced the sonnet in its accurate shape. It was Surrey who first brought into our literature, in his translation of the second and fourth books of the *Aeneid*, the noble form of English poetry known as blank verse. To the reign of Henry is also due the earliest known specimen of English comedy. Nicholas Udall, a "Humanist" who favoured religious reform, became head-master of Eton in 1534. As a Christmas-play for his scholars, in imitation of Plautus and Terence, he wrote his *Ralph Roister Doister*, to ridicule conceit and swagger. The play is in rhyming couplets, and is enlivened here and there by facetious songs. In Udall's modelling of his comedy upon the classic remains of the Latin writers we have the true origin of the modern drama, which some have vainly supposed to be based on the miracle-plays and "mysteries." The revival of letters produced in Italy imitation of the Latin dramatists, and thence the fashion spread through the world of western Europe. In Scotland, the chief names at this epoch are those of David Lindsay and Gavin Douglas. Lindsay, a man of good birth, was a student of the University of St. Andrews, and became later the faithful friend of King James V. Some of his poems refer to royal duties and political affairs, and others satirise, with the pen of a religious reformer, the vices of the clergy in Scotland. Sir David Lindsay has been styled the poet of the Scottish Reformation, and he well earned the name by the boldness and power with which he denounced the corruptions of the existing Church. For poetical expression, he falls below Dunbar and Douglas. Gavin Douglas, a son of the famous Earl of Angus known as "Archibald Bell-the-Cat," was a priest who became Bishop of Dunkeld, and died in London, as an exile, in 1522. His justly high repute is derived from a translation of the *Aeneid* into the heroic couplet. It is the earliest verse-rendering of any Latin classic, and displays great spirit, and an elegance of diction far beyond the standard of the age.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE REFORMATION UNDER EDWARD THE SIXTH.

Somerset in power. War with Scotland. Reform of English Church. Cranmer and Ridley. New service books. Somerset succeeded by Northumberland. The Church plundered by her new friends. The succession-scheme of Northumberland and Cranmer. Death of the young king.

THE young king was only in his tenth year when he came to the throne. His father had appointed a Council for his guidance, composed of sixteen persons drawn from both the religious parties, with a view

to securing a balance of authority. The chief reformers among them were Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Hertford. Wriothesley, the Lord Chancellor, held strong Anglo-Catholic views, and was the foremost opponent of Hertford and Cranmer. Three days were allowed to elapse before Henry's death was announced to the Parliament, which was then dissolved. During this time the Earl of Hertford, assisted by Sir William Paget, one of the secretaries of state, had been maturing his plans, and the result was soon made manifest. Hertford induced a majority of the "executors," or the Council appointed in the king's will, to nominate himself as "Protector." The Chancellor, who had been created Earl of Southampton, opposed this arrangement, and was dismissed from office. Hertford became Duke of Somerset, and, after Edward's coronation, on February 28th, his authority as Protector was confirmed by letters-patent. He had a powerful party behind him, and the road to a further religious reform was now cleared. The will of Henry had been set aside, and the Duke was practically invested with royal power.

The new ruler of England, who is claimed by some writers as a sincere patriot, was not a man of strong character. He was devoid of the calmness and prudence needed by the difficulties of his position. The foreign relations of England required careful treatment. In 1546, Charles V. had made war on the princes of the Protestant League in Germany, and it was to be feared that he might turn his hostility against England. France and Scotland, the old allies, might again unite in open enmity to their ancient foe. Religious parties at home were in a condition of unrest. The Protestants wished for a far more searching religious reform, and the sincere Catholics were sore at the changes already made. The poorer classes, from causes before noticed, were in a wretched position, and their seething discontent might at any moment burst into serious disorder. The nobles were filled with a spirit of covetousness, and their political and social morals had both been corrupted by the vicious maxims and practice of Italy. It behoved Somerset to move with slow and cautious steps towards the attainment of a solid and secure position for the interests which he had in charge. The policy adopted by the Protector was to rush hotly into violent proceedings at home and abroad.

The first attack was made on Scotland. On March 31st, Francis I. of France had died, and his son and successor, Henry II., refused to ratify his father's late treaty with England, pre-ferring to renew the Scottish alliance. The castle of St. Andrew's, after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, in 1546, had been held against the Regent Arran by those who favoured the English alliance, and the marriage of their young queen with Edward. A French force compelled them to surrender in July 1547, and it was then that John Knox, one of their number, went as a prisoner for two years to the French galleys. Somerset at once invaded Scotland with fifteen

Edward
VI., 1547-
1553.

The
policy of
Somerset.

Scotland,
1547-1548.

thousand men and a powerful fleet. He found the enemy, with double his force, encamped near Musselburgh, in a very strong position, defended by the little river Esk in front, by a deep marsh on the right, and by the sea on their left flank. The Scots mistook a movement of the Duke's for an intended retreat to his ships anchored off shore, and rashly quitted their post of vantage. On September 10th the battle of Pinkie ended the catalogue of armed contests between the two countries. The result was a great disaster for the Scottish force. Their pikemen repulsed the English cavalry, but a part of the army was then assailed by the whole body of the foe, whose bowmen and cannon wrought great destruction among the dense masses of the Scots. Another charge of English horse produced a panic and rout, which ended in a ruthless pursuit and terrible slaughter. The English lost a few hundreds of men; the Scots had to mourn the death of ten times the number. The victory of Pinkie was a great military success, but Somerset had only caused thereby a great political failure. He had conquered when he ought to have conciliated, and, in the hour of conquest, he retired from the field when a wise man would have pushed his advantage home. By abstaining from aggression, he might by degrees have won over the Scots to the marriage alliance. His invasion united the whole people against the project. After his decisive victory, he might have compelled consent by further hostile measures. What he did was to return to England, on hearing of intrigues against his power, and thus he had flung away the fruits of victory, along with the hope of a peaceful settlement. The Scottish Parliament now decided to send the young queen to France. In August 1548, she was there betrothed to the young Dauphin, who afterwards reigned as Francis II.

In order to maintain the theory of the personal rule which had been fully established by the late king, the Council had caused all public servants, including the bishops, to resign their offices, and receive fresh appointments in the name of Edward. It was also expressly stated that they held their posts only during pleasure, and that all power, jurisdiction, and authority, civil and ecclesiastical, were vested in the crown. Several persons, including Coverdale and Hooper, were released from the imprisonment which they were enduring under the statute of the *Six Articles*. ¹ Episcopal authority was replaced for a time by an ecclesiastical visitation of all the dioceses. ² The commissioners were instructed to inquire as to the removal of images from churches, when they were abused by pilgrimages and offerings; ³ to enforce the use of English in certain parts of the church-service; and to cause the clergy to proclaim the royal supremacy over the Church. A book of Twelve Homilies, or sermons, partly composed by Cranmer, was issued for the clergy to use in the teaching of sound Protestant doctrine, and the wandering friars were checked, in their work of opposition to change, by an order

The
Reforma-
tion
pushed
on,
1547-1549.

which forbade all preaching except in churches. The new vigour of reform was stoutly opposed by the Princess Mary, and by Bishops Bonner and Gardiner, on the ground that all change should be deferred until the king, as head of the Church, should be of an age to judge for himself. The two prelates were thereupon committed to the Fleet prison, and, on Somerset's return from Scotland, a new Parliament was set to work.

The Houses, in their session of fifty days, passed statutes of high importance, some of which advanced in the direction of constitutional freedom. One Act swept away the manifold "treasons" which had been created, by statute after statute, in the late reign. The Statute of Treasons, of the 25th year of Edward III., became again the only law dealing with this class of crimes. All previous laws were repealed, which dealt with the "punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards." The *Six Articles* vanished from the statute-book. All the new "felonies" created under Henry also came to an end, saving that involved in denial of the royal supremacy. An important religious innovation was made in the order that the elements of bread and wine in the communion should both be now administered to the laity. The Convocation carried a vote permitting the marriage of the clergy, and this became law in the following session of the Houses. The law passed in the late reign for the dissolution of chantries, colleges, and free chapels was now confirmed, so as to give the king possession of their revenues. It was then that the chapel of St. Stephen's, at Westminster, afterwards so long used as the Commons' House of Parliament, became vested in the crown. The Act declared that the estates of these suppressed houses should be "converted to godly uses" for education, and for the service of the poor. Very little of the plunder escaped the grasp of the nobles, but it was out of the revenues thus obtained that the grammar-schools known as "King Edward's" were founded towards the close of the reign.

A war was now waged against all the old usages which a large part of the people regarded with veneration. Cranmer had already shocked devout minds by the public eating of meat in Lent. In February 1548, a royal proclamation forbade the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, the taking of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and the bearing of palms on Palm Sunday. These shows and processions were generally dear to the country-people as matters of diversion, and wise reformers would have dealt tenderly with things so harmless. In the same year, all images, pictures, and relics were forcibly removed from churches, and the sacred subjects painted on the walls were covered with whitewash. It was a time of confusion and disorder. Many of the parish priests and their flocks strove to resist the changes in the services of the Church, and clung to the old ways. Many of the more fanatical reformers brought discredit upon religion itself by indecent scoffings at the ancient ceremonies. Coarse and

Parliament in
1547.

The
Reformation, 1550-
1552.

profane songs against the mass were heard in streets and taverns. Even while the priest, as he stood before the altar, was performing the sacred rites in the olden fashion, a reforming preacher would mount the pulpit, and declaim against his acts as idolatrous. Sometimes the magistrate would pull the preacher down, or the clergy would leave the church, followed by the votaries of the old faith. Brawling and fighting occurred in the churches and churchyards, and it was clear that serious trouble was impending. In 1549, the *First Prayer-Book of King Edward* was published. The whole service was now in English; prayers to the Virgin and the saints, and all use of incense, were disallowed. An *Act of Uniformity* enforced the use of the new book in all churches and cathedrals, and an Order in Council called in and destroyed the old Latin service-books. One of the demands of the rebels, in the western insurrection soon to be noticed, was "We will have the mass in Latin, as was before." When the extreme reformers objected that the new Liturgy still contained "a strong leaven of Popery," Convocation and Parliament discussed the subject of a revision, and in 1552 the *Second Prayer-Book of King Edward* appeared. In this, the last remnants of the old faith, as to transubstantiation, were removed by a rubric declaring that the act of kneeling was not an adoration of the elements at communion, and denying the "Real Presence." Another Act of Uniformity enforced the use of the new prayer-book, and Forty-two Articles of Religion declared the faith of the Church of England. The changes made in the ranks of the bishops were equally significant. In 1550, John Hooper, an ardent reformer driven into exile by the Six Articles of the late reign, was appointed to the see of Gloucester. Latimer, released from prison on the accession of Edward, declined to resume his episcopal functions at Worcester, but furthered the cause by his preaching at court. Ridley, an earnest Protestant, who had learned by heart, in the original Greek, all the Epistles of the New Testament, had been made Bishop of Rochester in 1547. Five bishops, including Bonner and Gardiner, were deprived of office for opposition to the new measures, and in 1550 Ridley succeeded Bonner in the see of London. The Reformation was thus completed, so far as Acts of Parliament and orders in Council can change the religious faith and practice of a nation. The Reformers then proceeded to disgrace their cause, and the name of religion, by cruel persecution of some who dared to differ from themselves. A number of wild Protestants from Germany, called Anabaptists, had been spreading in England views which were deemed heretical by Cranmer and his associates. A woman named Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, was burnt in May 1550, and, in the following year, a Dutchman named Van Parre suffered the same fate.

The first enemy whom the Protector had to encounter was his own brother, Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley. A short time after the death of Henry, Seymour married his widow, Queen Catharine Parr, to

the Protector's great offence. In September 1548, she died, and the ambitious lord then wished to espouse the Princess Elizabeth, at that time in her sixteenth year. When the Council interfered, he spoke and intrigued against his brother's authority, and began to form a party of his own amongst the nobles. The Protector took prompt measures. In January 1549, Seymour was arrested and sent to the Tower. Accused of treason by a bill of attainder, he was condemned, and died by beheading on March 20th, at Tower Hill. Among those who signed the warrant for his execution was Cranmer, in defiance of the laws of the Church and of the realm, which forbade him to meddle with a capital cause. He urged in his defence that he acted, not as a bishop, but as one of the Council wielding royal authority. Somerset was denounced by one of the nobles as a "murderer, a parricide, and a villain," for the part which he took in his brother's death. The most unprincipled statesman in England, in this age of corrupt politicians, was the Earl of Warwick. He was son of the Dudley executed in the second year of Henry VIII., for his too faithful services to the rapacious first Tudor king. In the late reign he had become Viscount Lisle, on restoration to his father's forfeited estates. He was raised to the Earldom of Warwick at Edward's accession, and from the first opposed the measures of Somerset. On the death of Lord Seymour, his hostility to the Protector became more pronounced, and some of Somerset's own acts gave a colour of reason and justice to those of his rivals. His policy had failed in several points, and he had given grievous offence to the nobles by posing as the champion of the people. Somerset's own work in religious reform had, in fact, stirred the people to revolt, in conjunction with causes already at work.

Somerset
and his
rivals.

The loss of common lands by enclosure, the bad condition of trade, partly due to a greatly debased coinage, and the high price of the necessaries of life, increased the distress and anger of the lower classes. In the summer of 1549, half of England was in a state of rebellion. The chief risings occurred in the western and eastern counties. In Devonshire and Cornwall an army of insurgents was formed, which advanced with cannon to the siege of Exeter. For five weeks the place was closely invested, and then the besiegers were attacked and routed with great slaughter by a royal force under Lords Russell and Grey. Four thousand men perished in battle and by execution, including that of priests, who were hung on their own church-towers. These clerical leaders had taught their people to demand restitution of the abbey-lands to pious uses, the revival of images and the old customs, and the suppression of the public use of the Bible and of the English service. The insurrection in Norfolk was more formidable, and had rather a political and social than a religious origin. The Devonshire rising had begun, as it were, in a church. The Norfolk revolt commenced at a fair. A man named Robert Kett, a tanner of Wymondham, roused the people against the gentry, who had robbed

Popular
risings,
1549.

them, he declared, by enclosures of their land. Weapons were procured from Norwich, and twenty thousand men were soon encamped on Mousehold Heath. There Kett rendered justice, sitting under a tree called the "oak of reformation." The people feasted on thousands of fat sheep taken from the new enclosures, and maintained their ground unmolested for seven weeks. The Marquis of Northampton then arrived, with fifteen hundred horse, but was defeated in the streets of Norwich, with the loss of Lord Sheffield. Warwick next appeared, with eight thousand men, who had been gathered for a march to Scotland. After several repulses, the royal commander was reinforced by cavalry, and on August 27th he gained a complete victory. Three thousand rebels fell in the battle and pursuit; Kett was taken, and hanged for treason.

The defeat of the Norfolk insurgents had given to Warwick an accession of political power, as well as of the military credit of Somerset, which, as Lord de Lisle, he had gained under Henry. The ablest statesman of the day in England was Sir William Paget. Son of an official of the London corporation, and a pupil of Colet's new school, he had been much employed by Gardiner, and had risen by sheer merit, through divers offices, to the honour of knighthood, in 1543, and to a secretaryship of state, and appointment by Henry as one of the Council of Executors. In 1547, he was made a Knight of the Garter, and two years later was accredited ambassador to the Emperor Charles V. With him he became a great favourite, and Charles one day exclaimed, "Yonder is the man to whom I can deny nothing; he deserves to be a king as well as to represent one." This able man had warned his friend Somerset of the danger of coquetting with the disaffected people, a course which had already alienated from the Protector the nobles whom, in the people's behalf, he sought to control. Yet Somerset's own hands were not free from acts of spoliation which gave grievous offence to the popular mind. He and his family had secured for themselves fifty manors belonging to the dean and chapter of Westminster, who hoped by this concession to save themselves from utter ruin. The Protector had begun to erect for himself a palace in the Strand, called Somerset House, on a scale of royal splendour. Three bishops' houses and a church were pulled down to clear a site, and when materials were wanting, the Protector wished to demolish the church of St. Margaret at Westminster. The parishioners rose, and drove away the workpeople by force. He then took down a cloister and two chapels at St. Paul's, and blew up by gunpowder the fine church of the Knights of St. John, which had been spared by Henry when that ancient and renowned order was dissolved. The Earl of Warwick saw that the hour for action had come, and gathered in arms his friends in the Council, with all their dependants. Somerset, who was with the king at Hampton Court, appealed in vain for help to Lord Russell and his forces in the west, and issued a futile proclamation to the commons

of England. The Protector then hurried the king away to Windsor, while Warwick seized the Tower of London, and won over the city to his cause. Cranmer and Paget, who adhered to Somerset, now advised him to submit. On October 13, 1549, he went to the Tower as a prisoner, and the letters-patent were revoked which had conferred his office as Protector. In the following March he was released, and soon permitted to resume his place at the council-board.

The accession to power of the Catholic leader, Warwick, brought no reaction in religious affairs. The new ruler had more regard **Warwick** for secular authority than for forms of faith, and Cranmer **in power.** was permitted to make the further advances in reform which have been already detailed. A feeble contest with France, involving a siege of Boulogne by her army, was ended by our surrender of the fortress, the only trophy of Henry's attempt to renew beyond the Channel the glories of Plantagenet days. One of the troubles which Warwick and the young king had to meet, when the Reformation was almost completed, was the obstinate adhesion of the Princess Mary to the old faith. She defied Edward and the Council face to face, and appealed for help to her cousin, the Emperor. His ambassador plainly stated that Charles would declare war, if the Princess were not permitted in quiet "to use her mass." The government of Warwick and his party in the Council was marked by gross corruption, and the new rule was soon hated more than that of Somerset. The proceedings in religious reform had given great offence to many people, and the unprincipled courtiers, not content with abbey-lands and abbey-plate, had engaged in the plunder of the episcopal sees. If Somerset had obtained a grant of the demesne of Glastonbury Abbey, and had converted the remains of its noble buildings into a manufactory of woollen, Warwick, in his turn, procured from Edward twelve grants of lands, beginning with Warwick Castle, and ending with the palatinate of Durham, taken by Act of Parliament from Bishop Tonsal. In 1551, Warwick induced the king to create him Duke of Northumberland, and to bestow therewith the honours, offices, and possessions of the attainted house of Percy. His partisans also received new peerages, Paulet becoming Marquis of Winchester, Sir William Herbert the Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Dorset the Duke of Suffolk. Cranmer did not escape spoliation, in being forced to surrender Knole Park, in Kent, and the bishopric of Lichfield lost the lands of Beaudesert. The sees of Exeter and Lincoln were plundered in like fashion, and the covetousness of the politicians of the day was often made the subject of Latimer's bold sermons delivered before the king and court. The condition of the parochial clergy was deplorable. The patrons of livings which had been under monasteries had, in many instances, given them to be farmed by their stewards and huntsmen, and these men hired for vicars those who would do the work cheapest. Other nobles and gentry, who had pensions to pay to the dissolved monks, placed them in the parish

churches, in order to quit themselves of the burden. Many of the parish priests exercised common trades, including the keeping of inns, for their own support, and the church, first impoverished, was now degraded. On the other hand, there were some among the reforming clergy whose conduct commended the new doctrine to the hearts of the people. Hooper, in his diocese of Gloucester, went about in the towns and villages teaching and preaching, so that "no father in his household, no husbandman in his vineyard, was more employed than he." Dr. Rowland Taylor, at Hadleigh, in Suffolk, by his assiduous and pious labours brought over a manufacturing population, not merely to his own opinions, but to an altered life. Bernard Gilpin, holding a crown-living in Durham, won for himself the title of the "Apostle of the North." These, however, were but glimmerings of light in the darkness and confusion of a time disordered by the reckless conduct of men pretending to care for religion, but wholly devoted to themselves.

The Duke of Somerset had, by degrees, regained much of his former influence, and the jealous Northumberland now resolved to remove his rival for ever from the scene. On October 16, 1551, Somerset was arrested and sent to the Tower, with the Duchess and many of his friends. On December 1st, he was arraigned for treason and felony before a jury of peers, on a charge of conspiring to depose the king and to imprison Northumberland. Acquitted of the higher offence, he was condemned on the lower, and on January 22, 1552, he died by beheading on Tower Hill. Four gentlemen were afterwards executed as his accomplices. It is only just to state that the Duke of Somerset, in his brief career, with all his faults, had given unmistakable signs of a sincere desire for religious reform, and of a true regard for the interests of the people. He failed because he had not sufficient wisdom or strength for the difficulties with which he was destined to contend.

The removal of Somerset had cleared the path for the evil ambition of the corrupt and crafty Northumberland. The name of religion was now invoked, with the most daring effrontery, to give its sanction to one of the basest and most villainous schemes recorded in our annals. The Parliament of 1552 had given signs of reviving independence, and was speedily dissolved. The Lords passed a more stringent law of treason than that of Edward III., but the Commons modified many of its clauses. From a feeling that trials for treason had been conducted with the most palpable injustice, it was now enacted that no person should be arraigned or convicted for treasonable offences, except by the testimony of two witnesses, to be produced at the time of his arraignment. A new Parliament was called in 1553, and especial care was taken that the sheriffs should attend, in their returns of members, to the nominations of the crown, and the recommendations of the privy councillors. Early in the year the young king, whose health had always been weakly, became seriously

Death of
Somerset,
1552.

The suc-
cession
plot.

ill, and Northumberland, in alarm for his own projects of aggrandisement, moved Edward to alter the succession to the throne. The Act of Succession, passed in 1544, had left the throne, in case of Edward's death without children, to his half-sister Mary. Northumberland affected a zealous regard for the new reformed faith, which the Princess Mary was hardly likely, as queen, to support. Northumberland had also brought about the marriage of his fourth son, Lord Guilford Dudley, to the Lady Jane Grey. This lady was eldest daughter of the new Duke of Suffolk, and was thus descended from Henry the Eighth's sister Mary, through her marriage with Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Northumberland's object was to secure the throne for his daughter-in-law, and so become himself the virtual master of the realm. Nothing could be more flagrant than the injustice herein contemplated. The king had no right to alter the succession, for which he had not received the power bestowed by Parliament on his father Henry. Mary possessed both the hereditary and parliamentary title to the throne, and, if the interests of the new religion required a change of the order of succession, the Princess Elizabeth was ready to take the place of Mary. On June 11, 1553, the Lord Chief-Justice Montague, with other law-officers, was summoned to attend upon the king at Greenwich Palace. Edward instructed them to draw up letters-patent devising the crown to Lady Jane Grey, and passing over both his sisters. The Chief-Justice for three days positively refused to be a party to a scheme so treasonable; by the 14th, he had been won over by the threats of Northumberland and the king's peremptory orders. Montague afterwards pleaded that, being "a weak old man and without comfort," he consented on Edward's promise that a Parliament should be called to ratify the letters-patent. Fifteen lords of the council, nine judges, and other officers, signed a paper agreeing to maintain the succession thus arranged. Among the subscribers was Archbishop Cranmer. We are told that he complied, against his better judgment, because he could not resist the entreaties of Edward. It has been justly urged, in reply to this, that "a holy prelate of sixty might be better employed by the bedside of a dying child, than in committing crimes at the request of the young disciple." The minister who had planned the whole nefarious scheme took care not to have even his packed Parliament summoned for its ratification. The king died on July 6th, twenty-two days after he had excluded his half-sisters from the throne, on the ground that they both were illegitimate.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL UNDER MARY TUDOR.

Failure of Northumberland's scheme. The mass restored. Wyatt in arms. The Spanish marriage. Reunion with Rome. The ordeal by fire. Cranmer and other victims. Mary and her husband. Cardinal Pole. War with France. Loss of Calais. Death of the disappointed queen.

THE plot of Northumberland was a complete failure. He did not secure, as he wished, the person of the Princess Mary, who fled into Norfolk, and was there joined by the Earls of Bath and Sussex, and other nobles, with armed men at their backs. In the north and the west she was proclaimed queen by the powerful head of the house of Stanley, and by Carew, one of the leading men in Devonshire. The people hated Northumberland, and strongly supported the lawful succession as arranged by Henry's will. The luckless Lady Jane was proclaimed in London on July 10th. She was the most charming of all usurpers, but the people kept silence as they saw her pass along the river to the Tower. There were cries that the young king had been poisoned, and an air of ridicule was given when Gilbert Pot, a vintner's "drawer," had the daring to say "Lady Mary has the better title." His ears were cut off as he stood in the pillory, but he had only uttered what most men thought. Northumberland's own men refused to fight in his cause, when he marched into Norfolk to attack Mary. He fell back to Cambridge, and there heard of her proclamation in London. One sentence shows us the miserable character of the man who had devised so great and daring a scheme. It was on July 19th, at night, that he learned of the adhesion of the capital to Mary, and "the next morning he called for a herald and proclaimed her himself." He had sinned, however, beyond forgiveness. The new and true queen entered London in triumph on August 3rd, with a great force of friends, and before the end of the month Northumberland and two of his supporters were executed for high treason. The man who had just endeavoured to set aside Mary, on the ground that she was a Catholic, died with professions of fervent belief in the old religion. Lady Jane Grey remained, with her husband, a prisoner in the Tower which she had entered as a sovereign. The queen was crowned on October 1st, and in the procession men were strangely reminded of the past when they beheld Anne of Cleves riding in a coach alongside of the Princess Elizabeth. The coming changes were foreshadowed when Bonner was sworn of the Council, and Gardiner became Lord Chancellor.

Mary's eagerness to restore the old relations with Rome was restrained at first by the prudent advice of the Emperor's ambassador,

Simon Renard. This wily diplomatist had his eye fixed rather on the political than the religious position of affairs. He wished the queen first to secure her own power as sovereign, and then to give her firm adhesion to the cause of his master, Charles V., who was again at issue with the old rival, France. On the other side, Cardinal Pole, the new Papal legate, and the former antagonist of Henry on behalf of the supremacy of the Roman see, was urgent, in his letters, for the full reconciliation of England with the Papal power. Mary yielded to the instances of Renard, but was resolved to bring back, as far as might be, the old faith within her realm. The first Parliament of the reign met on October 5th, and passed an Act which swept away the penalties for denying the royal supremacy, and secured Pole, as Legate, from the dangers of "*præmunire*." The deprived bishops were set at liberty, and Hooper of Gloucester, Cranmer, Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, Latimer, and Ridley, were committed to prison. Judge Hales incurred the same penalty, for charging a grand jury to the effect that the laws of King Edward relating to religion ought to be still observed. There was little of royal gratitude in this infliction, for Hales had been the only judge to withstand the late king in the exclusion of Mary from the throne. The mass was restored, contrary to law, in many London churches, and Gardiner, as chancellor of the University, enforced its celebration at Cambridge. The master of Clare Hall was ejected for having a wife, though the Act permitting the marriage of priests was yet unpealed. Cranmer had shown little of his usual prudence at this conjuncture. When Thornden, his suffragan bishop at Dover, set up the mass in Canterbury Cathedral, he attacked the proceeding in strong terms of public rebuke. The foreign Protestant clergy, and many of their English brethren, now fled into exile. Holgate, Archbishop of York, was also deprived. Cranmer, Lady Jane Grey, and her husband, were sentenced for high treason, but execution was for the time delayed. A distinguished prisoner was released from the Tower, and taken into favour by the queen, in the person of the Duke of Norfolk, who had so narrowly escaped death in the first days of 1547. A large number of parish priests were ejected from their livings as married men. A second session of Parliament, in the last week of October, produced a declaration of the validity of Henry's marriage with Catharine, and the consequent legitimacy of the queen. A needless insult was, at the same time, inflicted on the Princess Elizabeth, and on the feeling of Reformers, by the enactment of her illegitimacy. A brief statute then dealt in a very summary fashion with the religious reforms of the last six years. The Act for administering the sacrament in two kinds, and those for the election of bishops, for legalising the marriage of priests, for uniformity of service, for putting away divers books and images, and for regulating holy days and days of fasting, were all annihilated in one comprehensive clause. The two things yet retained

First proceedings of the reign. 1553.

were the title of "Supreme Head of the Church," and the performance of divine service as in the last year of Henry. These were concessions to the prudence of Gardiner, who feared open resistance from the Reformers to a too sudden reaction, and of the emperor, who also counselled moderation at the outset.

The Emperor Charles V. had been quick to see his advantage in the accession of his kinswoman to the English throne. His son Philip, now twenty-seven years of age, was a widower. Wyatt's rebellion, 1554. The marriage of his heir to the English queen would be a political and religious triumph for the great master of state-craft. Renard hinted at the match, and showed the proposed bridegroom's portrait. Mary's heart was at once kindled, it seems, with a fervent passion, and she readily postponed all other questions to that of the Spanish marriage. The proposed union was supported by Norfolk and Paget, but opposed by Gardiner, who wished the queen to espouse Courtenay, Earl of Devon. The House of Commons petitioned Mary to select a husband from her own nation, but her mind was fixed on the foreign alliance, and she even sent for Renard, and, kneeling before the sacred elements, gave him her promise that she would marry none other than the Prince of Spain. She dismissed the Commons with a rebuke, and the ambassador of Charles soothed many scruples by a liberal distribution of bribes. The Commons had only spoken the general sense of the English people. They abhorred the notion of the Spanish match. They could not, indeed, know the detestable character of Philip, but the Protestant party feared his bigoted Catholicism, and all patriotic persons, of whatsoever religious tenets, were guided by a sound political instinct in objecting to a marriage with a foreigner of Philip's political position. They feared, in short, the establishment of the Spanish despotism which was already oppressing Sicily, Naples, and the Netherlands. The ambassador who came from the Low Countries to arrange the terms of the marriage was that flower of Flemish chivalry, the splendid, gallant, and ill-fated Lamoral, Count Egmont, the picturesque hero of history, poetry, and art, destined to die a cruel death at the hands of the master whom he was now serving. The very boys of the London streets showed the popular feeling, as they pelted the count's retinue with snowballs, and indulged in games of English and Spaniards, wherein they hanged, in dangerous sport, one of their number who personated the Prince of Spain. It was in vain that the marriage treaty arranged that Philip should have no share in the government, and that no foreigner should hold any public office. A sturdy member of Parliament asked, "if the bond be violated, who is to sue upon the bond?" When remonstrance had proved to be vain, a section of determined Protestants resolved to take up arms. In January 1554, Sir Peter Carew and a band of friends rose in Devonshire. The plan was to set up Elizabeth as queen, and marry her to the Earl of Devon, a

descendant of Edward IV., as son of the Marquis of Exeter beheaded by Henry. The English people, as a body, were not prepared for civil war in such a cause, and Carew had soon to flee to France. The only insurrection which was really menacing was that of Sir Thomas Wyatt, in Kent. The Duke of Suffolk had just failed in an attempt to raise the Midlands, and was a prisoner in London, when the Duke of Norfolk, with a small force, went to encounter Wyatt at Rochester. The duke's men mostly went over to the enemy, and Norfolk had to retire, leaving his cannon and ammunition. On February 1st, Wyatt had reached Deptford. The queen behaved with the courage of her race. She went to the Guildhall, and frankly appealed for help to the citizens. The hearts of the people were touched, and London was quickly armed in her favour. The rebels under Wyatt, as they passed along on the Surrey side, were shot at by the Tower guns. London Bridge was closed against them, and it was necessary to march round by Kingston. There the bridge was broken down, but Wyatt and his men crossed in boats, and approached Westminster by "The Way to Reading," a highway amidst fields and trees, now known as Piccadilly. The Haymarket was then a country road. Some confused fighting occurred near St. James's Palace, which then stood in the fields, and the Kentish men arrived at Charing Cross, and took their way along the Strand. The queen was at the palace of Whitehall, when a detachment of the rebels came to attack it, and she alone showed sense and courage, amidst a crowd of timorous men and shrieking women. The closed gates of the palace alone saved her, while Wyatt advanced to the Lud Gate, and, being refused admission, and seeing that all was lost, made a tame surrender. He soon died on Tower Hill, and among other victims of his failure were the Duke of Suffolk, and his daughter and son-in-law, Lady Jane Grey and Lord Guildford Dudley. The lady suffered for her father's guilt, and Dudley died because he was her husband. About a hundred other rebels were hanged on gallows set up at every gate, and in every great thoroughfare, of the city, and on the scene of the rising in Kent. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, by his bold and able defence, induced a jury of "heretics," as Simon Renard styled them, to acquit him. The queen, we are told by the same authority, was "so displeased that she was ill for three days." The despotism which then, and for a century later, presided over state prosecutions was shown in the committal of the jury to prison. Four made a submission, and were released; the other eight, after long imprisonment, were heavily fined by the Star Chamber. The Earl of Devon went back as a prisoner to the Tower which he had lately quitted, and a greater personage still had a narrow escape from the headsman's hands. The Princess Elizabeth was committed to the Tower, saved from death, not by a sister's love, but by the Council who overruled the cruel advice of Gardiner and of Simon Renard. A few weeks later she went as a prisoner to Woodstock.

The bill for the marriage was passed soon after the suppression of Wyatt's revolt, and on July 19th the Spanish squadron, carrying Philip, with a gorgeous train of Castilian and Flemish nobles, arrived at Southampton. On the 23rd he met his bride at Winchester, and saw a small, lean, and sickly woman, eleven years older than himself, with an eye ever soft for him, but one that could light up with fierceness and fire, when the rage of the Tudors was provoked by opposition to her imperious will. Her face was wrinkled with care more than by time, and the voice had the harsh tones of a big and burly man. The queen was skilled with her needle, played on the lute with a touch of taste and knowledge, and spoke several tongues, including Latin, with grace and fluency. The bridegroom resembled Mary in being short and meagre, but he had the broad brow, blue eye, and aquiline nose of his father, Charles V., with the same large mouth, heavy under-lip, and protruding lower jaw, all marks of the ruling house of Burgundy. His complexion was fair, his hair light and thin, his beard yellow, short, and pointed. His demeanour was marked by a haughty reserve and seeming embarrassment not likely to win the favour of a race that had admired to the last, and, after a fashion, loved the portly "bluff King Hal." His mind was far from capacious, but he had an incredible love of work in the way of writing and reading despatches, and striving, single-handed, to direct every detail of affairs which a wise ruler would have committed to well-chosen subordinates. His whole soul was filled with the rancorous bigotry of Spain, and he hated the Christian heretic with a fervour beyond that with which his Spanish ancestors, in the glow of a nobler enthusiasm, had warred against the champions of the Crescent. It was at this point that the spirits of Philip and Mary could meet in perfect sympathy. For both, it was the chief object of existence to maintain the supremacy of the Church. The execution of unbelievers was, in the view of the Tudor queen and her Spanish consort, the most sacred duty imposed by the Deity upon anointed princes. In the view of both, the surest way of winning heaven was to enforce, with sword and fire, the orthodox belief. Beyond this, and it was much, the pair had nothing in common. Philip was as faithless and licentious as he was cold and repelling; his pure and pious wife, hysterical of habit, worked on him no effect but annoyance by her peevish, abject, and lavish affection. On July 25th, the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, the pair were wedded at Winchester by Gardiner, bishop of the see. Philip had already become, by his father's gift, king of Naples and duke of Milan, so that the English queen might marry a sovereign like herself. A few days later, the queen and her husband proceeded to Windsor, where Philip was installed as a Knight of the Garter, and on August 18th, their solemn entry was made into London. The citizens did not relish the sight of countless Spaniards in their streets, but in the autumn some were im-

The marriage, and submission to Rome, 1554.

pressed by a view of wealth from the New World, when twenty waggons passed to the Tower, laden with nearly ninety chests of silver bullion. It was the wedding-present of Charles to his son, to be partly used for bribing the nobles into compliance with the serious work now to be undertaken.

The heretical island was to be reconciled to Rome. A servile Parliament had already gathered when Pole, the Papal legate, Arrival of Cardinal Pole. passed up the Thames in November, rowed in a gorgeous barge, with a silver cross at its prow. On the 27th was enacted a scene unique in our history. The Legate met the Houses at Whitehall, where he sat, under a canopy, with Philip and Mary. He returned thanks to his sovereign for restoring him from banishment. He then reviewed the religious history of the realm, and declared his mission from the Pope to be one of reconciliation and forgiveness. On the intercession of Mary and Philip, absolution was granted to the realm, and the Parliament fell on their knees to receive it. Legislation next repealed all statutes against the See of Rome, passed in the late reign, and all the old laws against heresy were revived. Amidst all this, there were thirty-seven members of the House of Commons "faithful found among the faithless" to the cause of freedom. They withdrew from all the proceedings, and were indicted for this display of independence. No attempt could be made to recover the Church lands seized under Henry. The present owners, submissive to all religious change, rebelled against the bare notion of giving back her own to the Church. Mary herself surrendered all the Crown lands derived from her father's monastic confiscations, and restored to the Pope the payments from *annates* and tithes.

On January 20, 1555, the law for burning heretics came into force. Gardiner and Bonner have been accused as the advisers, as The great persecution, 1555-1558. well as of being the agents, of the policy of persecution. Cardinal Pole, on the other hand, has been by many writers absolved from any share in the work. It does not appear that Gardiner was very zealous in the cause of cruelty, and before his death he retired from all share in the work of the courts which proceeded against heretics. The chief popular hatred was directed against Bonner, and the sentence of the modern historian can but follow the verdict of those who had the best means of forming an opinion. The defence of Pole rests rather upon his amiable character in private life, than upon the facts of the case. It is true that at the Council of Trent he advocated gentle measures in the treatment of Lutherans. It is equally true that, in his letters, he maintains that a person of pernicious opinions, industrious in corrupting others, is worthy of capital punishment; that he approved the sentences of Ridley and Latimer, observing that "no man can save those whom God has abandoned;" and that, in his own diocese of Canterbury, he did little to check the cruelties of his subordinates, Thornden and Harpsfield. For the real authors of the persecution it

is needless to look away from Philip and Mary. The hearts of both were in the work. The queen thought it needful both for the good of her soul and the safety of her reign. Philip was the son of a father whose chief regret, in his days of retirement and ghostly meditation at the monastery of St. Juste, was for having suffered Luther to escape alive, after he had given him letters of safe-conduct. Charles V. declared it to be "very dangerous to dispute with heretics, as their reasons were so convincing that they could easily impose upon a man." The same man, from his cell, wrote to the President of the Council of Castile, and to the inquisitors, "to employ all their care in seeing heretics burnt." It is often easier to choke an adversary than to confute him. Such were the views of the father, and the son was in this respect worthy of his sire. At a later day he made havoc of his Protestant subjects in the Netherlands, and once showed his gratitude to Heaven, for an escape from shipwreck, by condemning thirteen persons at once to the stake. In his presence twenty-eight "heretics," many of the first nobility in Spain, were sacrificed at Valladolid, and, in reply to the tearful intercessions of their kinsmen, he vowed that "he would himself carry the faggots to make up the pile for his only son Don Carlos, if that young prince should ever become a Lutheran." Philip, however, was full of "policy," and the most prominent features of his character were the low cunning and duplicity which are often the marks of inferior minds. When public indignation was aroused by the burnings in England, Alphonso de Castro, Philip's confessor, was put up to preach a sermon at court, in which he condemned the persecution as contrary both to the text and to the spirit of the Gospel. "It was not by severity but by mildness," this meek divine declared, "that men were to be brought into the fold of Christ; and it was not the duty of bishops to seek the death, but to instruct the ignorance, of their misguided brethren." These excellent sentiments came from a man who, eight years before, when he uttered his real mind in a book entitled "On the Just Punishment of Heretics," dedicated to Charles V., declared that they ought to be dealt with "not by words, but by clubs, and whips, and swords." In the year following his artful discourse, he published a second edition of the same book, dedicated to Philip, extolling him as a "Defender of the Faith," in reconciling a kingdom within four months, after twenty years of apostasy. Master and man were worthy of each other. The English people were not deceived at the time, and the one excited mere contempt, while the other has gained the deathless abhorrence of all posterity. With the coming of the Spanish prince, a flood of Spanish friars had been let loose on the land for its reconversion. Pedro de Soto, a Dominican, confessor to Charles V., became Regius Professor of Theology at Oxford, and Juan de Villagarcia, of the same order, the "Friar John" of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," read divinity lectures at Lincoln and Magdalen Colleges. With regard to the coming fate of Cranmer, he was from the first regarded as a

national enemy of Spain, as the man "who gave sentence against Catharine." His life was due to Spanish honour, wounded by him in the matter of the divorce. Other and nobler victims were to precede him to their doom. A commission had been issued by Pole, the Cardinal-Legate, to Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, and other bishops, to proceed against the heretics. On January 29, 1555, Rogers and Bradford, two prebendaries of St. Paul's, Rowland Taylor, the learned and diligent parish priest of Hadleigh, and Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, were arraigned. They would not allow the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the Mass, and were condemned to be burnt. Rogers died at the stake in Smithfield on February 4th, not permitted to see his wife, during his stay in prison, for Gardiner's reason that "she was not his wife." He left ten orphan children, who had met him on his way to execution, and stood by, as he washed his hands in the flame, and endured the pain with resolution, amidst the consoling cries of the spectators. On the 9th, Hooper suffered in front of his cathedral at Gloucester, and Taylor perished at Hadleigh, amidst the blessings and prayers of his people. In March, an artisan was burnt at Smithfield, two gentlemen died in Essex, and a priest and others in Suffolk. About the same time Ferrar, Bishop of St. David's, was executed by fire in his own diocese, at Carmarthen. Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, had a narrow escape. He was saved by the intercession of his friend the king of Denmark, and allowed to retire to the Continent. In July, Bradford was burnt at Smithfield. Thornden, who had been suffragan bishop to Cranmer, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury, sent priests, laymen, and a woman to the stake in Kent. In the three next months, from thirty to forty more died by burning in different parts of the kingdom. Thousands who held the Reformed belief now fled over sea to Geneva, Strasburg, and other centres of the Protestant faith, there acquiring the peculiar doctrines, and the hatred of ritual, which were to mark hereafter the Puritan sect. During the four years of the persecution, the deaths by burning were almost equally spread over Middlesex, inclusive of London, Kent, Essex, and Sussex. Many perished in Norfolk and Suffolk, a few in the west, and about forty in all the rest of the kingdom. The northern parts were almost exempt, and Bishop Tonstal, in the diocese of Durham, would not permit a single prosecution. The whole number amounted to about two hundred and eighty, taken impartially from all ranks, and including bishops, divines, country gentlemen, artificers, husbandmen, servants, labourers, wives, widows, spinsters, two boys, and two infants. The Princess Elizabeth, whom Mary hated, was saved, it is said, through the intercession of Philip. This was another stroke of his state-craft, which foresaw that her death would give the throne of England to Mary of Scotland, and bring the country into alliance with France instead of with Spain. The people did not fail to show resistance to the cruel religious policy of the

government. In street songs, in acts of insult to priests and to the replaced images, in the actual murder of one priest as he stood at the altar, in prayers for the death of the queen, in bold defiance to the ecclesiastical judges, the spirit of Englishmen was shown, not so much on behalf of a particular religious belief, as in the sacred cause of freedom of conscience. Yet it is certain that the ultimate religious issue was largely affected by the martyrdoms under Mary. The sight of one constant sufferer undid the effect of a hundred sermons inculcating the old faith. The stern composure of Hooper, the meekness of Bradford, the hearty pleasantry of Rowland Taylor, at the very hour of death, awoke sympathy and admiration for the sufferers, and theological arguments vanished in the smoke of the ascending flames. It would have been well if the Protestants, in the day of their power, had learnt to put into practice the duty of respecting the conscientious belief of "our neighbour." In October 1555, Ridley and Latimer were burnt at Oxford, and the dying words of "Honest Hugh" were a prophecy which the history of over three centuries has confirmed. Cranmer had been already condemned, but he had received his archiepiscopal pall from a Pope, and his official degradation was needed, with judgment from the court of Rome, before he could be legally executed. In December, the Papal sentence was issued. In February 1556, he was formally degraded from his office. Then came the miserable man's recantations, in the vain hope of saving his life, and on March 21st he too was burned at Oxford. He was succeeded as Archbishop by Cardinal Pole. Among those who saved themselves, in this time of mingled weakness and strength, either by recantation or by a prudent compliance with "the powers that be," were Sir William Cecil, and Sir John Cheke. Cecil, always on the side of safety, held his tongue, and went to mass. Cheke, the sometime tutor of King Edward, had gone abroad for safety and joined the church of the exiles at Strasburg. He was entrapped thence to Brussels, where he went to visit his wife. The agents of Philip seized him, and sent him over to England, where he was persuaded to recant his Protestant opinions, and soon afterwards died of shame. Jewel, afterwards an apologist for the English Church, also signed a recantation.

The queen had been expecting the birth of an heir, but a child did not appear, in spite of renewed zeal in burning, of the providing of nurses and cradle, and of a free indulgence in Litanies, processions round the palace at Hampton, headed by Philip in person, chanting, and telling of beads. Circulars had been drawn up, and signed both by Mary and Philip, announcing the birth of a son, and with blanks left for the month and day. These were intended for prompt despatch to ministers, ambassadors, and foreign courts, but all ended in disappointment. One of the most pathetic of all historical memorials was exhibited in London, during one of the latter years of the reign of Victoria. It consisted of some tiny garments made by

The de-
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of Philip,
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the Princess Elizabeth, ever prudent and wary, in readiness for the child that never was born. In September 1555, Philip quitted the country. His sojourn in England had given him scanty satisfaction. The Parliament had refused to consent to his coronation as king. He was obnoxious to the English people, in spite of the restraint which he put upon his usual haughty demeanour, and of a free expenditure of Spanish gold. He was called abroad by important affairs, and a destiny more suited to his proud and ambitious nature than that of being the unequal partaker of power over a jealous insular people. Philip was now to become, by his father's voluntary abdication, the head of the greatest European monarchy. On October 25th, Charles, in a solemn assembly at Brussels, resigned to his son the sceptre of the Netherlands, and, a few months later, that of Spain. Philip, as we have seen, was already king of Naples and Sicily. He still concerned himself, in some measure, with the affairs of England, and his notion of our monarchy is shown by one of his letters, in which he "desires that nothing should be proposed in Parliament without its having been first communicated to his majesty." About this time a new Pope, Paul IV., insisted on the restitution, "on pain of eternal condemnation," of the abbey lands in England. When the queen sounded some of her nobles upon this very delicate question, their answer was "that they would never part with their abbey lands, as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides." The subject was not again mentioned.

In March 1557, Philip returned to England, not in response to the wishes of Mary's importunate affection, but to endeavour to stir up the old English hatred of France, and to drag the English into war for his own personal advantage. The French monarch, Henry II., had yielded to the Pope's desire for an attack on the Spanish possessions in Italy. Paul IV. was anxious to renew the attempt of Julius II. to throw off Spanish predominance. With difficulty Mary induced her Council to consent to help Philip in his contest, and some thousands of men were sent over to the Netherlands. There they joined a great host of Spanish cavaliers and infantry, reinforced by Burgundian lancers. The whole were commanded by Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, one of the ablest commanders of the age, who had aspired to the hand of the Princess Elizabeth. That lady, already looking for the crown of England, was far too wary to follow her sister's example in wedding a foreign Catholic. Philibert advanced to the siege of St. Quentin, a frontier town of Picardy, defended by the famous Admiral Coligny. Most of the French troops had been thrown into Italy under the Duke of Guise, but Montmorency, the constable, arrived with a force to relieve the town. On August 10th, the French suffered, at the battle of St. Quentin, the worst defeat for their arms since the fatal day of Agincourt. Six thousand men perished, and as many, including the constable, became prisoners of war.

War with
France,
1557-58.

Philip's lack of decision alone prevented a march on Paris, which would certainly have fallen. The only result of the war to England was the loss of her last foothold in France. The Duke of Guise, who had failed in his Italian campaign, determined to try and retrieve his country's misfortunes by the capture of Calais. A false economy had induced our government to withdraw, during the winter months, a large part of the garrison. They trusted for defence to the marshes which then surrounded the place, passable only by a single dyke. The powerful French army soon captured the two forts guarding this approach. The town was then bombarded, and the governor, Lord Wentworth, capitulated on January 7, 1558. Two weeks later, Guisnes was also taken, and all English dominion in France thus came to an end.

The loss of Calais completed the misery of the English queen. In the war she had been opposed to the Pope, who had embraced, as we have seen, the cause of France, and Paul IV. deprived Pole of his office as Papal Legate, on the charge of holding unsound doctrine. Mary knew that she was hated by the people, and she had always pined for the presence of her loveless husband. The future showed her a prospect of gloom in the accession of Elizabeth, who was certain to restore the new faith. She sought to propitiate Heaven by a hot renewal of persecution, but in October 1558 an ambassador of Philip, the Count de Feria, found Mary dying of dropsy. On November 17th she expired, followed in death a day later by her faithful friend, Cardinal Pole.

BOOK XI.

ELIZABETH. THE FIGHT FOR RELIGION AND LIFE.

CHAPTER I.

THE OPENING YEARS OF THE REIGN.

The Elizabethan statesmen, Cecil and his colleagues. The position of England. Final settlement of the Church. Mary Stuart in Scotland. English affairs at home and abroad.

THE new sovereign was proclaimed queen by the Lords of the Council on the day of Mary's death, and was received with loyal shouts of welcome on her way from Hatfield House to London, where she made her solemn entry on November 24th. Sir William Cecil had been her adviser during the difficult and dangerous period under Mary, and he now took the oaths as chief Secretary of State. Elizabeth addressed him in terms expressive of her complete confidence in his fidelity as minister and counsellor, and this confidence was never once betrayed during his forty years of power. The new Lord-Chancellor, or Lord-Keeper, was Sir Nicholas Bacon, who continued to hold that high office for the first twenty years of the reign.

Cecil and Bacon were among the earliest representatives of a new class of professional statesmen. Almost all previous directors of public affairs, under English sovereigns, had been either feudal warriors, brave, rough, and devoid of culture, or able, acerty prelates, skilled in the learning of their time, adroit in the use of words and in the management of men, but more devoted, as a rule, to the interests of their order and of the Roman see, than to those of the realm at large. The new men were laymen, sprung from the ranks of the landed gentry, well taught in the new learning, and all devoted to the cause of religious reform. It is remarkable that the University of Cambridge sent forth into the political world all the men, both churchmen and laymen, who mainly secured the establishment of the Reformed religion in England. The minds of these men were formed amidst a seething chaos of controversial distraction, in which husband and wife, father and son, brother and sister, teacher and student, and even the same mind, in its own successive phases of opinion, fought out the battle between the old faith and the new. The new school of

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statesmen were not devoid of sincerity, but they were quite free from rash and dangerous zeal in behalf of the Reformed faith. None of them became martyrs under Mary, or went to the block on behalf of the claims of Lady Jane, or the wild enterprise of Wyatt. They were, in fact, prudent time-servers, keen watchers of events, whom fanatics might call hypocrites and cowards, but whose wise caution led to the triumph of the religious cause which they had at heart. The course which they pursued was justified by complete success. As ministers of the cleverest woman that our annals record, they won their way through a bristling host of dangers and difficulties which threatened, not merely the tranquillity, but the existence of the state. They played off one foe of England and of the Reformed religion against another. They had endless devices for gaining time. They met the duplicity of Philip with a dexterity of craft that baffled him and kept him at bay until England could dare to set him at defiance, and bid him do his worst. Their spies were at work in every court, and wormed their way into the core of every conspiracy. As far as the resources of the country, and the perversity of their imperious mistress allowed, they helped with arms and men the Huguenots of France, and the patriots of Holland. For nearly half a century they maintained at home the peace and order which enabled England to repair the evil effects of past turmoil, and to lay the foundations of her unrivalled commercial, colonial, and naval supremacy. Their political morality was that of their age, and by that standard alone can they be fairly judged. They were essentially and thoroughly practical. Careful students of human nature, and of the signs of the times, and despisers of pedantic theory, they were moderate, firm, and watchful in their policy, and acquired real glory because they always aimed at safety, rather than at repute for daring and enterprise. These admirable men owed their long tenure of power to the tact and prudence of their political conduct, and to the wise confidence which Elizabeth reposed in them. She maintained them against all the intrigues of jealous rivals at court, and their own moderate ambition, and freedom from ostentation, rapacity, and corruption kept them secure from public outcry, and from parliamentary attack upon their influence and position. The long tenure of power by Burleigh and Bacon has been noted. Among their colleagues or successors, we find that Sir Walter Mildmay directed the finances for twenty-three years, that Sir Thomas Smith was secretary of state for eighteen years, and Sir Francis Walsingham for nearly as long.

The most conspicuous figure in this group of great politicians and men of business is Sir William Cecil, raised to the peerage **Lord Burleigh** in 1571 as Baron Burleigh. He was, above all, a safe man, of most useful talents and somewhat loose principles. His temper was cool, his judgment sound, his power of work remarkable. Both for the public interest and for his own, he had a keen eye to the main chance as a rigorous exactor and a careful guardian of money. By

a shrewd attention to what was best and safest for himself, he contrived to be in favour successively with Henry, with Somerset, with Northumberland, and with Mary, though he had been a very unwilling party to the intrigue in favour of Lady Jane Grey. By sagacity and self-command he came safely out of positions of the utmost perplexity and peril, not without a large sacrifice of the honesty which, in those troubled times, would have been a passport to the Tower or the block. Under Mary, he escorted the Papal Legate, Cardinal Pole, from Brussels to London, and derived much advantage from his friendly protection. Under Elizabeth, he sanctioned the cruel persecution of Catholics who would not conform. In the great Tudor queen, he had found the ideal sovereign whom his qualities, both good and bad, fitted him to serve with safety and success for himself and the realm. He was not original or enterprising, but he was "a moderate, flexible, and cautious minister, skilled in the details of business, competent to advise, not aspiring to command." By these attributes he acquired and retained the confidence of the most haughty and jealous of monarchs. He alone, by birth a plain Lincolnshire squire, was allowed to sit in her presence, amidst a crowd of high-born nobles who knelt when the queen addressed them. He survived all his rivals and his colleagues, and went to the grave full of years and honours, consoled on his deathbed by his royal mistress's assurance of her high esteem and affection.

The character of Elizabeth has suffered in history both from unmerited eulogy and from unwarranted detraction. By some she is styled a "royal virago;" to the popular mind she is "good Queen Bess." Elizabeth and her position. We have nothing to do with the absurdly fulsome flatteries of such time-serving courtiers as Bacon, who talked of "Her Majesty, whose eyes are the candles of our good days." We are not helped to the truth by foolish phrases about Elizabeth's "glorious days," and "England's golden age," and "the Virgin Queen." It was, indeed, a reign of great men and of great events, but the queen did not create the men or produce the events. She was not the inventor of William Shakespeare, and she did less than nothing in the defeat of the Spanish Armada. She was a cruel persecutor, without the least real reason, of both Catholics and Protestants, having no fixed religion of her own, with a strong leaning to the Catholic side. Her talents and culture only render more disgraceful the coarse violence displayed in the oaths which she swore at bishops, in boxing the ears of Essex, and in shouting rebuke from her pew at a court preacher who was wandering, as she judged, from the text of his discourse. She was, in truth, a curious compound of weakness and strength. She loved to surround herself with handsome favourites whom she never trusted, but whom she fondled before her court with a freedom that arouses grave doubt as to her moral character. She chose for her ministers wise men whom she never dismissed, and it is this insight and sound policy which have won for her most of her just renown. With the proud and resolute spirit of

her father she united the caprice, coquetry, and love of extravagant display in dress and amusement which belonged to her mother. Her real merit as a ruler lies in the fact that she could read aright what was passing around her, and that she well understood the temper of her people. It is hard indeed to be sure that Elizabeth ever loved aught beyond herself, but it is certain that she impressed the nation with a belief in her devotion to their interests, and that she won from them a loyal regard which never failed. A thorough tyrant at heart, she knew exactly when and how to yield to popular feeling expressed in or out of Parliament. Her authority rested solely on the support of the English people, and it is a strong testimony to her prudence and tact that she received from them a willing obedience, and maintained, with rare exceptions, a condition of peace at home and abroad. The difficulties of her position, during most of her reign, were of a serious character. At Elizabeth's accession her subjects included a large section, probably one-third of the whole nation, of adherents to the Catholic faith. It was needful to make a choice, and she chose to embrace the side of the Reformation.

She established the Church of England, in its particular form, because she saw her account, as a sovereign, in a close connection between the priesthood and the monarchy. She was its civil and ecclesiastical chief, and she strove, by persecution, to force all within its pale, as the best guarantee of their obedience in civil affairs. She made the Church a compromise between those who clung to olden usage and belief, and those who abhorred everything, either in faith or ritual, that savoured of the leaven of Rome. To this spirit of compromise the Church owes her noble and pathetic liturgy, her decent ceremonies, and her moderate articles. She lies midway between Rome and Geneva. She retains episcopacy, confirmation, and ordination, but she acknowledges only two sacraments, approves the marriage of priests, and utterly rejects the doctrine of transubstantiation. For a hundred and fifty years the ministers of this Church gave token, in their political demeanour, of her special political origin. Royal authority, the source of her power, was ever firmly upheld by her priests. As her prelates, her canons, and her Convocations are dependent for their existence upon the royal will, the traditions and tastes of her ministers were monarchical. In the most stirring and important times of our constitutional history, the "divine right" of kings, and the duty of "passive obedience," were proclaimed from a thousand pulpits.

To the risks lying in the Catholic feeling of a large part of her subjects, and of the two great continental powers, France and Spain, was added a special danger in the existence of a rival claimant for Elizabeth's throne. The young Scottish queen not only became, in 1559, queen-consort of France, on the accession of her husband, the Dauphin, as Francis II., but she claimed

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the sovereignty of England on the grounds of her own descent and of the illegitimate birth of Elizabeth. Francis and Mary assumed at once the title and arms of king and queen of England, and many of Elizabeth's subjects were ready to acknowledge their authority. In dealing with all the perils that surrounded her, the queen was greatly helped by fortune and finesse. Her good fortune lay in the troubles that arose to distract her enemies. France soon became the scene of hot warfare between the rival religions. Mary became embroiled with her own subjects in Scotland. The diplomatic deceit, and the thousand subtleties of state-craft, which baffled Philip of Spain, were due to Elizabeth herself and to her advisers. They were master-spirits of ingenuity, intrigue, falsehood, and fraud, that outwitted all the statesmen of France, Italy, and Spain, and drove their opponents to madness by a policy of adroit and persistent mystification. The highest qualities of Elizabeth were the keenness and cultivation of intellect, and the versatility of taste and temper, which made her at home with all sorts and conditions of men and things. With poet, theologian, philosopher, scholar, courtier and man of fashion, navigator, and warrior she could discuss in turn his special theme, and leave them all delighted with the depth of her interest and the range of her sympathy. Such a woman and sovereign could hardly fail to be popular, when she set herself to win the love of her subjects. She retained it to the last by the solid benefits which they saw accruing from her maintenance of peace, her light taxation, her encouragement of trade, and her generally firm and moderate rule. She had no enthusiasm for any person or for any cause. She had no conscience, no gratitude, no remorse, and no sense of shame. Such was the greatness of Queen Elizabeth.

The bishops appointed by Mary were unwilling to recognise the title of Elizabeth to the throne, and only one of them, Oglethorpe, Bishop of Carlisle, could be induced to take part in her coronation. Pope Paul IV. declared that the English crown was a fief of Rome, and denounced the queen's presumption in assuming the same without his consent. Prudence was consulted in despatching a civil and temporising reply to Philip's obliging offer to marry the queen, on condition that she became a Catholic. † A proclamation was issued which put a stop to all preaching, save by royal permission, and allowed the use in English of the Gospel, Epistle, Creed, Commandments, and Lord's Prayer, as in the time of Henry. A commission was appointed for the revisal of the Liturgy, and a wise and learned Cambridge divine, Matthew Parker, was appointed to the see of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Pole. Parker had been chaplain to Anne Boleyn, who specially commended her daughter to his care. He became, in 1544, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and in 1552 was appointed Dean of Ely. On Mary's accession he was stripped of his preferment, but escaped further persecution, and now attained the precise post for which he was fitted

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at such a time, when it was needful to restore order in the worship and discipline of the Church. The sudden and violent gusts of change had made a chaos of the Church services, and the Romish and Protestant ritual and faith were struggling for supremacy in countless parishes. The first Parliament met in January 1559, and it was in reply to an address from the Commons that Elizabeth used words implying her intention to remain unwedded. In her progress from the Tower to Westminster, on January 14th, the day prior to her coronation, the queen received, in Cheapside, a Bible in English, "let down unto her by a silk lace from a child that represented Truth. She kissed both her hands, with both her hands she received it, then she kissed it, and lastly held it up, thanking the city especially for that gift, and promising to be a diligent reader thereof." This piece of polite acting was a sop to Protestant feeling which in no wise committed the queen. The first statute was a new Act of Supremacy, declaring the queen to be "Supreme Governor of the Church," with the usual penalties of *Praemunire* and Treason for repeated denial and opposition. The old laws for the punishment of heresies were repealed, but an ominous addition was made to the "supremacy" when it was enacted that the queen should have power to appoint commissioners for an indefinite period, and with indefinite powers, to execute jurisdiction in Church affairs. This was the germ which grew into the High Commission Court of 1583, and became so terrible an instrument of oppression. A new Prayer-book was then issued, under authority of Parliament, with certain changes from that of 1552. These alterations were made with the view of retaining in the Church all Catholics of moderate opinions. A general "visitation" ejected all the clergy who refused compliance with the new order of things, but less than two hundred chose to resign, or to be deprived of, their benefices. A different attitude was assumed by the fourteen bishops whom deaths had left in possession of sees. All but two declined the Oath of Supremacy and were deprived of their sees. They were otherwise treated with moderation, and most of them remained in England. Tonsal, late Bishop of Durham, lived and died at Lambeth, the honoured guest of Parker, and Heath, the ejected Archbishop of York, was sometimes visited by the queen at his own house at Cobham, in Surrey. The new religious houses were all suppressed, and the abbey of Westminster became the "Collegiate Church" of St. Peter. Parker was consecrated in December 1559, by three of the former Protestant bishops, Barlow of St. Asaph, Scory of Chichester, and Coverdale of Exeter. Grindal became Bishop of London, and Jewel went to the see of Salisbury. Now and throughout the reign Elizabeth plundered the episcopal sees for the benefit of herself and her courtiers and ministers. Some of the lands of the bishopric of Ely were conveyed to Sir Christopher Hatton, who became Chancellor in 1587, and Burleigh was enriched in like manner at the expense of the see of Peterborough. The Act of

Uniformity enforced the sole use of the new Prayer-book, under heavy penalties of fine and imprisonment. In 1563 the Thirty-nine Articles were ratified by Convocation and Parliament, and an Act of 1571 required the clergy to subscribe them. Thus was completed the Reformation in England.

In 1559, peace with Scotland and France had been made in the Treaty of Cateau-Cambresis, but Elizabeth's bitter enmity was aroused by the continued claims of Francis II. and Mary Stuart to the English crown. Mary of Guise, the mother of the Scottish queen, had given great offence as Regent in her promotion of Frenchmen to places of power, and her attempt to occupy fortresses by bodies of French troops. It was now the policy of Elizabeth and Cecil to win the confidence of the Scottish people, who had, in a large degree, embraced Protestant principles. John Knox, the chief agent in the Scottish Reformation, had been a disciple of George Wishart, a schoolmaster who, about 1536, began to preach the new doctrines. On being released from the French galleys, after events already noticed, Knox took refuge, first in England and then at Geneva, where he became intimate with Calvin, and acquired his principles of faith and action in religious affairs. It was at Geneva that Knox issued his famous book on the "Monstrous Regiment (*i.e.* rule) of Women," aimed at the authority of the three Marys, Mary of Guise, Queen-Dowager and Regent of Scotland, Mary of England, and Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots. It was owing to his advice and zealous exhortations that in December 1557 the Scottish Reforming nobles met in Edinburgh, and drew up the religious agreement known as the *First Covenant*. They bound themselves to strive to the death for the pure word of God and His "congregation," and the subscribers took the name of "Lords of the Congregation." In 1558, popular fury was shown against the Catholics, and the new movement was helped forward by the burning at St. Andrews of the last sufferer for heresy in Scotland, Walter Mill, a pious and aged parish priest. The Catholic Regent at first rather favoured the Reformers, on political grounds, but on the accession of Elizabeth in England, she made a decided stand against them. In May 1559 Knox returned by sea to Scotland, being refused a passage through England by Elizabeth, who resented his treatise against female monarchy. His presence was the signal for serious disorder. He preached a vehement sermon at Perth, which caused the mob to break the images and ornaments in the churches, and to sack the monasteries. When royal troops were sent against them, the "Lords of the Congregation" checked their advance by a display of superior force, and entered into a second Covenant for mutual support and defence. Other outrages on churches and monasteries followed, including the destruction by fire of the beautiful Abbey of Scone, where the Scottish kings had long been crowned. The queen-regent fled from Edinburgh, and the Reformers demanded a legal change of religion and the

expulsion of the French from the country. When French troops were landed at Leith, the Reforming party turned to England for help, and opened a correspondence with Cecil. Elizabeth had been actively engaged in strengthening her position in England by replenishing the treasury, and recruiting the military and naval force, and she now ventured to interfere in Scottish affairs. In January 1560, an English fleet appeared in the Forth, and Scottish and English forces closely besieged the French in Leith. Mary of Guise, the Regent, died at this time in Edinburgh Castle, and in July the French were obliged to come to terms. A treaty was made stipulating that both French and English troops should quit the country, and that the king and queen of France and Scotland should abandon their claims to the English throne. In the following month, the Scottish Parliament adopted Knox's Confession of Faith, and severe legislation against the Papal authority and the use of the Mass completed the Reformation in Scotland. The English queen had won the first success of her reign in detaching Scotland from France, and in securing for England the alliance of a powerful party in the northern realm.

In December 1560, the young queen of Scotland and France became a widow by the death of her husband, Francis II., and soon resolved to return to her native country, and endeavour to gain her subjects to obedience. She was admirably fitted by the charms of her person, her winning manners, and her acute intellect, to acquire the homage of all hearts, if she could but have resolved to separate herself from the bigoted policy of her maternal relatives, the Guises. It is far more easy to dilate upon the attractive and extraordinary gifts of this famous queen than to arrive at any certain conclusion respecting her character. The tragical events of her life have long been the battle-ground of partisan writers. Religious and national prejudice have raged around the records of her career, and she has been, like her rival Elizabeth, the victim of phrases. Her personality is summed up as that of "the beautiful but unfortunate Mary Queen of Scots." The portraits of the time differ enough to throw doubts upon the extreme beauty with which she has been credited. It is certain, however, that when she landed at Leith in August 1561, at the age of nineteen, she presented to the gaze of her people a young woman endowed by nature with powers of body and mind, with graces of manner and resources of temper and spirit such as few of her sex have ever possessed. She was at once luxurious in her tastes, hardy in frame, adventurous, warlike, full of state-craft and subtle policy, free of speech, vivacious, capable of passionate love and deadly hate, and possessed of queenly soul and demeanour in presence of difficulty, danger, and death. A very heroine for poetry and romance, she has been invested with a romantic and poetical halo through which it is needful to pierce before we can form a cool and impartial judgment of her character and career. The contemporary

Mary
Stuart in
Scotland.

writer, Camden, describes her as "fixed and constant in her religion," and "of singular piety towards God." It is true that she never swerved from the doctrines of the Catholic Church. On the extent and quality of Mary Stuart's piety there is room for much diversity of opinion. Knox alone, of all her Scottish subjects, was proof against the blandishments of the queen, and his rude and fanatical demeanour and speech, combined with his vast religious and political influence, were of evil omen for the peace of Mary's rule. The strong desire of Mary's heart was to support the policy of the Guises, in putting down the Huguenots of France, encouraging the Catholics of Scotland and England, and combining, in a word, the whole strength of the Catholic countries against the great moral, political, and religious revolution lately achieved in northern Europe. Elizabeth was equally resolved to maintain the Protestant cause, and to exclude, as far as might be, foreign arms and influence from Scotland, and in this diversity of political aims, apart from the question of the right and succession to the English throne, we have the germ of the hostility between the two sovereigns. Elizabeth had declined to give Mary a safe-conduct in her passage to Scotland, because she refused to ratify the treaty which renounced her claim to the English crown, and this refusal was bitterly resented by the Scottish queen. It was stated on one side, and denied on the other, that an attempt to seize Mary was made by the English cruisers. Both statement and denial, as in many transactions of the time, are void of all means of proof.

For the first two years of her reign Mary, on grounds of policy, openly favoured the Protestant cause, and gave her chief confidence to her half-brother, the Earl of Moray, who was ^{Mary's marriage, 1565.} at the head of the Protestant and national party. She even marched, in 1562, against a great Catholic noble, the Earl of Huntly, who had assumed almost regal power in the north. The gates of Inverness Castle were closed against her, but the queen's troops stormed the place, and hanged the governor. Huntly fell a few days later, in a fight with the royal party near Aberdeen. Mary won the hearts of her soldiers on this expedition by her cheerful endurance of hardships, and her expression of regret "that she was not a man, to know what life it was to lie all night in the fields, or to walk on the causeway with a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword." The queen's fatal charms wrought mischief to many admirers. Chastelard, the French gentleman, poet, and lute-player, became so infatuated in his devotion as to incur a charge of treason, for which he lost his head at St. Andrew's. The question of Mary's marriage was one of great interest. The Scottish Reformers were alarmed by the French proposal of an union between Mary and Don Carlos, son of Philip II., and heir to the crown of Spain. Elizabeth pressed upon Mary's notice her own favourite Lord Robert Dudley, a brother of Lady Jane Grey, and raised him, with this view, to the peerage as Earl of Leicester.

The Scottish queen declined to "embase herself" by wedding another sovereign's subject, but her real reason probably was that Elizabeth refused to have Mary's succession to the English crown declared by an Act of Parliament. The choice made by Mary was one dictated both by policy and affection. She had resolved to break with her Protestant subjects, to look for aid to Spain, to defy Elizabeth, to conciliate the English Catholics, and to maintain her claim, not merely to the succession, but to the present possession, of the English crown. It was the great mistake of her whole career, and was the main cause of her downfall. A young noble of royal blood, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, was at this time living in England. He was grandson of Margaret Tudor, wife of James IV. of Scotland, through her second marriage with the Earl of Angus. Mary Stuart, Margaret's granddaughter through James V., was Darnley's first cousin, and his claim to the English crown ranked next to hers. In February 1565, Darnley came to Scotland, and Mary's affection was soon fixed upon the handsome youth. Void of mental ability, he was of worthless moral character, but the queen, who was four years his senior, hoped to be able to guide and reclaim him. He was already half a Catholic, and was prepared wholly to conform. Elizabeth and her Council at once refused their assent to the match, on the ground of political and religious danger to England. In Scotland, Moray, with the Protestant lords and people, strongly opposed the marriage. The highest approval was forthcoming from Philip of Spain, who saw in Mary his chief hope for a restoration of the true faith in England. The marriage was solemnised with Catholic rites on July 29, 1565. Darnley, already created Duke of Albany, was proclaimed king on the wedding-day.

The wise Council of Elizabeth had been much engaged with economical reforms affecting the commercial and political interests of the country. The great debts of the crown were in part discharged. In 1560, the base coinage, which had greatly disorganised the trade of the community, was called in, and exchanged at the mint for fine sterling money, whose nominal value was now to correspond with its intrinsic worth. The labourer was no longer robbed in receiving, as twelve-pence, a coin which would only purchase one-third of a bushel of wheat, instead of the full bushel which twelve-pence ought to buy. A time of steady commercial advance began. The wealth and public spirit of London and its neighbourhood were shown in replacing, during a single year, at the cost of six thousand pounds, the roofs of the great Cathedral of St. Paul. They had been destroyed, in June 1561, by fire caused by the lightning which consumed the splendid steeple. The laity cheerfully undertook the work which would once have fallen on the funds of the Church alone. The Church, despoiled of its vast resources, had ceased to stand apart in self-supporting grandeur, and was now becoming the Church of a people, instead of a caste. The evil time of the martyrdoms was followed by a

**Home
affairs,
1560-1565.**

revival of popular sports and amusements. We see Lord Robert Dudley as challenger to all comers in "a great wager of archery shot in Finsbury Field." The queen goes in procession, on a "progress" to the eastern counties, through the new-gravelled streets of London, between houses hung with cloth of arras, and carpets, and silk, with cloth of gold and silver, and velvet of all hues. The crafts of London stand in their liveries, and there is a rare show of knights and lords, of aldermen in scarlet, "my Lord Mayor bearing the sceptre, and the Lord Hunsdon carrying the sword." The defence of the realm was regarded in the first establishment of factories for making gunpowder and brass cannon, in the building of ships of war, and in frequent reviews of the militia. It would have been well for the country if the activity of the new ruler had been wholly devoted to useful labours and to harmless pomps and shows. The Catholics of England were to be punished for the bigotry of the Pope, who had issued a letter aimed at the Act of Uniformity. Men and women of high rank were imprisoned for the offence of hearing mass at home. Heavy fines were laid on those who held aloof from the services of the Church. In 1562, the severe Act of Uniformity was followed by the first of the Test Acts which, for over two centuries, oppressed the Catholics of England. There was nothing in the way of public danger to justify the measure. The cause of the Huguenots in France had lately fallen, for the time, before the power of the Guises, but a wise policy would have seen in this a reason for indulgence to the Catholics of England. A panic-stricken government caused the passing of the "Act for the Assurance of the Queen's power." It was a retrospective penal statute against a large class of the community. All graduates of both Universities, all persons in holy orders, all lawyers, and all magistrates, were required to take the oath of supremacy, whenever tendered by a bishop, or by a commissioner under the Great Seal. The penalty, on a first refusal, was forfeiture of goods, and imprisonment during the royal pleasure. After the lapse of three months, the oath could be again tendered, and a second refusal brought on the offender the guilt of high treason. With reference to the clergy, this Act was much modified in practice by the judicious lenity of Archbishop Parker.

England was drawn into a brief and useless war by the religious troubles in France. The queen-regent of that country, Catharine de Medici, widow of Henry II., ruled the land in the name of her imbecile son, Charles IX. This able, ambitious, and unscrupulous woman was full of Italian craft, and, caring nothing for this or that religion, pitted against each other the two contending factions. The Duke of Guise and the Constable of France, de Montmorency, headed the Catholic party. The chief leaders of the Huguenots were Anthony de Bourbon, king of Navarre, the Prince de Condé, and Admiral Coligny, the most virtuous man of that age. In 1562, war began with the massacre of a party of Calvinists who were

Foreign
affairs:
France,
1562-64.

at worship in a barn. In the same year, Coligny and Condé were defeated by Guise at the battle of Dreux. Condé had appealed to Elizabeth for succour, and an English force of six thousand men, under the Earl of Warwick, occupied Havre. The defeat of Dreux, and the assassination of the Duke of Guise, led to the Peace of Amboise in 1563, and then the united French parties closely besieged the English in Havre. They were forced to surrender from lack of provisions, followed by an outbreak of plague, which slew many thousands in England after the return of Warwick's men. Peace was made between the two countries in April 1564. The chief result of the contest was the distrust of the Huguenots thereby produced in the mind of the English queen.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND'S FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC FOES.

Mary Stuart a prisoner and centre of plots. Walsingham and the Jesuits. Elizabeth's dealings with Holland and Scotland. Rise of the Puritans. Persecution of Non-conformity. Archbishop Whitgift. Richard Hooker.

THE marriage of Mary Stuart with Darnley was followed by a series of tragical events. The Protestant lords made a vain attempt at revolt, and were forced to flee into England. The Scottish queen, relying on help from France and Spain, and on the Catholics of the north of England, assumed a bold attitude. She demanded the formal recognition of her right of succession to the English throne, and, on refusal, dismissed the English envoy. Resolved to restore the Catholic religion, she had taken into her Council the daring, powerful, and wicked Earl of Bothwell, and the Earls of Athol and Huntly. Her secret adviser in all these measures was her Italian secretary, David Rizzio. All her schemes were brought to ruin by the conduct of her worthless husband. A few months of married life had revealed Darnley's true character, and Mary's passionate affection had been changed into something akin to hatred. She refused his claim to the "crown matrimonial," by which, at Mary's death, the kingdom would have passed to him and to his heirs. Darnley, in his fury,¹ made a league with the Protestant party for the removal of Rizzio,² the concession of the crown matrimonial,³ the recall of the Protestant lords, and⁴ the secure establishment of the Reformed faith. On March 9, 1566, the king and a party of friends murdered Rizzio, under circumstances of gross barbarity, and almost in the queen's presence, at Holyrood Palace. The banished lords returned to Edinburgh, but Mary made her escape to Dunbar, whence Bothwell and her other friends brought her back in triumph to the capital. Mary had vowed revenge in her heart, but was now outwardly reconciled to Darnley.

The re-
volution
in Scot-
land
1565-68.

On June 10th, at Edinburgh Castle, the queen gave birth to the son who was afterwards James VI. Bothwell then formed a plot for the removal of the king, and on February 9, 1567, he was mysteriously murdered in or near an old house, close to the city wall of Edinburgh, at a place called Kirk o' Field. The explosion of bags of gunpowder which blew up the house, and shook the whole city, was not the cause of his death, which seems to have been effected by strangulation. Nothing certain is known of the queen's part in the murder, if indeed she had any guilty knowledge. Of Bothwell's guilt not a doubt exists. He remained high in Mary's favour, and was acquitted after a mock trial. Mary had shown signs of a deep love for the wicked earl, and he soon procured a divorce from his wife, by sentence of civil and church courts of Mary's special appointment. In May 1567, Bothwell was created Duke of Orkney, and married to the queen at Holyrood. All the nobles held aloof from the court, and a civil war soon began. The hostile forces met, on June 15th, at Carberry Hill, near Musselburgh. No regular battle ensued. Bothwell rode away from an army that would not fight for him, and Mary was conducted by the lords to Edinburgh, which she entered amidst the revilings and accusations of the people. A few days later, she went as a prisoner to Lochleven Castle, in Kinross. In July she was there compelled to sign two deeds, which were ratified by the Scottish Parliament. The one was an act of abdication in favour of her son. The other appointed the Earl of Moray to the office of Regent during the young king's minority. The queen's evil spirit, Bothwell, made his escape to Denmark, where he died in 1576.

In December 1567, the Parliament ratified the Acts of 1560 for the abolition of the Catholic, and the establishment of the Presbyterian religion. After eleven months of captivity at Lochleven, ^{Mary's} fall, 1568. Mary contrived to escape, by the help of her young admirer, George Douglas, brother to the laird. Her Catholic friends were soon in arms around her, but prompt measures were taken by the energetic and capable Moray. On May 13, 1568, the battle of Langside, two miles south of Glasgow, sealed the fate of Mary Stuart, as far as concerned the Scottish throne. Her army suffered total defeat, and she fled across the Solway Firth to Workington, whence she was escorted by some gentry to the castle at Carlisle. Another good stroke of fortune for Elizabeth had saved her realm from one danger on the side of Scotland, where the Reformation was at last secure.

Never had a sovereign received a more dangerous or troublesome visitor than the queen of England now entertained in the person of the illustrious Scottish exile. Cecil had now to ^{Elizabeth and} ^{Mary,} confront the most difficult question of his whole career. It ^{1568-69.} was impossible to grant Mary's request to be furnished with the aid of an English army for her enforced return to the Scottish throne. Nor could she be allowed to retire to France, and there weave plans at

her leisure against the English queen, people, and religion. Her continued presence in England made her a centre for Catholic plots. It was at last decided, against the dictates of municipal and international law, to detain Mary as a prisoner, and at the same time to discredit her before the world by proving her complicity in Darnley's murder. In July, Mary was removed for safety from Carlisle to Bolton Castle. In October, a conference was held at York between commissioners named by the two queens, and Moray, attended by Buchanan and others. The Scottish regent was there expected to reply to accusations brought against him as the author of Mary's deposition. His only possible justification lay in proofs of his queen's guilt. Certain letters were then produced, said to have been written by Mary to Bothwell, and discovered in the queen's casket. Mary declined to meet these documents until Elizabeth had granted a personal interview. After much fencing, in which both Elizabeth and Mary displayed great resources of subtlety, the whole affair was left unsettled, and Moray, with his friends, returned to Scotland. The impression left on the mind is that the Scottish queen showed the conduct of a person not directly guilty, nor yet wholly innocent. In February 1569, Mary was removed from Bolton to Tutbury Castle, in Staffordshire, where she was placed under the strict care of its owner, the Earl of Shrewsbury. No vigilance, however, prevented her secret correspondence with the enemies of Elizabeth at home and abroad, and Mary Stuart was now to bring another ambitious admirer to ruin.

The Duke of Norfolk, as one of the commissioners at York, appears to have been struck by Mary's beauty, and to have formed the scheme of marrying her, with ulterior views involving the succession to the throne. Mary herself favoured the proposal, and the Catholic party, with many Protestants, were eager for the union. The Catholics hoped to supplant Cecil by Norfolk, who was now a Protestant, and to secure through him the succession of Mary. The Protestants, regarding Mary as their inevitable future queen, saw in her union with a leading noble of their own faith a guarantee against religious reaction. The duke was also intriguing with zealous Catholics in the north of England, whose views pointed to the deposition of Elizabeth, the accession of Mary, and the restoration of the old faith. Norfolk was but a rash plotter, and his designs were betrayed to Elizabeth by Leicester and the Earl of Moray. In October 1569, he was committed to the Tower, and Mary was subjected to a closer vigilance. On the arrest of the duke, the Catholic lords Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, headed an insurrection in the northern counties. Their designs included the release of Mary and the duke, and the restoration of Catholicism. With some thousands of men at their back, they seized the city of Durham, destroyed the Bibles and new service-books, and restored the Mass at the Cathedral. They failed to reach Mary, who

The
Catholic
rising,
1569.

had been removed in haste to Coventry, and their followers dispersed on the approach of large forces from the south. The leaders made their way to Scotland, and the misguided peasantry were hanged by hundreds. Norfolk was soon released from prison, but his downfall was not long postponed.

The heretical queen of England and her Protestant subjects were becoming objects of hatred to those who aimed at suppressing the new religion by the free use of fire and sword. As year by year went by, and the hope of a general Catholic reaction in England faded away, the bigots of the Continent began to regard Elizabeth as the Protestant champion of Europe, and to devise plots against her throne and her life. In 1566, a Dominican monk of the most austere life, a zealot who had been a distinguished inquisitor, became Pope as Pius V. His spirit had been clearly shown during the religious wars of France. When he sent a force to aid the French Catholics, he told their leader "to take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill every one that fell into his hands." When the Duke of Alva, as Philip's viceroy in the Netherlands, assisted by his "Council of Blood," was making havoc of the Dutch heretics, the holy father sent him a consecrated hat and sword, in admiration of his ferocious zeal. Pius V. avowed his desire to devote the treasures of the Church, even to its chalices and crucifixes, to carry a religious war into England, and to himself head such an expedition. It was in 1568 that Alva was appointed by Philip to his command, and the work which he effected in hanging, beheading, racking, burning, and confiscating, quite satisfied the Papal nuncio. Hosts of fugitives came to England from the great commercial cities of the Netherlands, bringing with them new handicrafts, and there can be no doubt that their influence promoted, not merely our trade and manufactures, but the steady growth of Protestant feeling. The cause of the Huguenots in France had lately suffered serious defeats. In 1567, Montmorency routed their forces, under Condé and Coligny, at St. Denis, dying himself of wounds received in the battle. The chief Catholic leader was then Henry, Duke of Guise, son of the late duke, and a brave soldier of resolute character. In 1569, the Huguenots suffered a disaster at Jarnac, where Condé was killed; and again, under Coligny, on the fatal field of Moncontour. It was just at this time, in February 1570, that Pius V. launched against Elizabeth his Bull of Deposition. In this instrument the Pope sought to deprive her of all right to her kingdom, absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and excommunicated all who should render her any obedience. This open declaration of spiritual war was met by Parliament in April 1571. Two severe statutes were passed, the first of which was aimed at the Pope and his adherents. All persons publishing bulls from Rome, or giving absolution under the same, or reconciling any one to the Romish Church, or being so reconciled, became liable to the penalties of high

Eliza-
beth's
foreign
foes,
1570-72.

treason. Another clause provided that all such persons as brought into the kingdom crosses, pictures, beads, or other "vain and superstitious things," claiming to be hallowed by the Bishop of Rome, should incur the penalties of *Praemunire*. The second law dealt specially with the partisans of Mary, and made it high treason to affirm that any one but Elizabeth was rightful sovereign; or to proclaim her a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper; or to claim a right to the throne during the queen's life. The Protestant cause in France was for a time weakened in the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, 1572. The Huguenots, after a peace made in 1570 with the French Catholics, had sought to turn the arms of France against Spain in the Netherlands, where the people had risen in revolt against the power of Philip. The assistance of Elizabeth was sought, but the queen, in her tortuous diplomacy, was at this time plotting with Alva against the cause of the Protestant rebels. The Guises were, of course, the friends of Spain, on religious grounds, and their hatred of the Huguenots was intensified when Charles IX., the French king, gave his sister, Margu rite de Valois, in marriage to the Protestant champion, Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, afterwards "Henri Quatre" of France. Catharine de Medici was jealous of the Huguenot influence over the mind of her son, the king, and she suddenly resolved to be rid of the party at one stroke. The Catholic leaders were taken into her confidence, and the mob of Paris did the work. The Duke of Guise headed the party that slew Admiral Coligny, and in three days of massacre about two thousand Protestants fell in Paris. Thousands more were slaughtered in the chief provincial towns. The Catholics of Europe were delighted, and the Pope, now Gregory XIII., struck medals and had solemn processions in honour of the great event. Philip II. hailed the news as a deathblow to alliance between France and England. The English people, as a body, were filled with loathing, not unmingled with fear, and many men of high position demanded a reprisal in the death of Mary Stuart. Sandys, Bishop of London, writing to Lord Burleigh, advises him "forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head."

Among the ablest of Elizabeth's servants in high affairs of state was Sir Francis Walsingham. Born at Chislehurst, in Kent, about 1536, he became a student of King's College, Cambridge, and then enlarged his mind by Continental travel. Introduced by Cecil to the public service, he quickly made his way, and was ambassador to the French court from 1570 to 1573. On his return from that mission, he was made a privy councillor and principal Secretary of State, and soon afterwards received what was then the high honour of knighthood. He served his queen and country with the most unscrupulous fidelity, and was almost unrivalled in his skilful measures for the detection of plots. It has been said that he "outdid the Jesuits with their own bow, and overreached them in their equivoca-

tion," and that he kept in foreign courts fifty-three agents, and eighteen special spies. He was always in favour of stern measures against the Scottish queen after her arrival in England. When the Papal bull was issued, he denounced her as "that dangerous woman," and after the massacre in France he wrote as his opinion that "certain unsound members must be cut off," for "violent diseases will have violent remedies." It is only fair to Queen Elizabeth to record that she refused, for fourteen years, to comply with suggestions against Mary which her ministers and people were frequently pressing upon her.

The weak and restless Norfolk, before his release from the Tower in August 1570, had solemnly engaged "never to deal in that cause of marriage of the queen of Scots, nor in any other cause belonging to her, but as your majesty shall command me." Yet in 1571 he was found dealing, through an Italian agent named Ridolfi, with a plan for his own marriage with Mary, for the seizure of the person of Elizabeth, and for the invasion of England by the Duke of Alva. The spies of Cecil had done their work; the rack was freely used to extort information; and the Duke was tried before his peers, on a charge of high treason, in January 1572. He was condemned by an unanimous vote, but for some time Elizabeth shrank from sending to the block, even for guilt so clear, the chief English noble, son of the Earl of Surrey who had perished under her father's jealous rage. At last, in June, he was executed on Tower Hill.

Execu-
tion of
Duke of
Norfolk,
1572.

The Papal court tried other means than bulls of excommunication, in order to restore the old faith in England. From the day of St. Bartholomew in 1572, to the detection of the great conspiracy of 1586, there was incessant struggle between the two great principles of Romanism and Protestantism. It was only by slow degrees that the country settled down into an almost general adoption of the Reformed religion. Year by year, the old Catholic priesthood was dying out, and their places were being filled by the new Protestant clergy. In order to retain her hold upon the people, and to regain lost ground, the Church of Rome made free use of missionary teachers. The formidable organisation of the Jesuits was set at work. A Jesuit College founded at Douai in the Netherlands, and then removed to Rheims, had for its special object the training of Englishmen for the Romish Church. Thence, and from kindred institutions at Rome and elsewhere, priests frequently passed into England, for the preaching of the Catholic religion, and for keeping alive the fire of disaffection to the Church of England and to the throne of Elizabeth. A man named Dr. William Allen, driven from Oxford by the test contained in the Act of Uniformity, became principal of the college or seminary at Douai. Another refugee from Oxford, named Robert Parsons, was at the head of the Jesuit College at Rome. The emissaries despatched to England

The
Jesuits
and
seminary
priests.

became known as seminary priests, and their zeal in behalf of their religion, and against the existing institutions of the country, was met by severe penal legislation. The magistrates, under the Test Act, were now mainly Protestants, and the new laws were not allowed to fail of effect for want of sharp and watchful application. In 1580, Pope Gregory XIII., at the suggestion of Allen, sent to England a body of Jesuits, led and organised by Parsons and by Edmond Campion, an excellent scholar, once a fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. This party of thirteen priests went about the country disguised as servants, or as soldiers, or even in the dress of Protestant clergymen. When their presence became known, something like a panic was created among the supporters of the Reformation. In 1577, Cuthbert Mayne, hanged at Launceston, had been the first Romish priest to suffer death under the existing penal acts. His chief offence was that of having upon his person a copy of the Bull of Deposition. Public indignation was aroused by the discovery that the new emissaries of 1580 were instructed to allow Catholics to feign allegiance to the queen, until such time as it might be convenient to throw it off. The Parliament, now almost wholly Protestant, which met in 1581, again enacted the penalties of high treason against all persons who should claim the power of absolving subjects from their allegiance, or should receive any person into the Church of Rome. Attendance at the church services was enforced by a monthly penalty of twenty pounds for absence, with imprisonment, and seizure of goods and lands, in default of payment. The Catholics and Protestants were thus, for the first time, divided into two classes, and the name of "Popish recusants" was given to those who failed to attend the services at church. Priests were seized and subjected to torture, and all attendance at mass, and saying of mass, were forbidden under heavy penalties. The laity suffered chiefly by the fines imposed for non-attendance at public worship, but the priests met with sterner treatment. In July 1581, Campion was arrested in Berkshire, and lodged, with two others, in the Tower. The rack was applied to force from Campion a statement as to the Pope's power to depose sovereigns. When his answers were considered evasive, he was tried for high treason under the Act of Edward III., for "compassing and imagining" the queen's death, and his conviction was followed by execution. Other priests, who refused to acknowledge Elizabeth as lawful sovereign, met with the same fate. Parsons contrived to escape abroad, and the Jesuits and seminary priests were hunted down like wild animals. It has been estimated that over one hundred Catholic priests died during the last half of the reign for the crime of exercising their own religion. Many more were executed on charges more or less political, and many others died in gaol. The making of martyrs, and the cruelty of persecution, produced their usual effect in a closer attachment to the proscribed faith, and we shall see that

denial of the queen's right to the throne was soon followed by direct plots against her life. Burleigh showed his good sense, in 1583, by addressing a memorial to the queen, in which he deprecated the use of penal laws against those who refused the oath of supremacy, and declared that he wished for "no lessening of their number, but by preaching and by education of the younger under schoolmasters."

It was only by force of circumstances, and from no enthusiasm or choice of her own, that Elizabeth came to be regarded as the champion of the Reformed faith. Nothing could be more Elizabeth and the Dutch Protestants. futile or irritating than the vacillating and feeble support extended towards the Dutch rebels against the power of Philip. The queen wavered between seeming friendship towards the monarch, combined with secret help to his revolted subjects, and seeming friendship for the rebels, combined with acts injurious to their cause. The indecision of her shifty diplomacy had for its aim the avoidance of open rupture with any great Catholic power, and, in this respect, her foreign policy may justly claim a measure of success. In 1573, Alva had been recalled from the Netherlands, and a vain attempt at mediation by Elizabeth, on condition of the Dutch returning to Catholicism, made William of Orange and the patriots look for help to France. The jealous fears of Elizabeth were aroused, and she then leant towards the cause of civil and religious freedom. She had already declined the offer of the sovereignty of the Dutch Netherlands, and, in 1576, she was again sought for a final decision. The queen now, against the advice of Burleigh and his colleagues, veered to the Spanish side, and peremptorily dismissed the ambassador from the revolted states, the famous Philip van Marnix, lord of St. Aldegonde. A like policy of hesitation and change was pursued with regard to the Protestant cause in France, where the Catholic League, under the Guises, was beginning to make head against the renewed strength of the Huguenots. At last, in 1577, the open hostility of Don John of Austria, Philip's new viceroy in the Netherlands, induced Elizabeth to send a little help in men and money. Two years later, the Dutch Republic was founded by the Union of Utrecht, and came under the rule of William of Orange, as sovereign-count of Holland and Zeeland. In 1584, the great patriot died at Delft by the desperate act of Balthazar Gérard, and the English queen became alarmed at the progress made by the Prince of Parma against the rebels. In 1585, she again declined the Dutch sovereignty, and drove the republic again towards France, but Philip's seizure of some English ships in Spanish ports caused another change of front. Even now, the help afforded was feeble, and too long delayed. In January 1586, seven thousand men, ill-provided, and ill-commanded by the Earl of Leicester, landed in Holland, after Parma's capture of Antwerp. The fathomless depths of Elizabeth's craft caused her, at this very time, to be treating secretly with Spain, and she did not intend to give the Dutch any really effectual help. The only result of

the expedition was the loss of one of the noblest of Englishmen, Sir Philip Sidney, slain in a vain attempt to prevent a Spanish force from relieving their garrison at Zutphen. Leicester then came back to England, leaving an English force behind him, almost without clothes to their backs or shoes to their feet. Such was Queen Elizabeth's parsimony in war.

The queen's treacherous changes of purpose were markedly shown in **Elizabeth and Scotland, 1570-1586.** her dealings with Scotland, after the downfall of Mary Stuart. In January 1570 the Regent Moray was murdered in the street at Linlithgow by a partisan of his foes the Hamiltons, and the nobles were divided into two factions. Huntly, Maitland of Lethington, and others aimed at the restoration of Mary. The Earls of Lennox, Mar, and Morton headed the Protestant party, supporting the cause of the young king. Elizabeth wavered between the two, dealt in deceitful diplomacy with both, and brought the country into confusion. The new Regent, Lennox, father of Darnley, the late king-consort, was killed, in 1571, in an attack upon Stirling made by Huntly. Under the next Regent, the Earl of Mar, the land was harassed by civil war, and this continued after his death in October 1572. The next Regent, the Earl of Morton, did obtain some help from England. The Castle of Edinburgh, long held by Mary's party, was taken in 1573 by Morton's men, reinforced by Elizabeth, and the cause of the young James was in the ascendant. The next attempt against the Protestant party in Scotland was made by a Scottish noble from France. In 1579, Esmé Stuart, Count d'Aubigny, came to Scotland as an emissary, in the Catholic cause, of the Jesuits and the Guises. Scotland was to be won again to the French interest, and then joined with France and Spain in armed alliance against Elizabeth. D'Aubigny soon gained influence over James, and in 1580 was created Earl of Lennox. Another young Stuart, a kinsman of d'Aubigny's, became Earl of Arran, and both the new favourites united to ruin Morton. In 1581, the Romish party triumphed in the Regent's execution for an alleged share in the murder of Darnley. The young king James, at the age of fifteen, carefully trained in learning by George Buchanan, now assumed a nominal rule, with Lennox and Arran as chief advisers. Elizabeth then intervened with her usual duplicity, and for a time treated separately with Mary and with James, playing off one as a card against the other. The deliverance of Scotland for a time came from efforts of her own. A strong party of nobles determined to rid James of French and Catholic control, and this resolve was backed by the Protestant feeling of the people. In August 1582, a party of the nobles made the king a prisoner. Lennox fled to France and died, and Arran, for a time, was powerless. In 1583, James and Arran were again dominant, and many of the nobles fled to England. In 1586, James was induced by Arran, who sought to please Elizabeth, to place himself at the head of a new Episcopalian Church.

The greatest and most abiding change, moral, political, and religious, that has ever passed over England since the band of missionaries under Augustine began to turn the people from Paganism, had its rise in the days of Elizabeth. The Puritans were first accounted a sect, but they soon assumed the position of a party, powerful both in numbers and in the inherent force of zeal and fervour, and they ended, as a political body, in producing a great revolution, and bringing a monarch to defeat, deposition, and death. Their religious influence is still amongst us, working with a mighty effect on every part of our social system. The name bestowed in derision on those who professed to follow the pure word of God, as opposed to human tradition and authority, and to have established a purer form of Church government and worship, was destined to be ennobled by the deeds and the productions of men great in arms, great in letters, men who might, in some of their doings, be justly feared and hated, but were never in danger of being despised. The names of Milton, Cromwell, and Bunyan are immortal, and the three men represent Puritanism in its highest forms of genius, culture, and fanaticism. The Puritans owed their spiritual birth to men of learning and enthusiasm at continental centres of religious reformation, such as Zuinglius, of Zurich, and Calvin, of Geneva. Their spiritual nurture and development were due to their firm and unquestioning faith in the doctrines contained in the one book of their reading, the Bible. The faults, follies, and crimes which disfigure the records of Puritanism may be mainly traced to the uncritical, blind, and perverse spirit in which they read and applied the words contained in the volume that, of all works that were ever printed, is the most liable to deadly misuse. Those who had thrown off the spiritual and intellectual chains of a man and a system became, of their own free will, the bond-slaves of a book, and the superstition which had clung to image, relic, and shrine was supplanted by the superstition that swears by the private interpretation of a text. The English Bible, first given to the people under Henry, and placed in all hands under Elizabeth, was the sole literature of the mass of the nation. Scriptural phrase and allusion were heard from every tongue, and Scriptural teaching, often perverted with dire effect, became the sole standard of right and wrong for political and social morality. The national character acquired the sober and earnest tone which have long been the marks of a typical Englishman. The speech, the garb, the mode of life in every aspect, reflected the great inward change wrought in those who largely lived in the "world of thought, the world of dream," turning away in contempt from the trifles of a transient state to the contemplation of a life immortal. It was this low regard for the things of earth that made them, in the mind of such a queen as Elizabeth, the objects of political suspicion. The monarchs of this world were, to the Puritan, nothing more than men and women, and persecution by a female ruler soon sowed in Puritan minds the

seeds of a republican feeling which was to produce, in a day not far removed, political effects of the highest importance.

The Protestant ministers who had fled from the persecutions under Mary, had remained long enough in communion with foreign Reformed Churches to bring home, upon the accession of Elizabeth, opinions much opposed to the system of Church government and Church ritual as established by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. Some portions of the ceremonies prescribed in the rubric were held by them to be superstitions. They regarded the vestments of the clergy as "Popish." They objected to the making of the sign of the cross in the baptismal office, and to the ring in that of matrimony. They objected to kneeling for the receiving of the elements of bread and wine at the communion service, which they held to be a retention of the "idolatry of the mass." The fierce democratic spirit of those who had sat at the feet of the Reformers who taught at Strasburg, Zurich, and Geneva, broke out in revolt against the new spiritual tyranny exercised by a woman placed at the head of a state church. They would have none of the teaching provided in the Homilies as to the relations which ought to exist between subject and ruler. Their favourite divines, both by precept and by example, encouraged resistance to persecution and tyranny. Their fellow-Calvinists in France, Holland, and Scotland had risen in arms for their faith. The revised Liturgy was esteemed to be a base compromise between Rome and Reformation. So strong was this party of zealots amongst the clergy that, in 1562, they had, in Convocation, failed only by two votes to carry their further reforms. Some of the more moderate Puritan clergy accepted their defeat, but the extreme section openly violated the Act of Uniformity. Amongst the laity, the strength of the Puritans lay in the mercantile classes of the towns, and the smaller proprietors of land. Early in the reign of Elizabeth, they had secured a majority in the House of Commons. The foreign danger of the state from Catholic powers, encouraged by some Catholic traitors in England, alone prevented a civil war.

Strongly rebelling in spirit against the established system of Church ritual and Church-rule, the Puritan, regarding the olden faith and practice with abhorrence, shrank from the armed resistance to the queen which could only weaken her hands against their common foe. Elizabeth knew this, and, in her determined adherence to her principle of "outward conformity, with inward freedom of opinion," she persecuted the Puritans to the utmost point of their endurance. Cecil, Walsingham, and other members of the Council, in vain endeavoured to restrain her. In 1565, certain "advertisements" were issued, providing that none should preach without a licence from the bishop, and enforcing the use of the surplice, and kneeling at communion. She contrived to throw the odium upon the bishops, who were required to summon offenders before an Ecclesiastical Commission. This action was the cause of the first open separation of Nonconformists

persecution of Puritans.

from the Church of England. The most eminent of those who refused to comply were Dr. Cartwright, one of the professors of divinity at Cambridge, Sampson, Dean of Christ Church, and Humphries, President of Magdalen, Oxford. Sampson was deprived of his deanery, for refusing to wear the customary vestments. In 1566, Archbishop Parker, by the queen's command, convened the London clergy, and required them to comply with a new proclamation demanding conformity in the use of vestments, and in other matters of discipline. Thirty-seven ministers, many of whom were conspicuous for character and ability, were thus deprived of their livings. When the new Dissenters or Nonconformists met for worship in assemblies of their own, they were attacked by episcopal emissaries, seized, and committed to prison. In June 1567, a company of one hundred persons were thus dealt with at Plumbers' Hall, in London, and this is the first instance of such punishment for Protestant Dissenters. The Puritans then went further, and challenged the episcopal constitution of the Anglican Church. The "Genevan model" or Presbyterian system, was declared to be the only one in accordance with Scripture. In 1572, Dr. Cartwright published an "Admonition to the Parliament," in which he denied the jurisdiction of princes in spiritual affairs. It was this republican freedom that aroused the hatred of Elizabeth. In 1571, the Puritans had succeeded in carrying a resolution in the Commons, that the subscription of the Thirty-nine Articles should only be required for those containing matters of faith, and not for those referring to Church authority and discipline. In spite of this, the bishops still demanded full subscription and assent to the Articles, and many of the clergy who refused this were deprived of their benefices. In 1575, Parker was succeeded in the primacy by Grindal, who had favoured the views of the Puritans as Bishop of London and as Archbishop of York, but took some alarm at the outspoken utterances of Cartwright. In his zeal for the provision of fit and learned preachers, the new Primate encouraged meetings called "prophesyings," where the clergy assembled to discuss the interpretation of Scripture. The suspicions of Elizabeth were aroused, and she ordered that the "prophesyings" should cease, and that the Homilies alone should be read as sermons. Grindal respectfully declined obedience to this royal mandate, and in June 1577 he was suspended from his office by order of the Privy Council. In 1583, the bigoted John Whitgift became Archbishop of Canterbury, and the persecution of Puritans was bitterly renewed. Their party had made great way in the numbers, ability, and character of the clergy who held the more advanced Protestant views. The University of Oxford, which had once supplied many of its best students to the foreign Catholic colleges, was becoming a nursery of Calvinism. Whitgift resorted to stern measures, in a vain attempt to stem the tide. All preaching, Bible-reading, and catechising, even in private houses, were forbidden, except among members of one family. A new

subscription was demanded from the clergy, who were now required to assent to the point of the queen's supremacy, to the lawfulness of the Prayer-book and episcopal ordination, and to the whole of the Thirty-nine Articles. The Court of High Commission was now established in full strength. Of its forty-four members, twelve were bishops. Its powers were wide, and its proceedings almost despotic. Its jurisdiction extended over the whole country, and dealt with all actions, books, and words that might be held to be contrary to the tenor of the statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity. Large numbers of the Puritan clergy were expelled from their livings for refusal to submit, and the remonstrances of Burleigh and other wise advisers were disregarded by the queen and the Archbishop. The contest was carried on by a free use of the printing-press on both sides of the controversy. John Foxe, in his Church history, commonly known as the "Book of Martyrs," had made Protestant feeling glow with a white heat against all persecutors of the more advanced reformers. The famous *Martin Marprelate* war of pamphlets began. This was the name assumed by many successive deprived Puritan ministers who took up their pens against Episcopacy. Full of virulent abuse, they provoked further severities.

A penal statute of Mary's reign, against the authors and publishers of seditious writings, had often been enforced by Elizabeth. A Puritan named John Stubbs, brother-in-law of Cartwright, lost his right hand for a "seditious" pamphlet against a proposed marriage of the queen. His publisher suffered the same punishment, and another offender was hanged. In 1585, under the influence of Whitgift, the Star Chamber put forth an ordinance for the regulation of the press. By this document no presses were allowed save in London, Oxford, and Cambridge. The Court of the Stationer's Company was empowered to search out and seize forbidden books, to destroy the presses, and bring the offenders before the Council. The number of printers in London was subject to the approval of the Company, endorsed by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The Primate and the Bishop of London were made censors of all printed matter, except of that issued by law-publishers, and by the queen's printers, who were subject only to the license of the Lord Chief-Justice. In 1593, John Penry, a young Welshman, educated at both Universities, was arrested on suspicion of being one of the "Marprelate" authors. He was promptly sent to the gallows, and John Udall, a Puritan minister, died under imprisonment for a pamphlet against the bishops.

The persecution of the Puritans only drove their leaders to a more determined and regular opposition. In 1590, Cartwright set up a form of the Presbyterian religion with ministers who subscribed to a Puritan book of discipline. This man, the opponent of bigotry, was himself a thorough bigot. Denouncing the rule of bishops, he proclaimed that the absolute power of presbyters, or priests, was a thing of divine ordinance. In a Church

Cartwright:
the
"Brown-
ists."

of "classes" and "synods," they alone were to be masters, with a control over the morals of the laity. Every other form of religion was to be put down by the use of the most unrelenting persecution. Against such teaching as this, even the High Commission Court, with all its inquisitorial powers, may almost claim sympathy. When Cartwright and his associates were brought before the court, and refused the oath of submission, they were remanded to the Fleet prison, and the case was removed to the Star Chamber. Cartwright lost his professorship, but the case ended with the giving of sureties to keep the peace, and a kind of acknowledgment of the royal supremacy. The sect known at this time as the "Brownists" or the "Separatists" were the original of the "Independents," who became so prominent in Stuart times. Their founder, Robert Brown, of an old Rutlandshire family, became a student at Cambridge. There, in 1580, he began to attack the government and liturgy of the Church. After suffering imprisonment, he went over to Holland, and, returning in 1585, proclaimed his opposition to prelacy, and the right of all congregations to equality and independence. All other Puritans were bitterly opposed to this doctrine, and a Puritan House of Commons was ready to pass a severe law. In 1593, an Act was passed "to restrain the queen's subjects in obedience." All opposition to her ecclesiastical authority, all presence at "conventicles," or meetings of the Nonconformists, and all absence from the church-services, were now made liable to successive penalties of imprisonment, banishment, and death. This sweeping statute drove some thousands of exiles to Holland, whence a few of their number afterwards emerged as the "Pilgrim Fathers" of the first Stuart reign.

The impartial judge of religious affairs, who condemns excesses on all sides, may feel grateful to the Puritan foes of Elizabeth, for calling forth to the war of controversy the powers and pen of Richard Hooker. In 1594 appeared the first four books of the noble English prose known as the "Ecclesiastical Polity." Hooker, born at Heavitree, near Exeter, about the beginning of Mary's reign, became in 1577 a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He took holy orders, and became in 1584 a parish priest near Aylesbury. As the meek, shy husband of a shrewish wife, he was sometimes sent to watch the sheep, and, by turns, fetched away from his guests to rock the baby's cradle. In 1585, he came to live in London as Master of the Temple, and there his mind was turned towards the Puritan attacks on the Church system. Retiring again to the country, for the sake of "study and quietness," he issued in 1594, as rector of Boscombe in Wiltshire, the first four books of his immortal work. Calling reason and philosophy to his aid, he set their forces in array against the arguments of the Puritans, based on their own use of Scriptural texts, and in 1597 produced the important Fifth Book, exceeding in length the other four. The last three books appeared after his death, which

happened in 1600. The learning and research, the pure, rich style, the close reasoning, the admirable tone and spirit, displayed in this treatise, make it one of the masterpieces of all English literature.

CHAPTER III.

THE CRISIS OF ENGLAND'S DESTINIES.

Statecraft of a crowned coquette. Crushing of Catholic foes. Babington and Mary Stuart. The bursting of the Spanish bubble. Subjection of Ireland. The downfall of Lord Essex. The queen, Parliament, and home affairs. The last days of Elizabeth.

NOTHING is more remarkable in the career of the great Tudor queen than the political use to which she turned her feminine rights of coquetry. The hand of a female monarch endowed with the qualities and the position of Elizabeth was sure to attract the ambitious aims of foreign princes. Among these we find Casimir, son of the Elector Palatine; Eric, king of Sweden; and Adolphus, Duke of Holstein. The Scottish Earl of Arran sought the same distinction. It is believed that the queen's favourite, the Earl of Leicester, came nearer than any other to attaining the coveted prize. His memory is branded with the charge of having rid himself, in this view, of his beautiful young wife, Amy Robsart. The subject of the queen's marriage blends itself with that of the succession to the throne, on which, from time to time, Parliament addressed their sovereign. In 1563, after her recovery from an illness, the Houses begged her to order the succession, in accordance with the will of Henry VIII., or by some new arrangement of her own devising. In reply, Elizabeth simply put away the matter as distasteful. Three years later, the birth of Prince James of Scotland caused the Council to press the question further on her notice. She now replied, with some heat, that she declined to point out a successor, to whom the enemies of the monarch might, in her lifetime, pay their court. The House of Commons then refused to grant a certain subsidy until the succession to the throne should have been fixed. The imperious Tudor spirit was aroused, and Elizabeth sent away, with a fierce and insulting reply, the lords and bishops who approached her. She forbade the Commons to debate at all the matter of the succession. A hot discussion followed, in which "the liberties of Parliament" were asserted, and the queen, becoming cooler, showed her usual tact, and changed her previous command into a request. The concession was received with loyal shouts, the money was voted, and the subject so offensive to the queen was allowed to drop. Towards the end of the reign, in 1593, a petition to the crown, for the appointment of a successor, was

moved by Peter Wentworth, and seconded by Sir Thomas Bromley. The queen committed them to the Tower, with two of their supporters, and a subservient House of Commons submitted to the outrage. With reference to marriage, the truth seems to be that Elizabeth was possessed by a morbid feeling of repulsion. She could hardly bear the marriage of priests: she absolutely loathed that of bishops. It is certain, as her conduct proves, that she herself never really meant to marry at all, and we may almost admire the art with which she played with suitors, for the purpose of gaining time, and deceiving the foreign powers from whose hostility England had most to fear. An alliance with the Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Ferdinand, was commended to her as one that would pacify the English Catholics, and guard the country from the enmity of Spain. A marriage contract was prepared, and the queen dallied long with the proposed match, but broke it off at last on the plea that her consort, if any, must embrace the Reformed faith. In 1570, the position of Elizabeth was somewhat critical, between Mary Stuart and the English Catholics on the one hand, and the suspicious attitude of Philip on the other. A marriage was accordingly proposed between the English queen and the Duke of Anjou, brother of the French king, Charles IX. Elizabeth pretended to entertain the project, but the matter only ended as before. The Spanish government, however, had for a time been checked in its designs, and the queen's end was thus attained. A little later, the French king proposed a match with another of his brothers, the Duke of Alençon. The queen affected to consider this plan, with the same political motives as before, and even the crime of St. Bartholomew's Day did not appear to shake her purpose. In 1574, the elder brother, Anjou, became king of France as Henry III., and Alençon succeeded to his title. The young man was twenty-five years the junior of his proposed bride, but he seems to have been really anxious for the union, and Elizabeth, in 1578, professed to be touched by his devotion. The truth is, that she was alarmed by the position of affairs in the Netherlands, where the Protestants, in their day of defeat, were looking towards France for help. The Duke came over to visit the queen at Greenwich Palace, and, on his departure, she gave orders for the drawing of the marriage contract. The nation was strongly averse to their sovereign's union with a foreign Catholic, and Elizabeth now showed her wonted vacillation. Unwilling to offend France, and so incline her government to alliance with Spain, she kept the matter in abeyance for more than two years longer, while the enamoured, or ambitious, Duke was pressing for a decision on his hopes. At last, in November 1581, Anjou was again a visitor in England, and on this occasion, after a lengthy interview, the queen took off a ring and placed it on his finger. The spectators in the court concluded that the affair was now settled, but neither they, nor the unfortunate suitor, had yet plumbed the depths of diplomatic

craft. In 1582, the Duke, who had been chosen governor of the revolted states of the Netherlands, came again to England for his final answer. The queen passed several days of real or pretended indecision, and then dismissed him with a rejection of his suit. The long negotiation had by this time served its turn, and Elizabeth was resolved to face the worst from foreign powers rather than risk a contest with her subjects. The time was drawing near when her throne and the country would have need of all the loyal efforts of a united people.

This age of religious strife was one in which the principles of Christianity were, on all sides, unscrupulously and systematically violated. The Protestant cause was degraded in England by penal laws which struck at the rights of conscience, and made the whole body of Catholics suffer for the evil machinations of a few. The Catholic cause was stained by the ferocities of Alva and the wholesale murders of St. Bartholomew's Day. When open warfare failed to rid Philip of his ablest foe in the Netherlands, the aid of the assassin's arm was publicly invoked by offers of reward, and in July 1584, William the Silent died at Delft. The foes of Elizabeth, despairing of all other methods, and enraged by the constancy with which, amid all the turns and twists of her diplomacy, she maintained the Reformation, began to plot against her life. In November 1583, an English Catholic named Thomas Throgmorton was convicted and executed for his share in a conspiracy to murder Elizabeth. He was on intimate terms with Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in London. The seizure of Throgmorton's papers revealed to Walsingham the existence of an extensive and alarming plot. An invasion of England from the Netherlands and France was afoot, and plans were found of harbours suited for a foreign landing. The crisis needed prompt measures. The Spanish envoy was dismissed, in spite of all his protestations of innocence. Many Jesuits and seminary priests were hanged, and suspected Catholic officials were removed from their posts. In 1584, an Act was passed requiring all Jesuits and Catholic priests to leave the kingdom within forty days, under the penalties of high treason, and rendering subject to the pains of felony all who sheltered Popish priests. All English students in the foreign seminaries were bidden to return within six months, and take the oath of submission to the royal supremacy, or be adjudged traitors. A special "Bond and Association" was formed for the protection of the queen's life. All the members swore to oppose the succession of any person by whom or for whom any attempt should be made against the life of Elizabeth, and to pursue such person or persons to the death. This was directly aimed at Mary Stuart, and really meant that she was liable to execution, with or without her privity in any plot against the queen. This meaning was afterwards restricted by an Act "for the surety of the queen's majesty's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace." It was now provided that,

Catholic
plots
1584-1586.

in the event of any invasion or rebellion made by or for any person claiming the crown after the queen's death, or of any act tending to the hurt of her person, the privity of such person should be required. A commission of peers, privy councillors, and judges was to examine into and give a decision on such offences, and any person convicted under the Act was excluded from succession to the crown, and liable to death at the hands of any of the queen's subjects. It is important to observe that it was under this new statute, and not under the old Statute of Treasons, that Mary was afterwards put upon her trial.

It was in 1586 that the spies of Walsingham discovered the most formidable plot ever made against Elizabeth. In the summer and autumn of 1585, a Catholic priest from across Channel made several visits to England, in the dress of an officer, moving about under the name of "Fortescue." His real name was John Ballard. An agent of Walsingham's gained his confidence, and they visited Paris together, where Mendoza, now the Spanish envoy there, declined to further a present invasion of England. Ballard then bethought him of the queen's assassination, and called into his councils a desperate Catholic named John Savage, who had served in the wars of the Netherlands. Assistance was then sought in England. A gentleman of Derbyshire, Anthony Babington, and his friend Chidick Titchbourne, of Hampshire, warmly embraced the scheme. A seminary priest named Gifford, who had come into Walsingham's pay, entered the plot in order to betray it, and special arrangements were made to entangle Mary in a knowledge of the design. Her correspondence with her friends was, as it appeared, made far more easy, but all her letters, to and fro, were now opened, read, and copied by Walsingham and his agents. When the plot was fully ripe, the Chief Secretary took action. In August 1586, Babington, Ballard, and the chief conspirators, some of them in the royal household, were seized. Then Mary and her two secretaries were arrested, and she was taken to the castle at Fotheringhay, in Northamptonshire. In September the culprits were put upon their trial. In spite of the atrocity of the meditated crime, involving the murder of the queen, the invasion of the realm by foreign troops, and a rising of the English Catholics, a feeling of pity was aroused in favour of some of the accused. It is certain that they were drawn into the plot by feelings of a chivalrous devotion to the cause of religion, friendship, and affection. Babington was a young man of good abilities and literary culture, burning with zeal for Mary's cause, and, as his letters showed, inspired with love as well as loyalty. Titchbourne, his greatest friend, abhorring the wickedness of the scheme, was won by Babington to give the consent of silence. Babington, Ballard, and Savage, with four others, pleaded guilty. Titchbourne and six others were convicted upon evidence, and the fourteen criminals died the death of traitors.

Babington's conspiracy, 1586.

In October 1586, Mary was arraigned at Fotheringhay before a commission of thirty-six nobles and privy councillors. The utmost excitement had been aroused, and Chateaufort, the French ambassador in London, in a letter to his king, Henry III., describes the state of affairs in the capital. A rumour had got abroad that the plot had its origin in France, and all the roads to the coast of the Channel were strictly guarded against the passage of all messengers. Bonfires lit in every street, and bells rung all day and night, proclaimed the joy of the citizens at the queen's happy escape. The Catholics in the town were all, for some days, in danger of their lives, and the people of the French embassy were exposed in the streets to "a thousand scandalous and insulting words." When Chateaufort made an official complaint, the only answer he received was: "The people are greatly excited, and cannot be restrained." The scene of Mary Stuart's trial was an old feudal castle, of which scarcely a trace remains, as the Scottish king ordered its demolition when he came to the English throne. The place was already of note for the birth of Richard III. A few days before the trial, Elizabeth wrote a letter to James, in reply to one containing his congratulations on her escape from the recent plot. She warns him against allowing such "vipers" as Jesuits to inhabit his country, and expresses her sorrow for the late "casting away of so many goodly gentlemen," who had sought her own ruin. "But such iniquity will not be hid, be it never so craftily handled; and yet, when you shall hear all, you will wonder that one accounted wise will use such matter so fondly." The "one accounted wise" refers, beyond doubt, to the Scottish king's mother, and we have here a proof that Elizabeth had already formed her judgment on the subject of her foe's complicity. Mary, devoid of counsel for her defence, fought in her own cause with all her cool and tenacious courage, and with all her mental acuteness. Her answers were made under protest against the authority of the commission to try a princess who was no subject of the queen of England. Burleigh and Walsingham were her chief opponents. She admitted that her secretaries, De Naou, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, had written letters to Babington concerning plans for her escape. It is also perfectly clear, as the Catholic historian, Lingard, admits "with little doubt," that the accused had offered help to the invasion of England devised at Paris. At this point all certainty ends. If the copies of Babington's letters produced at the trial by Walsingham were true copies of genuine documents, or if Babington's confession be admitted, then Mary was also privy to the plot for murdering Elizabeth. We probably put the case against her in the strongest possible form, in the absence of legal proof, by asking how Mary, allowed to be cognisant of the plot for the invasion of England, and the deposition of the queen, could have remained wholly ignorant of that part of the conspiracy which involved the assassination of Elizabeth? After two days of trial, the commission

adjourned to London. There, sitting in the Star Chamber, they pronounced Mary guilty of privity in the whole of Babington's plot. Four days later, on October 29th, Parliament met, and on November 10th, after long and serious discussion, both Houses agreed in declaring the sentence passed upon Mary to be just, and in demanding her "speedy execution," as "the only possible means to provide for your majesty's safety." It is beside the purpose to denounce as hypocrisy Elizabeth's reluctance to sign the warrant of execution. If the death of Mary Stuart were a crime, it was one that belonged to nearly the whole English nation. The queen could not do otherwise than bring Mary to the block. When the sentence of the Commission was proclaimed in London, the citizens again lighted their bonfires and rang the bells, and the general voice of the people called for the death of the national foe. Elizabeth wrote a letter of defiance to the French king, Henry III., when she received threats from his ambassador. To the weak and selfish James, who sent a mission of remonstrance, she replied with a hint that her own safety was at stake. On February 1, 1587, the queen signed the warrant of execution brought to her by Secretary Davison, and bade him have the great seal affixed, for despatch with all expedition to Fotheringhay. When the document was ready, the queen sought delay, and objected to take "the whole burthen upon herself." Burleigh then called a council, and they decided to act "without troubling her majesty any further." On the 3rd, the warrant was sent off, and five days later, on February 8th, the queen of Scots died by beheading in the great hall of Fotheringhay. Even at the last hour, the bigotry of the time forced upon her the religious counsel of the Dean of Peterborough, who was in Mary's eyes a heretic, and the Earl of Kent, when the doomed woman began to pray in Latin, bade her "leave those trumperies." She died with calm heroism, after her life of many troubles and eighteen years of captivity. Elizabeth showed her resentment for the haste which she alleged to have been used, by forbidding Burleigh, for a time, to show his face at court, and by committing Davison to the Tower. On the secretary's trial in the Star Chamber, Sir Roger Manwood, the Lord Chief-Baron, declared that the warrant signed by the queen was only a general instrument, not to be employed without further special direction. The scapegoat of his queen was ruined by a fine of ten thousand pounds, and also suffered four years' imprisonment. The indignation of James, who recalled his ambassador from England, and menaced a war of revenge, was soon appeased by the wiles of Walsingham.

The death of Mary had put an end to the Catholic plots for her succession, but Englishmen had now to meet direct and formidable danger from abroad. England was brought at last face to face with Spain, and the champions of two religious and political systems were about to enter the lists in one of the most momentous struggles of all history. In this great contest, France

England
and
Philip
of Spain.

was held aloof by the internal warfare waged between the Catholic League, under Henry of Guise, and the partisans of Henry III. The heir-apparent to the throne was the Protestant Henry of Navarre, and the hand of assassins was about to rid the country both of the turbulent Duke of Guise and of the last sovereign of the House of Valois. James VI. of Scotland, regarding England as his own future inheritance, would lend no help to an attack which imperilled her existence as a free and independent nation. The Empire, ruled indeed by a Catholic zealot trained at Madrid, Rudolph II., was kept neutral by strife between the two religions, and by the Emperor's utter incapacity for government. Pope Sixtus V. could furnish little help beyond that of spiritual weapons, whose edge was blunted against the obstinate heresy of Protestant Englishmen, and the equally stubborn patriotism of most of Elizabeth's Catholic subjects. The spirit of the nation had been aroused in watching the desperate contest waged by the Dutch under William of Orange, against a power which had seemed overwhelming, and the men and money supplied to the patriots mainly went forth in the persons of sturdy Protestant volunteers, and from the purses of the merchants of London. A fierce hatred against the Spanish monarch and people was kindled by the true tales of Alva's cruelties in the Netherlands, and by the stories which the mariners of Devon's rocky shores brought back from the Spanish Main concerning English captives racked and burnt by the officers of the Inquisition.

The immediate cause of Philip's enterprise against the dominions of Elizabeth was what he held to be his legal claim to possession. In 1585, James of Scotland, as a friendly advance to the English queen, who could secure him the reversion of her throne, had finally abandoned his mother's cause. Mary Stuart, in her wrath, had uttered fierce words against her son, and formally made Philip heir to her own claims. The Spanish king had, apart from this, a long account to settle with his sister-monarch of England. She had rejected the hand which, more indeed from ambition than from affection, he had offered at the opening of her reign. She had remained steadfast, after all her pretences and diplomacies, in her position as the chief among the Protestant princes of the age. She had fooled him again and again by her statecraft. She had wounded to the quick the sullen pride of the most vindictive of mankind. Her bold mariners, full of the spirit of piratical adventure, had harried his trade and insulted his flag on both shores of the Atlantic, and on the distant waters of the great Pacific Sea. In 1572, Drake, of Devonshire, had sailed with two vessels for an attack on the commercial ports of Spanish America. The towns of Nombre de Dios and Vera Cruz, on the eastern coast of the Isthmus of Darien, were captured, and a rich booty fell into the hands of the adventurers. The spirit of the old Norsemen was revived, and the hope of gain

sent forth hardy sailors and parties of gentlemen to do the deeds of buccaneers, and to lead the way to England's maritime and colonial glories. The Pope's decree had assigned the New World to Spain as her peculiar possession, but this arrogant claim only inflamed the religious zeal of the Puritans, who sought to win the favour of heaven by the slaying of Spaniards wherever found, and to enrich themselves by the seizure of Spanish gold. Piety and cupidity together inspired the utmost daring and endurance. "Westward Ho!" was the cry of all adventurous hearts, and the "Salvation Yeo" of the great historical romance is a type of those who, for the love of God, killed and plundered the foes of the true faith and the Protestant queen. Drake conceived and disclosed to Elizabeth his plan of passing the Strait of Magellan, and attacking Spain on the western side of America. Sailing from Plymouth in November 1577, with four ships carrying less than two hundred men, he coasted along Chili and Peru, making booty by sea and land. Then he crossed the Pacific, and in November 1580, returned to his port of departure. The reward of the first Englishman who had ever sailed round the world was the honour of knighthood, conferred by Elizabeth on board Drake's vessel at Deptford. Philip in vain applied for redress. The nation was roused by the news that Sir Francis had won for the queen, for himself, and for his partners, a spoil of half a million in gold, silver, and jewels, and Elizabeth met with defiance the threats of the Spanish envoy. When Philip laid an embargo upon English vessels and property throughout all his wide dominions, the queen gave her subjects permission to seize Spanish ships and merchandise in any part of the globe. We shall see that in 1580 the Spanish king had sought revenge in aiding Irish revolt, and four years later he began to prepare ships for a great armament of conquest. He soon received new provocation. In 1585, Drake started for the West Indies with twenty-five ships. St. Jago, St. Domingo, and Carthagena were stormed, and the expedition returned with good store of treasure and twelve score of the enemy's cannon.

The empire of Philip II. was, beyond doubt, one of the finest that the world has ever seen. In 1580, the conquest of Portugal ^{The} gave him possession of the rest of the Peninsula, of a new ^{Armada.} powerful navy, and of the wealthy settlements founded by the Portuguese on the coasts of Coromandel, Malabar, and Malacca, and in the Spice Islands of the East Indian seas. In Europe, besides his native Spain and his new acquisition, he was master of most of the Netherlands, of Roussillon and Franche Comté, and of nearly the whole of Italy. In Africa, he possessed Tunis and Oran, with the Cape Verde and the Canary Isles. In America, his great dominion stretched, on both sides of the equator, into the temperate zone, and included Peru, Mexico, Chili, Cuba, and Hispaniola, regions rich in mines of the precious metals, and in the fruits of a soil prodigal in fertility. He

had by far the greatest navy and the finest army of the age. Fifty thousand troops, of the highest skill and courage, were ready for the supreme command of the greatest military genius of the time, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, governor of the Spanish Netherlands. The influence of Philip over European affairs exceeded even that gained at a later day by Napoleon. Mighty alike by sea and land, he could march, if he chose, in victory to any Continental capital. His galleys swept the Mediterranean, and his galleons, huge vessels equipped for the uses both of commerce and war, rode in triumph, save for one nation of daring assailants, on the oceans to east and west. The Spanish supremacy had been fairly won by men of proved excellence in all the arts of policy and war. The land of Gonsalvo and Ximenes, of Cortes and Alva and Gondomar, could claim the highest place for her diplomatists, soldiers, and statesmen. Even our sturdy forefathers appear to have been impressed with a kind of awe by the Spaniards of that age. It was the worthy respect inspired in the breasts of brave men by the sound of the achievements, and the sight of the prowess, of antagonists that none could lightly esteem. The revenue enjoyed by Philip was probably near ten times that which the thrifty Elizabeth received from her people, and it seemed impossible for any single state to resist the onslaught of so determined, implacable, and powerful a foe. The Catholic world, elated by the success of the Catholic reaction, was regarding Philip as the champion destined to root out heresy and to re-establish the Papal dominion. The conquest of England would be a blow sped to the very heart of Protestantism. Bigotry, conscious power, revenge, ambition, were all spurring the sides of Philip's eager intent. The tragical news from Fotheringhay drove the statesmen of the Vatican and the Escorial to the utmost height of wrath. In 1587, a large fleet of ships had long been assembling in the Tagus, and the harbour of Cadiz was filled with Spanish vessels, embarking provisions and munitions of war. In April, Drake started, on his return from the west, "to singe the Spanish king's beard." Defying the guns of the fortress and the galleys, the English seamen entered the roadstead of Cadiz, and spent two nights and one day in burning a hundred ships, and a vast quantity of stores. By this and other causes, including the death of the chief admiral, Santa Cruz, the coming of the Armada was delayed for a year. Parma had gathered round him in the Netherlands a great army of veteran troops, and flat-bottomed boats were ready at Dunkirk for their transport, whenever the Spanish fleet should have secured the command of the Strait of Dover, and the adjacent parts of the North Sea and the Channel. The cause of England was endangered for a time, and even in the very crisis of the struggle, by the queen's passion for diplomacy and her ill-timed frugality. She was striving to negotiate peace with Philip after Drake's visit to Cadiz, and the paying-off of many of his ships left our coast almost defenceless. England was, in fact, saved by the

courage and devotion of seamen ill-supplied with food and powder, but full of dash, daring, and skill. It is idle to descant on the gatherings of the rudely-armed and ill-trained militia, happily not destined to meet the veteran battalions of the Prince of Parma. Under such a commander as Leicester, our men would have gone bravely to nothing but certain ruin. It was by the urgent advice of Raleigh and other wise counsellors that it was resolved, at all hazards, to meet the foe at sea, and use the utmost efforts to prevent a single Spaniard from setting foot on the island. The disparity of naval force was, on the face of things, very important. The great Armada numbered one hundred and thirty-four vessels, many of far greater size than nearly all the English ships. The thirty-four vessels of the queen's navy included one, the *Triumph*, of eleven hundred tons, and seven others ranging downwards to six hundred. The bulk of our fleet consisted of merchant-vessels furnished in London and other ports, and equipped for warlike use. The loyalty of the people doubled the amount of the queen's request for ships and men, and skilful seamanship, quick gunnery, and the storms of heaven, did all the rest of the work. The coming and the defeat of the "invincible" armament are an oft-told tale. The poet's pen has made us see the beacons blazing from Plymouth to Carlisle. The writer of historical romance has truly shown us the group of captains on the bowling-green at Plymouth Hoe—Drake and Frobisher, Walter Raleigh and Lord Sheffield, Sir Richard Grenville and Sir Robert Southwell, John Hawkins and John Davis, George Fenner and Richard Hawkins, and Lord Charles Howard of Effingham, the Catholic high-admiral of England. It was on July 19, 1588, that the Armada, dispersed once by a storm in May, at last entered the Channel, sailing in a crescent of seven miles in width from horn to horn. The English mariners rushed on board their vessels, and for a whole week harassed the foe as he moved up Channel for Calais and Dunkirk. The light English vessels, keeping the weather-gage, sailed round and round the bulky galleons with their towering sterns, and ship after ship was lost to the Spaniards by surrender and destruction. The only grievance of the English was a failure of their powder, and on July 27th they watched the still unbroken enemy come to an anchor in Calais roads. Beyond the Dover Strait lay a strong Dutch squadron, with English ships commanded by Lord Henry Seymour, blockading the ports of Flanders, and preventing the Prince of Parma from coming out of Dunkirk. The Spanish admiral, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had been sorely out in his calculations. It was thought, in the councils of Spain, that the English and Dutch ships would run at the mere sight of the overwhelming armament of invasion. On July 29th the English commander assailed the enemy with a new device. Eight fire-ships, well alight and filled with combustibles and explosives, were sent by our sailors drifting down with wind and tide among the crowded ships. Cables were cut, and instant

confusion ensued. On the next morning the English ships made a fierce attack, in which many large Spanish vessels were sunk or captured, and at length Medina Sidonia fled with a hundred ships, before a southerly wind, up the North Sea, now only intent to make his way home to Spain round the north of our archipelago. The storms of heaven then came to strew with Spanish wreckage, and with thousands of Spanish corpses, the rocky shores of Norway and the Western Isles, of Ulster and of Connaught, and the expedition of vengeance, blessed by the Pope and banned by heaven, returned to the Spanish harbours with but fifty-three shattered hulls. Eighty-one ships had perished, with nearly fourteen thousand soldiers, besides the mariners and rowers who tended the sails of the galleons, and worked the oars of the great galleys. On September 8th, eleven great banners, taken from the Spanish ships, were displayed to the view of the Londoners, who had rendered such hearty service to the national cause. Just at this time the queen's favourite, Lord Leicester, died, and her private sorrow retarded her share in the public joy. On Sunday, November 24th, she rode in a chariot, splendidly arrayed, amid her victorious captains and many trophies of war, to the old Gothic cathedral of St. Paul, and there joined her people in a solemn service of thanksgiving.

The Parliament which met in February 1589, came together in a warlike mood, and Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord Chancellor, urged the need of preparing against the ardent desire of Spain for revenge. Philip had resolved to build smaller vessels, and to persevere in his attacks, "even if he sold the silver candlesticks which stood on his table." The Commons granted two subsidies, and the frugal government of Elizabeth encouraged the people to fit out expeditions at their own cost, along with some assistance from the crown. An armament of six ships, commanded by Drake, with a large body of volunteers, including the brilliant young Earl of Essex, under the orders of Sir John Norris, burnt some ships at Corunna, and made a vain attempt to hold Lisbon. On their return they took and burnt Vigo, and ravaged the neighbouring country. The loss of our men was very severe, mainly from sickness and want of proper supplies, but the effort had its uses in keeping alive the fire of enthusiasm for warfare against the great enemy. In 1590, an English army was sent to help the Protestant cause in France. The late king, Henry III., had caused, in December 1588, the murder of his chief enemy, the Duke of Guise, leader of the Catholic League, and had then formed an alliance with the Huguenots. In August 1589, Catholic revenge slew him by the hand of the Dominican friar, Jaques Clement, and Henry of Navarre assumed the French crown as Henry IV. The League, headed by the Duke of Mayenne, brother of Guise, took the field against him, and Philip of Spain, with ulterior views for his own advantage, was ready to help the defenders of the faith. Henry's appeal to Elizabeth for help was met by the dispatch of a

England
follows
up the
blow
1588-1598.

small sum of money, and four thousand troops, commanded by Lord Willoughby. The victory of Henry at Arques, near Dieppe, was then followed by his success at Ivry, and in 1591 two English armies under Norris and Essex did some service in clearing Normandy of the Leaguers. Two years later, as his only chance of a secure possession of his throne, the French king became a Catholic, and, though Elizabeth expressed her anger, she continued to give him a niggardly help against Philip until the peace of Vervins, concluded in 1598. Henry then marked the date of his firm position on the throne of France by granting a large measure of toleration to the Huguenots in the famous Edict of Nantes. The cause of Protestantism in the Netherlands had, before this event, triumphed in the northern half of the country, under the leadership of Prince Maurice of Nassau, son of the illustrious William of Orange. Burleigh and the older ministers constantly urged a cessation of the attacks made upon the Spanish coasts and the Spanish trade, but Elizabeth yielded to the advice of a new and adventurous party in her council, of whom the chief were Raleigh and Essex. In 1591, a squadron of seven ships was despatched, under Lord Thomas Howard, to intercept the Indian fleet on its return to Spain. Philip, informed of the enterprise, had sent a large armed fleet as escort. One of Howard's ships was taken, the first prize of Spain during the whole war, but the capture was more glorious for the repute of English naval gallantry than any victory against an equal force. The vessel was commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, who fought a host of ever-fresh assailants from three in the afternoon till dawn of the next day. As his ship lay at last dismasted and helpless on the waters, the captain wished to blow her up rather than haul down his flag. The crew, who had fought with the utmost courage, compelled him to surrender, and he died of his wounds a few days later, declaring that he departed "with a joyful and quiet mind," as one that had ended the life of "a true soldier," in "fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour." The king of Spain, baffled in his attempt at conquest, sought a revenge worthy of his dastardly nature in bribing the queen's physician, a Portuguese Jew, named Roderigo Lopez, to poison her. He was a prisoner from one of the Armada ships, and his repute for skill in medicine brought him into court favour. The acuteness and energy of Essex hunted out the scheme, and Lopez, with two confederates, was hanged in 1594. In the following year, two of the Armada heroes, Drake and Sir John Hawkins, closed a life of adventure with fame somewhat dimmed for a season by the failure of attacks on the Spanish possessions in the West Indies.

In 1596, one of the last efforts made against Philip was attended by the most brilliant success, one not surpassed on the Con- Cadiz, continent by English arms during the long course of years that 1596. divide Agincourt and Blenheim. Another Armada was preparing,

English seamen and soldiers attacked it in the Spanish waters. The cautious Burleigh was opposed to a costly and doubtful enterprise, but the zeal of Essex was backed by the brave and experienced Lord Howard of Effingham, the victorious high-admiral of 1588. On June 1st, a mighty fleet, commanded by Howard, sailed from Plymouth. The ships carried a force of seven thousand soldiers, under Essex, and the armament was reinforced by a Dutch squadron. On arrival at Cadiz, the impetuous valour of Raleigh and Essex forced the Spanish admiral, Sidonia, to fire all his men-of-war rather than see them in English hands. Essex then led his troops to the assault of the strong works of the town. When the issue seemed for a moment doubtful, he flung his own standard over the wall, and fiercely attacked the gate. A way was made by shot and sword against a swarming host of foes. The town was taken, plundered, and burnt, and the expedition returned to England, after inflicting upon the Spaniards a loss amounting to several millions sterling. Howard was created Earl of Nottingham, but the valour of Essex received no reward. In 1597, Raleigh and Essex took a large fleet, with six thousand troops, for the attack of an expedition preparing against Ireland in the harbours of Corunna and Ferrol. Our ships were dispersed by a storm, and the only success gained was the capture of three rich galleons of the West Indian flotilla.

The following year was marked by the deaths of two of the fore-
 most men of the age—Elizabeth's old and faithful minister,
 Burleigh, and her inveterate enemy, Philip of Spain. Cecil
 died in August 1598, leaving to the queen such memories of
 his service and his person that a writer of the day declares
 that, months after his death, "her highness doth often speak
 of him in tears, and turn aside when he is discoursed of." The queen's
 veteran advisers had now all passed away. Sir Walter Mildmay died
 in 1589. Walsingham followed in 1591, and the next year was the
 last of the life of Sir Christopher Hatton. The rising men now were
 Raleigh, Essex, and Robert Cecil, second son of Lord Burleigh. The
 younger Cecil partook of his father's craft and caution, and he was
 strongly opposed in the Council to the versatile, adventurous, and
 somewhat flighty Raleigh, and to the gallant, high-spirited, generous,
 accomplished, eloquent, aspiring, and impetuous Essex. This new
 favourite of the queen had won from her a regard surpassing that
 which she had shown even to Leicester. An ornament of the court,
 he was almost worshipped in the city of London. Dear alike to the
 lovers of literature and of war, he was also the friend of every man in
 trouble, and shielded from the penal laws both Catholic and Puritan.
 Within a month of Burleigh's death the "Most Catholic king," Philip
 II., followed him to the tomb, leaving behind him a record of total
 failure to master the chief Protestant powers, the old monarchy of
 England, and the young republic of Holland.

Deaths of
 Burleigh
 and
 Philip of
 Spain,
 1598.

The conquest of Ireland was not really completed under Henry VIII. In the following reign, O'Moore and O'Connor, two powerful chiefs or petty kings, rose in revolt against the ^{Ireland.} English rule. Their attempt was soon quelled, and was followed by the confiscation of their lands for the benefit of the English "Lords of the Pale." Under Mary, this territory was formed into King's and Queen's Counties, with capitals named Philipstown and Maryborough. Some progress was made in reducing the country to order, and spreading the sway of English law and civilisation. Many of the great chiefs received peerages, and the leading men shared in the administration of justice. It was chiefly in the north of the land that the turbulence of wild tribes tried the patience of the English rulers. Severe military measures and confiscations of land only embittered the contest, and in some parts it became a war of extermination. When Elizabeth came to the throne, an attempt was made to enforce the new Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, but the people adhered with the utmost tenacity to the old faith, and the English rule began to be hated as well on religious as on political grounds. In 1565, a rebellion arose in Ulster, led by Shan O'Neil, who claimed the Earldom of Tyrone, which, by the English law of inheritance, had fallen to the son of the late head of the O'Neil clan. Lord Sussex, the English governor, took the field, but was driven back to Armagh. The vigorous efforts of Sir Henry Sidney, his successor, soon restored order, and in 1567 Shan fell in a quarrel with the Scots of Antrim. The next trouble arose from an effort to colonise the province of Munster. The queen seized the extensive lands of the Earl of Desmond, and then a number of gentlemen from Devonshire, with the connivance of the government, went over with bodies of armed tenants and adventurers, and carved out estates for themselves. The Irish people have never been able to endure, in any form, the robbery of their land. In 1569, a desperate rebellion occurred in Munster. The most savage deeds were perpetrated on both sides, and Sidney, the lord-deputy, with a scanty force of English troops, and no supplies of money from the penurious government at home, had much difficulty in maintaining his position. In 1571 he was recalled, and matters became worse under his successor, Sir John Perrot. Two years later, nearly the whole of the south and west of Ireland was again in the hands of the natives. In 1573, an attempt was made to colonise Ulster, and a large tract of land, in the north-east of the province, was granted to English settlers, headed by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, father of Elizabeth's future favourite. The usual result followed, and the effort at colonisation ended in cruel warfare and the temporary subjection of the O'Neils. At the end of 1575, Sir Henry Sidney again took the office of deputy. He resumed his former plans of English settlements in the south and west, and then the Burkes of Connaught rose in arms. The movement was repressed with the utmost severity, involving indiscriminate

slaughter, and the burning of all houses and crops. In 1577, the wretched people of Ireland appealed for help to Spain. English exiles at Madrid, assisted by the anger caused by Drake's attack on Spanish America, induced the Spaniards, in 1579, to land a force in Kerry. Youghal was taken and burnt, and the invaders, with a rebel force, pushed on to Cork. The Irish Earl of Ormond helped the English troops, and, after much slaughter in battle and hundreds of executions, peace seemed to be again restored. In the autumn of 1580, Lord Grey de Wilton took the place of Sidney, and suffered a severe defeat in a new rising within the Pale. A fresh arrival of 800 Spaniards and Italians on the south-western coast encouraged the natives in all quarters, and the new-comers erected a fort at Smerwick, in Kerry. The place was blockaded by sea and land, and Lord Grey's artillery forced the foreigners to surrender. Six hundred men were butchered in cold blood, and the deaths of the Earls of Desmond and Clanrickard, with three years of fitful warfare, again brought the whole country under a kind of English control. In July 1584, Sir John Perrot resumed the government, and for some years peace, founded and maintained in terror, held possession of Ireland.

The last national effort against English domination was the great rebellion headed by Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone. This man had received his title for the help afforded in the suppression of the last revolt. Enraged by the credit which the queen gave to a false accusation of intrigues with Spain, O'Neil formed a plot with some of the Ulster chiefs. Arms and munitions of war were obtained from Philip, and Tyrone took the field in 1598. Sir John Norris could do little but repulse the attacks of foes who issued with renewed strength from their native woods and wilds. When he died, worn out with vexation and fatigue, Sir Henry Bagnal took up the command, only to meet with defeat and death. The fortress of Blackwater was besieged by Tyrone, and Bagnal's attempt to raise the leaguer ended in an Irish victory, with the loss of the English commander and fifteen hundred of his men. A success so unwonted raised the hopes of the rebels, gave them fresh arms and supplies, and convinced the English council that serious action was needed. In April 1599, Essex, the queen's favourite, landed at Dublin as lord-lieutenant, with a force of sixteen thousand men. The crisis of the Earl's career had come. His rival, Robert Cecil, was glad to see his appointment to a post of the utmost difficulty, requiring peculiar powers of patience, foresight, and organisation, which did not belong to the character of Essex. The great opportunity of his life was lost. Instead of striking at the heart of the revolt, by a prompt march in full force against Tyrone, he frittered away his military resources in petty engagements with the rebels of Leinster and Munster. Much precious time was wasted in a triumphal progress through the south and west, and a stay of two months in Dublin. At the end of August, he marched, with a greatly lessened

The final conquest of Ireland, 1598-1602.

army, against the chief rebel, only to make terms of peace which the queen and council could not endure. Elizabeth wrote him a severe reprimand, with an express order to remain in Ireland. The Earl's pride was wounded, and he feared the evil influence of his opponents, Raleigh and Cecil. In the last week of September, he hurried over to England, and presented himself, stained with travel, before his punctilious and sensitive sovereign. He was deceived by a gracious reception, which was partly the result of surprise. The next day, after examination before the council, he was ordered to quit the court, and remain in his own house. The work of pacifying Ireland was committed to Lord Mountjoy. The new governor, devoid though he was of military experience, proved to be energetic, prudent, and resolute. The Spaniards had landed in Ireland to aid the cause of the insurgents, and 4000 men took up a strong position at Kinsale. Tyrone arrived with a large force, but both he and the foreigners were severely defeated in 1602, and the great Irish rebel made a complete surrender of his person, his possessions, and his cause. Early in the next reign he fled to Italy, and passed the rest of his life at Rome, as a pensioner of the Pope. The country was secured by the erection of forts, and the Irish people, greatly reduced in numbers and spirit by war, devastation, and famine, were brought at last into complete subjection to foreign rule.

The unhappy Essex was driven into a kind of frenzy by the failure of his ambitious hopes, and the persistent displeasure of the queen. He reviled Elizabeth as "an old woman, crooked both in body and mind." She had refused to renew his patent for a valuable monopoly of sweet wines, remarking, with her usual unqueenly and unwomanly coarseness and spite, that "in order to manage an ungovernable beast, he must be stinted of his provender." In the previous intercourse of sovereign and courtier, Essex had turned his back upon her, and clapped his hand to his sword-hilt, after receiving a smart blow on the ear. His demeanour in these last days is described by one who conversed with him as that of a man whose "soul seemeth tossed to and fro, like the waves of a troubled sea." He began to think of revenge upon his enemies, Robert Cecil, Raleigh, and their friends, and aimed at their removal by force from the royal councils. He engaged in correspondence with James, with a view to compel the government to recognise, in official form, the Scottish king's succession. He aroused the queen's suspicions by freely consorting with Catholics and Puritans, both of which parties, as victims of persecution, agreed in hostility to the existing rule. The Earl placed his chief reliance on his popularity in London, and, when he was summoned before the council, he rushed upon his fate by overt acts of treason. On the morning of Sunday, February 8, 1601, the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, and Lords Sandys and Montague, with about three hundred gentlemen, assembled at Essex House, in the Strand. The Lord Chief-Justice, and other high officers, were despatched by the

The fall
of Essex,
1601.

queen with a demand to know the reason of the gathering. Essex declared that his life was sought, and refused to listen to any remonstrance or advice. After a scene of confusion, the Earl rushed out of the house, with a large number of his adherents, and made for the City, shouting, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" The citizens would not arm in a cause which they failed to understand, and, after a street fight with the royal troops, Essex and Southampton spent the night as prisoners in the Tower. Tried and condemned by a jury of twenty-five peers, the Earl of Essex was beheaded, on February 25th, within the walls of the Tower. Southampton was reprieved, and imprisoned for the rest of the reign. Four gentlemen were executed as parties to the conspiracy. In the words of our most brilliant historian, Essex was a man "on whom nature and fortune had lavished all their bounties in vain, and whom valour, grace, genius, royal favour, popular applause, conducted to an early and ignominious doom."

In 1589, James VI. of Scotland was married to the Princess Anne Scotland, 1589-1603. of Denmark, who arrived with him at Leith in May 1590. In 1592, the Scottish Parliament passed an Act for the abolition of Episcopacy, and the full establishment of the Presbyterian form of church government. In 1593, another step in the advancement of culture was marked by the foundation of Marischal College, at Aberdeen. The year 1600 saw the mysterious affair known as the "Gowrie plot." On the 5th day of August, the king was tempted from his hunting to Gowrie House, at Perth, by a story of the finding of a treasure. An attempt to make James a prisoner was foiled by his attendants, and the sentence of the Scottish Parliament made an end of the name and dignity of the Ruthvens, or Earls of Gowrie. The last Earl and his brother were killed in the affray. If the plot were not one for the seizure of the king's person, in order to forward certain ambitious ends, it was, as some suspected, a piece of James's "king-craft," designed to rid him of a lawless set of subjects.

As the reign of Elizabeth advanced, economic changes, connected with the tenure of land in large instead of small holdings, Parliament and the poor. caused a great increase in the ranks of the unemployed. The wealth of the country was rapidly increasing, but the class of artisans was not yet open to all who sought to enter it. The trades were organised in guilds, with strict laws of apprenticeship, and many who longed for work could not in that way find any means of subsistence. The growing class of vagabonds became a public danger, not to be repressed by the old devices of the stocks and the whip. Successive steps led to the first legal provision for the poor, supplied by the assessment of all property. Under Edward VI. and Mary, attempts had been made to organise weekly collections at church. This voluntary aid was made, in a manner, compulsory by the statute of 1562. If any person of means declined to contribute to the relief of the indigent, the bishop could bind him over to appear before the justices,

who ordered a suitable payment, on pain of committal to prison. In 1572, an Act was passed "for the punishment of vagabonds, and for relief of the poor and impotent." The justices of the peace were required to keep a register of the helpless poor, to assess the inhabitants of the district to a weekly charge for their maintenance, and to appoint overseers of the poor, with the power of setting to work all those who were capable of labour. An Act of three years later ordered the provision of a stock of wool and hemp for the poor to work up, and the establishment of "houses of correction" for those who refused to labour. The statute of 1597 made the system parochial. Overseers were now to be chosen in every parish, and were to make a rate for the relief of the poor, with the consent of the justices. Destitution was no longer, as under Henry VIII., treated as a crime, but those who could not work for themselves were to be nurtured, and the sturdy mendicant was to be punished by whipping, the stocks, or imprisonment. Finally, previous statutes were repealed, and most of their provisions adopted and consolidated in the poor-law of 1601, which, with some changes, remained in force until 1834.

In spite of many arbitrary acts of monarchical power, to be observed during the long reign of Elizabeth, it is clear that popular freedom was slowly and surely increasing. The existing laws might be strained, impartial jurors punished, men imprisoned without due warrant, small taxes imposed without consent of Parliament, bold members of the House of Commons committed to prison or suspended from their functions, but these evils were not carried to the extent which had been seen in some previous reigns. A spirit of liberty was in the air, and Elizabeth felt its breath, and trimmed her sails beneath its impulse. If she called few Parliaments, as compared with her Tudor predecessors, it was partly because her thrifty rule enabled her to dispense with subsidies, and partly because she desired to avoid collision with a body of men growing past monarchical control. The Lords were showing a new independence. The Commons, apart from their strong leaven of Puritanism, were being more and more composed of wealthy members from the ranks of the country squires and the traders in the towns. The system of payment of members by their constituents came to an end, and, in order to manage the House at all, Elizabeth was driven, like some of her predecessors, to pack it, to a certain extent, by creating many new boroughs, and filling these seats with nominees of the crown. Prerogative and privilege were, in fact, giving signs of the coming conflict of the Stuart age. In 1593, when the war with Spain was growing costly, a Parliament was called, in which some of the members showed a spirit of mutinous discontent. The queen's haughty temper was roused, and she directed the Lord-Keeper to inform the House of Commons that their privilege of "liberty of speech" was really limited to "aye or no." The Speaker was ordered not to receive any bills for "reforming the Church, and

transforming the Commonwealth." In spite of this despotic attitude, some of the members, as we have seen, prepared a bill on the obnoxious subject of the succession to the crown. When the mover, seconder, and two supporters were imprisoned, a Puritan member, named Morice, had the courage to introduce a bill "for correcting the abuses of the Court of High Commission." The queen sent for the Speaker, and bade him command the House to leave matters of state and church alone. Morice was committed to prison, whence he sent a dignified letter to Burleigh, in which he maintained his right to stand up in defence of public justice and freedom against wrong and oppression.

The last Parliament of the reign met in October 1601, and was marked by a signal victory for popular right. The odious system of monopolies was attacked by Mr. Lawrence Hyde in a bill entitled "An Act for the explanation of the Common Law in certain cases of letters-patent." The servile Francis Bacon, as attorney-general, opposed the bill, but many independent members used strong language in its support. The evil assailed was one of serious import to the people. Courtiers and other persons had long been making money through receiving, under letters-patent from the crown, the exclusive right of selling certain articles. The want of competition raised the price of many commodities extensively used. Salt, iron, vinegar, sea-borne coals, paper, lead, and many other articles were in the hands of patentees. The whole trade of the kingdom was brought within the control of a body of men not perhaps exceeding two hundred in number, and was, to a great extent, confined to the capital. The immoral nature of part of this outrageous system of monopolies is shown in a grant by Elizabeth of "a license to Thomas Cornwallis only, and no other, to make grants and licenses for keeping of gaming-houses and using of unlawful games contrary to the statute of 33 Henry VIII." Sir Walter Raleigh received a patent "to make licenses for keeping of taverns and retailing of wines throughout all England." The wide variety of monopolies is seen in the grant of sole rights "to print the Psalms of David," and "to print Cornelius Tacitus." A committee of the House was formed to consider the bill, and, after a hot debate of four days, the government gave way. The Speaker brought a message from the queen, in which she professed surprise at learning the existence of the patents, and declared her intention of ordering the immediate repeal of some, the suspension of others, and the trial of all such patents "according to the law, for the good of the people." Then Mr. Secretary Cecil stood up, and promised that no new patents should be granted, and that the old ones should be revoked. A few days later, a great deputation of the House rendered thanks in person to Elizabeth, and received from her, in her last address to the Commons of England, some words couched in the noble style of which she was a consummate mistress. She vowed, with an appeal to the last great tribunal, that "never

thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good." "Though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and wise, sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving."

As the queen approached her end, she gave many visible signs that her body and mind were worn out under the long pressure of cares of state. She sank into a condition of lethargy and melancholy, sitting silent for successive days and nights, with her eyes riveted on the floor. The ministers were forced to consider the long-vexed question of the succession to the throne. James of Scotland represented the elder line of Henry VII. Lord Beauchamp, son of Lady Catharine Grey and the Earl of Hertford, was descended from the first Tudor king's second daughter, Mary. Lady Arabella Stuart came, like James, from Henry the Seventh's elder daughter Margaret, but it was by her second marriage, with the Earl of Angus. The ultra-Catholics, eager for a sovereign of the true faith, advocated the right of the Infanta Isabella of Spain, who was descended from John of Gaunt, by his marriage with a daughter of Pedro the Cruel. The general feeling of the country was in favour of James, with whom Robert Cecil had long maintained friendly relations. Just before her death, which occurred on March 24, 1603, Elizabeth gave her assent to the king of Scotland's claim to the succession, when the matter was urged upon her notice by some of the Lords of the council. As she had never received from Parliament the right to name her successor, the legitimate heir was William Seymour, son of Lord Beauchamp, as nearest surviving in descent from the Suffolk family, in whom the succession was legally vested by the will, under sanction of Parliament, made by Henry VIII.

The succession: death of the queen, March 1603.

CHAPTER IV.

ENGLAND IN THE ELIZABETHAN AGE.

The towns: the country: commerce: maritime exploration. Superstitions: social life. Architecture. Literature: translations from Greek, Latin, and Italian. History. Prose-writers: Bacon, Sidney. Poets: Spenser. The drama: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Peele, Jonson. The early theatres.

The population of England, at the close of the reign of Elizabeth, may be taken as amounting to nearly five millions, of whom London may have contained about a hundred and fifty thousand. Scarcely one of the great manufacturing towns of the Victorian age was then in existence, save as a petty village, or a borough of two or three thousand people. The second town in the kingdom was York. Liverpool had but a few hundreds of inhabitants, maintained by the

state of England: the towns.

labours of fishermen, and mariners sailing the home-waters. The chief ports, after London, were Bristol, Hull, Yarmouth, Harwich, Newcastle, Boston, King's Lynn, Southampton, and Plymouth. The Cinque Ports were slowly going to decay. Some of the older corporate towns, such as Winchester, Lincoln, York, Coventry, Chester, and Lancaster, were beginning to decline, owing to trade restrictions placed on particular manufactures. Birmingham was becoming known for hardware, and Manchester for some kinds of woollen goods. The west of England was in repute for the manufacture of broadcloth. The eastern counties, with Norwich for centre, had a large trade in worsted, and in fabrics made from wool. The manufactures of that day were carried on in the home of the artificer, in the farmer's kitchen, or by the cottage-fire, or in small workshops, the lowly parents of the stately factories and mills of two and three centuries later. London was a walled city, of about two miles in circuit. The Strand, lined on each side by mansions of the nobles, led to the village of Charing, beyond which lay the separate city of Westminster. The names of Moorfields, Spitalfields, Hatton Garden, Saffron Hill, and the like, reveal the condition, under Elizabeth, of the ground afterwards covered by the close-packed houses and teeming dwellers of a modern civilisation. Clerkenwell was a distant suburb, Islington a country village, Battersea and Chelsea rural scenes, the Thames a pure stream, rich in fish, and flecked between Westminster and London, as well as in her upper waters, with the fair white form of many a swan. In the sixteenth century, Bristol was the chief rival of the capital in commercial affairs. She did a large trade, for those times, with Ireland and the Continent, and her merchants took a great part in ventures of maritime discovery. Harwich was then, as she has again become of late years, a chief port for the trade with the Netherlands. Norwich rose into great importance under Elizabeth, from an influx of Flemish exiles, who introduced the making of new fabrics, composed of mingled wool and silk.

The mariner who approached the shores of England three centuries ago had need of good local knowledge, or must use the utmost caution, and yet incur great risk. No buoy marked the hidden sandbank; no lighthouse, with its brilliant rays, told of the headland with its lower fringe of deadly rocks. A pot of burning pitch, a light upon a church tower, alone warned the vessel of her peril, or showed her master his position off the coast. The traveller inland fared slowly along ruddy roads, narrow, and full of holes, and often made impassable by flooded streams. The wealthy traveller, with his hired servants, or the rich man's messenger, made his way on horseback. The poor man trudged afoot, or, later in the reign, might find a place within the clumsy waggon taking goods from town to town. The single pack-horse of the pedlar, or the long string of laden beasts that formed a merchant's caravan, did much of the internal traffic. The fairs and markets were the scene of sale and purchase for a large part of the

trade conducted now by written order, railway carriage, and remitted cheque. The eye which now beholds a country of enclosures, corn and pasture, park and woodland, game-preserve and garden, would then have seen vast wastes of marsh and moorland, extensive woods, and fenceless roads. Only about one-fourth of the land was tilled, and the tillage of the day was poor, but growing better year by year with the increase of capital, and the adoption of new methods. The upper class alone ate wheaten bread; the poor had loaves of barley or of rye, and came, in times of scarcity, to peas, and beans, and oats. Some of the fruits and vegetables, and a few of the flowers, of our gardens, were first seen in England during Tudor times. The cherry, goose-berry, currant, pippin, new varieties of plum, walnut, apricot, carrot, turnip, and plants for salad, then began to grow on English soil. The hops of Kent and Surrey, brought in first from Flanders, gave their wholesome bitter to the foaming ale, which, in the lack of coffee, tea, and cocoa, was the breakfast drink of men and women in the days of Elizabeth. The men of Devon began to grow the apple for their cider, and the pears of Gloucestershire gave juice for perry. The richer age of mining had not yet arrived. The mines of Cornwall, as of old, sent forth their tin and lead, and a little copper was obtained in Cumberland. Newcastle sent her coal by sea to London, where it was chiefly used in furnaces and forges, until the reign now under notice, when it began to cook the dinners and to warm the chambers of the household. The iron of the period was produced in Sussex, Kent, and Surrey, with so great a use of wood as fuel for the smelting of the ore, that legislation sought to check the number of the works.

It was in this reign that English commerce began to be of great importance. Not only in the waters of the distant seas, ^{Com-} where Guinea and Brazil were often sought by English ships, ^{merce.} but in the Baltic and the Mediterranean, vessels of English build and manning, or foreign ships of English hiring, were doing an extensive trade. The wool and hides of home production were thus exchanged for pitch and furs, ivory and gold-dust, silks and wines, drugs and oils, and Turkey carpets. The cod-fishery of Newfoundland and whale-hunting in the northern seas began to add to the national wealth. We read in the pages of Hakluyt that, in 1577, more than three hundred ships went forth to the foggy banks of Newfoundland, of which but fifteen were English, as most of our vessels were engaged in the Iceland fisheries. In an evil day for the natives of Africa, Sir John Hawkins, early in Elizabeth's reign, began the disgraceful traffic in negroes taken to the West Indies, which lasted until early in the present century. The capture of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma gave a great blow to her trade and manufactures, and a corresponding impulse to the industries and commerce of our own country, where many of her merchants and manufacturers settled, bringing with them their trading connection, and instruction in their several arts.

The great city on the Scheldt ceased to be an emporium for English traffic with the Continent, which was now diverted to other ports in the south and west of Europe. London then became the greatest European market for the produce of all lands. In 1556, Sir Thomas Gresham, the "queen's merchant," planned and erected a Bourse, or Exchange, for the merchants of London, in imitation of that of Antwerp. In 1570, Elizabeth visited the place, and gave it the name of "Royal Exchange." The rise of new mercantile companies, under charters granted by the queen, was a proof of the development of the spirit of adventure and enterprise in the direction of lawful gains. The Turkey Company, the Russia Company, and the East India Company employed the capital and guarded the interests of the growing class of traders, who thus found new markets for our goods, and new supplies to satisfy the luxurious tastes of the time.

The mariners of the Elizabethan age were filled with a passionate desire to discover a north-western or north-eastern passage to the eastern and the southern coasts of Asia, where the real and supposed riches of India or "Cathay" offered a tempting bait to adventurous greed. Under Edward VI., Sir Hugh Willoughby had perished with all his crew on the coast of Lapland, as he sought a passage round the north of Asia. It was then that Richard Chancellor, who commanded one of Willoughby's vessels, entered the White Sea, and travelled overland to Moscow, where he had an interview with the Czar. In June 1576, Martin Frobisher, a native of Yorkshire, left the Thames with three tiny vessels, carrying but thirty-four men, on a "first voyage of discovery of the north-west passage." The coast of Labrador was reached, and some of the regions to the north were seen. In 1578, Frobisher found the channel afterwards known as Hudson's Strait, but his efforts towards Cathay ended in a vain endeavour to procure golden ore from the coast of North America. In the foremost rank of those who, in the fruitless attempt to reach Asia round North America, discovered new land and water in the Arctic regions, we find John Davis, a native of Sandridge, in Devonshire. In 1585, he reached the strait which received and has retained his name. He also, in this and other voyages, re-discovered and made known the continent of Greenland, attaining the point on the western coast, in about 73 degrees of north latitude, which he named Sanderson's Hope, from a wealthy merchant who had largely supplied funds for the expedition. In a voyage to the Pacific in 1592, he discovered the Falkland Islands. His writings and achievements prove him to have been the most scientific navigator of the western county which sent forth Drake and Chudleigh, Seymour and Oxenham, Raleigh and the Gilberts, the Boroughs of Bideford, and the gallant Plymouth seamen of the name of Hawkins. A voyage of Raleigh's to North America led to a first attempt to colonise Virginia, and introduced to England, by his hands or by those of Drake, the

leaf of the tobacco plant. The potato, a native of South America, after being long known in Europe through the Spaniards from Peru, was first planted in Ireland in 1566, by Sir John Hawkins. Sir Francis Drake introduced the plant into England, but Sir Walter Raleigh, who brought it from Virginia, first made it well known amongst us. The Arctic discoveries of Davis showed the way for the exploits of Baffin and Hudson in the succeeding reign.

With all its spirit of daring and adventure, its practical sagacity within a certain range, and its growing attachment to political freedom, the Elizabethan age of England was one enslaved by many superstitions. The clarion of the Reformation and the New Learning had not, like Milton's bird of morn, "scattered the rear of darkness thin" that lingered from the night of mediæval gloom. The dawn of science, for the mass of the nation, was reserved till Stuart times. Francis Bacon himself refused belief to the true theory of the solar system expounded by the great Copernicus. The study of natural philosophy was almost unknown at the Universities. The medical science of the day knew not the fact of the circulation of the blood in the body which she professed to tend and cure. Her chief resources lay in copious bleeding and nauseous drugs, with some reliance upon charms and philtres. The great philosopher of this and the next reign propounds amazing quackeries for the promotion of longevity. Tumours were capable of cure, according to the doctors of the age, by stroking with the hand of a dead man. The royal touch could heal the scrofulous affection known as the king's evil. The man of science dabbled much in alchemy, and was ever on the point of finding the "philosopher's stone." The queen was a firm believer in astrology, and made Dr. Dee, her favourite magician, warden of a college and chancellor of St. Paul's. There was an almost universal belief in witchcraft, and many harmless old women suffered death at the hands of the vulgar, because they were supposed to be in league with the powers of evil. Elizabeth caused the re-enactment of the old law against sorcery, and her successor, in a Parliament containing Coke and Bacon, had the punishment of witchcraft made capital. All kinds of spirits, good and bad, fairies and imps, and elves and goblins, found a place in the popular mythology. Both Puritan and Catholic shared in this picturesque and petty polytheism. Around the roaring logs upon the winter fire all classes found full many a tale to tell and hear of monsters of the land and sea beheld by travellers to the new-discovered regions, of ghosts and signs and portents, of lucky dreams and amulets and magic. Such were the follies of the time. Its roughness and its cruelty were sorely felt by animals put to torture in the name of sport, by wives and children at home, and by the dull or idle learners at the schools. Bear-baiting, bull-baiting, and cock-fighting were the delights of men and women of the highest class. The thrashing of wives by husbands, of grown-up daughters by their

Other
condi-
tions of
the time.

fathers, and the brutal use of stripes by teachers, were all too common for censorious remark in the belauded age of "good Queen Bess." Its foremost vices were those of drunkenness and gaming. Philip Stubbes the Puritan, and Thomas Nash, the pamphleteer and playwright, counted by the Puritans amongst the wicked, alike denounce the gluttony and excessive drinking of the time. With all its faults, it was a jovial age, when men and women, lads and lasses, in spite of Puritanical remonstrance, made mirth with music and with dancing, upon the rushes of the torch-lit hall and on the village green. In vain did Stubbes cry out against "you pipers, fiddlers, minstrels, drummers, tabretters, and fluters, and all other of that wicked brood." Music was the especial art of the Elizabethan days, and by the fireside in many a household were sung the madrigals still pleasing to the purest modern taste. On days of festival, or in a royal progress, or to welcome home the lord or squire from his Continental travels, or his voyage in distant seas, the masquers and the mummers were abroad, with quaint device of dress and allegorical discourse and song. At Christmas-tide the master of the revels was the Lord of Misrule, to whose authority all dignitaries bowed, the sovereign in the palace, the learned doctors in the college-hall, the benchers in the London Inns of Court. The best side of the training of the time is seen in the hearty enjoyment by all classes of those outdoor exercises which were fitted to produce a manly people. Roger Ascham maintained that it was "not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman" to ride, to play at all weapons, to shoot with bow or gun, to vault, to run, to leap, wrestle, swim, dance "comely," sing, and "play of instruments cunningly," to hawk, hunt, play at tennis, and "all pastimes generally which be joined with labour, used in open place, and in the daylight, containing either some fit exercise for war or some pleasant pastime for peace."

With much extravagant absurdity in dress, such as the monstrous ruff worn by both sexes of the fashionable folk, and the hooped **Dress.** petticoats and peaked stomachers of ladies, the splendour of attire in cut and colour, and the marking of the social rank and occupation in the garb of men and women, wrought wonders of pictorial effect. The queen herself gave to her courtiers the example of costly and magnificent array. The men wore doublets, peaked or puffed or slashed, with velvet cloaks, lace-trimmed, and clasped with gold. The hose, of silk or velveteen, were of French or of Venetian make and style. A rapier in a gilded scabbard, shoes decked with silver buckles and rosettes, a low-crowned feathered hat, rings on the fingers and the ears, a ruff and chain upon the neck, complete the picture of the man of fashion in the latest Tudor time. It was in such attire that the nobles of Elizabeth surrounded their majestic queen. It was thus that she loved to behold the men who charmed her by their flatteries at court, and were ever ready to defend her throne by sea and land—the

impetuous De Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, whose ancestors had fought in high command at Hastings, and with Godfrey de Bouillon and Tancred at Jerusalem; the graceful Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, of high repute in the records of the English drama; the all-accomplished Sidney; Walter Raleigh, soldier, sailor, scholar, courtier, orator, poet, historian, and philosopher, a man found ever apt, if duty called him, to review the royal guard, to chase a Spanish galleon, to answer in debate an opponent of the ministry; or, if inclination drew him, to write love-songs for the maids of honour, or to pore over the Talmud, or, in his lonely Tower-cell, to collate Polybius with Livy.

The age of Elizabeth is marked by an abiding change in English households, a change connected with the general progress of civilisation, with the continued peace of the realm, and the Architect-
ture. increase in the national wealth. This era saw a vast improvement in the cleanliness and comfort of the English home. The meanest houses now enjoyed the use of chimneys. The weary heads and limbs of toilers rested upon softer bedding than bags of chaff or pallets stuffed with straw. The farmer's house was built of brick or stone, instead of with timber beams, alternating with lath and plaster. The wealthier traders in the towns now dwelt in stately homes of stout construction, picturesque with parapet and gable, and outwardly adorned with quaint device, and full within of solid comfort. The houses became lighter in the larger use of glass. Carpets and rugs, or floors of bare and polished oak, were seen in place of the old rushes on the boards. Dishes and spoons of wood were changed for pewter and for silver. It is in the homes of the nobles and other landowners that we find the greatest change of architectural style, and see the rise of dwellings known as "Tudor" and "Elizabethan." As the days of feudal tyranny and violence were past, so were the strong stone castles superseded by the new halls of the nobility, and the manor-houses of the gentry, who had, in many a parish, taken the place of the baron and the abbot, once the sole proprietors of vast districts. Fine examples of the greater houses may still be seen in Knole and Penshurst, Burleigh and Longleat; in Hardwick and Haddon Halls, in Derbyshire, Wollaton Hall, near Nottingham, and at Audley End and Hatfield. Embayed windows, with many small panes, looked out upon the fair Italian gardens, decked with a labyrinth, and trees and hedges fantastically cut, with summer-house and fountain, vase and statue, stately terraces and broad flights of steps. The great hall, wherein the feudal baron had been wont to dine with his retainers, now became an entrance only to the rooms of household use and state occasions. The best apartments were above, approached by a grand staircase, formed of timber richly carved. The inner court was reached by a castellated gateway, and, in the true Elizabethan style, the house was crowned by stacks of twisted chimneys, built of ruddy brick. The rooms and galleries of the interior showed walls of polished timber panelling, huge fireplaces surmounted by a mighty mantelpiece of

stone and timber, most curiously carved with many a device and lettered monogram or motto. Rich tapestries, and portraits of the family by Holbein or Mabuse, Zuccherro or Antonio More, were among the decorations of the better chambers. The manor-house was of a simpler style, with two projecting wings and central porch. Inside were found the hall and buttery, a dining-room and parlour, sometimes a chapel, and always a great kitchen. It was surrounded by a moat, and had its flower-garden, or the kitchen-garden, with its fruit-bushes and roots and herbs, rendered gay by borders of bright blooms.

The chief glory of the time is found in its literary work. Through a period of religious contention and persecution England had
**Litera-
ture:
Transla-
tions.** a period of healthier existence, and poetry began to "imp her wings" for her noblest flights. An age of intellectual freedom, of new-discovered lands and peoples, of patriotic conflict, of foreign travel, of restless curiosity, could not but force the higher class of minds into a spiritual world of new conceptions, questionings, and fancies, in which they sought an answer to the problems of human existence, and strove to tell their fellow-men, in prose and verse, the things which they had seen and heard. An impulse to the new mental production came from the translations of the master-works of ancient Greece and Rome and modern Italy. A flood of English versions issued from the press. Heywood and others rendered into verse the tragedies of Seneca. The *Aeneid* appeared in English rhyme. Arthur Golding, a friend of Sir William Cecil, gave his unlearned countrymen the works of Justin and Cæsar, and enabled them to read the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid. Sir Thomas North revealed patterns of ancient virtue in his translation, from the French, of Plutarch's Lives, whence Shakespeare learnt his history of Rome. The first version of Homer, ten books of the *Iliad*, mainly taken from the French, appeared in Alexandrine verse in 1581. George Chapman's fine translation, from the Greek, of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, was partly published under Elizabeth, and completed in the following reign. In the last year of Elizabeth, John Florio, a man well versed in Italian and in French, produced his translation of Europe's first great essayist, Montaigne. In 1591, Sir John Harington, an Eton and Cambridge scholar, rendered into heroic verse the *Orlando Furioso* of Ariosto. One of the best translations in our language, the *Jerusalem* of Tasso, by Edward Fairfax, was published in 1600, reproducing the octave rhyme of the original. Sir Henry Savile, a graduate of Oxford, warden of Merton College, and founder of the Savilian professorship of astronomy and geometry, published in 1581 a translation of four books of the *Histories* of Tacitus, and of the *Life of Agricola*.

One of the features of the literary revival was the interest now taken in history. Archbishop Parker, a man of learning as
History. a church-antiquary, was full of reverence for the past, and devoted much time and pains to gathering manuscripts rescued from

the destruction of the monasteries, especially those which referred to the old English Church. Under his care four of the old historians were edited, including Asser's *Life of Alfred*. John Stow, aided by the purse of Parker, produced a *Summary of English Chronicles*, and issued, in 1580, a *General Chronicle of England*, from legendary times down to the date of publication. It was in a similar work of Ralph Holinshed that Shakespeare gained much of his knowledge of his country's history. William Camden, a man of great learning, who became head-master of the new school at Westminster, described the country in his famous *Britannia*. Stow's *Survey of London*, a work of great value, appeared in 1598. The new school of historians, aiming at something higher than the artless narrative of the old chroniclers, is represented by Samuel Daniel. Tutor to the Countess of Pembroke, "Sidney's sister," and a good scholar in Italian, he was first devoted to poetry, under the influence of the Italian muse. In 1595, he issued a historical poem on the Wars of the Roses, and published, in the following reign, a prose history of England, from the days of Roman Britain to the end of Richard III.

One of the great fashions and passions of the day was that which revelled in all the products of Italian taste and culture. The young nobles brought back with them from southern travel the speech, the dress, the manners, with a love of all the poetry and the tales, and no small tincture of the vice, of Italy. Roger Ascham, the friend of Lady Jane Grey, and one of Elizabeth's classical teachers, denounced in *The Schoolmaster* this imitation of Italian ways of life, and the reading of the vainer kind of Italian books. John Lyly, in his *Euphues, or The Anatomy of Wit*, repeated Ascham's strictures, to which he gave a literary form, since known as *Euphuism*, based on the quaint conceits and affectations, the antitheses and alliterations, of the new Italian style of prose.

The work of Richard Hooker has been already noticed. Francis Bacon, son of the queen's minister, Sir Nicholas Bacon, showed even in his youthful days a staidness of demeanour and a ripeness of thought which won from Elizabeth the title of "the young Lord Keeper." His father's death in 1579, when Bacon was eighteen, left him without fortune, and he entered Gray's Inn as a student of law. Called to the bar in 1582, he entered the House of Commons in November 1584, as member for Melcombe Regis, in Dorsetshire. In 1590, he wrote with effect on the Marprelate controversy. In 1593, sitting as member for Middlesex, he offended the queen by objections to her demand for a subsidy. It was this independent conduct, rare enough in his career, that frustrated the efforts of Bacon's friend, the Earl of Essex, to obtain for him high legal promotion. In 1597, he published the first brief edition of the *Essays*, then only ten in number. In its fuller form, this work secured for ever Bacon's fame as a writer of rare wisdom, who expressed his

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vigorous and original thought in a style marked by compressed fulness of meaning, calm strength, and the utmost felicity of diction. The book is a triumph of literary skill, a combination of almost perfect excellence of matter and form. As a philosophical writer, this illustrious man belongs to the succeeding reign, and the vexed subject of his claims to greatness lies beyond our scope. The chivalrous Sidney, possessed of all the culture and the learning of his time, a man admired and beloved by all the best that knew him, was born in 1554, at Penshurst. At Shrewsbury School, and at Christchurch, Oxford, he was a cherished friend of that distinguished ornament of the court, Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke. In 1572, engaged on diplomatic business in Paris, he was sheltered in the house of our ambassador, Francis Walsingham, during the massacre of St. Bartholomew. After travels in Austria, Hungary, and Italy, he returned to England in 1575, and shared in the delights of the queen's visit to Lord Leicester at Kenilworth. He was only twenty-four years old when the great William of Orange declared, in a message carried by Fulke Greville to the queen, that Sidney was "one of the ripest and greatest statesmen that he knew of in all Europe." His romance called *Arcadia*, published in 1590, after his death, by his sister, Lady Pembroke, contains, with intermingled verse, prose of singular ease, lucidity, and charm. His *Apology for Poetry*, which appeared in 1595, is our earliest piece of sound literary criticism.

One of the greatest names in our literature is that of Edmund Spenser, born in or near the year of young King Edward's death, and, after leaving Cambridge, sent abroad on service for the Earl of Leicester. A friend of Philip Sidney's, he was often seen at Penshurst, and to him he dedicated his first poetic work, *The Shepherd's Calendar*, published without a name in 1579. In this series of twelve eclogues, one for every month, the writer showed a mastery of music in his verse, and an imaginative power, that proved to all discerning eyes the advent of a new and admirable genius in the world of song. Disdaining all the petty arts of Euphuistic writers, Spenser had sought a model in his great forerunner, Chaucer. Of the Italian school, he looked, with all the sympathy of rare poetic gifts, to Ariosto and Torquato Tasso. At Penshurst, Spenser had conceived the plan of his immortal work, the *Faerie Queene*. After vain efforts to obtain promotion in England through the influence of Sidney and Leicester, the poet went to Ireland with Lord Arthur Grey, and remained there, as an official of the Court of Chancery, until 1588. In the following year, he returned to London with Raleigh, to lay before Elizabeth the first three books of his great poem. In 1590, they were published, with a dedication to the queen. Received with universal admiration, the poet's verses also won a pension from the sovereign, with the grant of some land and the old castle of Kilcolman, in the county of Cork. In his *Colin Clout's come home again*, Colin is

Spenser himself; Raleigh is styled, from his maritime adventures, "the Shepherd of the Ocean;" and Shake Spear, as the name is written, receives the praise of one "Whose Muse, full of high thought's invention, Doth like himself heroically sound." His exquisite *Epithalamium*, published in 1595, is a bridal song, written for his own marriage with a lady living near Kilcolman. In 1596, three more books of the *Faerie Queene* appeared. Three years later, he and his family were driven into exile, from amid the flames of his castle, by the rebels under Tyrone. Early in 1599, the poet died at King Street, Westminster. His funeral, in the great Abbey, where he lies near Chaucer, was attended by many men of noble birth, and by a crowd of brother-poets, who flung their elegies upon the coffin of their chief. The unfinished spiritual allegory of Spenser is a romance of chivalry, in which the persons represent the virtues and the vices of mankind, amidst a scene of marvels and adventures, rich with the incongruous forms of beings taken from the old mythology of Greece, from the pantheon of the Gothic nations, from the superstitions of the vulgar, and from the travellers' tales of the time. The religious tone is that of the Puritan, at war with Papal Rome, and anxious for the future of the new religion. A host of political and personal allusions had interest for the readers of that age. The charm of this noble work lies now, a heritage for all time, in its sublimity and pathos, in its melodious verse, and in the surpassing beauty of the imagery. The poem has been a storehouse of invention and conception for succeeding writers, and the stanza, named from its illustrious inventor, has been adopted in some of the best work of modern poets.

The works of Shakespeare are the second Bible of the English race. To name him is, or should be, to have described the man, so far as he is known, his life, and his productions. We turn to some account, apart from him, of that greatest literary feature of the time we are portraying, the drama, which had its culmination in his unrivalled excellence. In this regard, the age of Elizabeth reminds us of the age of Pericles. Inventive genius, and power of expression, sprang up full-armed, like to Athena from the brain of Zeus, and wrought achievements that defy the world to match them. Drama was in the mental and spiritual atmosphere of Tudor times. A passion for every kind of scenic show blazed in the veins, and throbbed in the pulses, of men and women in every class. Henry, Mary, and Elizabeth had each a "Master of the Revels," who furnished and presided over interludes and masques. Wherever she resorted, in her many "progresses," to noble's house or college-hall, the queen expected and received dramatic entertainment. The children of the royal chapel, and the boys of St. Paul's, performed in plays for her amusement. The masque was a rude form of the modern opera, combining dialogue and declamation with music, dancing, singing, and stage effects. A

brilliant literary model remains to us in Milton's *Comus*. Companies of strolling players passed through the land, attending fairs and festivals, weddings and other scenes of family rejoicing. In 1574, the Earl of Leicester obtained a royal patent for his servants, Burbadge, Perkyn, and others, to perform plays of all kinds within the city of London and other towns, subject to the approval of the Master of the Revels for the pieces which they played. At that time no regular theatre had been erected, and the scenes of dramatic performance varied from the village-green, or open spot within a town, to the council-chamber of a corporation, and the great hall of a nobleman's house. The yards of inns, enclosed on four sides by the house, with galleries running round on one or more floors, were most convenient for such a purpose. The lower class of spectators, or "groundlings," stood in the courtyard, as a pit, and the audience in the wooden galleries were such as now find room in box or stall. The Puritanic city corporation, by their opposition to the London players, drove Leicester's man, James Burbadge, to provide, in 1576, a special place for his performers. The Blackfriars Theatre arose within the precincts of the monastery that was dissolved in Henry's reign. Two other theatres, beyond the jurisdiction of the mayor and corporation, were erected outside the city walls, in the pure air of Shoreditch, then approached by a suburban road passing between the Spital and the Finsbury Fields. A dozen other lords, besides the Earl of Leicester, had each his company of players, and in 1583 the queen herself was thus provided. By the close of the century, there were at least ten public or private theatres, including *The Globe*, on Bankside, Southwark, a wooden hexagonal structure, circular within, for use in summer. It was open to the sky, save for some roofing of thatch over the stage and boxes. In this, and every other theatre, the stage appointments and the dresses gave no promise of the splendid equipments and the antiquarian accuracy of local colouring seen in our modern representations. The dandies of the day lounged, sate, or lay upon the stage among the actors by the "wings," and the great dramatist, and his fellow-players in the Burbadge company, depended for success upon the words and action of the drama, combined with skill and force in their portrayal of the characters. Upon a rush-strewn platform of rough boards Othello and Macbeth, Antony and Cæsar, Hamlet and Lear, stirred the passions of the hearers and spectators of the time. At Christmas 1561, the first English tragedy was produced at the Inner Temple. The title of the play was *Gorboduc*, a legendary British king. Its purpose was to call on Englishmen for union amongst themselves, with due submission to a single undisputed sway. The authors were two former students of the Inner Temple. Thomas Sackville, member for East Grinstead, who became Lord Buckhurst, and, on Burleigh's death, the Lord High Treasurer of England, dying in 1608 as Earl of Dorset, was aided in

his work by Thomas Norton, known, in a more congenial way, among the Puritans, as a translator of the Psalms and of the Institutes of Calvin. Passing over a crowd of minor writers, Stephen Gosson, who became a Puritan divine, and Thomas Lodge, a Catholic physician; John Lyly, the Euphuist, and author of *Campaspe*, with its famous song; Thomas Kyd and Henry Chettle; we come upon the names of Peele and Greene and Marlowe. George Peele, born in the year of Elizabeth's accession, became a graduate of Oxford, and then embraced a literary life in London. His works, displaying a decided vein of genius, include a pastoral play on the judgment of Paris. The profligate Robert Greene, a student of St. John's College, Cambridge, was a novelist and poet, apart from his productions for the stage. His plays, which have some merit in the gay and florid style, include a tragedy, *Orlando Furioso*, and a comedy called *Friar Bacon*. In an appendix to his own confessions styled *A Groatworth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance*, he sneers at Shakespeare as "in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country," and as "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers." A far greater man, one who, had Shakespeare never lived, would reign as king of English drama, was the wild and wicked Christopher Marlowe. Born in a low estate at Canterbury in 1564, the birth-year of his mighty rival, he became a graduate of Cambridge, and then at once gained fame by the tragedy called *Tamburlaine the Great*. Here and in other plays he first gave a firm footing to blank verse as the true measure for dramatic poetry. His *Doctor Faustus* is a grand display of terror and remorse. The *Jew of Malta* has, in its character of Barabbas, a worthy compeer of the later Shylock, as a picture of the Jew distorted by the prejudice of Christians. Marlowe's tragedy of *Edward the Second* shows a marked advance in its development of character, and has a death-scene of the utmost power in moving pity and terror. To the later age of the Elizabethan drama, and to the early Stuart times, belongs the Stratford poet's friend, Ben Jonson. Born at Westminster in 1574, and trained under Camden at the Abbey-school, the future poet had an early life of chequered fortunes. As a soldier in the ranks against the Spanish warriors in Holland; as a Cambridge student forced to quit St. John's for lack of funds; as an actor in the capital, and a haunter of the taverns, Jonson saw and studied the human character whose features he has reproduced in his dramatic compositions. His comedy entitled *Every Man in his Humour* is an ingenious piece. It was followed by some clever dramatic satires, directed in turns against the foibles and the faults of the citizens, the courtiers, and the poets. The greatest product of that or any age of our literature was clearly he who not only, as patriot and poet, drew life-like pictures of his countrymen in past and present days, as sovereigns, soldiers, statesmen, gentlemen, yeomen, peasants, and clowns, but also set forth the nature of mankind in char-

acters belonging to other times and peoples. Standing between the new world of free thought, and the old time of submission to authority, Shakespeare lingers with delight amidst the superstitions of the people, their elves, their witches, and their ghosts, and yet asserts his claim to foremost rank amongst the highest thinkers, as he dwells upon the hardest problems that beset the student of man's life, nature, and destiny.

George Peele, born in the reign of Edward VI, was the first English dramatist who wrote in the English language. He was a student of St. John's College, Cambridge, and a member of the Inner Temple. His works, including a comedy called *Edward the Fourth*, which has some merit in the play and the story, but is now regarded as his own composition, are few. He is considered the only Englishman in a country, and as an Englishman, he is considered with our authors. A far greater man, and who had Shakespeare never lived, would have been the king of English drama, the wild and wild Christian Marlowe. Born in a low estate in Canterbury, in the fifth year of his reign, he became a student of Cambridge, and then at once gained fame by his tragedy called *Doctor Faustus*. He and in other plays he first gave the English language a grand display of terror and romance. The *Uranian* Marlowe has in the character of Faustus a worthy counterpart to the later Shakspeare, as a picture of the heroism of the individual. Marlowe's tragedy of *Edward the Fourth* shows a marked advance in the development of character, and has a depth of the highest power in showing life and terror. To the language of the play he has given and to the noblest times, beyond the standard of the time. *Edward the Fourth* was written in 1592, and is the first of Marlowe's plays. The latter part of his life was spent in a soldier's life, and he was killed in the battle of St. Albans. As a soldier, in the ranks against the Spanish warriors in Italy, and Cambridge student turned to the study of the law, he was a man of high rank in the capital, and a minister of the crown. Marlowe and studied the human character whose scenes he has produced in his dramatic compositions. His comedy entitled *Edward the Fourth* is an ingenious plot. It was followed by some other dramatic pieces, directed in turn against the Pope, and the Pope of the time, the comedy and the plot. The first of these was a picture and poet, showing the picture of his countrymen in past and present days, as a sovereign, soldier, statesman, and a man of letters, and shows, but also for the nature of mankind in that

BOOK XII.

THE GREAT CONTEST FOR FREEDOM.

CHAPTER I.

THE BEGINNINGS OF STUART RULE.

James I. : his character. Religious parties : the plots, Main, Bye, and Gunpowder. The King and Parliament in collision. Irish affairs : the new settlement of Ulster. Lady Arabella Stuart. Death of Prince Henry.

THE Stuart age is that which sees the end of personal rule. The theory of royal power had passed, from its oldest form of chieftainship in tribe or clan, to feudal notions of the king as the ultimate possessor of the land, and, in that possession, the source of all authority and power. Only on such a basis could a Tudor tyrant rest his claim to will away the throne. The decay of feudalism, and the growing strength of Parliament, had placed authority in other hands than those of landowners. A class of regular officials were the wielders of executive and judicial power, and the new freedom of thought, at once productive of and fostered by religious changes, gave birth to the belief that the king himself was only an official of the highest class, dependent on the people for his right to rule. The two revolutions of Stuart times were the inevitable products of collision between the holders of such a theory of monarchy as this, and kings who clung to the old belief in a "divine right," or power devolved upon the sovereign direct from heaven.

The new ruler of England was not the man to check, by dint of personal demeanour and character, the rapid growth of new ideas of power as vested in the nation's noble and elected representatives. Henry and Elizabeth had been imposing figures, who impressed themselves with dignity and force upon the England which they ruled. James was a monarch who could impose on no one but himself. The best and greatest man might have been visited by nature with an awkward figure and a feeble gait, with nervous tremors and a slobbering mouth. A tyrant of a noble type would be devoid of cowardice and foolish chatter, and of the faults belonging to a pedant and buffoon. No monarch should allow his courtier to address him by the names of "Dad" and "Gossip," or style his son, already nearing man-

hood, "Baby Charles." Yet all these things are found combined in James I. This man of feeble vacillating temper, not strong enough to curb, but only rash enough to irritate, the rising spirit of freedom, was just the monarch to prepare the way for revolution. Himself despised, he made a formidable foe to freedom in a future reign, by training up an abler and more kinglike son to put in practice theories of rule unsuited to the temper of the times. A witty, well-read scholar, taught by George Buchanan, Scotland's ablest and most learned master in the classic tongues, and having no mean share of Scottish shrewdness, James would have cut a decent figure in a college, and might have won just fame as a divine. In his conspicuous place, the boasted "kingcraft," which only led him to discreditable failures, won from his brother-king of France, the clever and unscrupulous Henri Quatre, the sarcastic title of "the wisest fool in Christendom."

Within a few hours of the queen's death, James, king of Scotland, was proclaimed as her successor, through the care of Robert Cecil and his friends among the council. Sir Robert Carey, armed with the ring drawn by his sister, Lady Scrope, from off the finger of her dead mistress, rode off in haste to Scotland, reaching Edinburgh in the marvellous time of three days and two nights. The journey of the new monarch and his court to London was marked by the execution of a thief at Newark, on the royal warrant only, without trial by the law; and by the free bestowal, on over two hundred gentlemen, of the honour of knighthood which Elizabeth had granted sparingly to men of note among her warriors and statesmen. The king at last reached Theobalds, where he was met by Cecil, and made his entry into London on May 7th. In June, the queen and her eldest son, Prince Henry, arrived in England, and the coronation took place on July 25th. No Parliament was summoned, owing to the plague then rife in London. The beginning of a new reign saw the end of Raleigh's influence, and the triumph of the wily minister, Sir Robert Cecil. The captain of the guard lost all his offices, and in November stood his trial on a charge of treason, before a special commission held at Winchester. The "Main Plot," or "the chief conspiracy," was one in which Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends, Lord Cobham and Lord Grey, a Puritan, were charged with aiming at the overthrow of James, and the advancing of the Lady Arabella Stuart to the crown of England. The "Bye Plot," called also "the Surprise," or "the Surprising Treason," was a subordinate affair, in which some Catholics and Puritans contrived the seizure of the king, and the extortion, from his fears, of toleration for the two extreme religious parties. The plans were all betrayed to Cecil, and all the chief conspirators were seized. The whole importance of these still mysterious matters lies in their influence upon the fortunes of Raleigh. His trial, in its gross unfairness, was ominous of later prosecutions under Stuart rule. Coke, the attorney-general, connected Raleigh, in his speech, with both the plots, and showered

brutal insults on the prisoner's head. The accused conducted his own case with skill and firmness, but, in defiance of the law of treasons, he was convicted on the single deposition of Lord Cobham, an accomplice, who was not produced in court, and had already, as was known, withdrawn his accusation. Two Catholic priests, and Brooke, a brother of Lord Cobham, died, for the "Bye Plot," on the scaffold. Cobham and Grey were sentenced, but reprieved upon confession. Raleigh, sentenced to execution, lay for over twelve years in the Tower, giving his hours to the composition of the noble fragment of a *History of the World*.

Of the king's new subjects, in the "Land of Promise," as he called it, whose fruits his hungry Scots were come with him to reap, the three religious parties looked with hope to the new reign. The Catholics had approached him with an address, in which they begged for "the free exercise of their religion, in private if not in public, by sufferance if not with approbation." Some even looked for him to change his faith, and all were satisfied to see a relaxation of the fines on recusants. Above 800 Puritan ministers, before James had arrived in London, presented a petition for redress of what they held to be abuses in the Church. They and their party dreamed that he, who had been king over a nation of Presbyterians, would have some sympathy with English followers of kindred forms of faith and practice. The "high" Episcopalians, with better reason, relied upon the king's avowals in their favour, and upon the disgust which Presbyterian dictation, in his realm of Scotland, must have stirred within him. Both Catholics and Puritans were doomed to disappointment.

The Puritan address was styled the "Millenary Petition," because it claimed to represent the views of about a thousand ministers within the Church. In accordance with its prayer, a conference was held at Hampton Court in January 1604. The king presided over an assembly composed of sixteen bishops, deans, and learned doctors, who came thither to sustain all existing ceremonies of the Church, and of four divines of the reforming party. The occasion was chiefly marked by the pedantic display of theological learning which was made by James, and by the fulsome adulation of the bishops and their party. Some trifling additions were made to the Prayer-book, but the main result was the provision, some years later, of the new translation of the Bible known as the Authorised Version. The heartiness with which the king upheld the High Church party, and insisted on adherence to the present rules and discipline, aroused the wild enthusiasm of the bishops. Bancroft earned a speedy promotion to the see of Canterbury, in the place of Whitgift, by falling on his knees and thanking God for giving to the nation such a monarch. The king secured the loyalty of all the strong Episcopalians by the frequent repetition of his favourite maxim, "No bishop, no king." The power of the one, he held, was bound indissolubly with

The religious parties.

Hampton Court Conference, 1604.

the authority of the other, and the origin of both was found above. The prelates then declared that the royal utterance was, in fact, divine, and James concluded the discussion with the Puritans by bidding them "away with snivelling." Ten of the ministers who had presented the petition were imprisoned, under sentence of the Star Chamber, for conduct leading to sedition and rebellion. A few weeks later, on March 19th, the Houses were assembled, and James had now to reckon, in the Commons, with a body of gentlemen largely imbued with the spirit of Puritanism, and flushed with the victory won, near the close of the late reign, in the matter of the monopolies.

The king informed the Commons, in a dispute concerning an unseated member, that "they derived all matters of privilege from him, and from his grant," and he ended with an assertion of his power "as an absolute king." In spite of this, he made a compromise which has ever since left to the House of Commons the unquestioned right of settling all matters that concern elections of the members. The Commons did not separate without asserting, in a dignified "Apology" touching their privileges, the "true dignity, liberty, and authority" of Parliament, as enjoyed "from time immemorable" by their ancestors. The spirit of the Puritans also vented itself in clauses added to the penal laws against the Catholics, and James sought, in a severe exaction of the heavy fines for their non-attendance at the church-services, to allay the anger lately roused by his despotic claims.

A knot of desperate fanatics of the persecuted faith sought a complete revenge in the destruction at one blow of king, lords, and commons. A gentleman named Robert Catesby, who had borne a part in the insane attempt of Essex, took into council another Catholic plotter, Thomas Winter, and a convert to their faith, named John Wright. The famous Guido Fawkes, son of a notary at York, and brought up as a Protestant, had become a zealous Papist, serving in the Spanish army in Flanders. Thomas Percy, a relation of the Earl of Northumberland, completed the first body of five determined conspirators. It was these men who, with two others, worked hard for days in breaking through the massive foundation-wall, three yards in thickness, beneath the House of Lords. Their toil was ended by the hiring of a cellar immediately below the spot where all the victims would be gathered on the day when Parliament assembled. Sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham, all gentlemen of means, also joined the plot, in readiness to raise the country when the blow was struck. After several prorogations, the Houses were appointed to assemble in the first week of November 1605. In the last week of October, the king was at Royston, busy with his favourite exercise of hunting, while his "little beagle," as he called his minister Robert Cecil, now created Earl of Salisbury, was diligently tending his affairs of state at Whitehall.

Parliament,
1604.

Gun-
powder
Plot,
1604-1605.

A Catholic peer, Lord Mounteagle, married to a sister of the plotter Tresham, sought an audience of Cecil on the night of October 26th, and laid before him the celebrated letter, with the warning of "a terrible blow" to be received "this Parliament." The matter is involved in mystery. If the letter were in truth devised to save Mounteagle, by ensuring his absence on the day of opening, the writer would, no doubt, be Tresham. There is, however, reason to believe that Mounteagle himself was in the secret, and that the letter was a mere device of Cecil's to cover up his treacherous revelation. A still more likely explanation is that the minister already, through some other private information, knew what was afoot, and that Lord Mounteagle sought credit with the government in laying before them the mysterious warning he had just received. At midnight on the 4th, or early on the morning of the 5th of November, Fawkes was seized among his powder-barrels. Catesby, Percy, and Wright were killed by the pursuing troops in Worcestershire. Some of the plotters were "hoist with their own petard," in being wounded by an accidental gunpowder explosion. Tresham died in the Tower before the trial. The rest, including Digby, perished on the scaffold. A Jesuit priest named Henry Garnet also suffered for a guilty knowledge of the plot. The immediate effect of the detection of so monstrous an attempt was an increased severity of penal legislation. The long-enduring consequence was the cruel prejudice excited against the whole body of Catholics by a crime of which but few were ever cognisant, and which they nearly all condemned.

Much undue praise has been bestowed upon the first Stuart king for his policy of peace. The truth is, that he was mainly influenced by the cost of war, and that his economy of public funds was not directed towards the public good. The revenues of James were wasted upon silly baubles for personal adornment, and in lavish grants to his unworthy favourites. The business of the state was left to others, while the king was hunting, bolstered up for safety on an easy-going horse, or writing pedantry that no one cared to read, or going "progresses" from house to house, to be received with gross flatteries and grosser feastings. The court, under a monarch, of whom a courtier vowed, at Hampton Court, that never since the time of Christ had king and priest been so marvellously combined in the same person, became a scene of low debauchery and drunken revels, in which ladies, overcome with wine, staggered and wallowed in the royal presence. The claimant of "divine right" thus daily weakened, in the mind of Puritans whom he and Bancroft joined to harass, the cause of the monarchy which he at once embodied, extolled, and disgraced. The royal prodigality was such as drove the ministers to dangerous sources of supply. In spite of strong remonstrance from the Commons, the crown, of its own motion, levied new duties, in the way of customs, upon many kinds of imported commodities, and made

Home
affairs,
1606-1613.

a large increase in the former rates. The judges of the Court of Exchequer, in the famous case of Bates, a London merchant, affirmed the royal right to levy money at the custom-house without consent of Parliament, and the alarm and indignation of the Commons were aroused by methods of taxation which, with an ever-growing commerce, might make the crown independent of the House for its supplies. The continued and illegal oppression exercised by the Star Chamber and the High Commission Courts, directed against all classes of civil and ecclesiastical offenders, and openly abetted by the king, further excited those who knew, and were determined to maintain, the old liberties of the English nation. In 1610, after a debate on the illegality of the new duties, James ordered the Commons not to enter upon questions which touched his prerogative. Their reply took the form of a vigorous assertion of the rights of Parliament against the crown. In regard to the many royal proclamations which assumed the force of laws, they had already declared "the indubitable right of the people of this kingdom, not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lives, lands, bodies, or goods, other than such as are ordained by the common laws of this land, or the statutes made by their common consent in Parliament." A scheme of Cecil's, designed to free the king, to a great extent, from parliamentary control, was baffled by the humour of the Commons. It was proposed, by an agreement termed "the Great Contract with His Majesty," to exchange the crown's feudal rights in wardships and purveyance, and other old sources of income, for a fixed annual revenue of £200,000. At the prorogation in July 1610, the matter looked promising, but when Parliament met again in October, the Commons, angered by the non-redressal of their "grievances," refused compliance. The king dissolved the Houses in February 1611, and for three years dispensed with their assistance.

In 1611, the new translation of the Scriptures was published. This noble monument of English prose was founded on the **The Bible, A.V.** "Bishops' Bible" of 1568, which rested upon "Cranmer's Bible," itself derived from the translations of earlier reformers. The work was and is deformed by its most false and fulsome dedication to a king who, in the following year, burnt at Smithfield an Arian heretic, named Bartholomew Legate, whose errors the royal theologian had vainly striven to remove by argument.

The successor of Mountjoy in Ireland was Sir Arthur Chichester, **Ireland.** under whose rule a determined and systematic effort was made to bring the whole country under the sway of the law and religion established in the land of her conquerors. As regarded Protestantism, the enterprise was an utter failure. The people clung firmly to the old faith and worship, and made a general resistance to the statutes of Supremacy and Uniformity which had been passed through the Irish Parliament. The juries declined to convict recusants and priests, and the time was gone by for methods of persecution

to the death, according to the pattern of Mary Tudor. Much was done to bring the kingdom under the dominion of English law. The king's writ ran in every part, and the old customs and "Brehon" law were abolished. The chiefs became nobles, and the possession of their lands was regulated according to English tenures, the holders being thus relieved from many exactions of their lords. The one evil which interfered with the progress of civilisation was the exclusion from civil privilege and office of the vast majority who refused to conform to the Established Church. One of the chief events of the reign was the great colonisation of Ulster by settlers from England and Scotland. The rebellion of Tyrone, followed by new treasonable efforts after his submission, afforded the English crown an opening for a vast confiscation of land. Great inducements were then held out to English capitalists. The London Corporation received large grants in the county of Derry, on condition of expending £20,000 in improvements, and erecting two towns. The cities of Londonderry and Coleraine were the products of this arrangement. The other forfeited lands were assigned, in portions of from one to two thousand acres, to above a hundred English and Scottish holders, and nearly three hundred natives. From this beginning Ulster quickly rose to be by far the most prosperous and enlightened part of Ireland. The confiscated half million of acres, now placed in better hands, had offered a precarious existence to a scattered race of half-wild and marauding natives. This territory now became the seat of good tillage and commercial industry. This sound measure of Irish improvement was connected with a device for bringing money into the royal treasury. On pretence of raising funds for the military protection of the new settlement, a new order of minor nobility was invented, the baronetcy bearing on its shield the arms of Ulster, a blood-red hand. This dignity could be acquired by any gentleman possessing lands to the yearly value of £1000, on condition of his paying for the patent the sum of £1095, which was the estimated cost of thirty soldiers for three years. In ten years' time nearly a hundred patents were disposed of. Another enterprise, for the benefit of London, was completed in 1613. A fresh supply of pure water, at the joint cost of the king and a merchant named Sir Hugh Myddleton, was brought from the abundant springs of Chadwell and Amwell in Hertfordshire. The aqueduct was called the New River, still in useful operation, and noted for the enormous value of the original shares. The rapid growth of London, now nearly joined to Westminster, had aroused the alarm of Elizabeth, and both she and her successor sought to check the process by enactments and proclamations. Little heed was paid to these, and on one occasion James, enraged by the refusal of a "benevolence" from the City, threatened the corporation to remove his court, and the law-offices of Westminster Hall, to a more loyal place, and so at once punish the refractory citizens and stay the increase of population. The mayor and aldermen, who well knew that growing commerce was the chief

cause of increasing numbers and prosperity, sarcastically prayed the king to "please to leave the Thames behind him."

The cruelty and meanness of a sovereign whose advocates are ever vaunting his good nature were grimly shown in his treatment of the lady in whose supposed cause Raleigh lay a prisoner in the Tower. As cousin of the king, by her descent from Margaret Tudor, the Lady Arabella would have been, if James died childless, the lineal heir to the crown. Her private marriage in 1611 with the legal heir on James's accession, William Seymour, son of Lord Beauchamp, gave great offence to James, who had extracted from the pair a promise not to marry save with his consent. The husband was sent to the Tower; the wife was placed in custody at Highgate. They both soon escaped from ward, but failed to meet on board a French vessel that lay in the Thames. The captain put to sea with the Lady Arabella, but the vessel was soon taken by an English cruiser, and the unhappy lady died insane, in the fourth year of her captivity in the Tower. Seymour made his way to Ostend, but the jealous fears of James were soothed by his hold upon the wife.

The death of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, in the spring of 1612, was a decided loss to the nation and the monarch. The only statesman of the reign, apart from Bacon and the Earl of Prince Bristol, Cecil had used his influence in keeping England true to the Protestant policy in foreign affairs. He shines by contrast with those who followed him, and to his counsels may be attributed the marriage which, in the following century, brought to the throne the house of Hanover or Brunswick. In February 1613, the Princess Elizabeth was married to Prince Frederick V., Elector Palatine of Germany, a close connection of the Protestant leaders in France and Holland. Another union had been planned which death was soon to frustrate. This was the marriage of Henry, Prince of Wales, with the second daughter of Henry IV. of France, who had perished in 1610 by the dagger of Ravailiac. The character of the young heir to the throne was of the highest promise. On his accession rested the hopes of the Puritans, both for an example of morality in high places, and for a due regard to the liberties of the people. Viewed with jealous dislike by his father, he was a warm friend of the king's victim, Raleigh, whom he often visited in his cell, and his death, in his nineteenth year, on November 5, 1612, was bewailed by the very women and children.

CHAPTER II.

THE RISING POWER OF PARLIAMENT.

James I. and his favourites : Carr and Villiers. James and foreign affairs. The House of Commons in 1621 : Fall of Bacon. The "Protestation." Prince Charles and Buckingham at Madrid. Scottish affairs. Literature and learning.

IN April 1614, the royal need of money caused the assembling of a new Parliament. Bacon, then attorney-general, and other servile members, undertook to bring the Commons into a gracious frame of mind, and to obtain a liberal "supply," by inducing James to relax some of the claims of prerogative, which the independent members called "grievances." These would-be managers of the Commons were known as "Undertakers," but the House had no intention of being thus dealt with, and at once began to denounce the illegal duties and revived monopolies. The king then dissolved the Parliament in angry haste, before any business was completed, and it passed into history by the name of "The Addled Parliament." For seven years more the Houses were not summoned. Every kind of illegal device was freely used for the extortion of money, from the old method of "benevolences" to the open sale of peerages. The courts of High Commission and Star Chamber still violated popular freedom. The royal proclamation still took the place of law. A seven years' despotic sway, disgraced by many a gross outrage on common justice and decency of life, aroused a nation's hatred at home, and exposed her to contempt abroad. The Chief-Justice, Sir Edward Coke, who sat in the King's Bench, was deprived of his high post, and dismissed from the council, because he flatly refused to submit the law of England, of which he was the greatest living master, to the dictation of his sovereign.

A handsome Scot, named Robert Carr, commended to the king's favour by his good looks and graceful air, had risen, by the end of 1613, to the Earldom of Somerset and a knighthood of the Garter. His character was worse than worthless. Married to a woman as bad as himself, the divorced Countess of Essex, he had a share with her in the murder, by poison, of a man named Sir Thomas Overbury, then lying in the Tower for the crime of thwarting the king's minion. Some of the agents in the poisoning were executed. The Earl and Countess of Somerset were tried and condemned to death in 1615, but received the royal reprieve, and were released from prison a few years later. Grave suspicions attach to James in connection with the pardon of Somerset, who threatened to reveal certain secrets shared between them. The fall of Somerset brought to the front the

Parliament,
1614.

The royal
favou-
rites.

new favourite, George Villiers, soon created Duke of Buckingham. It is a relief to turn from Carr to Villiers, who had some ability and energy to add to the attractions of a handsome person and agreeable manners. His self-confidence and freedom of speech aroused many bitter enmities, and his management of public affairs was marked by levity, violence, and corruption.

In August 1604, a treaty of peace had been made between England and Spain, in which James undertook to give no further help to the Dutch Republic, and accepted on his side the degrading stipulation that the Spanish government should use "moderation in the proceedings of the Inquisition" against English traders visiting Spain. This conduct of their new king had given deep offence to the Protestant feeling of the nation, and the subsequent attitude of James on Spanish affairs did not tend to soothe the Puritans. The new sovereign highly approved the absolute rule of Spanish monarchs, and he vainly hoped that friendship with Spain would strengthen his position with his own subjects. The English people, as a whole, abhorred the idea of a Spanish alliance, and failed to appreciate, if indeed they understood, the view which James appears to have cherished, that he and the Spanish king could maintain, by their joint influence, a state of peace in Europe between the rival religions. Gondomar, the Spanish minister in England, in 1614, had gained by his arts the favour of the king, and professed agreement with all his ideas on foreign policy. After the death of Prince Henry, a marriage of Prince Charles, now heir to the throne, with the Spanish Infanta, daughter of Philip III., was mooted. The English prince was yet only in his fifteenth year, and, during the long negotiations, the Spanish government seems to have really played with the eager wishes of James on the subject, in order to gain time, and in the end avoid a marriage with a heretic. The "Spanish match," during the interval between the Parliaments of 1614 and 1621, was a sore subject with the Puritans. Their feelings were still more embittered against the Catholic power, and the sovereign who clung to his Spanish friends, by the treatment accorded to Sir Walter Raleigh.

The man who had once led so changeful and adventurous a life had been solacing, as we have seen, his weary time in the Tower by historical writing, varied by chemical research. After twelve years of captivity, his old passion for roving, and a long cherished belief, derived from his former travels, that gold was to be obtained from mines in Guiana, induced him to make lavish promises to the king. James, always eager enough for money, and still reluctant to call a Parliament, released Raleigh, and gave him the command of an expedition. It is difficult to know the real truth of what now occurred. The enemies of James assert that treacherous information was given by him to the Spaniards, who were thus prepared to thwart Raleigh. The enemies of Raleigh declare that Gondomar was partly

**Foreign
policy of
James.**

**Execu-
tion of
Raleigh,
1618.**

the cause of the mischief, and that the English commander, ready to provoke a war with Spain for his own advantage, paid little heed to the king's express injunctions to avoid all interference with Spanish rights or claims. In any case, the expedition utterly failed. No gold was obtained. A collision with Spanish troops, and an attack on a Spanish town, ended in the death of Raleigh's son, and in the suicide of the second in command, Captain Keymis, under the sting of Raleigh's reproaches. Misfortune beset the adventure at every turn. Gondomar's brother was among the slain, and Raleigh, condemned in 1618 by a revival of the former sentence, died on the scaffold, a victim to Spanish vengeance and to royal disappointment and meanness of spirit.

In 1618, Germany saw the outbreak of the last of the armed religious conflicts of Europe, the desolating struggle known as the Thirty Years' War. The Elector-Palatine, Frederick, son-in-law of James, was crowned king of Bohemia in October 1619, after a revolution which expelled a Catholic claimant, Ferdinand of Gratz, a prince of the House of Austria. Ferdinand had applied for help to Spain, and just at this time he was elected Emperor of Germany. James tried to keep neutral between his son-in-law and Spain, but his "kingcraft" only ended in the utter ruin of the one, without earning the gratitude of the other. In 1620, the "winter-king" of Bohemia, as Frederick was bitterly styled from his brief tenure of power, was driven out by defeat in the battle of Prague. He fled for refuge to Holland, and his dominions in the Palatinate were overrun by Spanish troops under Spinola. The only help afforded by James was the despatch of a small force, under Sir Horace Vere, which was not able to affect the main issue.

The Puritan party in England considered the misfortune of Frederick to be "the greatest blow which the Church of God had received since the Reformation by Martin Luther in 1517." The union of the Protestant princes of Germany was broken up, and the Catholic principle became dominant over the south of Germany and the Austrian provinces. The feeling in London was such that the Spanish ambassador was loudly cursed in his passage through the streets, and needed soldiers to guard him at Ely House, in Holborn. James, in his shrewdness, saw a chance of obtaining supplies from a new Parliament, which met on a day that, in the fulness of time, was to become of evil memory for the Stuart race. On January 30, 1621, the king informed Parliament, with the gracious humour of those who look for benefits, that he had received from the House of Commons "far less supply than hath been given to any king since the Conquest." He even ventured to contrast his own demands, to his own praise, with those of the frugal Elizabeth. His hearers could hardly fail to compare her over-thrifty expenditure on worthy objects with their present ruler's lavish grants to Villiers and his greedy dependants. They looked back on the disgraceful events of the last six years—the divorce of the

Affairs in
Germany,
1618-1620.

Parlia-
ment of
1621.

Countess of Essex, the murder of Overbury, the elevation of Villiers, the pardon of Somerset, the disgrace of Coke, the execution of Raleigh, the flight of the king's son-in-law, Frederick, the depression of the Protestant interest on the Continent. Among the members gathered before the king was one who was now, for the first time, taking his seat in the Commons of England. He was destined to become a man of mark in the eyes of the king's son, and to leave behind him a character revered, it may well be hoped, by the latest generations of Englishmen. He sat for the borough of Grampound, in Cornwall, and his name was John Hampden. The Parliament of 1621 was in no complacent mood. A small "supply" was granted, and then the Commons began to show their teeth. The terrible word "impeachment," never heard under Tudor sovereigns, was passed from mouth to mouth. The hated monopolists were the first attacked with this constitutional weapon of an oppressed and plundered people. One of the greatest and worst of them, who held patents for the sale of gold and silver thread, and for licensing inns and alehouses, found that the government would not defend him, and wisely fled beyond sea. This man was Sir Giles Mompesson, the original of the "Sir Giles Overreach" in Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts*. In the licensing of alehouses, a justice of the peace, Sir Francis Michell, had been the corrupt instrument of Mompesson. The two culprits were degraded from knighthood, heavily fined, and banished. Higher delinquents began to tremble. Yelverton, the attorney-general, was exposed and punished for corruption. The Bishop of Llandaff was impeached as accessory to a matter of bribery. The vengeance of the Commons then flew at the highest functionary in the land, and struck him down as a signal example to lesser offenders. The great philosopher, Francis Bacon, had risen by slow degrees, helped in the latest stages by the all-powerful influence of Villiers. In 1616, he was sworn of the Privy Council. In the following year, on the retirement of Lord Brackley, he was appointed Lord Chancellor, and had a place in the peerage, first as Baron Verulam and then as Viscount St. Albans. It is impossible to clear him of a large share in the evil doings of the time. He was answerable for the patents of monopolies passed under the great seal, while it was in his charge. He admitted himself that, in his high judicial office, he had received sums of money from suitors before giving judgment, and no sophistry or special pleading can clear him of this heinous guilt. Charged by the Commons before the Lords with twenty-two acts of bribery and corruption, he attempted no defence, but threw himself on the mercy of his fellow-peers. He was degraded from his office as Chancellor, fined £40,000, sentenced to imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure, and banished for life from the court. The fine was remitted, and a captivity of a few days was all that Bacon suffered. He betook himself to the studies in which he had won the purest fame, and died, a martyr to experimental philosophy, in 1626. After this series of

victories over delinquents in high place, the Commons proceeded to show that they too could be guilty of the grossest injustice. The Puritan party were all in a fever about the Palatinate, and a Catholic barrister, named Edward Floyd, had expressed his joy at what had befallen the Elector Frederick. He was made to pay a fine of £5000, and, after the degrading punishment of the pillory, was sent into imprisonment for life. The annals of civilisation may be searched in vain for a parallel to so outrageous a sentence for so trifling a fault. Religious bigotry alone was equal to such a feat. When the House of Commons proceeded to discuss the aspect of foreign affairs, the king, who regarded these matters as lying solely within his province, adjourned Parliament over the summer. The Commons, before separating, made a solemn protestation, amid enthusiastic shouts and waving of hats, that they would spend their lives and fortunes in defence of their religion and of the cause of the Elector. They met again in November, after Sir Horace Vere had gone with troops to the Palatinate, but the Commons, distrusting the king's use of money, would grant no adequate supplies. A petition was presented to James, urging that Prince Charles should marry one of his own religion, and hinting at war with Spain. The monarch, on hearing of the motion to be made for this address, sent a violent letter to the Speaker, bidding the House not to meddle with any matter which concerned his government, or the mysteries of state. He also informed them that he meant not to spare any man's insolent behaviour in Parliament. The Commons returned a temperate answer, telling him that their liberty of speech was their ancient and undoubted right. James retorted that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself.

The Commons then drew up and deliberately recorded their opinions, on December 18th, in their memorable Protestation. They solemnly affirmed, that "the liberties and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; that the affairs of the king and the state, of the defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, the making of laws, the redress of grievances, are proper subjects of debate in Parliament; that in handling such business every member of the House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech; and that every member hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation, except by the censure of the House itself." Among those who were concerned in this protestation were Sir Edward Coke, John Pym, and John Selden. Eminent peers, for almost the first time in our history, took part with the Commons against the crown. The Earls of Oxford and Southampton, with Pym, Coke, and others, were imprisoned for this bold assertion of first principles in the struggle of constitutional rule against despotic power. James then vented a puerile rage in sending for the Journals of the

House of Commons, and tearing out the page containing the Protestation. The Parliament was then dissolved, and the king resorted to a "benevolence." The courtiers declared this to be a voluntary contribution. A letter of the time shows its real character, when we read that "a merchant of London, who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the council, and required to give the king £200, or to go into the Palatinate and serve the army with cheese, being a man of eighty years of age."

The scheme for a Spanish marriage was doomed to end in failure. It was in vain that the diplomatist Digby, afterwards Lord Bristol, was sent to use his skill at Madrid. In vain James angered the Puritans by what they deemed degrading concessions to the Catholic feeling of Spain. The release of Popish recusants, imprisoned for non-payment of fines, made Protestants more eager for war with the hated power. In truth, the negotiations were, on one side, never meant to succeed. James dreamed of saving the Palatinate for his son-in-law; the Spanish government fooled him till their hold on it was secure. In 1623, the matter took a new turn. Prince Charles and Villiers, now Marquis of Buckingham, suddenly started for Madrid. They were both in disguise, under the names of John and Thomas Smith. In passing through Paris, Charles saw the French king's sister, Henrietta Maria, the lady destined to share his throne, and to be the evil genius of his life. On March 7th, as the royal father wrote, the "sweet boys and dear ventrous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso," arrived at the Spanish capital. Their stay was prolonged for several months, and Charles went so far as to pledge himself, not only to tolerate the Church of Rome, but to aim at a renewal of unity. Buckingham gave great offence to the haughty punctilio of the Spaniards by his insolent manners and levity of conduct, and at last he resolved, with the consent of Charles, now weary of Spanish delays, to break the match altogether. On their return to England, he persuaded the king to insist on the surrender of the Palatinate by Spain, and the Spanish monarch at once brought the affair to an end.

When the Prince and Buckingham returned home, and the marriage treaty was broken off, the public rejoicing emboldened the Duke to induce James to call a new Parliament. The Houses met in February 1624, and a grant of £300,000 was made, for the specific purpose of recovering the Palatinate by force of arms. James had thus been driven by the Puritans into war with the Catholic power. A statute was also passed, declaring all monopolies to be contrary to law, and all such grants to be void. The Commons, now confident in their own strength, again assailed corruption in the person of Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, the Lord High Treasurer. Impeached for bribery and other misdemeanours, he was convicted, sentenced to pay a fine of £50,000, and declared incapable of sitting

Parlia-
ment,
1624.

in Parliament. The king warned Buckingham and his son, who had supported this proceeding, that they might live to have their fill of parliamentary impeachments, but the favourite and the Prince now virtually ruled the realm. The failure of his Spanish schemes had made the master of "kingcraft" powerless for good or evil. The war into which he had been forced absorbed the revenues, without any effect of honour to the kingdom or the government. Of an army 12,000 strong, that was raised for service in the Palatinate, half perished from sickness, and the remainder, under Count Mansfeld, could make no head against the Spanish troops. In a time of popular discontent, heightened by a marriage treaty for the union of the Prince with the Catholic Henrietta Maria of France, James I., in March 1625, ended his life at Theobalds, near London.

The champion of Episcopal authority could not refrain from interference with the Presbyterian system of Scotland. Soon after his accession to the English throne, he began to tamper with the Scottish Church, and by degrees obtained from the General Assembly a recognition of the civil rights and ecclesiastical privileges of bishops. William Laud, a zealous High Churchman, who became president of St. John's College, Oxford, and a royal chaplain, in 1611, encouraged James in these proceedings, and in 1617 went with him to Edinburgh. The full service of the English Church was then set up at the royal chapel, Holyrood, and a royal control over the Church, to be guided by the advice of bishops and a body of ministers, was fully established. In 1621, the Scottish Parliament was induced to ratify the "Five Articles of Perth," a famous measure passed in 1618 at a General Assembly convened by royal order. These articles enjoined kneeling at communion, episcopal confirmation, and the observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, and Whitsunday. All these matters were most obnoxious to Presbyterian feeling, and an outburst of wrath, before which the king recoiled, was aroused by his attempt to introduce the English Liturgy. The support of Laud was rewarded by his promotion to the see of St. David's. The example thus set by James in Scotland was one destined to be followed by his son, with evil effects to the security of the throne.

The work of John Davis, in the time of Elizabeth, was followed up under James by worthy successors of his boldness and enterprise. In 1607 and the following year, Henry Hudson made his way to the seas round Spitzbergen, in search of a north-eastward passage to the Pacific. In 1609, he crossed to North America, explored Chesapeake Bay, discovered the river still called by his name, and landed on Manhattan Island, the future site of New York. In 1610, he sailed into Hudson's Bay, and passed the winter amongst the ice. A mutinous majority of his crew sent the captain and others adrift in a boat, and they were never again seen. In 1616, William Baffin, a scientific seaman of the school of Davis, explored the great

Maritime
explora-
tion.

Baffin's Bay, and was the first English navigator who ever took at sea a lunar observation.

Along with the continued work of Shakespeare, who produced, in the earlier years of James, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *King Lear*, we have Ben Jonson, Beaumont, Fletcher, and other great wits who met at the famous "Mermaid" tavern in Cheapside. The growth of Puritanic prejudice was lessening the number and lowering the character of theatrical audiences, but the age was still fertile in dramatic work of a high order. Jonson's two tragedies were those entitled *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, which have some vigorous scenes, and show artistic power in structure. His best work, apart from his admirable lyrics, is shown in his comedies, excellent in plot, and full of variety and vigour in depicting the "humours" of mankind. *Volpone, or The Fox*, appeared in 1605; *Epicene, or The Silent Woman*, in 1609, and *The Alchemist* in 1610. His *Bartholomew Fair* ridicules the cant of Puritanism. He wrote many masques for the amusement of the king and court, and was a kind of "director of the revels" to James. He also held the post of poet-laureate, with the salary of one hundred marks and a cask of Canary wine. He died in 1637, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, with the brief and appropriate epitaph "O rare Ben Jonson." Francis Beaumont, born in 1584, son of a judge of the Common Pleas, at the family seat of Grace-Dieu, in Leicestershire, was one of Jonson's friends. He wrote many plays in conjunction with his senior, John Fletcher, son of a dean of Peterborough, who became Bishop of London. Their *Knight of the Burning Pestle* is our earliest burlesque, and makes a lively attack, like that of *Don Quixote*, upon the absurdities of the romantic school. The *Maid's Tragedy* and *Philaster* are among the best of their serious plays; *The Scornful Lady* excels among their comedies. Philip Massinger's fine play, which still holds the stage, containing the character of Sir Giles Overreach, has been already noticed. Among his other works are *The Virgin Martyr*, *The Duke of Milan*, and *The Fatal Dowry*. John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* has much tragic power.

The reign of the learned king produced several men of great erudition. Sir Robert Cotton, of Trinity College, Cambridge, was one of the earliest baronets, already knighted for his learned help to James in his religious controversies. Cotton was a devoted antiquary, who gathered ancient deeds, charters, letters, coins, and other documents bearing on the history of England. His purse, as well as his literary treasures, were at the service of Camden, Speed, and other historians. The valuable collection made by him, and augmented by his son and grandson, was secured for public use by an Act passed in 1700, but was much damaged by fire in 1731. The British Museum now contains the rescued portion of the manuscripts. Sir Thomas Bodley, Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and for some years Elizabeth's ambassador to the Netherlands, handed down his name to distant

ages by founding the Bodleian Library, and supplying it with a large store of valuable books. Another Oxford scholar, Robert Burton, published in 1621 his curious *Anatomy of Melancholy*, which has been a storehouse of quotations for succeeding writers.

When the able and honest Cardinal Bellarmin took the field as controversialist in the cause of Rome, he was met, on behalf of English churchmen, by Lancelot Andrewes, a Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, who became one of Elizabeth's chaplains. After holding in succession the sees of Chichester and Ely, he died in 1626 as Bishop of Winchester. He was one of the finest preachers, and quite the most learned theologian, of his day. A man of even greater erudition is found in James Usher, a native of Dublin, who became Archbishop of Armagh, and so primate of Ireland, in 1624. His titles to esteem were vividly displayed in later times. He attended Strafford at his execution; he was a strong adherent of Charles I.; yet he won the deep respect of Cromwell, and was, by his command, interred in 1656 among the illustrious dead at Westminster Abbey. Usher was one of the first three students admitted to Trinity College, Dublin, on its foundation by Elizabeth in 1591. He was a powerful writer against the Roman Catholics, and for episcopacy against Milton and the later Puritans.

John Selden, a famous scholar and lawyer, appears also in the following reign as one of the members of the House of Commons in strong opposition to the arbitrary measures of Charles. A native of Sussex, and student of Oxford, he entered the Inner Temple in 1604, and soon acquired fame for learning in English history and antiquities. His *Titles of Honour* is a standard work on our degrees of gentry and nobility. It was followed, in 1618, by the *History of Tithes*, in which the weight of authority appeared to be against the theory of a divine right for those payments. The author was summoned before the king and the High Commission Court, and compelled to express regret that he had entered such a field of inquiry. The prohibition of his book was followed by a "confutation" from the pen of Dr. Mountagu, backed by the king's threat of imprisonment against any who should presume to answer the "confuter."

The beginnings of modern English science are seen under James I. in the persons of Napier, Harvey, and Bacon. In 1614, the Laird of Merchiston, near Edinburgh, John Napier, astounded the scientific world of Europe by the book which revealed his discovery of Logarithms. In the following year, William Harvey, as a lecturer at the College of Physicians, gave the first sketch of his doctrine on the circulation of the blood. In October 1620, Francis Bacon, Lord Chancellor and Baron Verulam, presented to the king his *Novum Organum*, the "new instrument," or method of inquiry into the secrets of nature, which made experience the basis of invention, and started scientific investigation on the right road towards the attainment of truth.

CHAPTER III.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS GROWS DEFIANT.

The new King's character. The patriots and the royal favourite. The statesmen of the time: Wentworth, Eliot, Coke, Pym, Bristol, Hampden, Selden. *Petition of Right*. Death of Buckingham and Wentworth's desertion of the popular cause.

CHARLES I. was proclaimed king on the day of his father's death. The possessor of the crown was changed. The system of rule, and the chief minister, were the same. The manners of the court were improved, and the king, from the first, showed himself as a man temperate, serious, and chaste in his mode of life. In May 1625, Charles married, by proxy, the Princess Henrietta Maria, sister of the French king, Louis XIII., and the young queen reached London in the middle of June. She came with a large train of priests, and the king's illegal indulgence to those who professed her faith at once aroused Protestant feeling. The popular favour towards Buckingham was already on the wane, and signs of coming storm began to appear on the horizon.

The key to the history of the times lies in the faithless character of Charles. "Put not your trust in princes," was the cry of the fallen Strafford, betrayed to death by his master, and the defence of some extreme measures adopted against the king lies in the power of pointing to many a broken pledge. The principle of his public policy was a fixed hatred of freedom, and he had no scruples whatever in adopting any means by which he might attain his ends. He was a decorous, dignified, determined, and dangerous copy of his feebly tyrannical father. A man of excellent taste in the arts, of fair talents for business, of kingly demeanour, and strict private morals, he used crooked ways in all his public dealings, and shocked his own supporters by his inveterate duplicity. He could not rightly read the times. He failed to understand the temper of his people. He raised a storm of feeling which could not be cajoled or quelled, and he paid the cruel penalty in defeat, deposition, and death. One of the main defects of his character lay in a hasty and impulsive temper, which caused him to accept provocations deliberately offered by his foes, and to rush forward into positions that were in themselves untenable, and that afforded no means of safe or dignified retreat. He lacked the calm strength that was needed to make him master of his own house and of those who surrounded him, and he followed, where he should have rebuked and resisted, the vehement counsels of his haughty consort. One of the most pleasing associations connected with his name is his patronage of the fine arts. He was a large

purchaser of paintings, and his galleries were adorned with works of Raffaele and Titian, of Corregio and Guido. He brought Raffaele's cartoons into England, as Cromwell saved them from going away from us. Vandyck was invited to his court, and this encouragement has been amply repaid by the ideal portrait of the king which the painter's poetical conception and manual skill have handed down for the contemplation of posterity. There is, indeed, good reason to believe that much of the sympathy felt for the monarch who has been absurdly styled "Charles the Martyr" is due to the composed and reflective character, combined with a tinge of foreboding melancholy, impressed by Vandyck on his portraits of the king.

The new House of Commons was led by several members of great ability and resolute character, some of whom were old opponents of the absolute views of the late king. Sir Thomas Wentworth had sat for the county of York in 1621, and had strongly asserted the privileges of the Commons against James. Hampden was there as member for Wendover. Sir John Eliot, a man of high culture and devout character, fearless and strong against oppression, clear-headed and of eloquent discourse, had been active against evil ministers in 1624. The veteran Sir Edward Coke, a former Speaker and Chief-Justice, lent the aid of his vast legal knowledge, wide experience, tenacious character, keen sagacity, and weighty eloquence. Selden brought into debate the enlightened views on popular right which had, in 1621, sent him a prisoner to the Tower. Sir Dudley Digges, Sir Robert Philips, and other men of mark, were on the same side. One of the greatest men of the opposition, and one of the most notable in all our history, was John Pym. He, too, had suffered durance as a patriotic member in two Parliaments of the late reign. Full of constitutional lore, he was no slave to mere precedents, but held advanced views as to the powers and rights of the House of Commons. Born of a good family in Somersetshire, he was a country squire in social rank, and in tone, temper, and political gifts a revolutionist of the highest class. He may be described as "the greatest member of Parliament that ever lived." He thoroughly understood his audience and his stage. No business was too large, none too small, for his versatile abilities. The title of "King Pym," bestowed by the admiring hatred of his foes, conveys a true impression of the prodigious power of his nature. Pym possessed nearly all the qualities that serve and adorn a party-leader. To him belonged wide experience in public affairs, unflinching vigilance, tactical skill, ready and unscrupulous use of all occasions against a foe. A burly frame, a broad front, invited the confidence, or defied the hostility, of all beholders. Prompt in debate and clever in reply, he showed, in his greater speeches, the logical arrangement and rhetorical resource of one who arms himself in advance for the field of pitched battle. Both in speech and action he showed himself a thorough man of the world. Devoid of Puritanical

First
Parliament,
June 1625.

formality in garb, manners, and discourse, he was hearty and genial with men, and a thorough courtier among ladies. In political contest, he was marked by the heartiness of his hatreds for men and things that stood in his way, and by a craft and adroitness fully equal to the vehemence of his animosity. Such was the foremost of the men whom Charles and Buckingham were now to encounter.

1625
 In reply to a demand for large subsidies, to meet the late king's debts, and to help the Protestant cause in Germany, the Commons showed distrust in granting about one-sixth of the sum, and in wishing to restrict to one year the grant of the customs-duties known as "tunnage and poundage." The plague was rife in London, and the Houses were adjourned to Oxford, where they met on August 1st. The Commons then insisted on debating religious grievances concerning the Papists and the High Church party, before proceeding to grant a supply, and the king, on August 12th, abruptly dissolved the Parliament.

1626
 The new House of Commons, mainly composed as before, with the exceptions of Coke and Wentworth, met in a mood not improved by the disastrous failure of an armament sent against Cadiz, and by the means used for its equipment. Loans, in the way of "benevolence," had been raised by writs under the privy seal, and mainly exacted from wealthy members who had insisted upon redress of grievances. The Houses went into committee to consider the state of the kingdom, and the Commons declined to discuss at present the question of supply. Buckingham was now in very evil odour. The king caused irritation by declaring that he would not allow any of his servants to be called in question by Parliament, and that it would be worse for the Commons if they did not "hasten for his supply." The Commons then locked their doors, and resolved to impeach Buckingham. The business was intrusted to eight managers, and the charges were summed up, at the bar of the House of Lords, by Sir John Eliot. The favourite, in his richest dress, radiant with gold and gems, was there to hear his accuser, and to confront him with the utmost insolence. Eliot reached the height of boldness in his eloquent attack. He paraded Buckingham's oppressions, extortions, pride, covetousness, and ambition; his gross misdealing in public affairs, and his corruption in the purchase and sale of offices. Finally, he compared the Duke to Sejanus, the wicked minister of the suspicious and gloomy tyrant Tiberius, and exclaimed to the assembled peers, "My lords, you see the man." Charles was stirred to wrath. If Buckingham were Sejanus, then he, the king, must be Tiberius. Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges, who had opened the impeachment, were instantly arrested and committed to the Tower. Digges was soon released, on making some submission, and Eliot, who remained firm, was set free in ten days, when the Commons declined otherwise to proceed to any business. The matter against Buckingham

was ended, after more wrangling between the king and Commons, by a dissolution in June. During this session, Charles had also been in conflict with the peers. The Earls of Bristol and Arundel had been wantonly attacked, the former by exclusion from the House, and the latter by imprisonment, and the king, after a contest of three months' duration, had been forced to yield to the indignation of the Lords.

For nearly two years, the people were now made subject to arbitrary rule. Many gentlemen of good position went to prison for refusal to pay sums of money not granted by the Commons. The public spirit was aroused. When the judges sat at Westminster, and ordered certain citizens to meet the demands of the crown, there arose from the crowd a shout that shook the roof of the great hall. "A parliament, a parliament, else no subsidies," was the indignant and ominous cry. A demand for a "benevolence" was followed by a forced loan. Commissioners assessed the wealthy at the same rate as for the last subsidy granted by the Commons. The High Church clergy insisted in their sermons on "divine right" and "passive obedience," and threatened all opponents with everlasting penalties. Tunnage and poundage were exacted at the custom-house. The counties on the seaboard, and the city of London, were ordered to contribute ships for foreign service. Men who refused payment were impressed for service in the army and the navy, and bodies of troops were billeted in the houses of the citizens. Some of the more distinguished gentlemen imprisoned for refusal vainly appealed to the King's Bench. The arguments of Selden, in favour of public freedom, were heard in the crowded court with shouts of approval and clapping of hands. They sank into the hearts of the people, who went away to ponder Selden's words, "If Magna Charta were fully executed, as it ought to be, every man would enjoy his liberty better than he doth."

In August 1626, Charles, with a rare self-assertion against the influence of his wife, resolved to be rid of the queen's numerous priests, and other French attendants. They had been found to interfere with his domestic comfort, and they were sent off to France after some display of force. The queen was much enraged, and the French government considered this treatment of Catholic priests to be a gross violation of the marriage treaty. The Pope, Urban VIII., worked upon this feeling, and in April 1627 a treaty was signed between Richelieu and Olivarez for a joint-invasion of England. The prompt action of Buckingham is worthy of some praise. Support was sent to the revolted Huguenots at La Rochelle, about to be besieged by Richelieu. The Duke himself took command of a fleet of a hundred ships, carrying seven thousand soldiers. The expedition left Portsmouth at the end of June, and ended in a total failure. The people of La Rochelle kept their gates closed in distrust, and a landing

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was then effected on the island of Rhé. The duke's lack of military skill at last drove him to retreat, after eleven weeks' vain siege of the chief fort, and many hundreds of our troops fell in the final action. The immediate result of this disaster, attended by a great expenditure, was the need of calling a new Parliament.

The new House of Commons was still largely composed of resolute defenders of the ancient liberties. Wentworth and Coke again appeared, after exclusion from the last House by a royal trick in their appointment as sheriffs, which disqualified them for a seat in the Commons. Many gentlemen had been elected who had suffered imprisonment for refusal of the "loan." The members for London and Westminster were all ranked in the opposition. Hampden, whose health had been impaired by close confinement for resisting the loan, was again returned as member for Wendover. No House of Commons was ever before assembled in England so powerful from the station, the wealth, and the ability of its members. They heeded not the threatening words uttered at the opening of Parliament by the Lord Keeper Coventry, and resolved, before granting supply, to insist upon redress of grievances. After many delays, and much equivocation on the part of Charles and his advisers, the royal assent was at last plainly given, on June 7th, to the statute known as the *Petition of Right*.

This second great charter of English liberties is a document containing eleven clauses. Its demands are mainly based on *Magna Charta*, and on statutes passed in the reigns of the first and third Edwards. The first clause declares that no tax should be levied without the consent of Parliament. The second complains of the arbitrary imprisonment of subjects. The third requires, according to the charter of John, that no freeman suffer penalties, in purse or person, "but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land." The fourth quotes an Act, passed under Edward III., in confirmation of the above freedom declared in the Great Charter. The fifth recites late violations of clause three, in the imprisonment of subjects by the king's sole command. The sixth denounces the billeting of soldiers in the houses of the people. The seventh resists the use of martial law. The eighth refers to the fact of subjects being punished under martial law. The ninth complains that, under martial law, grievous offenders had escaped punishment, by favour of the king's officers and ministers of justice. The tenth prays the king to stay all the above illegal proceedings. The eleventh and last clause calls upon the king, "for the honour of his majesty, and the prosperity of this kingdom," and "for the comfort and safety of his people," to observe these "rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of this realm," and to command his officers and ministers to act upon such laws and statutes. The needed subsidies were then freely granted by the Commons, and the House was proceed-

1628
Third
Parliament,
March
1628.

Petition
of Right,
June 1628.

ing to attack Buckingham, when the king interposed with a sudden prorogation.

When Parliament reassembled in January 1629, the members of each House missed from their ranks a conspicuous figure. The king's haughty favourite, combining in his own person a duke, a knight of the Garter, a Lord High Admiral, a Chancellor of Cambridge, a Chief-Justice, a Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and other high officials, had perished in the previous August by the knife of an assassin. Buckingham was at Portsmouth, preparing a new expedition for the relief of La Rochelle, when he was killed by a man of gloomy disposition, named John Felton, who had served as a lieutenant in the armament which went to Rhé. The murderer declared that he had no accomplices; that it was the hand of heaven that gave the stroke; and that the sole motive of his crime was that the Duke was "an enemy of the public." The expedition then sailed under the command of Lord Lindsey, and was another total failure. The great mole erected by the provident energy of Richelieu did its work, and no relief could be given to the besieged, who surrendered in October 1628, after a blockade of fourteen months' duration. The wrath of English Puritans was stirred afresh, and a new breach was opened between the Commons and the king. When the members met again, Sir Thomas Wentworth, member for Yorkshire, was absent from his place. He had been one of the foremost champions that carried the Petition of Right, and had fully proved to Charles the strength of his abilities. Like some other "patriots," he had been scheming for promotion, and had only held aloof while the height of his ambition, which could brook no second place, was kept beyond his reach by the existence and predominance of Buckingham. The course was now clear, and he entered the House of Lords with the title of Baron Wentworth. A few months later, he became a Viscount and privy-councillor. His peerage was "a sacrament of infamy, a baptism into the communion of corruption." The great renegade, who had stood up so manfully for the rights of the subject, only to end in selling himself to work all the will of a tyrant, was the earliest, as he remains by far the greatest, of his hateful class of political apostates. Eloquent, sagacious, fearless, inventive, inflexible, pre-eminent in all the qualities and talents which fit a man to exalt or to ruin a nation, he was, in these points, a worthy rival of Pym, who declared, when his old friend went over to the king, that his head should at last pay the penalty.

On January 20, 1629, Parliament reassembled. The recess of six months had brought new causes of irritation. Buckingham was, indeed, removed from the scene of his splendours as a courtier and his failures as a minister, but the king had continued his arbitrary course. He claimed the right, according to ancient usage, of levying tunnage and poundage, apart from other taxes, by his own prerogative alone. The goods of merchants who

Parlia-
ment in
1629.

resisted the impost had been seized, and the judges had rejected their appeal. Charles was anxious for a settlement, through Parliament, of this disputed question, but the Commons seemed resolved to provoke him by delay. One undisputed clause of the Petition of Right had, beyond doubt, been violated in the renewed billeting of soldiers in the houses of the people. Questions of civil liberty were embittered by matters of religion. The High-Church party, favoured by the king, was obnoxious to a House of Commons mainly composed of Puritans. Their great opponent, Laud, had been recently promoted to a seat in the Privy Council and the Bishopric of London. Doctors Mountague and Mainwaring, after condemnation by Parliament for sermons and writings in favour of "passive obedience," had been pardoned and rewarded by the crown. Things and ceremonies regarded by the Puritans as "Popish" were being freely revived in the services of the Church—copes and candlesticks, prayers towards the east, and bowings to the altar. Their religious bigotry formed a large element in the spirit of resistance with which, on civil matters of a real importance, they confronted the tyrannical attitude and action of their sovereign. The House of Commons, thus disposed, formed a committee on religion. Sir John Eliot, combining civil and religious grievances, prepared three protestations. It was hereby declared that whoever introduced novelties in religion, with a view to the extension of Popery or High-Church doctrine and practice; or should support the levying of tannage and poundage not granted by Parliament; or should voluntarily pay the same, should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. On March 2nd, Eliot brought forward these matters, in the shape of a "Remonstrance." The Speaker and the clerk at the table both refused to read the paper. Eliot then read it himself, and demanded that it should be put to the vote. The Speaker refused, on the ground that "he had been commanded otherwise by the king." He then rose to quit the chair, but two members, Valentine and Holles, held him down by main force. Eliot had flung his paper in a fury on the floor of the House. The door was locked, and the motion was read out amidst the loudest shouts. The Usher of the Black Rod came from the Lords with a message. He was refused admittance, and the forcing of an entrance was only averted by the adjournment of the House, and the dispersal of the members, after the "protestations" drawn by Eliot had been carried with applause. The king dissolved Parliament on March 10th, denouncing some members of the Commons as "vipers." Eliot, Holles, Valentine, Selden, and others, were committed to the Tower, where Eliot died three years later, from the effects of close imprisonment. The others made submission, one by one, paying heavy fines, and giving sureties for good behaviour. In this contest between the Commons and the Crown, a Pyrrhine victory had fallen to the sovereign.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ROYAL ROAD TO RUIN.

The eleven years of despotism. Laud, Wentworth, the Star Chamber, the High Commission Court. John Hampden. The revolt of Scotland. Meeting of the "Long Parliament." The "Grand Remonstrance" and the reaction. The last provocative to civil war. The sword drawn. King and people face to face.

THE withdrawal of Wentworth from the assertion of the nation's liberties was accompanied or followed by that of several other late opponents of the king in Parliament. Sir Dudley Digges became Master of the Rolls. Noy was now attorney-general, Littleton solicitor-general. The cause of constitutional freedom appeared to be lost. To right and left of the throne, directing by their master's will the movements of a crowd of minor tools of absolute power, stood the figures, one mean, the other mighty, but both alike pernicious to the state, of Laud and Strafford. In 1633 the prelate, on the death of Abbot, became Archbishop of Canterbury, and, wielding the powers of the High Commission Court, could give full vent to his hatred of the Puritans. In matters of doctrine and ritual he was, with all the fervour of a narrow-minded bigot, resolved to force conformity with the belief and practice of the High Church party. His honest intention of serving, to the best of his power, and according to his lights, the interests of the sovereign, the Church, and the nation, redeems from odium a man devoid of moral and of mental fitness for a post of power at so critical a time. The canvas of Vandyke still shows the features, marked by the majesty of intellect and courage, of relentless will to inflict, and of boundless capacity to endure, which belong to the character of Wentworth. For the eleven years of the king's absolute sway, he was the chief minister of his will, and well earned both the gratitude of the master who rewarded him by desertion, and the hatred of the nation that sent him to the block.

While Parliament was in abeyance, the needs of government drove the king to every kind of illegal and obsolete device for replenishing the treasury. The Petition of Right was torn up, and flung in the face of an oppressed and insulted people. The tunage and poundage were exacted from the merchants. Monopolies and benevolences were revived. Some millions of money were raised, through the Star Chamber, by the extortion, for trifling offences, of enormous fines from wealthy persons. The resumption of old grants from the royal forests, now being land under tillage, compelled existing owners to pay heavy rents, or large fines for retention. The old law of knighthood was revived, and all holders of land to the annual value of forty pounds were required to take the title, according to

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ancient usage, or to pay a heavy fine. The strength of English liberties, in this time of heavy trial, lay in the peculiar character of the nation's aristocracy. It was not, as in France, an insolent and exclusive caste. By intermarriage with the higher class of the commonalty, it was constantly receiving members from the people, or sending down its scions to mingle with them. Even the daughter of a royal duke might marry, without any sense of degradation, with a commoner of high distinction in character or blood. No strict line divided patrician from plebeian, and the result, invaluable for the cause of freedom, was that the interests of the nobles became, in many points, identified with those of the nation. The nobleman and the squire, the farmer and the tradesman, alike suffered from iniquitous exactions, and, when the hour of time struck, they were again found side by side, fighting with accord and sympathy the battle of constitutional freedom within the walls of a new Parliament.

The first great office held by Wentworth was that of Lord President of the Council of the North. The authority of this functionary was almost absolute. In the reign of Henry VIII., a commission had been granted to the Council of York, for preserving the peace in the shires of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, during the insurrections caused by the dissolution of the monasteries. The Council had, by degrees, fallen into disuse as a court of law, when the occasion for its jurisdiction had passed away. In the reign of James, a new commission was issued, under which causes were not to be settled by juries, and according to the laws of the land, but by secret instructions from the crown. The judges of the Common Pleas were then bold enough and honest enough to resist such encroachment upon the freedom of the subject, by issuing prohibitions to the President and Council. When Wentworth became president, he declared that he would lay by the heels any one who dared to sue for prohibitions in the courts of law at Westminster. During his tenure of office, the inhabitants of the north of England were thus, in the words of Lord Clarendon, the Royalist historian, "disfranchised of all their privileges by Magna Charta and the Petition of Right." The power thus held was most congenial to the spirit of Wentworth. His correspondence with Laud amply proves that government without a Parliament, government by the sword, was his favourite scheme. His strictness in levying exactions from the great district which he ruled was such as to increase its revenue by four or five times the previous amount.

A few instances will show what Englishmen had to endure from this infamous tribunal. In 1633, William Prynne, a barrister of **The Star Chamber**, Lincoln's Inn, and a rigid Puritan, published a tedious and foolish book entitled *Histrio-Mastix*, or *The Players' Scourge*. Some phrases aimed at the "impudence" of women, in speaking publicly upon a stage, were held to be a libel on the queen, who had sometimes

taken part in plays and pastorals performed before the king and courtiers. It seems that Prynne had also angered Laud by former writings against the High Church party. The sentence awarded by the Star Chamber, and suffered by the culprit, was that of standing in the pillory, with the loss of both ears, the payment of a fine of £5000, and imprisonment for life. In 1630, Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scottish divine, father of the excellent prelate, had written a book called *Zion's Plea against Prelacy*. The zealous Archbishop paraded the offender before the Star Chamber. The sentence passed and suffered was whipping, standing in the pillory, amputation of one ear, slitting of one side of the nose, and branding of one cheek. A week later, the process was repeated, with the needful variations of cheek, nose, and ear. This atrocious cruelty was combined with condemnation to a fine of £10,000, and life-long imprisonment. In 1637, Prynne again appeared before the Chamber, for the offence of issuing from his prison a book aimed at Sabbath-breaking, with the use of strong language against the High Church clergy. With him came Henry Burton, incumbent of a London parish, charged with a tract accusing the Bishop of Norwich of Romish innovation; and Robert Bastwick, a physician of Colchester, who had declared in a book that Prelacy and Popery were identical. The cropped ears of Prynne had now been sewn on. The three prisoners were each sentenced to pay a fine of £5000, to be degraded from their professions, to be placed in the pillory, to have their ears cut off, and their cheeks and foreheads branded, and to be confined for life in distant prisons. Bastwick went to the Scilly Isles, Prynne and Burton to the Channel Islands.

With less ferocity, but with equal injustice, Laud, in his zeal to re-establish the Church of England as a branch of the High
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Court. Church Catholic, waged war against the Puritans of every shade of doctrine drawn from Swiss or German sources. Without episcopal control, wielded by men whose grace in ordination came down unbroken, as he firmly held, from apostolic times, a church, to Laud, was no church at all. The Puritans were harried with uncompromising fervour. Suspension or deprivation fell on all rectors or vicars who, in sermon or in service, did not meekly yield to Laud's directions as to ritual or doctrine. The vacant places in the Church were filled by men who told their hearers that every order of the sovereign was lawful, and must be obeyed as if it came from heaven.

In 1633, Wentworth was sent as Lord-Deputy to Ireland. His tenure of office was marked by rule of the most arbitrary Went-
worth in
Ireland. kind, which gave reason for his boast, in the result, that he had made the king as absolute in Ireland "as any prince in the whole world could be." The Puritans of Ulster were severely persecuted. The courts of law were thoroughly made subject to the will of "Dublin Castle." No man or woman could leave Ireland without the governor's license. Monopolies, and taxation at the mere

will of the ruler, were the means of raising revenue. Men of the highest rank, who dared to thwart the deputy's imperious will, were removed from office, sent to prison, or tried for their lives by martial law. The great oppressor was not wholly bad, and his administration of affairs in Ireland proves that the absolute rule of a man endowed with energy and intellectual power is, for certain peoples, and at certain times, more beneficial than the milder methods of a constitutional rule, hampered at every turn by those whom it sincerely strives to serve. The powerful deputy permitted no injustice save his own. The country, and the seas around it, were freed from robbers. At a large outlay Wentworth introduced the growth of flax, established looms, and brought in workmen from France and Flanders, who set up the trade in linen which remains the country's greatest textile industry. Another, and a baleful, side of his supreme control in Irish affairs is seen in his deliberate causing of a mutual hostility of Catholics and Protestants, that the ruler might be stronger in disunion of the ruled. He called the Parliament together, and then extorted from their fears the means of keeping up a solid force of five thousand foot and five hundred horse, for future use, in case of need, beyond the Irish Sea.

In 1634, the government found itself in pressing need of funds for the equipment of a naval force. Peace had been made with France and Spain, but a new combination of foes was menacing our supremacy in our own seas. Not only were Turkish piratical cruisers from Algiers capturing English vessels off the English coasts, and carrying off fishermen by hundreds into slavery, but an alliance, which might end in some attempt at invasion, was formed between Holland and France. A suggestion of Noy, the attorney-general, acting along with Chief-Justice Finch, revived an old device for the provision of maritime defence. The port of London and the coast counties were called on to furnish ships, or money in lieu of the vessels. So far all was done according to precedent, but Laud and Wentworth, bolder and less scrupulous than Charles, were not satisfied with measures possessing any claim to legality. In 1635, double rates were set upon imports, and the tax of "ship-money" was extended to all the inland shires. The first levy of money had been used with good effect. The pirates were driven off, and the coasts were made secure. The encroachments of the Dutch upon our fishing-grounds were repelled, and no serious complaints had arisen against payments for a course so beneficial. The extension of the writs to the non-maritime counties was a vast stretch of absolute rule. The truth is, as Clarendon admits, that the "ship-money," in this later form, was meant "for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply of all occasions." The monarchy that was permitted thus to tax the nation could do without Parliaments for ever, and this was precisely the intention of Wentworth,

and his far less able, but equally pertinacious colleague Laud. The judges, all removable at will, and all devoted to the crown, declared the new tax to be legal, and Wentworth, in his own words written to Laud, was looking forward to the provision, by like means, of an armed force that should put down all resistance in the three kingdoms, and render "the king absolute at home and formidable abroad." The difference in the towns of that and the present age is strikingly seen in the rating of Liverpool at twenty-five pounds as payment under the tax, and of Bristol at eight hundred. No rate was made at all on Birmingham, Sheffield, Bradford, Sunderland, or Manchester. The leaders of the national party clearly understood the real meaning of submission to the new impost. The resistance was led by John Hampden, the Buckinghamshire squire. Assessed at twenty shillings, he regarded the principle involved in the payment, and refused to contribute a farthing. He appealed to the courts of law, and the case came on for trial, at the close of 1637, in the Exchequer Chamber at Westminster. The twelve judges all appeared on the bench. The leading counsel against the crown was Oliver St. John, a man as yet little known, but selected for the great occasion by the keen eye of Hampden. The arguments lasted for twelve days. St. John pointed to the Petition of Right. Finch had the effrontery to declare that all Acts of Parliament are void which bind the king not to command the subjects, their persons, their property, and their money. This Turkish theory of rule was accepted by seven judges, including the shameless renegade himself, while the remaining five pronounced in Hampden's favour. As Clarendon says, such a judgment "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service." It was, in fact, a moral victory, won in the courts of law by the nation against the crown. The demeanour of Hampden throughout the case won the admiration of Clarendon and Falkland. It drew from Strafford, in one of his letters from Ireland to Laud, the comment of fervent hatred, that "were such men rightly served, they should be whipped into their right wits." The decision of the court had, however, placed at the king's disposal the whole property of the English people. Not thinking of armed resistance, the great patriot wistfully turned his eyes towards a region of safety beyond the Atlantic, and resolved to accompany Lord Saye and Lord Brooke to the colony there founded, by a few of the Puritans harassed by Laud, in the wilderness of Connecticut. The intention was not carried out, and he and his cousin, Oliver Cromwell, who had sat for his native borough of Huntingdon in the Parliament of 1629, remained in England to do the work appointed them against the House of Stuart. The harvest was slowly ripening from the seed sown with a lavish hand by Charles, Wentworth, and Laud.

Victims to the judicial blindness which is the precursor, for rulers, of revolution and ruin, the Archbishop and the king had resolved

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to force on the northern kingdom the ecclesiastical system, in its fullest form, which was established in the south of the island.

Scottish revolt, 1637-1639. In their minds, a danger to monarchy lay in the Presbyterian religion. The sequel proved that such an idea was utterly fallacious, and a due regard to Scottish history would have warned Charles and Laud of the peril involved in tampering with the independence of one of the proudest of nations. In the early years of his reign, the king had roused a rebellious spirit in the Scottish nobles by partially successful attempts to resume the Church property which had passed into lay hands on the completion of the Scottish Reformation. Laud excited universal disgust by his orders to wear the surplice, by the introduction of canons, on his own sole authority, and by the admission of prelates to the council. Such was the state of affairs in 1636 when he and his royal master struck the final blow in attempting to introduce a Liturgy. A new Service-book, containing changes, as compared with the English Prayer-book, which were thought to savour of Popery, was read, in July 1637, at St. Giles's Church, Edinburgh. A riot instantly arose. The bishop had to run for his life. Nearly all the Presbyterian clergy would have nothing to do with the Liturgy, and, when petitions to Charles failed of effect, the people of Edinburgh rose. A novel kind of Parliament, called "The Tables," was assembled. These Boards consisted of four representatives from each class of the community—the great nobles, the lesser barons or gentry, the clergy, and the citizens. They set themselves against the council, and met every proclamation with a protest which was a virtual defiance to the crown. The old Covenant of Elizabeth's reign was renewed in March 1638, and all classes of Scots bound themselves to resist religious innovations. The king surrendered his position for a time, in order to gather troops, and called a General Assembly of the Scottish Church, which met at Glasgow in November. There the royal commissioner was defied, and the Presbyterian Church, abolishing the Five Articles of Perth, and condemning the canons and the Service-book of Laud, became what it had been in 1606. In August 1639, Episcopacy, the High Commission Court, the Liturgy, and the canons were formally abolished. Before this time, both parties had taken the field in arms. The king assembled an army at York, and sent a fleet, with other troops on board, to the Forth. The Scots replied by the seizure of Edinburgh, Stirling, Aberdeen, and other strongholds, and they commanded the services of over 20,000 good soldiers. Large numbers of Scots had returned from the war in Germany, and all were under the command of Field-Marshal Alexander Leslie, a veteran soldier who had fought at the side of the great Swedish king and Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus. The Scots were encouraged by the known disaffection of the English people, and the very troops raised by Charles were in strong sympathy with the Scottish cause. The king could not venture to attack his

rebellious subjects, and an arrangement, which was merely a truce, was made in June 1639, by the Treaty of Berwick. Wentworth had returned from Ireland, and been created Earl of Strafford. It was impossible to act against Scotland without a supply of money, and it was decided to call a new Parliament.

In the new House of Commons, Pym came at once to the front. He and his followers knew their advantage, and pushed it to the utmost. They refused to listen to any complaints against the Scottish people, and would hear nothing of "supply" until they had discussed "grievances." The imprisonment of Eliot, Hollis, and Valentine was brought forward. The ship-money was denounced, and at every sitting fresh subjects of complaint arose. The king and his supporters in tyranny were being called to account for the evil-doing of eleven years. Hopeless of any good issue, Charles, on May 5th, dissolved the Parliament. During the brief session, and from this time forward, Hampden, now the most popular man in England, acted in close alliance with Pym, and shared with him the lead of the opposition.

The news of the dissolution aroused popular indignation. The Commons had been as respectful in tone as they had been firm in attitude towards the crown, and Clarendon observes that "no man could imagine what offence they had given." Their real offence was that they had sought to vindicate the laws of the realm. The king's wrath was expressed in the imprisonment of several members, and he continued the tyranny of past years in the rigorous exaction of ship-money. The mayor and sheriffs of London were prosecuted in the Star Chamber for their slackness in levying the tax, and Wentworth is said to have declared that things would never be right until the aldermen were hanged. The people of London rose, and attacked Laud's palace at Lambeth, and, a few weeks later, the mob broke into St. Paul's, where the Court of High Commission sate, and drove the members away, with curses against them and the bishops. The court never met again until the reign of James II.

In August, Charles marched northward, with a view to cross the border, and bring Scotland to submission. Strafford was at his side, with some forces raised in Ireland, but the army could not be trusted. The Scots, in great strength, advanced to meet their enemy, and defeated an English detachment at Newburn, on the Tyne. Newcastle and Durham were occupied, and the king, with an ill-disciplined, ill-paid, and half-mutinous army, was in a helpless condition at York. A general council of the peers had been summoned thither to aid their sovereign, but all they had to submit to him was the advice to call a new Parliament in England. This was, in fact, the only course possible. The Treaty of Ripon, in October, arranged for a settlement in London, between Scottish and

1640
The Short
Parliament,
April 1640.

A riot in
London,
1640.

The Scots
in Eng-
land, 1640.

royal commissioners, of the points in dispute, and the Scottish army was to remain in England, with a large monthly subsidy from the government.

The most memorable Parliament of English history met on November 3, 1640. It was an assembly "destined to every extreme of fortune, to empire and to servitude, to glory and to contempt; at one time the sovereign of its sovereign, at another time the servant of its servants." Great exertions had been made by the leaders of the popular party. Hampden and Pym had ridden from county to county, urging the electors to vote for men worthy of their confidence. A large majority was returned on the side of the Opposition. Hampden, chosen also for his old seat at Wendover, sat now for his native shire of Buckingham. Such an array of parliamentary talents had never been seen before in England. Among the chief members of the Commons were Fiennes, Hollis, St. John, the younger Harry Vane, Digby, Falkland, and Hyde.

The abilities of Hampden were now to be seen in the clearest light. His demeanour and speech were such as have always won the highest favour in the great assembly of which he was now a foremost figure. His temper was absolutely calm, his manner of perfect courtesy. He thoroughly understood the feelings of the House, and his oratory was ready, weighty, clear, and brief. In parliamentary tactics and in management of business he has never been surpassed. The great Royalist historian admits that his reputation for honesty was universal, that he had no corrupt or private ends, and that he was "a very wise man, and of great parts, possessed with the most absolute faculties to govern the people of any man I ever knew." The general tone of this House of Commons was, at first, strictly conservative. The majority of members had come together with the settled purpose of removing abuses and innovations, and restoring the old form of government. These were the politicians of the assembly. A smaller party, composed of bigoted Puritans, looked beyond these aims to great religious changes, and held views which involved principles hostile to monarchy.

The House had scarcely sat a week before the great Earl was impeached. Strafford, aware of his danger, had only been tempted to London by the king's promise that Parliament should not be permitted to touch a hair of his head. On November 11th, Pym presented his charges at the bar of the Lords, and Strafford, entering in haste, was met with hostile cries from many of his fellow-peers, and at once ordered into custody. A month later, Laud, also impeached for high treason, followed his colleague to the Tower. Finch, lately become Chancellor, made his escape to Holland, and other tools of tyranny sought safety in flight. The term "delinquents" was applied in the House to all who had exercised illegal power, from the members of the council and the judges of the courts

John
Hamp-
den.

Parlia-
ment's
first pro-
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of Star Chamber and High Commission, to the officers of customs and the bailiffs of the sheriff. Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton appeared from their dungeons in the storm-beaten isles of Scilly and the Channel, and passed through the streets of London, scarred, mutilated, haggard, but at last free, amid the triumphant shouts of thousands of their fellow-citizens. An onlooker of the time writes, "God is making here a new world."

The charges against Strafford, twenty-eight in number, attacked him for his absolute rule in the north of England and in Ireland, and for specific acts and words, uttered and written, which were held to prove a purpose of subverting the fundamental laws of the realm, and of overthrowing Parliaments. His trial by impeachment began on March 22nd, and was conducted in Westminster Hall, in presence of the king and queen, seated in a private box. The peers, in their scarlet robes, lined with ermine, sat on benches as the judges, presided over by the Lord-Steward, the Earl of Arundel, upon the woosack. The members of the Commons, in committee as accusers, were placed on tiers of seats at each side of the hall. Commissioners from Scotland, and a deputation from the Irish Parliament, attended to support the articles of impeachment, and thus "the wicked Earl," as he was styled by Pym, had "three whole kingdoms to accuse him, eagerly seeking in one death a recompense of all their sufferings." Day after day, from eight in the morning till three or four o'clock, Pym and his co-managers strove to show that acts which tended to subvert the constitution were acts of treason against the king. Day after day the great culprit, attended by his counsel and four secretaries, pleaded his own case with the greatest skill, resolution, and eloquence. His chief object was that of warding off the accusation of high treason. Some allegations he denied. Other charges he extenuated with great subtlety of reasoning. He contended "that misdemeanours, though never so many and so great, could not, by being put together, make one treason, unless some one of them had been treason in its own nature." The Lords felt the weight of his arguments, and, after twelve days of pleadings, it became clear that, though a conviction for felony might ensue, the Earl would not be found guilty on the capital charge. Pym and his associates then resolved to change their course, and to bring in a bill of attainder. By this proceeding, the members of the Commons became at once accusers and judges. It was believed that peers, who would not vote Strafford's guilt as judges, might be induced to vote for a bill of condemnation, sent up from the Commons with a large majority. The new step was favoured by Hyde and Falkland, but opposed by John Selden. Some fresh evidence was brought forward, tending to show that Strafford had advised the king to use the Irish army for the reduction of England to obedience. The legal value of this testimony is very doubtful, but it served its purpose of exciting prejudice against the accused statesman. The bill of attainder, condemning Strafford to

Fate of
Strafford,
1641.

death as a traitor, passed the Commons on April 21st, by a great majority. In a house of 263, but fifty-nine members voted against the measure. In this minority was Lord Digby, son of the Earl of Bristol. His conscience, as he told the House, would not permit him to vote for the bill, but he described the Earl as "that grand apostate to the commonwealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other." The bill was then carried to the Lords by Pym, with a message "that it was a bill that highly concerned the commonwealth in the expediting of it." The interference of Charles, in an attempt to save Strafford's life, only injured the imperilled minister. The king went to the Lords, and stated his belief that Strafford was not guilty of high treason, but that his proved misdemeanours were such that he could never be employed again in any place of trust. The Commons deemed this proceeding to be a breach of privilege, and popular indignation was brought to bear upon the decision of the Lords. Rumours arose of an "Army Plot," by which troops were to come from the north to overawe the Parliament, and effect the release of Strafford. Angry mobs of Londoners thronged the approaches to the House of Lords, crying for "justice" against the Earl. Preachers poured forth invectives from the Puritan pulpits against the "great delinquent." The fifty-nine members of the Commons who had voted against the bill of attainder were placarded by name as "Straffordians, or betrayers of their country." The Lords, anxious for right to be done, consulted the judges as to whether some of the articles, which they considered proved against the culprit, amounted to treason. Their unanimous opinion was that he had incurred the penalties which the law awarded to that crime. Of eighty peers who had sat at the trial in Westminster Hall, but forty-five were in the House when the final vote was taken. Nineteen of these voted against the bill, and the attainder was thus carried by a majority of only seven. The bill passed the Lords on April 29th, and then came before the king. It was a turning-point in the career of Charles. He had good reasons for standing firm in defence of the life of his condemned minister. His own word was pledged. The final majority was very small. The refusal of his assent to the bill might have risked his throne, but he would then, in any case, have himself fallen with honour. His assent to the measure was given from sheer cowardice. The attitude of the Londoners, who surrounded the palace with angry cries, and the entreaties of the queen, who seemed in fear for her life, wrung from him the consent which turned the bill into a statute, and sent Strafford, on May 12th, to death by beheading on Tower Hill. It is well to record that the vengeance of Pym and the Parliament was limited to the Earl himself. An Act was passed to relieve the dead minister's children from the forfeiture of property and corruption of blood which were the legal consequences of the sentence.

The Commons, before and after this great victory over the foe of

freedom, passed Act after Act in vindication of the nation's liberties, and even in defiance of the constitution. ¹ A bill for removing the bishops from the House of Lords was carried in the Commons, but rejected by the peers with a large majority. With an assumption of regal power, the Lower House issued orders for the demolition of all images, altars, and crucifixes, in all churches and episcopal chapels. Lovers of art had thus to mourn the loss of stained windows, and of many works of sculpture, which the piety, taste, and munificence of past ages had given to the world. The violence of bigotry, directed by Sir Robert Harlow, under orders from the House, hurled down the beautiful crosses at Cheapside, St. Paul's, and Charing. ² A committee of the Commons formed a new ecclesiastical court, which retorted on the clergy of the High Church party the persecutions endured by the Puritans under Laud. Imprisonment, suspension, and ejection from their livings fell upon the upholders of what were deemed "Popish" ceremonies. ³ Ship-money was declared illegal. The judgment against Hampden was reversed, and six of the judges who had asserted against him the right of the crown were impeached. Sir Robert Berkley, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, was for this reason carried to prison from off the very seat of justice, "which struck a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westminster Hall, and in all his profession." ⁴ The power of all arbitrary taxation by the sovereign was cancelled. ⁵ The courts of High Commission and Star Chamber, of the President and Council of the North, of Wales and the Welsh Marches, were all abolished. The Commons had already taken order for the continued exercise of the powers of Parliament. ⁶ The Triennial Act provided for the assembling of a Parliament at least once in three years, and for the election of a House of Commons, in case of need, without the royal summons or issue of writs on the part of the crown. ⁷ It was a clearly revolutionary step when a bill was hurried through the Houses which secured Parliament against dissolution or adjournment without its own consent. Even to this measure Charles felt compelled to yield, and a royal prerogative was thus annulled. The House of Commons was changed into an irresponsible body, independent of the most salutary right possessed by the crown, and was now only by its own will made amenable to constituents for the use of its powers.

Upon the fall of Strafford, the king had seemed for a time to aim at forming an administration consonant with our present usage. The chief ministers were to be drawn from the party predominant in the House of Commons. The Earl of Bedford, a noble of the highest character, was to have as colleagues Pym, Hollis, Hampden, St. John, and other members of the popular party. The Earl's sudden death brought the scheme to an end, and the king then sought relief from the pressure of his English subjects by an attempt to make his peace, and to form a defensive alliance, with the Scottish people.

Other proceedings of Parliament, 1641.

Acts of Long P.

The House of Commons, regarding this northern journey with great and just suspicion, dispatched four commissioners, amongst whom was Hampden, to counteract the king's designs. By a startling innovation, a committee of both Houses sat at Westminster during the recess. The king made great concessions to Presbyterian feeling in Scotland, and returned to London in the full belief that his position in the northern kingdom was now made secure. In the minds of the popular leaders in England, he came back tainted by a suspicion of plotting, with the Scottish royalist, Montrose, the killing or kidnaping of the patriots Hamilton and Argyle. Before the king's return to London, a fearful event had come in Ireland.

When Strafford quitted Ireland, the position of affairs in that country became full of danger. The army of Irish Catholics, **The Irish revolt, October 1641.** about ten thousand strong, raised by the Earl for ultimate service in England, had been disbanded in accordance with a resolution of the English Parliament. They were secretly encouraged by Charles to keep together as far as possible, and to aid the Anglo-Irish Catholics, or party of the Lords of the Pale, descended from the ancient settlers, in seizing Dublin Castle, with a view to maintain the king in all his prerogatives. The native Irish, dispossessed of their lands in Ulster and Connaught by the Scottish and English settlers during the late reign, agreed with the other Catholics in religious hatred of the new Protestant intruders, but, unlike their associates, aimed at entire independence of English rule. The attempt on Dublin failed, owing to information given to the Chief-Justice, but on October 22nd, Ulster was in open insurrection, and the movement spread to the west and south. Thousands of the Protestants lost their lives, and men, women, and children alike suffered from the cruelty of semi-savage assailants. Sir Phelim O'Neil, heading thirty thousand men, thus turned an insurrection intended for the redress of civil wrongs, and the removal of religious disabilities, into a warfare which could not but rouse the bitterest feeling amongst the Puritans of England. It was believed by many that the Protestants in Ireland had been sacrificed to the king's desire of obtaining from the fears of Parliament an army to suppress the revolt, which might afterwards be used against English liberties. The important political consequence of an event whose horrors were then, as now, grossly exaggerated by religious bigotry, was that of an increased distrust of Charles in the minds of his more advanced opponents in the House of Commons.

When the Houses met again in November 1641, the Puritans were more than ever intractable. Up to the execution of Strafford, **Reaction in Parliament.** the whole constitutional party had remained united and gone steadily forward. After the grand results achieved by their joint and vigorous action, a secession from the popular party began. A number of moderate and well-meaning men felt that grievances had been fully redressed, that due and sufficient punishment had been

awarded to the instruments of absolute power, that security enough had been provided for the future, and that it would be both impolitic and ungrateful to make any further attacks on the prerogative of a sovereign who had been virtually made powerless for harm. Charles, by his concessions and defeats, had been winning back the loyalty and arousing the pity of a monarchical people, and many of those who had hitherto marched in the ranks of reform were recoiling from the opening gulf of revolution. At the head of these moderate or constitutional royalists were Falkland, Hyde, and Colepeper. Falkland was a man of great talents and great virtues; honourable, highly cultured, tolerant, patriotic, but too fastidious for public life. Edward Hyde, the future Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of England, and historian of the Civil War, was an honest man, of stern temper and haughty demeanour, innately jealous of popular encroachment. Sir John Colepeper, member for Kent, had been equally zealous with Hyde and Falkland in opposition to absolute rule. They had all been concerned in Strafford's impeachment, and had all agreed to the Act which made the consent of Parliament necessary to a dissolution or prorogation. Hyde had been an active assailant of the Council of York. Falkland had voted for the exclusion of bishops from the House of Lords. Colepeper had denounced with the utmost severity the long misgovernment of Charles. Digby, now a fervent royalist, had delivered a striking speech in favour of the Triennial Bill. For the first time in our history, there appeared within the walls of Parliament a division of its members into the two great parties which have ever since alternately governed the country. The men of progress, and the men averse to change, were to become known at first as Roundheads and Cavaliers, party titles soon to be replaced by those of Whigs and Tories, the political forerunners and forefathers of the Liberals and Conservatives of the Victorian age. The Royalists were supported, in and out of Parliament, by a large majority of the nobles, and of the more opulent country gentlemen of long descent; by the great body of the clergy, both the Universities, and all those laymen who were strongly attached to episcopal rule and to the Anglican ritual. The Roman Catholics, in fear of persecution from the bigotry of the Puritans, were strong adherents of a court whose queen was of their own faith. The main strength of the opposition lay among the small country freeholders, and the trading classes of the towns. A formidable minority of the aristocracy, including the wealthy and influential Earls of Essex, Stamford, Warwick, and Northumberland, led the rank and file of a party which included the whole body of Protestant Nonconformists, and the Puritans of the Anglican Church. Most of the municipal corporations were found on the same side. The more advanced reformers in the Commons, men of republican feeling, and eager for the destruction of prelacy, were led by Sir Harry Vane, Strode, and Haselrig. They were known as the "Root-and-branch party," and were used, without being wholly approved, by the great tactician, Pym.

Pym, Hampden, St. John, and their friends, in face of this reaction, felt the need of some decided step. In order to strengthen their position, consolidate their party within the House, and rekindle popular enthusiasm, they resolved on a great appeal to the nation. Their "Remonstrance" has been extolled, on the one hand, as a great "recruiting-sergeant for the Parliament through the after-years of civil war," and denounced, on the other, as "a revolutionary measure," and as "a trumpeter giving the signal for inevitable battle." In this famous address to the king, all the oppressive acts, failures, and miscarriages of the past fifteen years were set forth with great energy of language, and the sovereign was then desired to employ no ministers who did not enjoy the confidence of Parliament. The substance and tone of the document were such as the sovereign could hardly be expected to endure, and its publication for general perusal was a measure of deliberate offence to the crown. After a fierce debate of fourteen hours, during which the tact and influence of Hampden alone prevented the use of drawn swords, the Remonstrance was carried, on November 22nd, by a majority of only eleven in a house of three hundred and seven members. Such a division, after past defeats, was a virtual triumph for the Royalists, and a wise use of this occasion might have averted the coming struggle.

On his return from the north in the last week of November, the king had received a most loyal welcome in London. The houses were hung with tapestry, and the conduits ran with wine, as Charles, the queen, and court moved in procession to the Guildhall. After a splendid banquet, they were escorted back to the palace of Whitehall, amid the blaze of lighted torches, "so that the night seemed turned to day." Charles was then induced to show his disposition towards the Parliament by withdrawing the guard which the Earl of Essex, as Lord-General south of the Trent, had appointed for the security of the two Houses. The presentation of the "Remonstrance" to the king at Hampton Court on December 1st, was followed by an address from the royalist Lord Mayor and certain aldermen. At their instance, the court came to keep Christmas at Whitehall. The state of the capital was becoming serious. A band of the king's adherents, composed of courtiers, country gentlemen, Roman Catholics, loose livers, and students of the Inns of Court, became a royal body-guard, commanded by a noted debauchee named Colonel Lunsford. The popular feeling rose to its height on the resumption of proceedings by the House of Commons against the bishops. The bill for their removal from Parliament was still before the House of Peers. The London corporation gave it their support, and carried to Whitehall a petition to the King that the "Popish lords and bishops may be removed out of the House of Peers." The apprentices of the city followed suit with an address against "the Papists and the Prelates, and that malignant party

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which adheres to them." The very hawkers in the streets made the air ring, as they plied their trade, with cries of Puritanic fervour against the hated hierarchy. As the audacity of the multitude increased, so did the fury of the Cavaliers. Large mobs gathered daily round the palace and the Parliament-house at Westminster, and many skirmishes took place between them and the Royalists under Lunsford. The bishops themselves became mixed up in these affrays, when a hot-headed Welshman, Archbishop Williams of York, seized in the streets a youth who was crying out "No bishops." In the tumult which ensued, the prelate's robes were torn from his back, before he gained safety in the dean's house at Westminster. He then induced twelve of the bishops to present a protestation to the peers, declaring null and void all things done in Parliament during their enforced absence from their House. The Commons retorted with an impeachment, and all the twelve bishops were committed to the Tower. The Commons again applied for a guard under the command of the Earl of Essex, but this was again refused by Charles, who required that the officer should be of his appointment. On the last day of the year, the Commons proceeded to deal with the vital question of the power of the sword, by resolving themselves into a committee "to take into consideration the militia of the kingdom." They were resolved, for their own safety, and in behalf of popular freedom, to assume the royal prerogative of naming commanders of the only legal military force. At this crisis of affairs, a step was taken by the king which led straight to civil war.

Charles had already taken to his councils Falkland, Hyde, and Colepeper, and had declared that "he would do nothing that in any degree related to his service in the House of Commons without their joint advice, and exact communication to them of all his own conceptions." His flagrant breach of this undertaking, under the rash advice of Lord Digby, and the insulting taunts of the queen, flung away the last chance of averting an appeal to arms. On January 3, 1642, the attorney-general, Sir Edward Herbert, appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and in the king's name accused of high treason Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons. These members were Pym, Hollis, Hampden, Haslerig, and Strode. They were all charged with endeavouring to deprive the king of his regal power, with encouraging the Scots to invade the kingdom, and with conspiring to levy war against the king. On the same day a serjeant-at-arms appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, and required the Speaker to place the five members in his custody. They were all then present, and remained silent in their places. The Speaker ordered the serjeant to retire, and sent a deputation to the king, including Colepeper and Falkland, to say that the royal message would receive their most serious consideration, and that the members should be ready to answer any legal charge.

Affair of
the Five
Members,
January
1642.

The papers of the accused had been sealed up, at their lodgings, by the king's command. The House ordered the seals to be removed, and the Speaker's warrant was issued for the apprehension of those who had affixed them. The House then adjourned. Thus far alone, the conduct of the king was marked by a folly, a perfidy, and a tyranny which have no parallels in all our history. Not the slightest hint of his intention had been given to those advisers whom he had solemnly promised to consult; the men of moderate views, the true lovers of constitutional freedom, as distinguished from revolutionary innovations, who could alone mediate between a jealous House of Commons and a distrusted king. The mere act of impeachment violated the most precious and ancient rights of the subject. By the law of England, the crown cannot impeach for treason. The members of the Commons could be legally tried on such a charge, at the suit of the king, only by a petty jury, on a bill found by a grand jury. Thus a contest began, in which violence and weakness were on the one side, met by law and resolution on the other. The king rushed on his fate, and resolved to follow up one outrage by another, and make in person an arrest of the culprits. On the morning of January 4th, the five members were again in their places. Some of their friends in the court had sent word of what was likely to occur. The Commons sent a message to the City, informing the mayor and corporation that the privileges of Parliament were in danger, and the House then adjourned till one o'clock. Then the king came down from his palace at Whitehall, attended by some two hundred halberdiers of the guard, and by many gentlemen of the court armed with swords. As they entered New Palace Yard, the five members quitted the House, and made their escape by water to a sure refuge in the City. The king, leaving his armed attendants at the door of the House, entered with a swift glance at the seat usually filled by Pym. He walked up to the table, as the members rose and uncovered their heads in perfect silence. The Speaker fell on his knee, and yielded his chair to the sovereign. Charles looked round the House, only to find that "the birds were flown." The Speaker declined to answer the questions of the king, save by direction of the House. There was nothing for Charles to do but retire, amid ominous cries of "Privilege!" from a few of the bolder members, as he passed along the benches. Baffled, disgraced, degraded, with the halo of royalty dimmed, and its dignity dragged in the dust, he returned with his armed men to the precincts of Whitehall. Apart from questions of privilege, and of the portentous issues involved in such a display of force within the walls of Parliament, a gross violation of law was committed in the sovereign's attempt to arrest. No legal remedy could be obtained against the king if the arrest itself were unwarranted. The most zealous Royalists were filled with shame, disgust, and dismay, and the last remains of confidence and loyal

attachment were extinguished in the breasts of the great body of the people.

A night of general alarm succeeded an eventful day. The citizens formed patrols. The cry was that the Cavaliers were coming to fire the city. Terror and despondency reigned at Whitehall. The queen, who in the morning had seen the king go forth from the palace, with a promise that he would return in an hour, master of his kingdom, was left face to face with the failure of the enterprise. In the evening news arrived that the five members of the Commons, with Lord Kimbolton, were at a house in Coleman Street, within the City. Lord Digby was for sallying forth, with Lunsford and his men, to bring them back, dead or alive; but Charles had now no desire for such an attempt. The city of London, in those days, was a place of at least as much importance as Paris during the French Revolution. The stronghold of English liberties was then the constant residence of 300,000 persons, with the civil and military organisation of an independent state. Each citizen belonged to a company or guild of formidable strength from its physical and financial resources, and the close tie of brotherhood by which its members were bound together. The greatest merchants were proud to fill the municipal offices. The Lord Mayor and aldermen were no mean rivals to the king and court in their splendid and sumptuous mode of life. The Londoners loved their city as an Athenian, in the age of Pericles, clung to the favoured home of Pallas, or as a Florentine, under the Medicis, cherished the fair and flourishing town by the Arno. There was no standing military force in the land, and the City could place in the field many thousands of armed men, enrolled in the train-bands, full of spirit and courage, and not devoid of training and discipline. The citizens of London, thus strong in numbers, intelligence, and wealth, and in their democratical polity, were not men to be awed by a royal guard or a gang of well-born and dissolute bravoës. Charles, cooled and depressed by his ignominious failure at Westminster, was ready for the arts of conciliation rather than the arms of coercion. The Commons assembled again on the morning of January 5th, and, after declaring the king's coming "in a warlike manner" to be a high breach of privilege, adjourned for six days, appointing committees to meet in the City. One committee occupied Grocers' Hall, another sat in Merchant Taylors' Hall. The king rode into the City without any guards. The shops were all closed, and immense crowds filled the streets. He was received, as a rule, with cold respect, but ominous cries of "Privilege of Parliament" were heard from time to time, and one man threw into his coach a paper bearing the words of Jewish rebellion, "To your tents, O Israel!" Charles met the Common Council in Guildhall, and expressed a hope that the citizens would not shelter the accused members. No formal refusal was given, but the men he sought were

Charles
in the
City, Jan-
uary 5.

not surrendered, and an address was afterwards sent, complaining of the attempt to arrest them.

On the 8th a royal proclamation was issued for their apprehension. The parliamentary committees in the City retorted by making great preparations to bring them back in triumph to Westminster. The Houses of Parliament were now guarded by strong forces of the train-bands. A furious mob surged around the gates of the palace at Whitehall, and their execrations could be heard in the very presence-chamber of the king. Charles was weary of humiliation, and his courtiers feared for his personal safety. On the evening of January 10th, he, the queen, and their retinue left Whitehall for Hampton Court. Charles never again entered the palace until the day when he walked across the park from St. James's, attended by Bishop Juxon and guarded by a regiment of foot. The victory of the Parliament was completed on January 11th. From London Bridge to Westminster the Thames was covered with pleasure-barges and boats filled with citizens. A squadron of lighters and long-boats, carrying pieces of ordnance, and gaily dressed with flags, escorted the barges of the Commons. The train-bands of the city, commanded by the sheriffs, marched along the Strand and under the windows of Whitehall. They bore upon their pikes the Protestation of 1641, and the printed votes of the Commons, denouncing the king's breach of their privileges, were pinned on their breasts. As the crowd passed the palace, they cried with exultation, "Where are now the king and his cavaliers?" The sheriffs were called into the House, and received the thanks of the Speaker, after warm expressions of gratitude to the citizens of London had been uttered by the five restored members. The excitement had not been confined to the capital. The danger incurred by Hampden had roused the greatest alarm and indignation among his constituents. Four thousand freeholders of Buckinghamshire, each of them wearing in his hat a copy of the Protestation, rode up to London to defend the person of the great patriot, their beloved representative. In the strongest terms, they offered their services in defence of Parliament and all its privileges. At this juncture, a foretaste of the coming war was given when Lord Digby, one of the authors of the fatal attempt on the five members, appeared with armed followers at Kingston. He was proclaimed a traitor by Parliament, and fled beyond sea, while Lunsford and his cavaliers attended the king to Windsor.

It had now become plain that either the sovereign or the House of Commons must be deprived of all real power in the state. The shortest and easiest way out of the difficulty would have been a deposition like that of Edward II. and Richard II. The public mind, however, was not ready for such a course, and there was no prince of the blood, of fit age and character, to set upon the throne, invested with all the old constitutional prerogatives of the crown. On January 20th, Charles invited the Houses to state their terms. The Commons insisted on the transfer of all the fortresses, and

Return
of the
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Prepara-
tions for
war.

the command of the militia, to persons possessing the confidence of Parliament. The king gave a decided refusal. In February, he gave his assent to a bill excluding the bishops from the House of Lords. At the same time, he provided for coming needs by dispatching the queen to Holland, in charge of the crown-jewels, on which she was to raise money. The Commons then ceased to pass bills for the royal assent, and assumed command of the militia by an "ordinance." Goring, the governor of Portsmouth, and Sir John Hotham, the governor of Hull, were by the same means directed to hold those garrisons "for king and Parliament," and to surrender them to no one but under the orders of Parliament. The king had now gone northwards, seeking support, and on April 23rd demanded admittance into Hull. Hotham went on the ramparts, and, falling on his knees, begged the king to excuse his refusal on the ground of his oath sworn to Parliament. Charles could do nothing but retire, denouncing him as a traitor, and a large store of arms and ammunition was thus secured for the popular cause. Both parties were actively preparing for the appeal to arms. Hampden subscribed £2000 for the public service, and raised a regiment of infantry in his native county of Buckingham. When the two Houses, on the king's appeal for justice against Hotham, voted their approval of his act, thirty-two peers and sixty-five members of the Commons took their own side in the contest by joining Charles at York. On June 2nd the Parliamentary leaders presented their final terms, which were such as to strip the king of all real authority. The appointment of all ministers, judges, and officers of state; the marriage of members of the royal family; the reformation of the Liturgy and church-government; the command of the military forces, and of all castles and forts; and the creation of peers, were all to depend on the will of Parliament. This demand for supreme control over the executive administration was gained for Parliament by a subsequent revolution and change of dynasty, but it was not likely that Charles, who had claimed so much for the crown, and had wielded absolute power for the space of eleven years, would stoop to become a mere puppet. His positive and indignant refusal brought negotiation to an end, and the Civil War began. On August 22, 1642, the king set up his standard on the walls of Nottingham Castle. The ceremony had not been seen in England since Richard III. had raised his flag on Bosworth field. As the shades of evening drew on, the great streamer was placed upon the highest tower of the fortress, with a red battle-flag waving above it. The herald made proclamation. The trumpets sounded, and the loyal observers raised the cry of "God save the king." The superstitious felt a pang when the wind of the stormy night which followed blew the standard down. After a final appeal to Charles to take down his standard, and recall the proclamations declaring the Earl of Essex and both Houses of Parliament to be traitors, Parliament, on September 9th, published a declaration to the whole kingdom, setting forth the causes of the war.

On that day, the Earl of Essex, as chief commander for the Parliament, marched out of London, at the head of the train-bands, to join the forces gathering in the midlands. A few weeks later, Parliament ordered London to be fortified, and the whole population, men, women, and children, turned out, day by day, to dig trenches, and carry stones to form their bulwarks.

The Houses had the command of London and the home-counties, of the fleet, the navigation of the Thames, and of most of the large towns and seaports. Their material resources thus lay in the possession of almost all the military stores, and in the power of raising duties on imported goods and on home-products. The king was badly off for arms and ammunition, and could only levy taxes from the rural districts, whose wealth could not compare with that possessed by the towns. His supplies were mainly derived from the loyalty of his wealthy adherents, the nobles, the clergy, and the Universities. Most of the antique silver plate of the kingdom was melted down for the cause. Jewels were pawned and lands were mortgaged for the supply of the royal army-chest. In the matter of men, a great advantage lay with the king in the earlier days of the struggle. The Parliamentary ranks were mostly filled with hirelings. The royal army was largely composed of high-spirited gentlemen, used to fencing and fire-arms, bold riders across country, and leading into action troops of dashing cavalry, whose officers and men included the younger brothers and other relatives of the commander, and tenants, grooms, huntsmen, and gamekeepers, already half-trained to war in manly and dangerous sport. These active, athletic, and courageous fighters were skilfully led by the king's nephew, Prince Rupert, son of the Elector-Palatine and Charles's sister Elizabeth. Now only twenty-three years of age, he had seen much warfare against the Spaniards in the Palatinate, and had often shown the daring which was to mark his conduct throughout the struggle now begun. The Parliamentary leader, Essex, had also borne arms in Continental warfare, but he had little energy or skill, and neither he nor his fellow-commanders, in the earlier part of the war, did much to help the popular cause. The chief scenes of the war were the midlands, the north, and the west. The head-quarters of the king were long fixed at Oxford. The north was strong in his cause, and the town and castle of Newark, held by a royal garrison, secured the communications of Charles with his adherents in Yorkshire and the adjacent counties. Wales was thoroughly hostile to the Parliament. In the eastern counties, a peculiar and very efficient course of action was adopted on behalf of the Parliamentary cause. They formed themselves into an "Association," which Cromwell largely assisted to organise. Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hertfordshire, and afterwards the shires of Lincoln and Huntingdon, combined to keep the war away from their own borders, and to furnish vigorous support to the Parliamentary armies in other quarters.

CHAPTER V.

THE FIRST CIVIL WAR: EVENTS TO END OF 1643.

Battle of Edgehill. The King at Oxford. Death of Hampden. Defeats of Parliament-forces in the west and south. The fighting at Newbury: death of Falkland. Cromwell and his new cavalry. The Independents. The Scots join the Parliament. The Westminster Assembly and the Covenant.

THE first serious encounter of the war was brought about by the king's march from Shrewsbury towards the capital. On the night of October 22nd, Charles lay at Edgecot, a village near Banbury. The Earl of Essex, who had been following the enemy, had his head-quarters three miles distant, at Kineton, in Warwickshire. On the next morning, Sunday, October 23rd, the banner of the king was waving on the top of Edgehill, a rising ground on the borders of Oxford and Warwick. Charles, who was resolved to fight, in the hope of being rid of the force which persistently attended his steps, moved among his ranks, with a black velvet mantle over his armour, and wearing his star and garter. The Earl of Lindsey commanded in chief, under the king, and was aided by Sir Jacob Astley and Prince Rupert. At two o'clock the royal army descended the hill, with Lindsey, pike in hand, leading the foot-guards in the centre of the first line. After an hour's cannonade, and some ineffective fighting of infantry, Rupert's horse broke the Parliament's left wing, a disaster mainly due to the desertion of the ill-named Sir Faithful Fortescue, who went over to the Royalists when the order was given to charge. With his usual rashness, Rupert pursued the fleeing squadrons of the foe, and allowed his men to plunder the baggage-waggons at Kineton. The main body of the royal army was, meanwhile, sorely pressed by the foot and horse of Essex. The king's standard was captured, with the death of Sir Edmund Verney, who bore it, and the brave old Lindsey was taken prisoner, after receiving a mortal wound. The Prince returned to find the battle left drawn at the early fall of autumnal night. The morning saw the arrival of Hampden, with his and other regiments, to the number of 4000 men, and Charles made a rapid retreat. Essex, honestly attached, in a half-hearted way, to the Parliamentary cause, seems to have dreaded decisive victory almost as much as utter defeat. He and most of the earlier leaders of the Parliamentary armies wished to force the king to submission, but not to subvert the constitution or to change the dynasty. They feared the effect of great success upon the fierce and determined spirits who were the foes of monarchy itself. Essex therefore rejected the counsel of Hampden for an immediate attack with the fresh forces, and Charles was allowed to retire to Oxford, whence he soon resumed his

march towards London. Rupert, with the horse, advanced to Hounslow, while the forces of Essex lay at Brentford, Acton, and Kingston. The capital was in some alarm, and the preparations for the defence disturbed "the Muses' bower" at Milton's quiet home in Aldersgate. On November 12th, a fight occurred in the streets of Brentford, which were barricaded by the regiment of Hollis against the charging cavaliers of the Prince. By nightfall the place was nearly surrounded by the main body of the royal army, and the Parliamentary troops were forced to retire. The city of London then poured forth its trained bands under Skippon, and on Sunday, the 14th, an army of 24,000 men, mustered on Turnham Green, made the capital secure. Essex still remained inactive, and, by the end of the month, the king was in winter quarters at Oxford.

In the beginning of 1643, the national feeling was exasperated by the landing of the queen with a foreign force. On February 22nd, she arrived with four ships at Burlington, or Bridlington, on the Yorkshire coast, and, after landing her men and stores, was battered out of the place by some Parliamentary ships. The Earl of Newcastle then came, to escort the queen to York, and, under the royal commission, was engaged in raising men for service, "without examining their consciences." The army thus provided was styled by the Parliament "the queen's army," and the "Catholic army," and the two parties of Cavaliers and Roundheads were more widely separated than ever by religious as well as political differences. The spring of 1643 was passed by the court at Oxford, where the noble array of academical palaces saw gown and sword crowding the streets, and heard grave doctors and zealous students talk impassioned loyalty to throngs of ladies in the ancient halls. The new campaign, apart from the west, opened on April 15th, when Essex marched to the siege of Reading. After some days of open trenches and regular attack, the king set out from Oxford to the relief of the besieged. His forces were repulsed at Caversham Bridge, and the town submitted to the Parliamentary army. Hampden again urged Essex to take a bold course, and follow up his success by a march upon Oxford. His counsels were overruled, and the shires around London were then constantly harassed by Rupert and his horse.

The active young Prince swept down on scattered posts, burnt villages, carried off cattle, and was again safe at Oxford before a force could be gathered to meet him. It was one of these raids that brought severe loss to the Parliamentary cause in the death of Hampden. On the morning of Sunday, June 18th, the great patriot, with a body of horse, came up with the Prince at Chalgrove, ten miles south-east of Oxford. Rupert was returning from a foray with prisoners and plunder, when his men were charged by the foe among the standing corn. Hampden, struck in the shoulder by two balls from a carbine, was forced to ride from the field, almost fainting

Death of
Hampden.

with pain, as his body bent over his horse's neck. He died six days later, at Thame, after writing from his bed several letters on public affairs, and, in his last words, praying for the country which he loved so well. His soldiers escorted his body to the parish church of Hampden, while the Parliament and all its friends were filled with grief and dismay. His loss was, indeed, irreparable. Such were his piety, prudence, judgment, temper, valour, and integrity, that he left none his like behind him. Those still remained who could, in the crisis of danger, save the popular cause, but there was none both willing and able to restrain excess in the hour of victory. There were others who might conquer, but he alone could reconcile.

The men of Cornwall, headed by Sir Ralph Hopton and other gentry, were zealous for the royal cause. In January 1643, at Bradock (or Broad Oak) Down, five miles south-west of Liskeard, Hopton and his forces gave a severe defeat to a Parliamentary army which had been gathered in the western shires. On May 16th, another Parliamentary force, under the Earl of Stamford, was defeated on a hill near Stratton, in the extreme north of the county. At five in the morning, the Royalists mounted the hill on four sides, to assail the enemy's camp. A stout resistance was made, and the struggle lasted, with intervals of rest, till past three of the afternoon. The Royalist ammunition was failing, and the officers ordered firing to cease, and another combined effort to be made with the cold steel. With brilliant and steady courage, the four columns forced their way upwards, took some of the enemy's cannon, and then secured the camp. Seventeen hundred of the Parliamentarians became prisoners of war, along with their leader, Major-General Chudleigh. In the first week of July, the king's forces again encountered the enemy at Lansdown, near Bath. Sir William Waller, a favourite Parliamentary leader, had been joined at Bath by a remnant of the forces defeated at Stratton, and by various bands raised in the shires of Devon and Somerset. A royal army, under Prince Maurice and Lord Caernarvon, made a feint of marching to join the king at Oxford, and thus drew Waller from his position inside the city to the summit of Lansdown Hill. On July 5th, the Royalists made an attack, which, after a whole day's fighting, left them in possession of the high ground, while the Parliamentary forces retired within the town. Eight days later, at Roundway Down, near Devizes, Waller was completely defeated, with the loss of all his guns, and made his way to Bristol, with but a small train of followers. The queen, a bold and determined woman, who aspired to direct councils and to lead armies, had been for four months, along with Lord Newcastle, arranging the king's affairs in the north of England. She then started to join Charles at Oxford. On July 11th, she entered Stratford-upon-Avon, at the head of 4000 horse and foot. She slept there at the house in which Shakespeare lived and died, then in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Hall. On reaching Oxford, she was

Parlia-
mentary
defeats.

greeted by the glad tidings of success at Bath and Roundway Down, and the hearts of all Royalists were beating high with hope.

In the summer of 1643, the power of the Parliament was visibly in danger. On July 27th, Bristol, the second city of the realm in wealth and population, was surrendered to the assault of Rupert by its governor, Nathaniel Fiennes. Of the "root and branch" party in politics, he wanted nerve and resolution in war, and his condemnation, upon trial for his poor defence of a most important post, though followed by a pardon, caused him to leave the country. A design of Sir John Hotham for the surrender of Hull to the king was detected. The peers in London passed resolutions for the concession of moderate terms to Charles. The city of London held firm to the Parliamentary cause, and popular clamour induced the Commons to reject the proposals of the Lords by a very narrow majority. Many peers now left Parliament, and joined the king at Oxford. If Charles, at this crisis, had marched in full force on the capital, he might have reached Whitehall in triumph, but the chance, never to return, was allowed to slip away. He turned to the siege of Gloucester, then a city of five thousand people, defended by fifteen hundred troops. On August 10th a summons was made for its surrender. A written reply was sent, that the inhabitants and soldiers were keeping the city for the use of the king, but conceived themselves "wholly bound to obey the commands of his majesty, signified by both Houses of Parliament." After this peculiar form of resolute defiance, the garrison maintained the town with the utmost bravery against attacks which lasted until September 6th. On August 24th, Essex had quitted London at the head of fourteen thousand men, and on September 5th, he arrived within five miles of the town. Rejecting the king's proposals, he declared that he would relieve Gloucester, or let his body lie dead beneath its walls. Charles then marched away, and on September 8th, Essex entered the town, bringing to the people sorely needed supplies. Two days later, he was on the march back to London.

On September 19th, the Earl found his way barred at the town of Newbury, which was held by Charles with his foot-soldiers, and by Rupert, at the head of five thousand horse. On the morning of the 20th, a general action began, which was fought all day with great fierceness and courage. The army of the Earl included four regiments of the London trained bands or militia, whose ranks were mainly filled by artisans and apprentices. With these rude warriors, who had never fought before, the honours of the struggle remained. Firm as a rock they received the boldest charges of the Cavaliers, and flung them back in disorder from the bristling bulwark of their pikes. The day closed with each army resting on its own ground, but a great moral effect had been wrought by the sturdy courage of the men of London. The Royalists had to deplore the death

First
battle of
Newbury,
Septem-
ber 1643.

of the noble Falkland, who was "weary of the times," and, with a heart broken by his country's misery, presaged a speedy and a welcome death. On the morning after the battle, the royal army retired, leaving the road open for Essex to pursue his march. The opening of December saw the last engagement in 1643, when Sir William Waller surprised, routed, and captured a Royalist regiment of foot at Alton, in the east of Hampshire.

The contest in the north had hitherto gone partly in favour of the king. In December 1642, a sharp engagement occurred at Tadcaster, in Yorkshire, between Lord Fairfax, in command of the northern levies of the Parliament, and the Earl of Newcastle, the Royalist leader. The result was indecisive, but, two days later, Fairfax retired to the south-east of Yorkshire. In March 1643, a smart fight came at Hopton Heath, in Staffordshire. The Royalist general, the Earl of Northampton, was killed on the field, but the Parliamentary forces retreated during the night. In May, the Parliamentary horse raised in the eastern counties gained a brilliant little victory, under the command of Cromwell, over a superior body of Royalist cavalry who had come forth from Grantham. A few days later, Fairfax beat the Royalists in an action close to Wakefield, and then received the surrender of the town, with fifteen hundred men under General Goring. On June 30th, this advantage for the Parliament was more than counterbalanced by the severe defeat of Lord Fairfax at Atherton Moor, in South Lancashire, by the Royalists under the Earl of Newcastle. On the last day of July, Cromwell met the royal troops, under General Cavendish, in a sharp battle near Gainsborough. The Royalist leader was slain, but Cromwell, forced to retire before larger forces under Lord Newcastle, was foiled in his purpose of raising the siege of the town. On October 11th, the Parliamentary forces, led by Cromwell and Sir Thomas Fairfax, won a brief and very sharp battle against a body of Royalist troops. During the half-hour's contest, Cromwell was in great personal danger. His horse was killed in the first charge, and fell upon his rider. As he rose from the ground, a blow from an enemy knocked him down again. He staggered to his feet, seized a riderless horse, remounted, and led his dragoons to an irresistible charge. This action occurred at Winceby, a village in the wolds of Lincolnshire.

The real importance of these later actions lay in the power displayed by the cavalry of Cromwell. This born leader of men had seen that, for decisive success in the field, a body of horse was needed that could fairly meet and conquer Rupert and his dashing Cavaliers. Against those brave and brilliant soldiers he must bring a force of mounted men whose hearts were strong with a courage, and fired by a zeal, beyond those of the most ardent loyalty to an earthly king. Religious fanaticism alone could supply such a demand. His famous warriors were recruited from the farmers and townsmen of the

The war
in the
north and
midlands,
1642-1643.

The Iron-
sides.

eastern shires. Fervent in the Puritan faith, of sober life and hardy frame, fearless of death, and strict in discipline, they were, in themselves, formidable foes. The genius of their leader, who had never set a squadron in the field until civil strife drew out his innate ability for command, wrought this rare material for soldiers into such a body of horsemen as has never been surpassed. Trained to move with the skill of professional and veteran troops, they had their breasts covered by cuirasses which could defy Royalist bullets, and their heads defended by helmets that blunted the edge of Royalist swords. Such men as these were invincible, and the effect of their charge at Winceby gave a foretaste of triumphs to come.

The religious party of Cromwell was fast rising into importance. The year 1643, memorable for the deaths of Hampden and Falkland, saw at its close the body of Pym laid in solemn state within the walls of Westminster Abbey. The great early patriots of the Long Parliament were now to be succeeded by men of a different stamp. The religious sectaries called Independents, whose deeds were to arouse the mingled awe and abhorrence of the world, were men who believed that every Christian congregation had, under Christ, supreme jurisdiction in spiritual things. A Pope, a prelate, and a Presbyterian synod were to them alike the embodiments of usurped and unlawful authority. In political matters, the views of the Independents aimed at the destruction of monarchy. In the House of Commons and in the camp, these resolute men, full of fanatical zeal, and impatient of any compromise, were making their existence felt by the Presbyterian party.

In spite of partial successes, the Parliament, in the summer of 1643, was feeling weak and dispirited. The king had not been conquered, as sanguine souls had hoped, by the work of one campaign, and the Royal commanders had dealt some severe blows to the popular cause. The Presbyterian section of the Puritan party in the Commons began to look for help to their brethren beyond the border. A step had already been taken towards the adoption in England of the Presbyterian system as the settled religion of the state. In June 1643, a Parliamentary ordinance was passed, convoking an assembly of divines at Westminster. Over a hundred clergy, with ten lords and twenty commoners as lay-assessors, were named as members of this synod. A proclamation of the king, forbidding the assembly, caused the absence of most of the Episcopalian members, including Usher, Archbishop of Armagh. The synod, which met on July 1st in Henry the Seventh's chapel at Westminster Abbey, was thus mainly composed of Presbyterian members. The divines included Edmund Calamy and John Lightfoot; among the laymen were found John Selden, the two Sir Harry Vanes, father and son, John Pym, and Oliver St. John. There was a powerful and energetic minority of Independents. The political and religious objects of

Parliament were both served by the despatch of commissioners to the General Assembly of the Scottish Church and to the Scottish Convention of Estates, inviting their co-operation in the proceedings of the Westminster Assembly. The Scottish Parliament had already demanded, as a condition of alliance with the popular party in England, that the religious system of Scotland should be adopted. All scruples vanished before the pressing need of allies in the war against the king. On September 25th, all the members of Parliament, assembled in St. Margaret's Church, Westminster, swore to maintain the Scottish "Solemn League and Covenant." The citizens of London took the same oath with fervour, and for a few years the English Church ceased to be Episcopalian. The imposition of the Covenant upon every Anglican minister drove many conscientious men from their benefices, and the Presbyterian rulers became more violent for conformity than the Court of High Commission which the Parliament had destroyed. Nearly two thousand incumbents were ejected from their livings under this odious tyranny of men who had rebelled against their sovereign in the sacred name of freedom. A brief day of tolerance was soon to come in the rise to supreme power of the great soldier and statesman who, in Parliament, headed the Independents, and was now winning his first successes in the field of civil war.

CHAPTER VI.

PROGRESS AND CLOSE OF THE FIRST WAR.

Decline of the royal cause. Marston Moor. The Independents and the 'New Model.' The fatal field of Naseby. Parliament, the army, and the King at issue in negotiations. The republicans victorious. The execution of the King.

THE year 1644 opened with important events. On January 19th, a Scottish army of twenty thousand men entered England, led by Leslie, Earl of Leven. After a vain demand for the surrender of Newcastle, they marched towards York, where the Marquis of Newcastle lay in winter quarters with the royal army. While the Parliament had been seeking help from Scotland, Charles had sought aid beyond the Irish Sea. A truce was made with the Irish rebels, and the English forces were recalled. They came over accompanied by many of the Irish Catholics, with whom the king and queen had long been corresponding. It is in vain that those who maintain the cause of Charles, as a martyr dying for the Church of England, seek to clear him from this heavy charge. The historian Clarendon himself adverts to a later project of raising a great army of Irish for the invasion of England, under the auspices of the Pope and other foreign

princes. He denounces the design as "inexcusable to justice, piety, and prudence," and, in a letter to the royal secretary, declares that "those stratagems have given me more sad hours than all the misfortunes in war which have befallen the king," and that such devices look like "the effects of God's anger towards us." This Anglo-Irish army, commanded by Sir John Byron, was soon disposed of by the Parliamentary forces. The whole of Cheshire, save the town of Nantwich, was in the king's hands. Byron besieged the place, and Sir Thomas Fairfax marched from Yorkshire to relieve the garrison. A complete victory, on January 25th, drove the royal forces to seek refuge at Chester. On March 29th, Sir William Waller again defeated, at Alresford, in Hampshire, the Royalists under Lord Hopton. On April 11th, in a sharp action fought at Selby, Sir Thomas Fairfax routed a Royalist force under Colonel Bellasis. The story of the contest next turns to Oxford. The Parliament had formed a council, called "the committee of the two kingdoms," to strengthen their executive authority. This body, composed of seven lords, fourteen members of the Commons, and four Scottish commissioners, had charge of the entire conduct of the war, and of the correspondence with foreign states. In the spring of 1644, the Parliament had under arms, inclusive of the Scottish force, a body of nearly 60,000 men, commanded by Essex, Waller, Manchester, Lord Fairfax, and his son, Sir Thomas Fairfax. The armies under Essex and Waller advanced for the blockade of Oxford, where the walls were surrounded by regular lines of defence. The queen, who was in delicate health, retired to Exeter in April, and never saw the king again. On the night of June 3rd, Charles left the city, and made his way in safety between the two hostile forces. He had with him a portion of the garrison of Oxford. Essex then marched away for the west, in order to relieve the town of Lyme Regis, where Blake had been for some time making a brave defence against the Royalists under Prince Maurice. Waller started in pursuit of Charles, whose movements showed much skill. A feigned march northwards decoyed his enemy towards Shrewsbury, and the king, doubling back, reached Oxford again on the 20th of June. The royal army now consisted of over 5000 foot, nearly 4000 horse, and a good train of artillery. On June 29th, they met the troops of Waller at Cropredy Bridge, to the north of Banbury, and the result was a severe check to the Parliamentary forces. The king was thus relieved from all fear of Waller, and hurried to the south-west, upon the tracks of Lord Essex.

Meanwhile the north of England became the scene of the most momentous conflict that the distracted country had yet seen. Prince Rupert had performed a dashing exploit in the relief of Lathom House, in Lancashire. This moated dwelling of the Stanleys was bravely held by Charlotte de la Tremouille, Countess

Marston
Moor,
July 2.

of Derby, for eighteen weeks of siege, against a detachment of the army of Fairfax. Its thick walls and lofty towers defied the Parliamentary ordnance, and the lady met a demand to submit herself, her children, and garrison, to the mercy of Parliament, with the reply that "the mercies of the wicked are cruel." Rupert marched with his horse to the rescue, routed a force of the enemy at Bolton, and hung the walls of the relieved mansion with the banners which he captured. In the early part of the summer, an army under Lord Fairfax, with the Scottish forces under the Earl of Leven, had begun the siege of York, defended by the Marquis of Newcastle. A force of fourteen thousand men, raised in the eastern counties, and commanded by the Earl of Manchester and by Cromwell, with his famous cavalry, went northward to assist Fairfax. The king ordered Rupert to advance for the relief of York, and, on his arrival near the city at the head of 20,000 men, the English and the Scots retired towards Tadcaster. Their councils were divided, and the Prince was thus enabled to introduce a needful supply of troops and provisions. Newcastle wished to remain content with this success, but the impetuous Rupert was resolved to fight. The Parliamentary army had halted upon Marston Moor, a few miles south-west of York, on the last day of June. On the morning of July 2nd, they were again moving southwards, when the pursuing Prince attacked their rear. The whole army then faced round, and made ready for a pitched battle. From three to five o'clock there was a desultory duel of artillery, and closer fighting only came when the sun was sinking low. At seven o'clock the armies met in full encounter. The right wing of the Parliamentary troops was routed by the Royalists, who hurried on to chase and slay the Scottish horse. The two centres, each composed of infantry, were fighting with a steady courage. Cromwell, on the left wing, defeated with his "Ironsides" the cavalry of Rupert, and followed up in fierce pursuit. When their rout was made complete, he came back in time to help the Parliamentary foot, and a fierce struggle ended in the capture of the Royalist guns, and the flight of all the king's men. A messenger had reached Oxford with the news of victory for the Cavaliers, based on the flight of the Scottish cavalry, when the coming of a fresh courier turned the city's joy to mourning. The royal cause was ruined in the north of England. Prince Rupert took to Chester the remnant of his force. The Marquis of Newcastle, despairing of the final issue, took ship at Scarborough, and fled beyond the seas. The towns of York and Newcastle became the prizes of conquest, and the influence of Cromwell and the Independents was enhanced at Westminster by renown won on the field of battle.

The queen, whose health was feeble, now fled to France, whence her letters never failed to urge the king not to make concession to rebels. In the first days of September, Charles achieved a success

in Cornwall. The Earl of Essex, with more zeal than judgment, had marched into Cornwall, a stronghold of the royal cause, and was there hemmed in by the forces under the king, near the little town of Lostwithiel. The Earl, declining to treat, made his escape by sea. The Parliamentary horse made their way out of the trap, by combined luck, craft, and force, but the infantry, under Skippon, were driven to capitulate. The artillery, arms, and stores were surrendered, and the men were permitted to withdraw. In London, as by the Earl, who wrote a despatch from Plymouth, the matter was regarded as "the greatest blow that ever befell our party."

During these late events, gallant efforts had been made in Scotland by the Royalists under the Marquis of Montrose. Assisted by the Highland clans, and by troops brought over from Ireland, he defeated the Covenanters at Tippermuir, near Perth, in August 1644. The following month saw the surrender of Aberdeen, and during the winter the whole north of Scotland came into the possession of the royal leader. In May 1645, Montrose defeated the rebels at Alford, near Aberdeen, and in August won a victory, still more important, at Kilsyth, near Stirling. The hopes thus aroused were doomed to disappointment. A month after Kilsyth, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, Montrose was surprised by the Covenanters, under David Leslie, and the destruction of his force was the ruin of the royal cause in Scotland.

From the scene of his success in Cornwall the king was resolved to march on London. The news from Scotland was then cheering, and Charles hoped to retrieve in the south the great blow received at Long Marston Moor. The Parliamentary forces barred the way near Newbury, under the command of Waller, Manchester, and Cromwell. The Earl had the chief control, and on October 27th, the second battle of Newbury was hotly contested with no decisive result. The king retired from the field, but no pursuit was made, and a few days later he fetched away in safety the baggage and the guns deposited at the castle of Donnington, near the town.

The real importance of the second battle of Newbury lay in the fact that its issue brought to a head the long-growing quarrel between the Presbyterians and the Independents. Cromwell avowed that the King's army might have been ruined by a vigorous pursuit with his "Ironsides," whom his superior officer, Manchester, had failed thus to utilise. In November, in his place in Parliament, Cromwell charged the Earl with having "always been indisposed and backward to engagements, and to the ending of the war by the sword." In December, he renewed his attack in words which foreshadowed a complete reform of the military force. "It is now a time to speak," he cried, "or for ever

hold the tongue. I do conceive if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace." A motion was then made in the Commons "that no member of either House shall, during the war, enjoy or execute any office or command, civil or military, and that an ordinance be brought in accordingly." Long and furious debates followed, but the motion was carried in the Lower House on December 21st.

The Presbyterian party saw their strength passing from them, and sought to win public favour by an act which has covered their memory with disgrace. In the previous March, the trial of Laud had begun on charges of high treason, based upon his former impeachment. The matter was now pushed forward with great vigour, with the active aid of William Prynne, who had never relaxed in his thirst for vengeance. An ordinance of Parliament brought the aged prelate to the block, along with Sir John Hotham and his son, for their treasonable designs at Hull.

The "Self-denying Ordinance," after one rejection by the Lords, was carried on the 3rd of April. Lords Essex, Manchester, and Fairfax, with Sir William Waller, resigned their commissions, and the chief command of the Parliamentary forces was given to Sir Thomas Fairfax, who was not a member of the Commons. The military talents and repute of Cromwell caused an immediate violation of the new ordinance. He was a member of the House of Commons, but Fairfax and his officers insisted on his appointment as lieutenant-general and chief commander of the horse. The failure of Presbyterian negotiations with the king at Uxbridge was followed by a complete and most important change in the character of the Parliamentary army. The real head was now Cromwell. The leaders were all bent on a vigorous prosecution of the war. The one thing required was a change in the material and training of the rank and file. The cavalry was all that could be desired, and Cromwell hastened to organise the foot upon the same excellent model.

After a combat at Islip Bridge, near Oxford, on April 24th, where a body of Royalist troops was attacked and routed by Cromwell, the fortunes of the king and his adherents seemed for a time to be rising. Charles had passed the winter at Oxford, and left the city in the spring, when it was threatened again with siege by the remodelled army under Fairfax. The king headed a powerful army of 5000 foot and 6000 horse, and marched with the intention of reviving his cause in the north of England. The young Prince Charles, now fifteen years of age, had been sent into the western counties to take the chief command, under the guidance of discreet advisers. The king advanced first to Worcester, and then made his way towards Chester, which was beleaguered by Parliamentary troops. The siege was raised on the approach of the royal forces, and then a march was

Execu-
tion of
Laud,
January
1645.

The New
Model
army,
1645.

The war,
1645.

made for the midlands. The important town of Leicester, held by a garrison for the Parliament, was stormed on the last day of May, with the capture of its defenders. Charles then resolved to turn his steps towards Oxford, and this movement brought on the chief battle of the war.

Fairfax, on the 5th of June, received orders to leave his position round Oxford, and march northwards in search of the king. He at once called for the help of Cromwell, who was watching the enemy's movements from his head-quarters at Cambridge. All the Parliamentary horse from the eastern counties were bidden to meet at Newmarket, and Cromwell, with his new levies, joined Fairfax early on June 13th, a few miles west of Northampton. The royal forces had reached Daventry, but the king, before the junction of Fairfax and Cromwell, had fallen back to Market Harborough, where the van of the Royalist army lay on the night after the union. Their rear, commanded by the king himself, was quartered in or near the village of Naseby, lying in the Northamptonshire hills, among grassy slopes dotted with thickets of gorse, and with many a rabbit-hole that made the ground treacherous for the tread of cavalry. Pits of water and deep dikes then hampered the movements of men over the untilled and unfenced ground that was now to be dyed with the blood shed in the decisive battle of the contest for constitutional freedom. Late on the evening of the 13th, Ireton and his troopers dashed into Naseby, and captured nearly the whole of the royal outpost, while the careless Cavaliers were playing quoits or drinking in the little village inn. The king was aroused by some of the fugitives from his slumbers at Lubenham Hall, near Harborough, and set off at midnight to Rupert's quarters in the town. A council of war was held. The hopes of the Cavaliers were high. Never had the triumph of the royal cause seemed nearer than at the hour when the knell of doom was about to sound. In Scotland, the gallant Montrose was in the full career of victory, and he had lately written to Charles that, having reduced the north to obedience, he would come to his royal master's aid "with a brave army which, backed by the justice of your majesty's cause, will make the rebels in England feel the just rewards of rebellion." The success at Leicester was fresh, and the council resolved to march at once and fight the foe. By five o'clock in the morning of June 14th, Sir Jacob Astley had ranged the line of battle in a strong position on a hill two miles south of Harborough. Prince Rupert and Sir Marmaduke Langdale commanded bodies of horse on the wings, while Astley took charge of the centre. The reserves were with the king. The royal army waited long, in expectation of attack, while Fairfax had ample leisure to choose a good site for battle near to Naseby village. The long ridge of Mill Hill runs east and west for about a mile, and on the slope were arrayed the Parliamentary troops, with the centre under Skippon and Fairfax, the right wing

led by Cromwell, and the left commanded by Ireton. At last Rupert himself rode on to reconnoitre, and fancying from certain signs that Fairfax was retreating, he sent back word that the king's army should move up at full speed. Their vantage-ground was quitted, and the royal forces, after a hasty march, were again drawn up, about a mile from the enemy, on a rising ground called Dust Hill. Between the two armies was a wide table-ground known as Broad Moor. The disparity of force was great. The army of Fairfax, partly hidden from view behind the ridge of the hill, and with a thousand dismounted troopers screened by a double hedge of blackthorns, numbered 14,000 men. The Cavaliers went into action less than 8000 strong, "a body not sufficient," as Clarendon observes, "to fight a battle for a crown." Such was the haste of Rupert, that the action was begun before all the artillery was on the field. The Prince charged up the hill against the left wing of the foe, while the dragoons behind the blackthorns emptied, as he passed along, many a saddle with the bullets of their carbines. The fierce attack of the Cavaliers broke the men under Ireton, and then wasted time in seizing baggage and cannon. Cromwell's horse had scattered on the royal left the squadrons under Langdale, whom they had before beaten at Marston Moor. The king's men fled through the bushes of furze and amid the rabbit-warrens, pursued by the victorious cry of "God is our strength." Fairfax, in the centre, is being hotly pressed by the king's foot, and he is riding bareheaded from one rank to another, bidding the raw levies of the "New Model" to stand firm. Old Skippon is wounded, but cries that "he will not stir while a man will keep his ground." At this crisis Cromwell, riding back from pursuit, comes thundering down on the royal centre, and Rupert returns from his success to find the army in utter confusion. The king was about to charge with the reserves, consisting of his guard of horse, when the Scottish Earl of Carnwath, seizing the bridle of Charles's steed, and crying, "Will you go upon your death in an instant?" turned the horse round, and a panic at once set in among the troopers. The men under Rupert could not be re-formed for an effort to save the day, and the superior discipline of the Parliamentary force was a marked feature in the success which they won. The army under Fairfax lost about 1000 men; the killed and wounded on the king's side reached only 800. The victory was, however, complete. Some hundreds of Royalist officers and 4000 men were prisoners, and the king's artillery and stores, with all his private papers, became also the prize of war. Some of the letters taken were read aloud in Guildhall, and they proved, to the disgust of the rebels, and the serious damage of the royal cause, that Charles was still resolved to rule, if he regained his position, with the absolute power which he claimed; that he was seeking aid from foreign princes; and that every concession was to be made to the dreaded Irish Catholics, as the price of their assistance in conquering England for the king.

The defeated monarch, with a remnant of his forces, fled first to Leicester, and thence, in dread of capture, made his way to Hereford.

The victorious army of Naseby marched for the west of England, where the heroic Blake, with a small garrison, was hard pressed by the Royalists in his defence of Taunton. The attack was commanded by Goring, who retired on the approach of Fairfax, to be completely defeated on July 10th, at the little town of Langport. The broken Royalists fled to Bridgewater, which was at once besieged by the enemy. In the autumn, Charles started from Hereford with a body of horse, intent to join Montrose in Scotland. The Parliamentary forces were then besieging Chester, and had won a part of the suburbs. The king made his way into the city, while the royal horse, under Langdale, drew up on Rowton Heath. A Parliamentary leader, Poyntz, who had followed the king in his northward march, attacked and routed the squadrons of Langdale on September 24th, thus making an end of the remnant saved from Naseby. Charles withdrew to Denbigh Castle, and the city of Chester surrendered early in the following spring. Some remains of the Royalist armies were next gathered at Doncaster, and commanded by Langdale and Lord Digby. They were marching northwards to join Montrose, when they were attacked, in October 1645, by a Parliamentary force at Sherburn. A complete rout of the king's horse ensued, with the loss of all their baggage. Some of the fugitives reached Scotland, only to find Montrose and his cause ruined by David Leslie at Philiphaugh. Turning now to the west of England, we find the same scene of disaster for the royal cause. After the fatal day of Naseby, Rupert was charged to defend Bristol, which was invested, towards the close of August, by the victors under Fairfax and Cromwell. On September 10th, the city was attacked by columns of stormers, and the Royalists fired the town at three points. The Prince then surrendered, and was allowed to retire to Oxford. The king was greatly angered by what he deemed to be pusillanimous conduct, and wrote the Prince, from Hereford, a letter of bitter reproach. All his commissions were revoked, and he was bidden to retire beyond sea. At the beginning of October, Winchester surrendered to Cromwell, who then went on to the siege of Basing House. Among all the scenes of gallant defence made by the Cavaliers within the walls and precincts of their own fortified homes, there is none more interesting or famous than this stronghold of the magnificent Paulet, Marquis of Winchester. Fitly named "Loyalty," the mansion had endured siege after siege for four years. It was a post of some importance, and had come, by long and successful resistance, to be deemed almost impregnable. Its large garrison was amply supplied from the rich country around, and, along with Donnington Castle, near Newbury, the place commanded the chief roads from London to the west. The works were above a mile in compass, and the house was found, after capture, to have been stored with provisions

for a consumption of many months. The stronghold did not long survive the coming of Cromwell before its walls. His cannon soon battered a breach from positions on the higher ground, and his warriors stormed the place with the valour that none in that age could resist. A vast booty was taken, and fire reduced the splendid house to bare walls and chimneys. In the first week of November, the king arrived at Oxford, and there, beaten in open warfare, he began with the Parliament the series of negotiations in which, with fatal effect for himself, he strove to win by craft and intrigue what he now despaired of attaining by arms. In the spring of 1646, the last efforts of this period were made in the west of England. Fairfax, after his victory at Langport, continued his advance to the west, and on February 22nd he defeated, at Torrington, a Royalist force under Lord Hopton. The remnant fled into Cornwall, and were, in the end, forced to submit to Fairfax at Truro. A month later, a body of troops, chiefly horse, was marching from Worcester, under Lord Astley, to join Charles at Oxford. A Parliamentary force, under Colonel Morgan, gave them a total defeat at Stow-on-the-wold, in Gloucestershire. Astley and most of his officers were taken on the field, and "from that minute," says Clarendon, "there did not remain any possibility for the king to draw any other troops together." The scattered relics of the Royalist army had become completely demoralised, and were only, as the same Royalist writer declares, "terrible in plunder and resolute in running away." When brave old Astley became a prisoner at Stow, he uttered, with grim humour, the words of truth to his captors. The soldiers brought him a drum to sit down upon, and the Parliamentary captains gathered, in all respect, around the veteran leader who had fought to the last for his sovereign. "Gentlemen," he said, "you have done your work, and may now go to play, unless you will fall out among yourselves." Prince Charles, at his father's bidding, had already left the country. He passed first over to the Scilly Isles, whence he soon sailed for Jersey, and in the summer of 1646 proceeded to France, and thence to Holland.

The Commons had lately resolved to fill up all the seats left vacant by withdrawal of the Royalist members. Many men of eminence entered the House through the new elections. Hutchinson, Blake, Ireton, Algernon Sidney, Fleetwood, Ludlow, and Fairfax were among the new members, and the Independent party gained fresh strength. They were fast becoming a real power, as much opposed to the narrower views of the Presbyterians as to the re-establishment of the sovereign without adequate securities against despotic rule. The king's cunning overtures were repelled, and steps were taken to hinder his proposed visit to London. In the spring of 1646, the troops of Fairfax were drawing nearer and nearer to Oxford. Charles left the city in disguise, and, after some days of wandering, reached the Scottish army encamped before

Newark, which was strongly held for the king. He was received with professions of joy by many of the lords, but was made to feel his position when Lord Leven, the general, declined to allow him to give the watchword for the night. The king was then induced to sign an order for his governor of Newark to surrender the town and fortress to Poyntz, the Parliamentary general, and the Scottish army, with the king in their midst, was soon on the march for Newcastle. From May 6, 1646, to January 30, 1647, Charles was in the hands of the Scots. It was a time of constant political agitation and intrigue. The Presbyterian party were still a large majority of the Commons, and, on the religious question, they were completely in accord with the Scots, who held the king at their disposal. But the Independents, whose leading men proclaimed liberty of conscience, had entire control of the brave and well-disciplined army which had lately conquered Charles. The Scots grew daily more unpopular, and were, from their exactions, regarded more as foes than allies. They were ever striving to force the king to sign the Covenant, and the Presbyterian party in Parliament were urgent in the same cause. The king demurred to such terms, without giving an absolute refusal. Then the question arose of a payment to the Scots for their retirement to their own land. The sum of £400,000, as arrears of pay for service was voted and accepted, and one half of the money reached York on January 1, 1647. Another vote decided that "to the Parliament alone belongs the right of disposing of the king's person." The hapless monarch cried that he was "sold and bought." On January 30th, the Scots left Newcastle for the border, and Charles remained with nine commissioners who had arrived from London. Escorted by a regiment of horse, and treated with marked respect, he reached Holmby House, in the county of Northampton, on the 16th of February. He there lived for some months with much show of royal state, and in the enjoyment of a fair amount of freedom. The Presbyterians, however, who still held the powers of the executive government, answered his request for the services of chaplains of the Episcopal Church by the despatch of two of their own ministers. The king declined their ministrations, and would not even let them ask a blessing on his meals.

Fiercer and fiercer grew the contest between the dominant party and the "sectaries," whom they held to be "enemies to all godliness." Cromwell led the way in urging freedom from the dogmas and ceremonies of any church. He himself preached and prayed with his officers and men, and the soldiers prayed and preached amongst themselves. The "Ironsides," whose Bible was as ready to their hands as powder, pike, and bullet, dwelt in the night-watches on every verse that told the fall of tyrants or prophesied the glory of the saints. The indignation of the Presbyterian bigots grew ever warmer against the leader of the men "who were called," as the

The Pres-
byterians
and Inde-
pendents.

Royalist historian records, "by a new name, fanatics." Of all the fanatics, Cromwell was the most fanatical, in his conviction that he was chosen for a work appointed by a higher Power. Of all the striving statesmen of the day, he was by far the most sagacious, and to this is due his wonderful success in coming safe and strong out of a whirlwind of contending interests and passions. The Presbyterian majority in the Commons were eager to dissolve the army, from which alone they had to dread effectual resistance. The Independent leaders, Cromwell, Ireton, Vane, and St. John, were equally determined that the army should remain intact.

A vote for the disbanding of the army was answered by petitions from the soldiers, which the House declared to be written by "enemies to the state and disturbers of the public peace." The army then organised a Council of Officers, and a Council of Agitators or Agents, composed of delegates appointed by the common soldiers. A committee of the House, sent to disband the army, proved able to do nothing, and on June 10th the rival parliament of soldiers, numbering over twenty thousand men, was gathered on Triplo Heath, near Cambridge. They described themselves, in one of their petitions, as men "who had abandoned their estates, trades, callings, and the contentments of a quiet life, for the perils and fatigues of war in defence of the public liberty." Their claim herein was just and true, and the sword was theirs which could maintain their cause against the factious bigots who, in zeal against Episcopacy, had striven to force upon the realm the Presbyterian form of church polity, and had wrought ruin and confusion in the landed system by wholesale seizure of domains belonging to cathedral-chapters, bishops, and the crown. From Triplo Heath the army marched on London, and on June 16th, from their quarters at St. Alban's, the troops demanded the impeachment of eleven members of the Commons—Hollis, Massey, Stapleton, and eight others of the leading Presbyterians. The House shows hesitation, and is anxious for delay. The City is in consternation. The army still advances, and on June 25th arrives at Uxbridge. On the following day, the eleven obnoxious members retire from Parliament; the Commons adopt by vote all the proceedings of the army; and commissioners are named on each side to regulate the affairs of the realm.

In all these later movements, the monarch, with the best of treatment, had accompanied the army that had beaten down the fabric of his power. In the hands of Independents, he had now his own chaplains to attend on his devotions. On June 3rd, a party of horse, commanded by a Cornet Joyce, had brought the king away from Holmby House. The officer declared that he was sent by authority of the army, to prevent the designs of its enemies, who would once more plunge the kingdom in blood. To Fairfax and to Cromwell Charles expressed his own desire to remain with the

Parliament and the army, 1647.

The army and the king.

forces, and he was now permitted to have an interview with his children, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Princess Elizabeth. Towards the end of June, the leading Independents, Cromwell and Ireton, Vane and Henry Marten, made proposals of arrangement to the king. The terms now offered were such as to secure for the nation, if accepted and observed, the full rights of Parliament, a reform of the franchise, and a limitation, for ten years, of the royal authority over the militia, by subjection to the advice of Parliament and a council. The subject of religion was provided for by the repeal of all statutes enjoining under penalties the use of the Common Prayer and the taking of the Covenant, and an Act was to be passed removing from the Church all jurisdiction that extended to civil penalties. On such conditions, as a basis for securing the rights, liberties, peace, and safety of the kingdom, "his majesty's person, his queen, and royal issue, should be restored to a condition of safety, honour, and freedom, without diminution of their personal rights, or further limitation to the exercise of the legal power." Charles had now a chance of resuming royal power, on terms which his own friend, Sir John Berkeley, declared to be most moderate from men "who had, through so great dangers and difficulties, acquired so great advantages." At this crisis of his career, the king's inveterate spirit of double-dealing, as a waiter upon fortune, led him further on the road to ruin. He was cherishing a secret hope of profiting by the dissensions of the two great parties, and of being soon in a position to dictate to both. To the astonishment of Berkeley, when Ireton and others came with the proposals, and heartily and humbly desired his concurrence, he "entertained them with very tart and bitter discourses." "You cannot be without me," was the cry of the infatuated man. "You will fall to ruin if I do not sustain you." Upon a whispered hint from Berkeley, he changed his tone, and "began to sweeten his former discourse with great power of language and behaviour." But it "was now," says his prudent subject, "of the latest." The cause of this department of the king was, that his intrigues with the citizens of London had led him to believe that they would prove themselves too powerful for the army. A Royalist reaction was afoot. Westminster Hall had been surrounded by unruly bands of the apprentices, loudly demanding the return of the king. The army under Fairfax moved again towards the capital. The tumults grew more serious, and on July 26th, a violent multitude beset all the approaches to the Houses. The peers were pelted with stones flung through their windows, and a mob rushed into the chamber of the Commons, demanding the rescinding of an Independent vote against the "traitors" of the City. The House, under pressure, yielded for the moment, and adjourned till the 30th of July.

The Presbyterian party now appears to be victorious. The eleven ousted members have returned, and new Speakers have replaced the Earl of Manchester in the Lords, and Lenthall in the Commons. The

ejected Speakers, with a train of members, numbering fourteen peers and about a hundred of the Commons, take refuge with the army. On August 3rd, Hounslow Heath sees 20,000 men drawn up under the command of Fairfax, and determined to maintain the powers of Parliament, as represented by those members who are now seeking aid against usurpers. It was soon known that the City must succumb. The king's hope of profiting by dissensions between Parliament and army had vanished. On August 6th, Fairfax, attended by four of his regiments, led back the Independents to their seats at Westminster. At Hyde Park they were met by the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and at Charing Cross the Common Council gave their welcome. Two days later, the whole array of horse, foot, and artillery marched through Westminster and the City, and over London Bridge, to their various quarters in Surrey. The operation was conducted with the calmness of conscious strength, and Clarendon admits that they passed through "without the least disorder, or doing the least damage to any person, or giving any disrespectful word to any man." The king was now lodged for three months at Hampton Court, where he often had the visits of his children, and received the homage of his friends of all conditions.

During his stay at Hampton Court, Cromwell and Ireton were in frequent conference with Charles, endeavouring to reconcile his claims with a due regard to the security of popular rights. In this attempt their strong simplicity of purpose was ever baffled by the indecision and duplicity of the king. On one occasion he declared, "I shall play my game as well as I can," and Ireton replied, "If your majesty have a game to play, you must also give us the liberty to play ours." The Independent leaders, by their very efforts to preserve at once the king and nation, were incurring for themselves a serious danger. The Presbyterians in Parliament, and the republicans in the ranks of the army, suspected them of aiming at a private bargain with the king, and they were fast losing adherents both in the House where their party was predominant, and among the soldiers whom their skill and valour had led to victory. The conqueror at Naseby ran the risk of being denounced as the traitor at Hampton Court. The "Agitators" who enjoyed the confidence of the troops were fast becoming free of all control. They issued pamphlets setting forth the most extreme principles. They became violent against monarchy in general, and showed a special fury against those who seemed to favour the cause of Charles. On the other hand, the king was found to be again intriguing with the Scots, and striving for a Presbyterian revival which would rid him of dictation from the army. To save such a man was impossible, and Cromwell ceased his visits at Hampton Court. A rumour then arose of some designed attack upon the person of the king, and a secret letter, attributed to Cromwell, warned him to provide for his safety. On the dark and stormy night

The army triumphant.

The king's escape from Hampton Court.

of November 11th, accompanied by Sir John Berkeley, Mr. Ashburnham, and Major Legg, he started for the coast of Hampshire, in the hope of taking ship to go abroad. The port of Southampton had been closed, and the journey ended with the king's arrival at Carisbrook Castle, where he passed into the charge of Colonel Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight.

A spirit dangerous to order in the state was now becoming rampant in the army. A body of men called "Levellers" had raised their heads, declaring "that all degrees of men should be levelled, and an equality should be established, both in titles and estates, throughout the kingdom." The sturdy sense and courage of Cromwell made short work for the time of these socialistic madmen of the seventeenth century. Accompanied by Fairfax, he reviews the regiments whose rank and file have been to some extent imbued with the poison of the new doctrine. The remonstrance of the generals is by most received with acclamations, but the men of the fanatical John Lilburne are wearing papers in their hats inscribed with "Liberty for England, their rights for the soldiers." Cromwell cries, "Take that paper from your hats." Not a man stirs to execute the order. He rushes into the ranks; orders fourteen mutineers to be seized, has three condemned to death by a drum-head court-martial; and restores discipline by the immediate execution of one. Apart from "levelling," however, the spirit of republicanism grows, and the king becomes aware that there are men who seek to make him answer for his deeds. Cromwell's desire was that the king should escape out of the country, but he could not venture on an open course. Charles might with ease have made his way across the sea during the first month of his residence in the Isle of Wight, but he was still entangled in his vain intriguing with the Scots, who sent commissioners to Carisbrook in the last days of 1647. By their advice, he now rejected new proposals from the Parliament, and closed with terms providing that a Scottish army should restore him to his rights, on his acceptance, for three years, of the Presbyterian establishment in England, after which the constitution of the Church was to be finally settled. Having concluded this dangerous alliance, Charles delivered his answer to Lord Denbigh and the other envoys from the Parliament of England. Their propositions were refused, and the last chance of deliverance was gone. That very evening, the gates of Carisbrook Castle were closed, and the fortress was surrounded with guards. The greater number of the royal retinue, including Berkeley and Ashburnham, were ordered to quit the island, and an escape planned for the next night was made impossible. The Parliamentary commissioners returned to Westminster, to proclaim what was, in truth, the complete triumph of the Republicans. On January 3, 1648, the House of Commons, "very sensible," as Cromwell wrote, "of the king's dealings, and of our

The Re-
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brethren's (the Scots), in this late transaction," passed three notes of evil omen for the monarch. It was resolved, that they should make no more addresses to the king; that none should apply to him, without leave of the two Houses, upon pain of being guilty of high treason; and that they would receive no communication, direct or indirect, from him. The Lords, with some debate, adopted resolutions carried in the Commons by a majority of 141 to 91. This was, as Hallam has described it, "a virtual renunciation of allegiance." The fanatical section of the army officers, with Cromwell as a president, in a meeting held at Windsor Castle, resolved "That it is our duty, if ever the Lord brings us back again in peace, to call Charles Stuart, that man of blood, to an account for that blood he hath shed, and mischief he hath done to his utmost, against the Lord's cause and people in these poor nations." The first words of this stern resolve point to work which the sword had yet to do.

The great body of quiet people, who desired the protection of the law under a limited monarchy, were not prepared to endure that a democracy should be thrust upon them by military force. Early in April 1648, a spirit of revolt was shown in London, and a fight began in Moorfields between apprentices and the militia-guard. The guard were beaten, but cavalry dispersed the rioters, who then raised the old cry of "Clubs," and were joined by the watermen, a numerous and formidable body. The fight continued through the night, and morning saw the rioters possessed of Ludgate and Newgate, with chains stretched across all the great thoroughfares. After forty hours of tumult, while the air was filled with cries of "God and King Charles," a force of Ironsides arrives from Westminster, and their terrific charges make an end. In Wales, an insurrection was aroused which called for Cromwell's personal exertions. The gentry had proclaimed the king, and some Presbyterian officers, with Colonel Poyer at their head, took command of the forces in the field. Pembroke and Chepstow Castles were seized, and all southern Wales was in a flame. On May 3rd, Cromwell quitted London with five regiments. He was leaving in his rear a menacing condition of affairs. The Presbyterians were again predominant in Parliament, and on the 28th of April it was voted that the fundamental government of the realm by king, lords, and commons should not be changed; and that the resolutions forbidding all communication with the monarch be rescinded. The Royalists of Kent and Surrey were in arms. Sandwich and Dover were in their hands, and 7000 men were gathered at Rochester, commanded by Goring, Earl of Norwich. In the eastern and the midland counties, troops were being raised for the royal service, and advices from Scotland announced the preparing of an army for invasion. The sailors of the fleet put their admiral on shore, and carried off their ships to Holland, where they placed them under the command of Charles, Prince of Wales. The Royalists were in the highest exulta-

Royalist
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tion, and expected soon to have the king at their head. Their hopes were doomed to bitter disappointment. Two attempts of Charles to escape from Carisbrook were failures, and the new civil war was but brief. On May 8th, before Cromwell could arrive upon the scene, Colonel Horton, on behalf of the Parliament, utterly defeated the Royalist forces in South Wales, at the village of St. Fagan's, near Llandaff. On July 10th, after seven weeks of siege, the town and castle of Pembroke surrendered to Cromwell. The Presbyterians of the Parliament themselves despatched Fairfax against the Royalists of Kent, and on June 1st, after a disorderly retreat from Blackheath, they were brought to bay and routed near Maidstone. On July 5th, the men of Surrey, defeated in a fight near Kingston, were pursued across the Thames into Hertfordshire, and finally broken up near St. Neots. The chief danger to the cause of the Republicans lay in the invasion from the north. On July 4th, six days before the capitulation of Pembroke, a Scottish army entered England, commanded by the Duke of Hamilton. He was joined by 5000 English, under an old Royalist leader, Sir Marmaduke Langdale. The Parliamentary general, Lambert, fell back by Cromwell's orders, before so formidable a force, and on July 12th, Cromwell started for the north. With the rapid movement of a great commander, and gathering forces as he went, he wore his men's shoes to pieces, but had their feet newly covered by a supply received at Leicester. His cavalry had pushed forward, and joined Lambert at Barnard Castle. By the 12th of August, all Cromwell's forces had united with the northern army. The enemy, after passing Kendal, took the western road, by Lancaster and Preston, in the hope of gaining Manchester. The whole force numbered nearly 15,000 foot, and over 6000 horse, against whom Cromwell was leading less than 9000 men, through the hills of Craven, down the valley of the Ribble. On the night of August 16th, Hamilton had reached Preston, and Cromwell was at Stoneyhurst, ten miles to the north-east. Langdale lay between the leaders, and, in alarm, he sent the Duke notice of the foe's arrival. "Impossible," cried Hamilton, "he has not had time to be here." The next morning, August 17th, Langdale's men were attacked and routed, after a very sharp struggle. The victor pushed on to Preston, and won the bridge across the Ribble. His troopers drove the Scots before them through the town, and night then closed the fighting. The Scottish generals, in a council of war, resolved to move on to Wigan, where their cavalry was stationed. The weather was rainy, and over heavy roads the wet, weary, hungry Scots were kept marching through the night. Their ammunition was left behind, and on the morning of the 18th, but half their number stood in rank on Wigan Moor. On the approach of the pursuing Cromwell, who had been also hampered by the ground, the enemy retired on Warrington. At Winwick, on the 20th, the Scots made a stand, but were routed in a hard-fought battle, after which

Cromwell received the surrender of General Baillie, with all his officers and men. The Duke of Hamilton escaped to Cheshire, with 3000 horse, but, in a hostile country, with his own men mutinous, the case was hopeless, and he surrendered, in Staffordshire, to the summons of General Lambert. The news of this entire failure struck dismay to the heart of Charles, and was a source of joy to the bulk of the Scottish nation. The Marquis of Argyle, and all the staunch Presbyterians, had been opposed to an invasion bringing aid to English Royalists, and now rose in arms. Argyle assembled his Highland clans, and from the western Lowlands large bodies of the peasantry, headed by their preachers, marched upon the capital. This "Whiggamore Raid," as it was called, brought Argyle back to power, and the executive authority was in the hands of the most zealous supporters of the Covenant. On September 20th, the victorious Cromwell entered Scotland, and was received by the people of Edinburgh, not as the man to whose might their countrymen had been compelled to yield, but as the deliverer from a Royalist faction who might have imperilled the national religion. The last scene of warfare, in the effort to deliver Charles, occurred in the siege of Colchester. The Kentish men who fled from Maidstone on the 1st of June, had crossed the Thames into Essex, and thrown themselves into the town. Lord Capel and Sir Charles Lucas had there gathered a large force with which they meant to march on London. The advance of Fairfax kept them shut within the walls, which were beleaguered for eleven weeks by the Parliamentary forces. Famine alone forced surrender on the 27th of August, when the success of Fairfax was tarnished by the cruel treatment of two of the brave leaders. Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were tried by court-martial and shot.

The news of the success in Lancashire was most unwelcome to the Presbyterians in Parliament. They dreaded the return of Cromwell at the head of his victorious army. Ready to save the king, but not to restore him without conditions, they now strove to foil the Independent party in their republican designs by a renewal of negotiations with the sovereign. On September 15th, commissioners arrived in the Isle of Wight, and negotiations, held at Newport with the king in person, were continued till the 29th of November. Charles now conceded to the Parliament the rights of military command, and of nomination to the great offices of state, and even consented to acknowledge that resistance to his will and power had been lawful. On the question of religion, no conclusion could be reached, and the whole affair, in truth, was little better than a farce. The commissioners had no absolute power to conclude a treaty with the king, and it was clear that no treaty could be enforced which had not the recognition of the army. A week before the termination of the tedious discussions at Newport, the army, from St. Alban's, sent the Commons a "Remonstrance." The Parliament

The
fate of
Charles,
January
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was thereby urged to bring the king to trial, and to decree that any future sovereign should be chosen by the nation's representatives. A clear intimation was conveyed that, if the Parliament neglected the interests of the people, the army would take matters into their own hands. On November 30th, Parliament, by vote, declined to consider the "Remonstrance," and, two days later, the soldiers marched from Windsor to London, and were quartered in the precincts of Whitehall. On the 5th of December, the House of Commons decided, by 129 to 83, that the king's concessions made at Newport were a ground of settlement between the sovereign and the people. The prompt answer of the army to this defiance was the clearance made by the process called "Pride's Purge." The regiment of foot under the command of Colonel Pride was brought into Westminster Hall, and every entrance to the House of Commons was blocked on the morning of December 7th. The colonel held a written list of names in his hand, and, as the members approached, the Presbyterians were turned back, and then arrested. The repetition of the process on successive days rid the Commons of nearly the whole party, and left in power the Independent faction called "the Rump." Matters now went swiftly forward to the predestined dreadful end. On December 17th, the king was taken, by a military force, from the Isle of Wight, and conducted as a prisoner to Windsor. For three weeks or more, though a captive, he was treated with some due regard to regal pomp. He dined in public, like our sovereigns of old, seated beneath a canopy of state, with the cup presented to him on bended knee, and solemn tasting of the dish before he ate. The unhappy man was trusting still to hopes of aid from Ireland, from Denmark, and from France, when the withholding of the first respect and honour made him ask, in bitterness of spirit, and with a sad foreboding of the future, "Is there aught more contemptible than a despised prince?" On January 2, 1649, it was voted by the faction in the Commons, that, in making war against the Parliament, he had been guilty of treason, and a high court, composed of a hundred and fifty commissioners, was appointed for his trial. The judges named included peers, members of the Commons, and aldermen of London. This ordinance was rejected in the lords, and on the 6th it was resolved that, whatsoever is enacted by the Commons in Parliament hath the force of law, without consent of sovereign or peers. The ancient constitution of the realm was trampled under foot to take a single head which wisdom, to say nothing of justice, law, or mercy, would have left unscathed upon the shoulders of its royal owner, in banishment for life beyond the seas. On January 20, 1649, the king appeared before the "High Court of Justice," in the Hall where, eight years before, he had been spectator of the trial of his faithful servant, Strafford. Above his head are floating tattered banners, torn from the hands of Cavaliers upon the stricken fields of Naseby

and of Marston Moor. The lawyer, Bradshaw, sits as president, with sixty-eight judges ranged around him and in rear, where Cromwell and Marten have the hindmost place. Algernon Sidney, the republican, is not there. He had opposed the trial, apprehensive for the failure of a commonwealth, if the life of the sovereign were touched. The arraigned monarch, proud and defiant, cool and free of speech, in this extremity of danger, from day to day declines to recognise the court, and a growing tone of sympathy is heard. The cries of "Justice, justice," are now mingled with the prayer "God save the king." The sentence of beheading was delivered on the 27th; the warrant for execution, addressed to three colonels of the army, was signed by all the court on the 29th. The remonstrance of the Scots was left unheeded. The Dutch ambassador strove hard for a reprieve, and Prince Charles, so soon to be himself a legal king, vainly sent a paper signed and sealed, with a blank space for inscription of the Parliament's own terms, as the price for the sparing of his father's life. On January 30th, amid an imposing display of military force, and to the horror of most of the spectators, the king died upon a scaffold erected before a window of the palace at Whitehall. The doers of the deed, to which, beyond all reasonable doubt, the consent of the clear-sighted Cromwell was unwillingly accorded, had committed both a blunder and a crime. The king's body was laid in a royal vault at St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ONLY ENGLISH REPUBLIC.

The Commonwealth and its legislation. Cromwell's conquest of Ireland and Scotland. Battles of Dunbar and Worcester. The Dutch war. Cromwell in supreme power. His Parliaments. The Puritans and social life. Cromwell's foreign policy. The war with Spain. Death of the Protector. The year of anarchy. The Restoration.

By a remarkable historical coincidence, the period of time during which the three kingdoms remained free from the actual rule of the late king's legal successor, matches in length the time during which Charles I. had been rid of parliamentary control. Nothing can be more wearisome or profitless than a detailed account of the futile efforts and schemes in which the successful revolutionists sought a durable substitute for the old constitution of the land. It was a happy thing for the future welfare of the people of the British Isles that the first attempt to found a republic, so speedily ended in utter failure. From that time forward, no appreciable number of responsible British citizens has ever sought to attain an extension of personal or constitutional freedom outside the

The Interregnum,
1649-1660.

limits of our old hereditary monarchy. From the day that Charles fell a victim to the fanatical and cruel zeal of the victorious army, it was certain that one of his heirs would, in due time, succeed to the ancient throne. The king's tragical death had done what nothing else could effect. It had wiped away the memory of all the tyranny and perfidy which had provoked resistance and rebellion, and had turned the eager gaze of a people, at heart devoted to monarchy, on another Charles Stuart who was now a hapless and innocent exile. For the time, however, the throne was in the dust. Within an hour of the scene on the scaffold at Whitehall, the serjeant-at-arms, in Cheapside, with the sound of trumpet, amid gathering crowds, denounced as a traitor any that should proclaim a new king, without authority of Parliament. Monarchy and the House of Peers were formally abolished. A new great seal was engraved, bearing the legend "On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored, 1648." A Council of State was appointed, to carry on the executive government. It consisted at first of forty-nine persons, comprising some of the chief judges, commanders of the army, peers, and members of the House of Commons. Bradshaw was chosen as the first President, and Milton was the Latin or foreign secretary. The navy was directed by Sir Harry Vane, and Cromwell and Fairfax shared the chief military command. We must not fail to note the legislative skill and sagacity displayed in the premature reforms which were carried by the statesmen of the short-lived English commonwealth. There was a great burst of enthusiasm for bettering the world, but those who thus strove to bring to pass a social millennium were but sowing seed which was doomed to be covered deep beneath a rushing flood of Royalist reaction. Another revolution was to come, and another line of kings, before our political system could be settled, and our social forces gathered, into the strong and healthy frame which could alone produce results destined to endure. Such, however, was the phenomenal activity of the men who made laws in an epoch when religion appeared to have gone mad, and chaos to be reigning in all civil affairs, that many of the great reforms and the most beneficent changes of the nineteenth century then first saw the light. The soil was stirred by revolution into a state of portentous fertility. Some of the growths of the time were, from the first, of vigorous fibre, and were developed into stately trees, rich in fruit for coming time. The multiplication of religious sects, encouraged by the tolerant spirit of Cromwell, was the immediate cause of our religious freedom. Constitutional liberty became assured in the acknowledged supremacy of Parliament. The principles of a firm and equitable administration of justice were set forth in statutes and ordinances, and much of our recent legislation was anticipated in schemes of parliamentary reform. Amid the turmoil of parties and passions, the ravings of religious fanatics, and frequent changes in the basis of authority,

the Council of State did its work, for a series of years, with unflagging industry and zeal. This powerful body controlled, under Parliament and Cromwell, nearly all public affairs, warlike, financial, judicial, and mercantile. The conduct of war and diplomacy, the provision of money for the public service, the appointment of judges and the arrangement of circuits, and matters concerning every craft and trade, were by them discussed and settled. The council prepared bills, and commended to the House of Commons subjects for legislation. In the brain of these sagacious Englishmen most of the great reforms had their origin, which, vainly passed in the seventeenth century for a people not yet ripe for changes of such a character, have become, in the minds of many, the boast of the nineteenth century, setting a mark upon the reigns of William IV. and Victoria. Under the only English republic, and the only English despotism, constant efforts were made to benefit by legislation the poorer classes of the people. One class of Acts was aimed at adulteration and other such dishonest dealing. The system of weights and measures was thoroughly reformed. An Act was passed to regulate the hire of public vehicles. In 1653, under the "Little Parliament," called by the name of "Barebones," a committee was appointed for the Advancement of Learning, and a proposal came before Cromwell and his council to establish free schools in every county, and to provide pay for competent masters. The establishment of the General Post-Office is due to the statesmen of the Commonwealth. A feeble beginning of this vast public boon had been made under the early Stuarts, who had granted monopolies of both the inland and foreign posts. An Act of 1656 established a central office to be known as "The General Post-Office of England," and provided that one officer should be created by letters-patent, under the great seal, to be called "The Postmaster-General and Comptroller of the Post-Office." The Parliament of 1660 renewed this Act, and so obtained for restored monarchy the credit due to the Protectorate. The establishment of a regular post led to a revision of the Highway Acts, and to an attempt, successful in after-years, to construct a general highway system. Another much-needed reform was made in the law of imprisonment for debt. In 1652, for the relief of poor indebted prisoners, an Act was passed with provisions which closely resemble our present system of discharge and bankruptcy. The scruples of Nonconformists were consulted in a measure requiring all marriages to be celebrated before a justice of the peace, and thus, by nearly two centuries, the Act of 1836 was anticipated. In the matter of religious toleration, some of the statesmen of that age were much in advance of their time. Cromwell, of his own motion, permitted the return to England of the Jews, whose people had been exiled from the land since the days of the first Edward. The same enlightened ruler strove to restrain all religious persecution, and was denounced, by fools and fanatics, as a Catholic in disguise, for the consideration which he showed to the

votaries of the faith that all the sects concurred in abhorring. The same advanced views were shown in the reform of legal procedure. The greatest changes of all were those made for the time in the administration of the law. To the Parliament of 1656, Cromwell expressed his disgust, as a thing for which God would call rulers to account, that a man should be hanged for stealing a trifling sum of money. White-lock brought in a Bill for confining capital punishment to murder, rebellion and treason, but the Protector's death came too soon for the measure to be made into law, and this, like many other reforms, was postponed until the wisdom of a then distant day conceived that mild and sure penalties are more deterrent of petty crime than severities driving humane juries to acquit prisoners in the teeth of evidence.

The vigilance of the council, with a powerful army at its command, was sufficient for the repression of anarchy, but was not able for some time to obtain in all quarters a submission to the new system. Not till May 30th was the Commonwealth proclaimed in the City, and the late king's statues flung down from their pedestals at the Royal Exchange, and at the portico of St. Paul's Cathedral. The Lord Mayor was deprived of his office before the municipal body would yield. Many of the beneficed clergy, the members of the universities, and the civil functionaries, refused to take the new oath of allegiance, but the government wisely declined to inflict any punishment, and by degrees acquired an actual, if not a formal, adhesion. There was one striking exception to this moderate course. Five state-prisoners, Royalists whom the fortune of the war had thrown into the hands of Parliament, were arraigned as "delinquents." Of these, the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel were sent to the block. The courage and ability of Capel were his worst enemies, and Cromwell, who admired the man, and remembered his former services for freedom as a member of the Long Parliament, now allowed his own "affection for the public to weigh down private friendship." The new High Court of Justice had also sentenced the Earl of Norwich, and an honest Welsh knight named Sir John Owen. Owen, with a frank sincerity, gave the court thanks, declaring that "it was a very great honour to a poor gentleman of Wales to lose his head with such noble lords," and he "swore a great oath that he was afraid they would have hanged him." When the matter came before Parliament, Norwich was barely saved by the casting vote of the Speaker, Lenthall. Owen's life was due to the intervention of Colonel Hutchinson, a Puritan of the noblest type. He saw that no man spoke a word for the friendless knight, and, moved with a great pity, asked the help of Ireton. Their joint and earnest appeal was effectual. The only other victim was the Royalist Colonel Poyer, who was tried by court-martial, and shot in Covent Garden. The three condemned lords died in Palace Yard, Westminster.

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Another trouble arose in the mutiny of some soldiers quartered in London, and ordered for service in Ireland. Five ringleaders were seized, tried, and condemned by court-martial, and one, Trooper Lockyer, was shot on April 27th in St. Paul's Churchyard. A graphic touch of the time is given in the use to which the grand old Gothic cathedral was applied. It had become a stable for cavalry in the hands of sectarian rulers, and an Italian, passing by, and seeing the place full of horses, cried, "Now do I perceive that in England men and beasts serve God alike." Other mutinous attempts of the Levellers were suppressed by Cromwell and Fairfax with conspicuous energy tempered by a wise moderation, and the public peace in England was secured.

The two other kingdoms which had been governed by the Stuarts were hostile to the new republic. The Independent party Pacifica-
tion of
Ireland,
1649-1650. was equally hateful to the Catholics of Ireland and to the Presbyterians of Scotland, and both those countries, lately in rebellion against Charles I., were now acknowledging the regal claims of Charles II. The ruthless vigour of Cromwell was summoned to congenial work. On July 10, 1649, he left London for Ireland, as general-in-chief and Lord Lieutenant, to encounter a strange confederacy of Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Catholics of the Pale, and Catholics of wild regions beyond the Pale. The Catholics had agreed to fight against the English commonwealth on condition that the free exercise of their worship were permitted. The king had been proclaimed. Dublin, Belfast, and Londonderry were the only garrisons held by the English commanders, and Prince Rupert, with a formidable fleet, was cruising on the coast, and making havoc of the English commerce. Cromwell started on his mission with the fixed resolve of bringing to an end that conflict of races and religions by which the country had so long been distracted. He was determined to make the English and Protestant population decidedly predominant, and he used for this end the fierce enthusiasm of his followers with a severity which has, to this day, made his name one of terror and abhorrence in the land. There can be little doubt that the course which he adopted was one of good effect for avoiding future bloodshed, and that the carnage wrought by his severe methods was far less than that arising from lingering and desultory warfare, with many alternations of fortune, and countless petty effusions of blood. Before his arrival, the besiegers of Dublin, under the Marquis of Ormond, had been utterly routed for the Commonwealth, at Rathmines, by the governor, General Jones. Cromwell reached the capital on August 15th, after a long delay at Bristol, before his embarkation at Milford Haven. Tredah, now called Drogheda, was his first point of attack. It was garrisoned by 3000 men under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, an old English Royalist, whose troops also were chiefly English. On September 10th, after bombardment and a refusal of surrender, the place was stormed, and nearly every man in arms was put to the sword. Trim and

Dundalk at once yielded, and then the victor marched southwards. Wexford, on resistance, was taken with the same terrible slaughter, and town after town fell, until a stout defence was made at Waterford, and the tempestuous weather drove Cromwell and his men into winter quarters, after the submission, from sheer terror, of the towns of Youghal and Cork. The royal ships under Rupert had already been made harmless. Blake, the brave defender of Lyme and Taunton, was now commanding the republican fleet, and drove Rupert's ships to take refuge at Kinsale. The Prince contrived to escape thence, and was followed, first to Lisbon, and then to Malaga, where his fleet was almost destroyed. In February 1650, Cromwell was again in the field. Kilkenny and Clonmel were taken by assault, and the victor disposed of large numbers of enemies by according them full liberty to serve abroad. Above forty thousand Irish became soldiers under the flags of France and Spain; and by May 31st, leaving Ireton as Deputy to complete the work, Cromwell had returned to London. Four years later, the "Cromwellian Settlement," as it is called, deprived the Royalist and Catholic landowners of a large part of their estates. These lands were assigned to Cromwell's soldiers, and to "adventurers" who had advanced money for the expenses of the Irish war beginning in 1641, or for the pay due to Cromwell's army. Large numbers of colonists from England and Scotland improved the outward face of the country, and the new prosperity of Ireland was soon to arouse the jealousy of English landowners by competition in our own markets.

The young English king, in his exile at St. Germain, had met the still younger French monarch, Louis XIV., a boy in his twelfth year. There was a brief suspension to the French civil war of La Fronde, but no substantial aid could be obtained from France. At the Hague, Charles had been under the protection of his brother-in-law, William, Prince of Orange, married to his sister Mary. He had been proclaimed king of Scotland on February 5, 1649, and commissioners had come from the Scottish Parliament to Holland, to invite his return to his northern kingdom. The conditions stated were, that he should leave behind him Montrose, and other friends who were obnoxious to the Presbyterians, and agree to the Covenant of 1638. The wiser Scots around him counselled the acceptance of these terms. Montrose was anxious for an effort to win Scotland by the sword, and Charles was induced to dismiss the commissioners with a refusal. His thoughts had then turned towards Ireland, and, on the invitation of Ormond, he had started for that country. He went to Jersey on the way, and there learnt the fall of Drogheda, which quenched all his desire for the enterprise. Another Scottish envoy came to him in Jersey, and he was now ready to discuss terms with the Parliament of Scotland. In the meantime, Montrose received a commission to levy troops in foreign countries,

and to wage war against the Presbyterian government in Scotland. In the spring of 1650, he landed in Caithness with a few hundred Germans and Swedes, but few of the Scots joined his banners, and he was utterly defeated by some cavalry of David Leslie's army. On May 3rd he was captured, sentenced to death under an act of attainder passed in 1644, and on the 21st he was hanged at Edinburgh, after a display of the most heroic resolution, which has always greatly captivated the admirers of loyalty to the Stuart cause. Charles had now consented, at Breda, to all the proposals of the Scottish commissioners. He was to swear fidelity to the Covenant, to submit himself to the advice of the Parliament and the Church, and never to permit the exercise of the Catholic religion in any part of his dominions. After signing the Covenant, with the full intention of taking vengeance, when he could, upon the slayers of Montrose, and upon all the Scottish Presbyterians, he landed in the kingdom on June 16th. He was subject to the daily penance of hearing long prayers and sermons from the clergy who were placed about him, and who did not spare, in their discourses, invectives against his father's tyranny and his mother's religion. In after-life he always said that the Presbyterian faith and worship formed "no religion fit for a gentleman." A further insult put upon him was the compulsory signing of a declaration which condemned his father's evil deeds and his mother's "idolatry." He soon had to deal with people even more offensive than the sour-tempered bigots who put so high a price upon their loyalty.

On June 26th, after the retirement of Fairfax, Cromwell was appointed "captain-general and commander-in-chief of all the forces of the Commonwealth of England." On July 22nd, with 16,000 horse and foot, he marched through Berwick. His opponent, David Leslie, showed much skill in his conduct of affairs. The country between the border and Edinburgh was stripped of all supplies, and Cromwell was forced to keep near the coast, in order to receive provisions from his fleet. Leslie could not be attacked in his strong position between Leith and Edinburgh, and after a month of manœuvring, skirmishing, and vain negotiations, Cromwell retired, by September 1st, to the little town of Dunbar. The English army lay around the old castle, with their ships near at hand. The position of Cromwell became very difficult and dangerous. Leslie, with 20,000 men, had followed close upon his track, and on September 2nd was encamped upon the Doon Hill, south-eastward of Dunbar, commanding Cromwell's road back to England, and giving him no choice beyond surrender, embarkation in disgrace upon his ships, or attack at an enormous disadvantage. From this position, at the crisis of his whole career, the English general was rescued by the Presbyterian preachers in the camp of Leslie. They urged the general, with persuasions amounting to com-

The
battle of
Dunbar,
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mands which could not be resisted, to move his army from the hill, and hem the English more completely on the south. This fatal step was taken on the afternoon of September 2nd, and the quick eye of Cromwell marked the change in his affairs. The Scottish host was now amid the corn-fields between the Doon Hill and the Brock Burn, running in a deep grassy glen towards the eastward sea. Leslie had no room to act, if he were pushed with vigour, and Cromwell told his plan to Monk and Lambert. The English stood to arms all night, and at dawn of September 3rd were flung, in full strength, upon the Scottish right wing. Lambert led the attack, and, after a fierce contest, "at push of pike," the Scottish lines were broken by the English foot, and driven in disorder on the main body. An hour's battle made an utter rout, in which 3000 Scots lay dead upon the field, and 10,000 men were taken prisoners. The city of Edinburgh was at once the prize of victory. Charles, with the Scottish authorities, fled to Perth, and Leslie was gathering at Stirling some wrecks of his defeated army. In December, after blockade and a bombardment, Edinburgh Castle was surrendered, and in August 1651 Cromwell captured Perth. Monk stormed and sacked Dundee with terrible energy and cruelty, putting the whole garrison and many of the people to the sword. Aberdeen, Inverness, and other towns submitted, and the close of 1651 saw Scotland, for the first time in her history, completely conquered. The English Parliament made her laws, and English judges held assize.

The young King Charles was crowned at Scone on January 1, 1651. In July, with David Leslie as his lieutenant-general, he took the boldest step of his career. Breaking up the camp at Stirling, while Cromwell marched northwards on Perth, Charles and Leslie hurried into England, at the head of 11,000 men. They took the western road by Carlisle, where Charles was proclaimed king of England. There was, however, no general rising in his favour, and Cromwell, swiftly marching, was on his track. On August 22nd, the invaders reached Worcester, and the royal standard was displayed, nine years precisely from the day when Charles I. had raised his banner at Nottingham. A general summons was sent forth for all male subjects of due age to gather round the standard of their sovereign lord the king, but England was not yet ready for a restoration. A few hundred men alone appeared, and on August 28th, Cromwell, strongly reinforced upon his march, was at hand with 30,000 men. On the evening of Wednesday, September 3rd, the royal forces were assailed in their positions round the city, and, after four or five hours of hard fighting, were driven in defeat from every point. The Scottish horsemen fled in every direction. The foot were scattered among the harvest-fields, or were hiding in the woods from the fury of the peasants. Seven thousand prisoners were taken. The Duke of Hamilton died of

Battle of
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his wounds. The Earl of Derby and two other men of rank were tried by court-martial and shot. A reward of £1000 was offered to the person who should "bring in to the Parliament Charles Stuart, son of the late tyrant." The reward was never paid. After six weeks of wanderings, hidings, and escapes, during which the hunted king was at Bristol, Bridport, and the little fishing-village of Brightelmstone, now known, with its abbreviated name, to all the world, Charles took ship at Shoreham on October 15th, and was safely landed, on the following day, at Fécamp, midway between Dieppe and Havre. His secret, first and last, had been intrusted to the fidelity and caution of nearly fifty persons.

The execution of the late king had aroused a bitter feeling in Holland against the English government, and the envoys despatched to the Hague, in order to form a close alliance between the two Protestant nations, were subjected to insults both from the Dutch populace and from the English Royalists. The death of the Prince of Orange in 1650 probably averted for a time the war which, in the end, arose from commercial rivalry. In 1651, the House of Commons passed the famous Navigation Act, which forbade the importation into England of any foreign goods except in English vessels, or in the vessels of the countries which produced the commodities. A great blow was thus aimed at a chief source of wealth to a nation whose mercantile marine was largely engaged in a carrying-trade. After the final defeat of the Royalist cause at Worcester, the smaller states of Europe were all eager for alliance with the new Commonwealth, and the States-General of Holland sent ambassadors to London. Warm disputes soon arose concerning the salute to the English flag, the right of search, the limits of the fisheries in the North Sea, and, above all, the repeal of the Navigation Act. The English council refused even a brief suspension of the obnoxious statute, and both sides prepared for war. Prior to the formal declaration, the fleets of Blake and the Dutch admiral, Van Tromp, came to a conflict on May 19, 1652. Van Tromp, with forty-two ships, declined to lower his flag in the Downs to Blake, who was in command of twenty-three. A four hours' fight ended in the loss of one ship by the Dutch, who then sailed for their own harbours. The English government declared war on July 8th, and a fierce struggle ensued. The Dutch, at this time, were far superior to the English in readiness for naval warfare. Their ships were far more numerous, their commanders more experienced, and their men better trained. Blake, Deane, Popham, and our other sea-captains, were all men taken from service upon land. In zeal and courage the English crews and captains found a compensation for all deficiencies. The Blake who had been "Colonel" and "General" soon became one of the foremost naval commanders of that or any age. His rival, Van Tromp, was thoroughly brave and able, and was well backed by his colleagues, De Ruyter and

De Witt. In June, with over a hundred ships, Blake sailed for the north of Scotland, where he captured or destroyed a dozen Dutch men-of-war protecting their country's fishing-fleet. Van Tromp, driven back by a storm from the Orkneys, and pursued by Blake to the Dutch coast, resigned his command, and was succeeded by De Ruyter. The enemy's new admiral drove Sir George Ayscough from the Channel into Plymouth, and then De Ruyter and De Witt, on September 28th, fought Blake in the Downs. A severe battle ended in the foe's retreat to their coast. Van Tromp again took the command, and, with seventy-three sail, defeated Blake, with half the number, in a battle off the Naze. The English fleet, with great loss, retired up the Thames, and then Van Tromp, with grim humour, sailed up and down the Channel, bearing at his mast-head a huge broom, in token of his sweeping of our seas. The States-General then declared England in a state of blockade, but the government was not disheartened, and in February 1653, Blake was again afloat, at the head of eighty sail, with Penn and Lawson under his command. A few days later he met Van Tromp, with seventy-five ships, convoying a large fleet of merchantmen, between Portland Bill and Cape La Hogue. A four days' battle ended in the retreat of Van Tromp to Holland. The Dutch lost many ships, but rewarded their gallant commander, who now removed the insulting broom. In June, Van Tromp was beaten by Blake and Monk off the North Foreland, and at the end of July, Monk, commanding during Blake's illness, inflicted a final and decisive defeat on Van Tromp off Texel, on the Dutch coast. In a three days' battle the enemy's fleet almost perished and their brave commander was slain. The war came to a close in April 1654, with the first Treaty of Westminster, in which the Dutch engaged to give no help to English Royalists, and to strike topsails to our flag upon the high seas.

The enemies of Cromwell, the enthusiastic Royalists and the theoretic
 Republicans, saw, with dread and hatred, that, by the natural
 course of events, the victorious general would become the
 virtual head of the Commonwealth. He had many supporters
 in the nation at large, but his main dependence lay in the
 army which he had led to victory. That army, like their leader, was
 anxious for a new Parliament which should duly represent the people.
 In February 1653, it was determined that the existing body, the
 remnant of the Long Parliament, should be dissolved in the following
 November. The members then sitting were unwilling to relinquish
 power, and their Bill for a new representation provided that they
 should retain their seats in the next assembly. The Bill was about to
 become a law on April 20th, when Cromwell, with a detachment of
 troops, went to the House of Commons, and, with many words of bitter
 reproach, drove them from the place, ordered the mace to be removed,
 locked the doors, and returned to Whitehall. The Long Parliament
 had come to an end, and the Council of State, in spite of the remon-

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strance of President Bradshaw, was dismissed the same afternoon by the same strong hand. Orders were then issued by the Lord-General and his Council of Officers for the meeting of a new Parliament, and a new Council of State was appointed. Nine officers and four civilians composed this body, of which Cromwell himself was president. A new assembly of a hundred and thirty-nine members, known as "The Little Parliament," came together in July. It had no constitutional character, but was composed of men selected, with the approval of Cromwell and his council, by certain ministers and their congregations, and of others chosen for their known public qualifications. This assembly, derisively called "Barebone's Parliament," from one of its members, Praise-God Barebone, a leather-merchant of Fleet Street, has been much misrepresented by Royalist writers. It was by no means composed of low, mean, and ignorant persons, and of "the very dregs of the fanatics." There were many, as Clarendon admits, "of the quality and degree of gentlemen," and Barebone sat there among men like Blake, and Rouse, the Provost of Eton, and others bearing the aristocratic names of Montagu, Howard, and Ashley Cooper, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury. Cromwell delivered a long speech, full of religious exhortation, and bade them "have a care of the whole flock," and show indulgence to men of all forms of faith that desired to live peaceably. Their tenure of power was limited to November 1654, and before that time they were to choose a new Parliament, which should settle a constitution. Many of the members were ready to promote moderate reforms, but their efforts were thwarted by an extreme section, using language which caused men of station and property to regard Cromwell as the only power interposed between order and anarchy. The "Fifth Monarchy Men," headed by Major-General Harrison, believed in the immediate second coming of Christ, to set up a kingdom following the four kingdoms mentioned in the prophecies of Daniel. The saints of Christ alone were to bear rule on earth. Such folly as this was repugnant to the statesman Cromwell, who declared that "truly they had need to give clear manifestations of God's presence among them, before wise men would receive or submit to their conclusions." On December 12, 1653, the Speaker left the chair, followed by about forty members, and repaired to Whitehall, where the authority of the whole body was formally resigned into the hands of Cromwell. In a few days' time, a majority of the whole House acquiesced in this arrangement, and the "Little Parliament" came to an end. Under a deed drawn up by the officers, called an "Instrument of Government," on December 16th, Cromwell was inaugurated as "Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland." The sovereignty was to reside in Parliament, with its legislation free from the Protector's veto, and a Council of State was still to assist in the work of government. The man of homely face and figure, for whom the Royalists, in vengeful hate, devised the name of

“Red-nosed Noll,” stands forth upon the page of history as one of the greatest of Englishmen. When he reached the height of power, from the station of a country gentleman, he bore himself with the simple dignity of a man who knows and feels that he is worthy of his elevation. He was forced by opposition to arbitrary measures, but he was a truly conservative statesman, whose strong desire was to restore, in all essential points, the ancient constitution of the British people. The republican feeling of the army alone prevented him from assuming the title of “king,” and from founding a new dynasty, to which even the Royalist peers would, in due time, have submitted. His career was cut short by death, and he left no fit successor. His chief titles to esteem lie in the honest efforts which he made to promote the public good by legislative and administrative reform, and in the high position which his foreign policy won for his country among the nations of Europe.

Under the “Instrument of Government,” a Parliament was elected, which met on September 4, 1654. For the first time in our history, representatives from Scotland and Ireland, thirty from each country, sat at Westminster along with the English and Welsh members. An ordinance of April 12th had declared the union of Scotland with England. The franchise was confined to those who possessed real or personal property to the value of £200. There was no religious disability, save for Catholics, who could neither vote nor be returned as members. The Protector, in his opening speech, described what had been done, in the way of ordinances, by himself and the council. Finance, prisons, debtors, highways, law-reform, had all been dealt with, and measures had been taken, by the appointment of a “Commission of Triers,” and a “Commission of Expurgation,” to choose fit persons for the public ministrations of religion, and to clear church-livings of all unfit incumbents. The new Parliament proved a difficult assembly to deal with. There were some extreme Republicans, and many bigoted Presbyterians, eager to maintain their own form of church-government. The Protector had informed the House that the great end of their meeting was the “healing and settling” of public affairs. The new members, as a body, were opposed to the supremacy of Cromwell, and now joined with the Cavaliers in abuse of the “base mechanic fellow,” the “Cæsar in a clown,” before whom all were prostrate when he returned in triumph from Dunbar and Worcester, and to whom the whole nation owed their deliverance from despotic power. Contrary to the “Instrument of Government” and to the terms of the writs for election, which provided that the new House should not meddle with the basis of power, as residing “in one single person and a Parliament,” the members wasted time in vain discussions and complaints on this very point. The Parliament was to sit for five months, and Cromwell, glad to be rid of them, interpreted the word as meaning “lunar”

Crom-
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months, and dissolved the House on January 22nd 1655. Cromwell was then, for a time, forced to exercise despotic power in his own person. He was left without a legal revenue, for the civil and military purposes of government. The country was divided into ten districts, each ruled by a major-general, invested with great powers over property and person, and a severe tax, of one-tenth, was laid upon the richer Royalists. In spite of all the ruler's efforts, the Presbyterians harassed the Episcopalian clergy, and a wordy war of sects troubled real religion. In September 1656, a second Parliament assembled, but, from the first, above a hundred of the members were excluded, as not likely, in the judgment of Cromwell and the council, to be of service in a legislative body. This arbitrary measure was aimed at the extreme men, republicans, Levellers, and bigoted sectarians, who were certain to cause trouble to the state. The secluded members then denounced the Parliament as "betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the Commonwealth." Republicans, indeed, had ground for indignation when, in April 1657, the House of Commons, by a large majority, desired Cromwell to assume the royal title. The strong feeling of the army caused the Protector to decline the name of "king," but the nature of his authority was modified by his acceptance from the Commons of a document entitled the "Petition and Advice." Under this new sanction of his power, he was permitted to name a successor, and to appoint members of a new House of Peers. On June 26th, at Westminster Hall, he was solemnly invested, still under the title of Protector, with regal honours and authority over the three kingdoms. He sat upon the coronation-chair, with the famous stone of Scotland placed beneath its seat, and a canopy of state overhead. The council and the foreign envoys stood around. On a lower level sat the Speaker of the Commons, with the members placed on rising tiers of benches. The judges on the right hand, and the corporation of the city of London on the left, with a mass of spectators in the further area, beheld the Speaker clothe the ruler in the purple robe, and present him with a Bible, a sceptre, and a civil, not a military, sword, as the emblems of a just, religious sway. Then Cromwell swore to maintain "the true Reformed Protestant Christian religion," and the peace and safety, and just rights and privileges of the people, and to govern the three nations according to law. The second session of the Parliament was to begin in January of the following year, with the admission of the once excluded members of the Commons. The scheme for a second House proved a failure. The omission of the royal title, apart from other reasons, made the peers of Charles I. stand aloof, and only seven members of the old House of Lords paid heed to the Protector's writ of summons. More than fifty new lords, chosen from the officers of state, the generals, and country gentlemen and citizens of mark, made up this abortive assembly to the number of sixty-three. On

January 20, 1658, the Parliament met, with "His Highness" on the throne in the Lords, and the Commons summoned thither, as of old, by the "Black Rod." The Protector's brief speech to "My lords, and gentlemen of the House of Commons," was the opening of a short, useless, and final session. The members of the Commons passed their time in attacks upon the new form of rule, and, on February 14th, the Parliament was dissolved.

The Protectorate of Cromwell was, if rightly viewed, an honest and a constant attempt to unite the executive authority of one with the legislative control of many. He was labouring to accomplish in his own day that which time alone, with many efforts, could produce. Throughout his period of rule, he was exposed to the attacks, in fierce invective and in plots that menaced death, of Royalist and Republican foes. He was surrounded by conspirators of every degree. The doctrine of assassination was openly preached by the Royalists abroad. In April 1654, a proclamation was issued in Paris, from the court, if not with the consent, of Charles II., calling upon any of his subjects to destroy the life of Cromwell, as "a detestable villain," "by pistol, sword, or poison, or by any other way or means whatsoever," as "an act acceptable to God and good men." On May 20th, which was Saturday, when the Protector usually went to Hampton Court, his guards were to be attacked by thirty stout men, and the perpetrator of the deed of vengeance was to be rewarded with knighthood, honourable employment, and £500 a year in land. The spies and the police of Cromwell were on the alert, and the Royalist projectors of the plot were arrested. John Geraud and Peter Vowel were condemned and executed. In the spring of 1655, Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, a favourite of Charles, was in London to organise a general insurrection. On March 11th, while the assizes were being held at Salisbury, a party of two hundred horsemen rode, before the dawn, into the city, headed by a jovial Cavalier, Sir Joseph Wagstaff. The sheriff and the two judges were seized in their beds, and the prisoners in the gaol were set free. Not a man stirred to help the revolt, and in a few days the Royalist insurgents were dispersed by a single troop of Cromwell's horse. Two of the leaders were beheaded, a few others hanged, and forty were transported to Barbadoes. Wagstaff escaped to France, and Wilmot, after a vain attempt to raise the north of England, rejoined his royal master at Cologne. At the beginning of 1657, Charles II. was residing at Bruges. A Royalist named Colonel Sexby went to England, and arranged another plot for Cromwell's murder. His instrument was a Leveller named Miles Sindercomb, who had escaped in 1650, after sentence by court-martial to be shot. A house at Hammersmith was to be hired, and materials provided for Cromwell's murder by explosion as he passed on his way to Hampton Court. This failing, the palace at Whitehall was to be fired in the dead of night, and the Protector cut down in the confusion.

Plots
against
Crom-
well's
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The plot was detected, and Sindercomb was tried, and convicted by a jury in the King's Bench. He escaped execution by self-murder with poison in his cell. A last attempt was made in May 1658, and ended in the execution of Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewit, an episcopal divine. It was after the failure of Sindercomb's attempt that the famous tract appeared entitled "Killing no Murder." The authorship was claimed, after the Restoration, by Colonel Titus, but the real writer seems to have been Colonel Sexby. He had been a Leveller, who passed from one extreme to the other, and in his pamphlet sought to prove, with many references to Aristotle, Plato, Machiavelli, Tacitus, Cicero, and the Bible, that it was the sacred duty of all good citizens to strive for the destruction of the tyrant.

In Puritanism, as in other institutions really based on righteous principles, the good abides, the evil disappears. The moral standards of the nation at this hour are a monument of glory for the men who, from a sect, became a power that, for a season, held control of state and church, and, on their fall, found their proper sphere of action. In the hour of political and religious defeat, when they could tyrannise no more over the words and actions of their fellow-citizens, the better part of them began to act upon the hearts and consciences of men. While it lasted, the dominion of the saints brought penance on the lives of the sinners. In the days of Elizabeth, the rigid Calvinist, Philip Stubbes, in his "Anatomie of Abuses," had denounced "the horrible vice of pestiferous dancing," as on the same level of wickedness with "the beastly vice of drunkenness." Under the Commonwealth, the more extreme sectarians waged war against Maypoles on the village-green, and mince-pies upon the Christmas festive table. The neglect of public worship was often punished by the stocks, and a very strict observance of the Sunday was enforced by Puritan magistrates. There was a most irritating interference with private affairs, and such expressions as "Good sooth," "Plague take you," and "God shall mend me," were treated as profane oaths subject to a statutable fine. All Puritans, however, must not be judged by the odious and ridiculous parts of the character of some among their number. They were not, as a body, given up to ostentatious simplicity of dress, a sour aspect, a stiff posture, and a nasal twang. They were not all devoted to the utterance of long graces, to the bestowal on their children of Hebrew names, to the constant interlarding of their talk with Scriptural phrases, to contempt of human learning, and to detestation of polite amusements. They must not be regarded merely through the partial sketches of Clarendon, and the distorting glass of Butler. No man was more eager than Cromwell to protect learning and learned men. His house was as remarkable for its refined amusements as for its decorous piety. The love of music was with him, as with the glory of the Puritans, John Milton, almost a passion. The description of her household in the

Memoirs of Lucy Hutchinson, wife of the Colonel who commanded the garrison of Nottingham Castle for the Parliament, refutes at once the vain belief that all the Puritans were foes of every harmless pleasure. There was, however, enough austerity in high places to bring about a perilous reaction. Not content with requiring decency, the rigid Puritan, in his day of power, aimed at enforcing sanctity. The natural effect was that of producing hypocrites, who waited with impatience for a day when they might plunge into excess of vice and irreligion. The policy which aims at making a nation of saints will end by creating a nation of scoffers. That no abiding mischief to the nation came, is due to the brief duration of the rule of the precisians, and to the presence in the Puritan ranks of men and women whose demeanour and whose lives proclaimed that sincere piety and spotless virtue do not demand a course of joyless abstinence or a face of sullen gloom.

The main object of the Protector's foreign policy was to place England at the head of the Protestant interest in Europe.

Foreign policy of Cromwell. In the treaty made with Holland in 1654, Denmark, the Hanseatic towns, and the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland, were included, and a treaty of friendship and alliance was also formed with Sweden. Cromwell decided that the alliance of France was preferable to that of Spain, which he justly regarded as the Catholic power most hostile to the Protestant religion. When his friendship was being courted by the ambassadors of both countries, he demanded of Spain that the trade with the West Indies should be free, and that Englishmen in Spain should not be meddled with by the Inquisition. The Spanish envoy replied that such a demand was to ask for the two eyes of his master. The spirit shown by Cromwell in foreign affairs is nobly attested by the words of Clarendon that "his greatness at home was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad." This "brave bad man," as the same historian styles him, was, in truth, a man endued with a high, stout, honest, English heart, bent upon sustaining the honour of his country amongst the nations. From the pitiful subjection to which the Stuarts had reduced her, England was now raised to be again among the most respected of the Christian powers. "It was hard," writes Clarendon again, "to discover which feared him most, France, Spain, or the Low Countries, where his friendship was current at the value he put upon it." The price which he demanded for his friendship was, that the liberties of Englishmen, their personal security, and their rights of conscience, should be respected throughout the world; that no sea should be closed against English commerce; and that no combination of crowned heads should attempt to control the domestic government of these kingdoms. Raised to supreme power by a revolution which all foreign monarchs must have regarded with dread, suspicion, and hatred, he made no effort to imbue other peoples with the revolutionary spirit. He formed no schemes of

European conquest, and never dreamed of trying to dazzle the restless factions which he ruled by the splendour of new victories won by his sword upon a foreign soil. He left to Blake the glory of making England's flag triumphant on the seas, and made the maintenance and increase of the navy his especial care. In 1655, the great admiral appeared before Leghorn with twenty-five ships, and demanded from the Duke of Tuscany redress for the owners of three merchant vessels, captured in 1650 by Prince Rupert, and sold in Tuscan ports and in the Papal States. The Duke and the Pope paid over the indemnity required. Blake then sailed over to the coast of Africa, to demand from the Barbary states the release of Christian captives, and the cessation of piratical attacks upon Christian traders in the European seas. At Tripoli and Algiers his terms were complied with. At Tunis, the Moslem ruler pointed to his fortresses, and bade the English do their worst. The cannon opened fire, and quickly battered two forts to pieces, a lesson followed by the burning in the harbour of the whole piratical fleet.

In the same year, before a formal declaration of war, a naval armament, under Admiral Penn, with Venables as commander of the troops, was sent against the Spanish possessions in the West Indies. An attack on St. Domingo was repulsed, and the only success obtained was the acquisition of the island of Jamaica, which was then regarded as of little value. The two commanders were, for a short time, committed to the Tower. Cromwell, however, soon saw that Jamaica gave us a solid footing in the West Indies, and heartily encouraged the settlement of planters in the new and fertile territory. In 1656, some of Blake's squadron captured off Cadiz two Spanish galleons returning home with the treasures of the American mines, and the people crowded the roads and streets from Portsmouth to the Tower, to gaze upon a train of thirty-eight waggons laden with the ingots and piastres. By this time, war with Spain had been proclaimed, and in April 1657, Blake won his last and greatest victory in an attack upon the Spanish at Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe. He had chased the enemy's fleet into the bay, where it lay anchored under the protection of a strong castle and seven smaller forts. Braving the fire of the tremendous batteries, the English seamen sailed in; and, after a fierce struggle of four hours' duration, sailed out again, without the loss of a single vessel, and leaving the enemy's entire fleet in flames. The great admiral, a true successor of the naval heroes of Elizabeth, and the honoured predecessor of the "mighty Nelson" and a long file of our bravest sons, drew his last breath close to Plymouth on his homeward voyage, even as his flagship sailed into the Sound. The beach, the Hoe, the citadel were crowded with admiring thousands, ready to welcome the man who lay dying amongst weeping comrades. In 1657, 6000 English troops, the flower of the Puritan army, landed near Boulogne, to co-operate

War with
Spain.
1655-1658.

with the French in an attack upon the Spanish Netherlands. On May 25, 1658, the allies, under the command of the famous Turenne, invested the fortress of Dunkirk. Don John of Austria marched from Brussels with a Spanish force to drive back the besiegers. With him came the great Condé, then at issue with his own country, and Charles the Second's brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester. The Spaniards, against the advice of Condé, persisted in giving battle, and the Frenchman, who knew his business, inquired of the young Duke of Gloucester, "Did you ever see a battle fought?" On learning that he had never looked on war, Condé replied, "Well you will soon see a battle lost." The English, commanded by Lockhart, fought for four hours, and carried the most difficult positions, being often engaged against English and Irish Royalists, commanded by the Duke of York. On that day of victory, in the battle of the Dunes, the foes and allies of the English together learnt the quality of the Puritan warriors. The Spanish infantry were held to be the finest in the world, and their renown had been most justly won on many a field. Turenne was startled by the exulting shout with which the men of Cromwell rushed upon the foe. Their levelled pikes bore down all resistance, and their Royalist countrymen could scarce refrain from cheering, as they saw an English brigade, outnumbered by foes, and little helped by friends, force their way, against the Spanish foot, into a work which the ablest of the French marshals had declared to be impregnable. On June 25th, Dunkirk surrendered, and the town was handed over to the English, in acknowledgment of the prowess of their troops.

One of the finest sonnets of Milton bears reference to the sufferings of a Protestant people rescued from utter destruction by the Protector's intervention. In 1655, the young Duke Emmanuel of Savoy was harassing, in the valleys of Piedmont, a race of people known as the Vaudois or Waldenses. Before the times of Calvin and Luther, they had been known and persecuted for their "heretical" opinions. They were now bidden either to become Roman Catholics, or to sell their property and quit their fields and homes. Upon refusal, they were driven to the mountains, and treated with fearful cruelty by the Piedmontese troops, and by mercenary French and Irish in the service of the Duke. Hanging, burning, and massacre were rife, and the news aroused in England the most lively indignation. The French government, then directed by Cardinal Mazarin, was eagerly seeking the English alliance, and Cromwell at once declared that he would never sign the treaty until Mazarin procured for the Vaudois redress, and restoration to their ancient freedom, from the Duke of Savoy. His influence was of immediate effect, and the Protector headed, with the sum of £2000, the subscription made through England for the poor Protestants of the Alpine valleys.

The last days of Cromwell were troubled by personal, domestic, and public affairs. His health had long been declining; he was in constant

danger of assassination, and Royalist plots demanded the utmost vigilance. On August 6, 1658, he had to mourn the death of his best-loved daughter, Lady Claypole, beside whose bed, at Hampton Court, he had watched for fourteen days, unable to attend to any public business. George Fox, the Quaker, met him riding, with the Lifeguards who ever surrounded his person abroad, into the Park at Hampton Court, and, as he tells us, "saw and felt a waft of death go forth against the ruler:" "when I came to him, he looked like a dead man." On September 3rd, at the Palace of Whitehall, after a night whereon the heavens were troubled with a mighty storm of wind, the great prince and soldier passed away. It was the day of anniversary for the victories of Worcester and Dunbar. On the night before he died, he faintly uttered, as was thought, the name of Richard, his eldest son, as the successor to his sway.

Death of Cromwell, September 3, 1658.

The new Protector, described by Mrs. Hutchinson as "a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness," was quietly installed in his position. A new Parliament met on January 29, 1659. The chief army-officers soon caused trouble, in their jealous self-assertion against the new House of Commons, and aimed at independence of the civil power. It soon became clear that Richard's power was coming to an end. He was abandoned by his relative Desborough, and his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, and the few officers who still adhered to him were deserted by their men. On April 22nd, the Parliament, in which the members of the Commons had done nothing but waste time in wrangling about their rights and the position of the other House, was dissolved by proclamation, and the army was left master of affairs. The Protector then resigned his power and went abroad. Returning from the Continent in 1680, he died in seclusion at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire, in 1712. His brother, Henry Cromwell, who should have been successor, was a brave and able man, of moderate temper. In 1654, he was appointed governor of Ireland, which he ruled in peace and prosperity for five years, winning the people's love by a just administration. He also retired from power in 1659.

Richard Cromwell, 1658-1659.

All real government was now at an end, but the direction, or misdirection, of affairs was assumed by the army-officers and the Republican leaders in the Commons. A pitiful remnant of the Long Parliament, about forty-two members, were recalled, and they played at ruling by appointing a Committee of Safety and a Council of State. The army, for a time, submitted to parliamentary control. The House of Commons spent its time in discussions upon the ultimate form of government. The Royalists were now on the alert, and many minds, besides those of the old Cavalier party, were directed towards plans of restoration for the lawful king. In July an insurrection was arranged, and Charles and James betook themselves to Calais. A Royalist force of several

The year of anarchy, May 1659 to May 1660.

thousand men, commanded by Sir George Booth, obtained possession of the citadel of Chester, but they were soon completely routed by an army under Lambert. Then the Parliament and officers began to quarrel, and the Commons, overawed by Lambert and the troops, ceased to sit. At last, the man of action, who should untie the tangled knot, was found. George Monk, commander of the troops in Scotland, interposed. He could thoroughly rely upon his men, and when the Parliament in London was ejected by the soldiers, he pretended to determine to restore them. Every approach made to him by the Royalists was coldly received, and with 6000 foot, and four regiments of horse, he marched to Berwick. The people of England were, by this time, refusing to pay taxes, and demanding the election of a new and "free" Parliament, which should decide upon the course to be taken. The fleet, under the command of Admiral Lawson, declared that they would submit to no authority but that of such an assembly. The civil and military leaders in London were in fierce contention. In December, the Parliament, expelled a few weeks before, met again, and then adjourned. Monk, slowly marching into England, met at York a friendly force under Fairfax, who was supposed to favour plans for a restoration of the exiled king. Monk still maintained his attitude of reserve. The Royalists abroad were perplexed, and the Republicans in London were suspicious. Continuing his march towards the capital, after leaving troops at York, and sending others back to Scotland, he was received with applause by the people, and reached St. Albans in the last week of January 1660. On February 3rd he entered London with his army, and found the place abandoned to disorder, while the apprentices paraded in the City, with cries for "a free Parliament." After a long display of strange dissimulation, during which he vowed that he would oppose a restoration, and yet was in secret correspondence with the king, who was at Brussels, Monk caused the election of a new House of Commons, which assembled on the 26th of April. By his advice, Charles had gone to Breda, in Holland, and had thence dispatched his famous "Declaration." This document, delivered to both Houses, and to the City Corporation, on the 1st of May, proclaimed the king's high esteem for Parliaments, promised to all men a pardon for the past, save to those who should be excepted by an Act of Parliament, and undertook that none should be disquieted in matters of religion. The answer of both Houses was in favour of government "by King, Lords, and Commons," with the vote of £50,000 by the Commons as a gift.

On May 8th, the two Houses caused the king to be proclaimed at Westminster, at Whitehall, and in the City. The Convention Parliament, in its delirium of loyalty, made no conditions for the country's liberties with the returning sovereign. It was decided, after some debate, that seven of the regicides should be excluded from the amnesty, and that every one should be arrested, with

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the seizure of his property, who had taken part in the late king's trial. On May 25th Charles landed at Dover, and on the 29th made his entry into London, amidst a scene of wild festivity and enthusiasm.

CHAPTER VIII.

ENGLAND UNDER A ROYALIST REACTION.

Character of Charles II. The statesmen of the Restoration. New settlement of affairs. The Clarendon Code against Dissent. Scotland, Ireland, France, Holland. War, Plague, Fire. The House of Commons asserts its rights in administration. The fall of Clarendon.

THE Restoration had at once rescued the country from the danger of a military domination. The old civil polity was re-established in the same form as it possessed when Charles I., eighteen years before, had quitted his capital, to take the field at Nottingham for civil war. All the Acts and ordinances of the Long Parliament since 1641, and of its successors under the Commonwealth, not having received royal assent, and all decrees of the Protector, now became invalid. The Puritan army was disbanded, and passed into the ranks of civil life, leaving behind them, in the minds of all the Royalists, a horror of the very name of standing army, which was to prove of service to the cause of national freedom. The old parties, though in very different relative proportions, were again face to face. The friends of constitutional liberty, who had taken arms against the late king, but had united with the Cavaliers in bringing back his son, conceived themselves to be the men in whom Charles II. should confide, if he desired to have a tranquil and a prosperous reign. The Royalists were looking for the full reward of a fidelity displayed through all the changes and the perils, the warfare and the exile, of nearly twenty years. They clamoured, on the ground of justice, gratitude, and sound policy, for the largest share of royal favour in the distribution of the patronage, and in admission to the councils, of the crown.

Political dissension was, as usual, complicated by religious variance. The Church was now in a chaotic state. The Presbyterians of the Long Parliament had scarcely, by their ordinances, made provision for their own form of church-government and public worship when the Independents rose to supreme power. In Middlesex and Lancashire alone had the Presbyterian system been fully established. Under Cromwell, amid the discord of the sects, a practical tolerance of all forms of worship, save the Catholic, had existed. When Charles became king in fact, as well as in name and legal right, he found a Church composed of a few Presbyteries, and of many Independent

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congregations, devoid of uniformity of worship, and mostly subject to no regular control in matters of religion. The moderate Episcopalians of the school of Usher, and the moderate Presbyterians of the school of Baxter, were anxious for a compromise which, with a revised Liturgy, should include within a National Church the vast majority of the existing ministers and people.

The Cavaliers, however, would not hear of such a plan. Their feeling of hostility to all schemes except a thorough restoration of the old Anglican Church was due to the hatred which Puritan rigour in religious and social affairs had aroused. The Puritan, in his brief day of power, had been as meddling and as intolerant as Laud. The use of the Book of Common Prayer, even in the privacy of the household, had been proscribed. Clergymen of blameless life had been ejected from their livings, and insulted by the words and acts of wild fanatics. Churches and tombs, paintings and statues, had been senselessly and brutally defaced, in deference to Puritan ideas of what was orthodox in faith and decent to the eye. A painted window which contained the figure of the Virgin or her Son, or depicted an apostolic or a mediæval saint, must be shattered into atoms, as being a memorial of, or an incentive to, "Popish idolatry." The softer vices were treated as crimes, and made subject to sharp punishments. Harmless diversions had been fiercely assailed, and, in 1644, the Long Parliament had gone near to provoking a general insurrection of the common people by requiring that Christmas-day should be strictly observed as a fast, and employed in bemoaning the national sin of making it a season of good cheer. To this cruel and offensive absurdity may be ascribed, in large measure, the oppressive statutes aimed against Dissenters, and the outburst of profligacy and profanity which, under a vicious king, disgraced the court and the capital, and aroused the disgust of all decent, sober Englishmen.

The restored monarch was, in truth, one of the most worthless men that ever filled a throne. Defeat, exile, and poverty had wrought in him a fixed resolve not, as he said, "to go again upon his travels," through the exercise of such an open and unendurable tyranny as had caused his father's ruin. His natural abilities were good; his temper and demeanour were delightful. When he came to the throne, at thirty years of age, he had seen much of both sides of human nature. He had been saved from capture and from death, in his wanderings after the defeat of Worcester, by the fidelity of poor men and women whom wealth could not tempt, nor any threats of punishment deter. In his days of exile, with little prospect of "coming to his own," he had felt the baseness and ingratitude of some of those who owed their wealth and honours to his father's bounty. Having known both good and evil in mankind, he rejected all belief in the one, and made his choice companion of the other. To Charles, piety, honour, truth, patriotism, friendship,

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and virtue, were not realities, but invented names of non-existent things, which men and women pretended to possess, in order to exact a higher price for services which might require the sacrifice of what they claimed to hold so dear. From sheer frivolity and easiness of temper, he let himself bestow his royal patronage and favours upon wicked men and women, whose selfish hearts he clearly read, but whose shameless importunity he could not bear to disappoint. The best part of his character lay wholly on the surface, in the polite, engaging air and manner that endeared him, in a fashion, to the people of the capital, who, knowing well his way of life, could not view him with respect or admiration. In his political conduct, the king, with all his baseness of purpose, ignorance of affairs, and aversion to toil, excites our wonder by the skill and tact with which he steered his way amidst the conflict of parties and the intrigues of statesmen. He thus remained, to the end, safe upon a throne from which his father and his brother were expelled. His chief ambition was to live an easy life, with money always in his coffers for the indulgence of his pleasant vices. For this end alone, he aimed at the possession of such arbitrary power as he could safely grasp. For this, he soon became the pensioner of the French king, Louis XIV. He gained, in this ignoble enterprise, no small success, because, in dealing with his Parliaments, he employed craft instead of violence, and, while he wronged the spirit of the constitution, kept carefully within the letter of the law. The craft of Charles was even found a match for French diplomacy. Louis, the Catholic king, who, as champion of the faith, had succeeded to the position once held by Charles V. of Germany and by Philip II. of Spain, was kept amused by hopes of seeing England brought back, by force or fraud, or by coercion and cajolery combined, into the fold of the one true Church. Charles himself was, in his heart, a Catholic, but prudence kept him from the course which proved his brother's ruin. His own experience in Scotland, and his favourite vices, made the Presbyterian form of worship, and the rigid virtue of all Puritans, alike distasteful. Apart from this, he cared nothing for religious quarrels, and only valued the Episcopalian system because its votaries were strong supporters of the royal prerogative.

The statesmen of the age were, as a rule, quite worthy of the master whom they served. Clarendon, indeed, was a man of general probity, unfitted by his want of tact and temper for the times when he was called to power. Sir William Temple and Lord Halifax were also men of integrity. They shine by contrast with almost all the rest, who were the most unprincipled set of politicians that the country has ever seen. There was no word or deed of baseness to which they would not stoop, in order to acquire or to retain the spoils of office, and to glut their greed of power. Trained in a time of revolution, civil war, and constant change, they were shrewd, dexterous, watchful observers of the apostate's right moment for desertion of the

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men, and betrayal of the cause, that had seemed to have their heartiest approval. They were men endued with no reverence and no enthusiasm, sometimes talking the language of devoted subjects, and sometimes that of ardent lovers of their country, but in their hearts regarding loyalty and patriotism alike with an amused contempt. Such was the king, and such the courtiers, to whom, along with a Parliament composed at first of servile Royalists, the ruling of the country was now to be committed.

The first proceedings of the new reign were the rewarding of Royalists, and the punishment of the regicides, or those who had shared **The Royalist revenge.** in the condemnation or execution of Charles I. Admiral Montagu, who had supported Monk, and with his squadron had escorted the king in his voyage from Holland, was created Earl of Sandwich. Monk became Earl of Albemarle, and Sir Edward Hyde was made Earl of Clarendon. Nineteen of the regicides, who surrendered within fourteen days, according to a royal proclamation, were imprisoned for life; ten were executed. These were Harrison and five others, who had signed the death-warrant; Cook, who acted as counsel against the king; Axtell and Hacker, two officers in command at the execution; and the fanatical preacher, Hugh Peters. These victims were, under the old law of treason, killed and cut in quarters, in presence of Charles himself, at Charing Cross. Many others of the king's judges were dead, and many had escaped abroad. It was in 1662 that Sir Harry Vane, who had taken no part in the late king's death, was executed for treason, against the express promise of Charles conveyed to both Houses. The king, in a letter to Clarendon, had declared Vane to be "too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way." This victim was the ablest and most ardent of all the Republicans, and with him the revenge of the monarchists ended. The feelings of the worst class of Royalists were gratified by the mean and shameful treatment of the remains of the dead. On January 30, 1661, the bodies of Bradshaw, Cromwell, and Ireton, already taken from their tombs at Westminster Abbey, were dragged to Tyburn, and there suspended, prior to burial in a deep pit beneath the gallows. The body of Blake was also removed from the Abbey, and re-interred in the churchyard of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Such was the treatment accorded to the bodies of the great soldier and the great sailor whose genius, valour, and patriotism had raised their country to the highest repute among the nations of Europe.

The Convention Parliament of 1660 voted a liberal revenue for the term of the king's life. The duties of tonnage and poundage, **The revenue:** which correspond to our "customs," amounted at this time **the army.** to something more than a million sterling. This sum, together with the hereditary revenue of the crown, nearly sufficed at that time for the annual peace expenditure of government. Then came a change which was of great importance to the owners of landed

property. The military tenure of land, once a useful institution as a means of national defence, had now become a matter of nothing but idle ceremonies, and of real burdens to the landed proprietor. Most of the soil was held under the crown by the mode of tenure called "knight-service." A large fine was payable on succession to a property. A license must be purchased before any portion could be sold. The sovereign was guardian of all infant heirs, and was enriched by the receipt of a large part of their rents until majority was attained. He also had the power of requiring his ward to marry any person of his or her own rank, or to pay a heavy penalty. A statute now swept away these relics of the feudal system, along with the old grievance of purveyance, which included the forced sale, at a price fixed by the buyers, of provisions for the king's service, and the power of impressing labourers for public works. The monarch was indemnified at the cost of the people at large. To Charles and his successors were assigned the sums to be derived from an excise on beer and other fermented liquors of home-manufacture. The two great sources of modern revenue were thus placed absolutely in the king's hands, with the one good effect of removing all excuse for raising money by unlawful means. One of the chief aims of Charles, in view of complications that might hereafter come, was the formation of the nucleus for a standing army. Not a penny was voted by the Convention for any such purpose, nor could any such demand be safely made. The king's object was attained by the retention in his service of Monk's regiment, the Coldstream, and of another brought from Dunkirk. With two regiments of horse, they were called the "king's guards," and in 1662 the little army numbered about five thousand men.

The Cavaliers, deprived of their estates under the rule of the Long Parliament, had dreamed that the return of the king would, as by a miracle, annihilate all the natural and moral consequences of twenty years of vicissitude. Many of the crown-lands and the church-lands had also been sold under the authority of the Long Parliament. The Commons, after much debate, could only agree that the crown-lands should be left out of the proposal for sales to be confirmed or indemnity to be given. By the skilful management of Clarendon, Parliament was in the end relieved of responsibility. The titles of estates purchased under the authority of the Long Parliament were invalid for the recent purchasers, and the due course of law placed the former holders, Crown, Church, and Cavaliers, in possession of their property. The Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, however, barred all claims for profits during the sequestration, and the Royalists hated Clarendon for his support of what they called an Act of Oblivion for the king's friends, and of Indemnity for his foes.

The Convention was dissolved at the end of 1660, and, early in the following year, a general election took place. The voters, in their loyal enthusiasm, sent up to Westminster a House of Commons almost

wholly composed of zealous Royalists and Churchmen. On April 23rd, before the Houses met, the king was crowned with great splendour, amidst uproarious rejoicings of all classes of the people. At the opening of Parliament on May 8th, Charles announced his intended marriage with a Portuguese princess. The alliance was supported by the French king, and strongly opposed by Spain, whose monarch claimed possession of the little neighbouring realm. The match had no importance for England and the king beyond the acquisition of the lady's dowry. Catharine of Braganza, daughter of John IV. of Portugal, was a sensible and amiable woman, with no special charms of person. She was from the first neglected by her husband, and provided no successor to the throne. But she brought to Charles the welcome sum of £350,000, and added to our territory the town and fortress of Tangier, in Morocco, and the town and island of Bombay, the first acquisition of the crown in India. The new, or Cavalier, Parliament existed, with periods of long recess, for eighteen years. The first business with which the members had to deal was the settlement of Church affairs.

The surviving bishops had been restored to their sees, and new prelates had been consecrated to fill up vacancies. While the Convention had been sitting, the king, in accordance with the Declaration of Breda, had professed a desire for such a compromise and toleration as should satisfy the scruples of the Puritans. Calamy, Baxter, and other Presbyterian ministers had been appointed royal chaplains, and a deputation of leading Puritans had declared to Charles "their large hope of a happy union among all Dissenters by his means." The new House of Commons, mainly composed of young men hating the very name of the Puritans, quickly dispelled this vain dream. At the opening of the session, a resolution was carried which compelled every member, on pain of expulsion, to take the sacrament according to the old Anglican rite. The Covenant was ordered to be burned by the hangman in Palace Yard. The king and the chancellor, Clarendon, with a pretended zeal for compromise in ecclesiastical affairs, had summoned a conference at the Savoy Palace between the bishops and twelve of the leading Puritan divines. The discussions there held dealt with the revision of the Liturgy, and many emendations were proposed, both in the prayers and in the rubric, for the satisfying of the "tender consciences" of the Presbyterians and other sectaries. Most of these were, in the end, rejected by Convocation. The same body approved the addition to the Prayer-book of the now disused services for Restoration-day, on May 29th, and for "Charles the Martyr," on January 30th. Conciliation was abandoned for coercion, and for many a year the Nonconformists were to suffer under this reaction from the bigotry of Puritan sway. The changes in social life had already given proof of men's joy at their deliverance from the ascetic restraints of Puritan rule. The May-

poles had risen again upon their wonted spots: the Christmas-ale was again flowing in the squire's hall; the peasantry were again wrestling and playing cudgel on the village-green; the stocks were no more a terror to the drunkard; the playhouses were open in London, and itinerant actors again gathered their gaping audiences in booth or barn. The zeal of the Puritans for civil freedom, their pure lives, their earnest religion, were regarded as disloyalty and hypocrisy, and too many of the dominant party hastened to show their zeal for orthodoxy by a display of anti-Puritan morals.

The minister in power for the first seven years of the reign was the chief author of the Acts of Parliament which were now aimed at those who dissented from the Anglican Church. ^{The} Clarendon code. Clarendon's chief fault as a statesman was that he could not adapt himself to the times. Early in the Long Parliament, after doing good work in the redress of grievances, and taking a chief part in the removal of the odious Council of York, he had ranked himself on the conservative side, and had thenceforward shared the fortunes of the discomfited Royalists. He was a most able writer of state-papers, a keen judge of character, a speaker of great weight and dignity in council and in Parliament, a man endued with a strong sense of morality and religion, and with a sincere regard both for the laws of the land, and for the welfare of the sovereign. He now found himself in a position where difficulties were created by the fact of his long exile, and aggravated by his own sour and stubborn temper. In fourteen years of absence from his native land, Clarendon had been unable to note the changes of national character and feeling. Void of tact and docility, he was jealous of the inevitable growth of power in the House of Commons, full of zeal for the royal prerogative, for Episcopacy, and for the Book of Common Prayer. He hated the whole body of the Puritan clergy, and spoke of them with contempt as "fellows." The one great principle of his policy was to re-establish the Church of England in her olden splendour, and his efforts met with a success which was pernicious to the character of the Church which he favoured. The marriage of his daughter, Anne Hyde, with the king's brother, James, Duke of York, gave him an accession of power and influence, and the new Parliament was willing enough to support him in reactionary measures. One statute declared that no legislative power existed in the Parliament, except in conjunction with the sovereign. The Act for the command of the militia took away all power of the sword from both Houses, and declared that Parliament could, under no circumstances, levy any war, offensive or defensive, against the king. "These words," as Hallam observes, "appear to go to a dangerous length, and to sanction the suicidal doctrine of absolute non-resistance to tyranny." The right of petitioning the king or the Parliament was restricted, and the law of treason was increased in severity. The Corporation Act required that all persons

elected to municipal office should have received the sacrament, according to the rites of the English Church, within one year before their election, and that they should take an oath of non-resistance, by force of arms, to royal authority. This measure was specially aimed at the Presbyterians in the municipal boroughs, where the power of the party was mainly fixed. The corporations practically returned the borough-members, whose election was thus placed in the hands of supporters of the Church.

The crowning measure of the ecclesiastical policy of Clarendon was **saint Bartholomew's Day, 1662.** the Act of Uniformity, passed on May 19, 1662. This statute required that all the beneficed clergy, all fellows of colleges, and all schoolmasters, should declare their assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer, which was now enforced for sole use in all public worship. Another clause in the Act required episcopal ordination for all persons holding ecclesiastical preferment. The clergy were to make the same declarations as those exacted from municipal officers. The bill was strongly opposed in the Lords by Ashley, afterwards first Earl of Shaftesbury, and the peers sought to obtain pensions for ministers who might lose their preferment, and exemption for schoolmasters from the subscription to the Prayer-book. Clarendon himself shrank from the length to which matters were now carried, and strove to save the king's honour, as pledged in the Declaration of Breda, by urging clauses empowering the crown to dispense with some of the more obnoxious provisions. The Commons would listen to no proposals of the kind, and it was enacted that all the clergy who, prior to the Feast of Saint Bartholomew, August 24, 1662, had not declared their acceptance of the Book of Common Prayer, should be ejected from their livings. The day of Saint Bartholomew was already infamous in the annals of religious intolerance. On this anniversary, more than two thousand rectors and vicars, nearly a fifth of the English clergy, were driven from their parishes as Nonconformists, and went forth into the world without any provision for their future support. They had received an example of integrity in the refusal of the episcopal clergy to take the Covenant in 1643. At that time the Puritans had shown some mercy to the ejected incumbents, in securing to them one-fifth of the income of their last benefices. The Cavalier Parliament showed no such consideration to men of piety and learning. The Church of England lost at one blow a crowd of her best and ablest ministers. John Howe, a student both at Oxford and Cambridge, had been domestic chaplain to Cromwell, and was famous both as a preacher and as a theologian. Richard Baxter, chaplain to the king, and a commissioner of the Savoy Conference, was renowned in controversy, and highly esteemed for practical piety as a parish priest. The best of the London clergy, and the most zealous, active, and popular ministers throughout the land, were swept away from the service of the Church, and the cause of Non-

conformity or Dissent was thus inaugurated in formidable strength. A great gulf was fixed between orthodoxy, according to the law of the land, and religion, according to the gospel of Christ. The day of victory and proscription was to be, for the Anglican Church, the beginning of a long era of languor and decadence. This decline was to reach its lowest point in the middle of the next century, and the Church was to rise into new vitality only at a period within the memory of men yet living. The loss to the Church was great and lasting, but the gain to the cause of religious and political freedom was to be not less conspicuous. The Church was stiffened into a shape precluding all adaptation to national needs, while the various sects of Nonconformists were moulded by persecution into an active and powerful body of men resolved to strive for the restoration of liberty.

It was in vain that Charles attempted to modify the effects of parliamentary bigotry by a Declaration of Indulgence, in which protection was promised to peaceable Dissenters, who should quietly worship in their own way. His real object was to favour the Catholics, and to assert, in so doing, his prerogative of dispensing with the operation of statutes. The two Houses foiled him in both these aims. An address caused him to withdraw his Declaration in 1663, and the following year saw the passing of the Conventicle Act. This statute rendered liable to fine, imprisonment, and transportation, for a first, second, and third offence, all persons who, to the number of five beyond those of the same household, should meet to worship otherwise than by the Liturgy or practice of the Church. A blow was also struck at constitutional freedom in the repeal of part of the Triennial Act of 1641. Its provisions for holding Parliaments in defiance of the arbitrary power of the crown were set aside. In 1665, the Nonconformists were further attacked by the statute known as the Five-Mile Act. All the ejected ministers were now to take the oath of non-resistance, and to swear that they would never strive for any change of rule in Church and State. On refusal, they were forbidden, under heavy fine and imprisonment, to come within five miles of any corporate town, except in the course of travel. The effect of this Act was to deprive the trading classes of the towns, who were mainly Nonconformists, of religious teaching from their own ministers, and to prevent the dissenting clergy from getting their bread by teaching where pupils could be readily found. Thousands of Dissenters were soon in gaol, and the Church, grateful for revenge upon her foes, remained in firm allegiance to the monarchy, until the evil day when her own property and prelates were assailed. She glorified the prerogative, and the doctrine of non-resistance, and was loud in reprobation of the depravity of men whom oppression, from which she was exempt, had driven to take up arms against the Lord's anointed.

The real spirit of the Restoration is most clearly shown in the treatment accorded to the northern kingdom. Since the **Scotland.** victory of Dunbar, Scotland had ceased to be independent, and a Parliamentary Union had brought her members to sit at Westminster. The Scots had received with delight a change of masters in England, which annulled the doings of Cromwell and the Long Parliament, and gratified their national pride by the revival of their ancient privileges. The Scottish Estates or Parliament again sat in Edinburgh, a Lord Commissioner and other high officers were appointed, and Scottish law was again administered by the Senators of the College of Justice according to the old forms. The people soon found that they had to pay a heavy price for this nationality, which was to involve the loss of their dearest civil and religious rights. The purpose of Charles and Clarendon was to set up a prelatical Church in Scotland. England was now zealous for monarchy and prelacy, and the enterprise which had proved fatal to the father could be safely carried out by the son. The Parliament which met at Edinburgh on January 1, 1661, has received the name of "the drunken Parliament." There is good historical evidence that the members, in their debates, were almost constantly inflamed by strong liquors, and their extravagant legislation supports the charge. A statute called the Act Rescissory swept away every law that had been passed since 1633. Episcopacy thus became the established religion of the land. The Earl of Middleton, Lord Commissioner, was a rough soldier of fortune, who had risen from the ranks, and he dealt severely with all opponents. The spirit of the nation had been tamed by Cromwell's conquest and by alien rule, and it was only in the western Lowlands that the Covenant was still maintained, and the law defied by bold fanatics who met on heaths and mountains to worship after their own fashion. A sort of toleration, in the shape of an Indulgence, was accorded to the Presbyterians who made their submission, and a large discretion was left to the clergy as to the form of worship. The interests of Scottish freedom were betrayed by some of their own countrymen. Sharp and Lauderdale, two of the basest of mankind, were apostates from the Presbyterian Church. James Sharp, a Presbyterian minister, had become a creature of Monk, and was sent to meet Charles at Breda. In August 1660, he returned to Scotland with the famous royal letter addressed to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, in which Charles promised to protect the Church of Scotland "as it is settled by law." The Rescissory Act made Episcopacy the form of religion "settled by law," and thus the king's honour, according to the letter, was saved. Sharp was appointed Archbishop of St. Andrews, with the primacy of Scotland, and, two years later, he was at the head of a High Commission Court. In this office he won his infamous name as a persecutor, and a full right to the vengeance wrought in after years by the hand of Balfour of Burley. Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale, was a zealous

Presbyterian, who, in 1643, sat in the Westminster Assembly of Divines as an elder of the Scottish Church. After sharing with the king in the defeat of Worcester, he was taken prisoner on the field, and remained a captive till the Restoration. He was then appointed Secretary of State for Scotland, and earned a lasting hatred from his own people as a cruel tyrant in enforcing episcopacy. Middleton's first victim was the great leader of the Covenanters, the Marquis of Argyle, who was beheaded for submission to the government of Cromwell. Monk, Earl of Albemarle, was mainly instrumental in sending his old friend to the scaffold, by producing private letters containing expressions hostile to the king, and favourable to the great Protector. Two other leading Presbyterians were also put to death. More than three hundred Scottish clergy were ejected from their livings under an Act enforcing episcopal ordination on every holder of a benefice, and a Mile Act, similar to the Five-Mile Act in England, was directed against all ministers who refused episcopalian rule. At the end of 1662, Middleton was removed from office, and the government of Scotland was left entirely in the hands of Lauderdale and Sharp.

During the reign of Charles II., Ireland was distracted by feuds of religion, politics, and race. The Irish Cavaliers were at enmity with the Irish Roundheads. Episcopalians, at issue with the Presbyterians of the north, united with them in fierce opposition to the Papists. The worst hostility of all was that which raged between the English and the Celtic races. The great difficulty which the new rulers had to encounter was that concerning property in land. A large part of the soil of Ireland had changed hands under the settlement made by Cromwell, and the present holders maintained that to them alone it could safely be intrusted. They had, it was true, been rebels against Charles I., but were now content to submit to the sway of his restored son. The aborigines were opposed to every form of English rule, and peace could only come, it was alleged, by their extirpation. The new holders of the land were staunch in the Protestant faith, and might, they affirmed, be relied upon to maintain the power of the present government against the Roman Catholics, who had, as rebels against the crown, sought the destruction of Protestant settlers. The Catholics, for their part, pleaded for mercy, after their late severe punishment. A new Act of Settlement was passed in 1661, and, in the end, the new holders, including the Cromwellians, the adventurers settled under Charles I., and the holders of grants made by Charles II. to the Church and to his favoured nobles, agreed to surrender one-third of their lands. Out of these estates grants were made to many of the Protestant and Catholic Royalists. The upshot was, that Catholics received back about one-sixth of the whole amount of land already held by Protestants, and the English supremacy was completely established.

The time had come for France to play a leading part in the affairs

of Europe. Spain, the great object of English dread and hatred under Elizabeth and the early Stuart kings, was now in her decline. The Treaty of Westphalia, in 1648, had settled the affairs of Germany in such a manner as to give effect to the policy of Richelieu and Mazarin in humbling the House of Austria and gaining the first place for the House of Bourbon. France was supreme on the Continent. Prussia and Russia had no existence as great powers. In 1661, in his twenty-third year, Louis XIV. found himself absolute master of a large, compact, and fertile state, well placed both for attack and for defence, and inhabited by a brave, active, and ingenious people. Her finances and trade were under the direction of the great Colbert. No unruly Parliament thwarted the will of the Bourbon king, who was his own chief minister, and uttered a simple fact when he declared that he himself was the state. Louis drew from his subjects by far the largest revenue known in that age, and had at his disposal a well-disciplined army of one hundred and twenty thousand men, commanded by the best generals then living. The French navy was a match for that of any single nation. The king was, in the phrase of Bolingbroke, "the best actor of majesty that ever filled a throne." He was, in truth, a great master of king-craft, an expert in all the arts that best display the merits of a prince, and best hide his defects. He knew how to choose able servants, and had rare skill in gaining for himself the chief part of the credit of their acts. In his dealings with foreign powers, he knew nothing of shame or scruple as to breaking the most solemn engagements, whenever his interest seemed to require an act of perfidy or violence. His religion was that of a strict and sincere Roman Catholic, and he was resolved, as far as in him lay, to maintain and propagate the true faith. Like his compeer across the Channel, Louis was a man of licentious life, but his energy and industry in public business were in strong contrast to the disgraceful indolence and frivolity of Charles. Such was the man to whom the English king was attracted both by pecuniary need and by political aims. The extravagance and debauchery of the court had already excited the disgust of the better class of Englishmen. Old and faithful Cavaliers saw with indignation the revenues of the state bestowed with a lavish hand upon the wicked men and women who surrounded the throne, while their own services in past years had brought them nothing but poverty and neglect. In 1662 the great fortress of Dunkirk, the Gibraltar of that age, was sold to Louis for a large sum. The place was a key to the Low Countries, and its possession was a signal proof of English prowess in the days of Cromwell. Clarendon had the credit of being bribed to consent to this transaction, and the people gave the name of "Dunkirk House" to the splendid mansion which the Chancellor was then building near St. James's. Wise and patriotic men looked askance at the growing power of France, and deeply felt the just scorn expressed by foreigners for the English court. The Dutch caricatured the king

in some of his favourite attitudes as a saunterer. In one print, he was shown with pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging empty; in another, with two courtiers picking his pockets; in a third, he was depicted as leading two ladies, whilst other ladies were abusing him. But the help of Louis was needful to Charles for other ends than that of profuse expenditure on vice and folly. The English king was looking forward to days when he might obtain not merely toleration, but supremacy, for the Roman Catholic faith, which he secretly cherished. A restored belief in infallible authority for matters of religion might prepare the way for the re-establishment of despotic power in political affairs. The arms of Louis might hereafter aid in such an enterprise. In any case, it would be well for so needy a king to maintain friendly relations with so wealthy and powerful a neighbour. With these views, Charles was prepared, for hard cash, or good bills which could be readily discounted, to connive at or to aid the ambitious schemes of Louis in Continental policy.

The first war under the restored monarchy was one with our old commercial rivals, the Dutch. The African Companies of England and Holland quarrelled about the profits derived from slaves and gold-dust, and the contests of traders soon led to national warfare. The House of Commons lent a ready ear to the petitions of aggrieved merchants. The king saw in a declaration of war the occasion for plentiful supplies of money, a large percentage of which might be diverted from its legitimate use to the supply of his own ignoble and vicious expenditure. The Duke of York was eager to show his prowess as Lord High Admiral. War was formally declared in March 1665, and in June the fleets met off Lowestoft. In the battle of Sole Bay, the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the Earl of Sandwich gained a victory over the Dutch commanded by Admiral Opdam, whose ship blew up when in close action with that of the Duke. The loss of life on the side of the conquerors was great, and the advantage was thrown away by lack of zeal in pursuit. Cowardice or treachery was alleged by the enemies of the court party, and the Duke of York gave up the command to Albemarle and Rupert. Early in 1666, Louis XIV. joined the Dutch against England, but he could give them little help, and, under such a statesman as De Witt, and such a commander as De Ruyter, they needed no allies against a foe paralysed by mismanagement and neglect. Albemarle knew little of naval tactics, and, ignorant of the movements of the Dutch fleet, he was caught in the Downs, with fifty-four ships, by De Ruyter with eighty sail of the line. A two days' battle, on June 1st and 2nd, ended in our defeat, with the loss of many vessels. The truth was for some days withheld from the nation, through the management of Roger L'Estrange, editor of the *London Gazette*, the new official paper. The Licensing Act of 1662 had put severe restrictions

Disaster
and dis-
grace.
(1.) The
Dutch
war,
1665-1667.

on the printing of books, and to L'Estrange was now committed the "privilege of publishing all intelligence, together with the survey and inspection of the press." The victory claimed by the court party was soon known in its real proportions, when Evelyn saw at Sheerness the shattered remnant of the fleet, with rigging torn to pieces by the newly-invented chain-shot of the foe. On July 25th, off the North Foreland, Albemarle and Rupert met the Dutch, under De Ruyter, with better fortune. The enemy were driven to their coast, and a squadron of our boats and fire-ships burned two men-of-war and a large number of merchant-ships at Schelling. To the disgrace of civilised warfare, the English then reduced to ashes the thousand houses of the unfortified town of Brandaris. The havoc was viewed by De Witt, and he swore never to sheathe the sword until he had obtained revenge. The English king and courtiers were his best assistants in this endeavour. The millions of money voted for the war were to a large extent wasted upon riotous living. After the victory of July, the navy was neglected; ships lay dismantled in harbour; the sailors were starving for want of their pay. In 1667 it was impossible to gather a decent squadron, and our coasts were left without defence. Men were murmuring the name of the dead Oliver, and longing for the days that were past. On June 8th, a Dutch fleet of eighty sail was off Harwich. On the 10th, the enemy were at the Nore, and Albemarle, "with a great many idle lords and gentlemen," was ashore, and helpless, at Gravesend. Panic was rife in London and the eastern counties, and on the 11th news arrived of the capture of Sheerness. The drums were beating all night in London for the trained-bands to muster in arms, with a fortnight's cooked provisions. The Dutch next sailed up the Medway, broke through the chains and booms placed there by Albemarle, despised the guns at Upnor Castle and the Chatham forts, and burned the unrigged men-of-war in the river. The *Royal Charles*, which had brought the restored king to England, was secured by the invaders as a trophy, and then they sailed back to the Thames, and blockaded London for several weeks. Neglect and oppression had, for a time, trodden out of our gallant sailors the spirit of patriotism. There were many of them on board the Dutch ships, who called out to their countrymen on the river, "We did heretofore fight for tickets; now we fight for dollars." The capital was in an ominous condition. Mobs gathered at Westminster, with cries of "A Parliament, a Parliament." The people broke the Chancellor's windows, and set up a gibbet before his gate. The blockade cut off all supply of sea-borne coal, and Evelyn, summoned before the council, was bidden by the king to have search made round London for supplies of peat or turf fit for fuel. To this pass were matters brought by a profligate and corrupt court, who now hastened to patch up a peace. On July 29th, the Treaty of Breda was made between England, Holland, and France,

In August 1664, an English expedition had captured the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam, in North America, ever since called New York, in honour of the king's brother. This place was finally ceded by the Dutch, in exchange for Surinam, now Dutch Guiana. We also obtained possession of some of the Virgin Isles and of Antigua, in the West Indies, of Cape Coast Castle, in Africa, and of the colonies of New Jersey and Delaware.

During the war with the Dutch, the people of London were the victims of two of the greatest disasters of modern history. The June of the year 1665 came in with extraordinary heat, after the driest spring and winter that ever man had known in England. The meadows around London were devoid of grass, and the sun glowed with fervour in a cloudless sky. An attack of the pestilence known as the Plague, which had visited England at intervals for more than fifty years, was intensified by the tropical warmth that, amid the narrow lanes of the capital, gave deadly virulence to the foul gases of an insanitary age. It was on June 7th that Pepys, "much against his will," saw two or three houses in Drury Lane marked with a red cross upon the doors, and "Lord have mercy upon us" written there, in token of the presence of the fell disorder. The horrors which followed may be read in Defoe's Journal of the Plague Year. Superstition and panic, amid the ravages of a disease that no medical art could deal with, made the bodies of men more liable to seizure, and the deaths, at the worst time, reached the dreadful total of 10,000 per week, in a population of less than half a million. Thousands of people fled from London, carrying with them the seeds of disease into many places of refuge in the country. The whole mortality is accounted to have reached about 100,000 in the space of six months. The winter's cold brought a cessation of the calamity in the early days of 1666. The following autumn saw London ravaged by a conflagration such as had never been known in Europe since the fire of Rome in the days of Nero. The cause was the over-heating of an oven, on the night of Saturday, September 1st, at the house of Farriner, the king's baker. The effect was the clearing of the ground, in a fire which, under a strong wind, burned for four nights and three days, from the Tower to the Temple, east and west, and from the Thames to Smithfield, towards the north. Over 13,000 houses, eighty-nine churches, and the magnificent old Gothic St. Paul's, were consumed in this torrent of flame, the smoke of which darkened the sky for a distance of forty miles. On Wednesday, September 5th, after active exertions of Charles and the Duke of York, the flames were checked by the device of blowing up houses to form a gap which, with an abating wind, could not be crossed. Only eight lives were sacrificed. Above 200,000 persons encamped houseless in the adjoining fields. The loss of property exceeded the amount of seven millions of pounds, and the revenue suffered grievously from the destruction of dwellings liable to the tax of two shillings per chimney.

(2.) The
Plague
1665. (3.)
The fire,
1666.

The interruption to industry involved a further serious loss of profits, from the consumption of the very stocks which should carry on and revive trade. The selfish and cruel spirit of party was shown in the exultation of some of the courtiers over the destruction of a place whose citizens had wielded arms against tyrannical power. "Now," they cried, "the rebellious city is ruined, the king is absolute, and was never king indeed till now." The great fire had not only burnt out the lurking elements of pestilence, and destroyed the lairs of dirt where infectious fever breeds, but had given a grand opportunity for the construction of a noble capital, worthy of a great and wealthy nation. The occasion was there, and the man who could use it, in the person of Sir Christopher Wren. The fitful energy of the king relapsed into his native indolence, when the flames of the fire became extinct. The plan of Wren, formed after "an exact survey of the whole area and confines of the burning," for a new London of spacious streets, with a minimum width of thirty feet, and a convenient placing of public buildings, was not carried into effect. The haste of the citizens to rebuild, and their determination to replace their homes on the old sites, were obstacles not to be overcome. The design of Wren included a quay along the whole bank of the river, from Blackfriars to the Tower. The one advantage secured was the substitution of brick for wood. The same narrow thoroughfares as of old were formed, and, in the course of two centuries, modern architects have slowly cleared away, at enormous cost, the erections that followed the great fire.

Amidst the disasters of the time, important progress was made in the direction of constitutional rule. The Cavalier Commons had stepped into an inheritance of power won by the public spirit and by the sword of the Puritans whom the Royalists had hated, and now despised. The executive government was no more to be what it was in Tudor times. The shameful waste of public moneys voted for the Dutch war aroused just indignation in patriotic men. A majority of the House resolved that, while the Commons alone could legally grant money to the king, the members of that House should also control the men who spent it. A swift and steady advance was made in the transfer of administrative powers from the crown to the House of Commons. The king was to meet with interference in the exercise of all his prerogatives. He was to be driven to part with ministers whom he desired to retain. He was to be forced into assent to laws which he disliked. He was to submit to dictation in foreign policy, and to direction in the management of war. In 1665 the Commons carried a resolution that money voted for the war should be used for no other purpose. The prophecy of Harrington was being accomplished, that if "a Parliament of the greatest Cavaliers, so they be men of estates, should sit but for seven years, they will all turn Commonwealth's men." The king and Clarendon had to fiercely oppose a bill for the appointment of commissioners "to examine all accounts

of those who had received or issued out any moneys for the war," and for Parliament to punish any persons found in fault. The matter was delayed by a prorogation in 1667, but, in the following year, Charles, on receiving a supply of money, was forced to promise that it should be "laid out for the ends it is given."

Clarendon had, during his seven years' tenure of power, made enemies on all hands. His virtues and his vices alike had a share in his fall. The Puritans regarded him as a ruthless bigot. Unscrupulous Royalists hated him for his honest zeal in maintaining the Act of Indemnity. The king was weary of the Chancellor's lectures on loose living, and the reigning favourite, Lady Castlemaine, inflamed her royal lover against the man who denounced the lavish grants made to herself. The Duke of Buckingham was a main instrument in the ruin of the Chancellor, who had given deep offence to the courtiers by a haughty and passionate demeanour, and to the people by an accumulation of wealth ascribed, in part, to French bribery. Clarendon indignantly refused the king's request that he should resign, and was then forced to give up the seals. On October 15, 1667, both Houses voted an address of thanks for the Chancellor's removal, and this was followed in November by his impeachment for high treason on seventeen charges. These were, in the main, vague, false, or grossly exaggerated, and, in any case, could not amount to high treason. His supporters in the Lords were many, and a conflict between the Houses was imminent, when the king interposed, and caused Clarendon's retirement to France. In December an Act was passed, by which he was banished for life, unless he should return for trial by the following 1st of February. The fallen statesman had already addressed a letter of vindication to the House of Peers, and he retired, in the end, to Montpellier. His life ended at Rouen in December 1674. To these seven years of exile we owe much of the historical work which has given Clarendon his purest and most enduring fame.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CAVALIER PARLIAMENT AND THE CATHOLICS.

The Cabal ministers. Temple and the Triple Alliance. Charles a pensioner of Louis. War with Holland. The Test Act. Danby and the Orange marriage. Titus Oates and his "Plot." Halifax and Shaftesbury. The Habeas Corpus Act.

The reputation of Clarendon has gained much by comparison with that of most of the men who inherited his power. The seals of the Chancellor's office were given to Sir Orlando Bridgman, Southampton, the most respectable of the king's first advisers, was dead. Albemarle was worn out. The Duke of Buckingham came

Fall of Clarendon.

The successors of Clarendon.

into office, with Arlington as Secretary of State, charged with the direction of foreign affairs. An attempt was now made, really in the interests of the Catholics, to remove some of the oppressions under which the Nonconformists laboured. Imprisoned Dissenters were set free, and a measure was prepared to enable the expelled Presbyterians to re-enter the Church. Parliament, however, opposed all schemes for toleration or comprehension, and the policy of persecution was soon again fully enforced. The chief minister at this time was really Charles himself. Among his advisers we soon find the men who are known by the name of the Cabal, then having the harmless meaning of "secret council," but since their day invested with an odious significance. There never was, in truth, such a body as the Cabal Ministry. The Cabinet, in its modern sense, had not yet begun to exist, but the initial letters of the names of five chief members of the privy council, taken in a certain order, happened to form the word Cabal. These five men were Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale. Of these men, Clifford was one of the most respectable. He was a Catholic, full of a hearty hatred to the established religion of his country, and was, in equal measure, the foe of constitutional freedom. But his fiery and impetuous temper was that of a man by no means devoid of a sense of honour and duty. It was under Charles II. that, for the first time in our history, skill and eloquence in debate became of importance to politicians. In spite of corruption by the gold of Charles and Louis, and the consequent degradation of the House of Commons, the influence of that House was constantly rising. A great debater became a power in the state, and it was by parliamentary talents that Clifford rose from obscurity to his high position. Henry Bennet, Lord Arlington, was a man whose life had been mostly passed on the Continent. He had there become almost indifferent to forms of faith or modes of rule, but had probably a mild preference for absolutism like that of Louis, and for the doctrines and practice of the Church of Rome. He had no virtue, wisdom, or real intellectual power, but was possessed of much skill in adapting his looks and conversation to the topic and company of the hour. He was thought to be sagacious because of the serious demeanour which he could assume, while a keen political satirist of the day tells us that "Bennet's grave looks were a pretence." With the king he won favour by the vivacious humour of his talk, and by his talent for turning better men than himself into ridicule. Buckingham has been drawn by a master's hand in Dryden's satire. Surfeited with pleasure, he had taken to politics as an amusement, and "was everything by starts and nothing long," as love of change made him divert his wit and parts to every kind of intellectual and moral, or immoral, distraction. Ashley, better known as the first Earl of Shaftesbury, was one of the ablest, as he remains one of the most famous, of the statesmen of that age. As the unscrupulous possessor of all the arts which belong to a great party-leader, he

had passed from side to side under Charles I. and the Commonwealth. His character, as drawn by Butler and Dryden, shows the man as one devoid of principle, and possessed of wonderful versatility and dexterity, combined, in a rare union of qualities, with the utmost boldness of spirit and the greatest violence of passion. His skill in perfidy long kept him safe; impetuous confidence in his own wisdom and his own good fortune were, in the end, the causes of his ruin. Lauderdale is already known to us as the cruel persecutor, for his own selfish ends, of the form of religion to which the great body of his countrymen were attached, and which he himself in secret preferred.

The country had begun to feel a great and well-founded distrust of the ambitious schemes of Louis: The death of Philip IV. of Spain in 1665, and the succession of his only son as Charles II., a child imbecile in body and mind, opened up to the French king a prospect of aggrandisement in the Peninsula. His wife, Maria Theresa, was a daughter of the late Spanish king, but, on her marriage into France, she had renounced all rights of inheritance of the Spanish crown. In spite of this renunciation, Louis had resolved to assert his wife's claim, whenever the death of the feeble Charles, her half-brother, should leave the throne of Spain vacant. Meanwhile, he had put forward a demand, on her behalf, for a large portion of the Spanish Netherlands, as due to her from her late father under the law of the Low Countries. He had already marched troops into the land, and taken several towns. De Witt, the chief minister of Holland, was well aware that the United Provinces were hateful to the French king, as the seat of civil and religious freedom. He was alarmed for the safety of his country, and ready to adopt any means by which she could be made secure. Sir William Temple, the British minister at Brussels, capital of the Spanish Netherlands, had recommended his government to form an alliance with the Dutch Republic, in order to check the progress of France. Arlington, the Foreign Secretary, had at first treated the suggestion with coolness, but the strong feeling shown in the Commons, in the autumn of 1667, against a policy favourable to France, produced an entire change in his views. Charles and Arlington were now ready to do something to satisfy the nation, and the great treaty known as the Triple Alliance was the result. In January 1668, after but five days of discussion at the Hague between Sir William Temple and De Witt, a defensive alliance was formed between England and Holland. Sweden, then a power in Europe, soon joined the league, and the plans of Louis were at once checked. He could not venture to defy such a combination. His troops were withdrawn from most of the Spanish Netherlands, and from Spain's territory of Franche-Comté, or Upper Burgundy. In May, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought peace for a time, Spain surrendering to France some frontier towns in the Netherlands, and retaining her possession of Franche-Comté.

While patriots were applauding the alliance which promised to be "the strength and glory of the king's reign," and which had gratified all parties in the state, in giving to England her due position in Europe, Charles was, in secret, maturing the plans that were to issue in a masterpiece of disgrace and dishonour. At the very moment when De Witt and Temple were negotiating, the king was engaged in private dealings with Louis. Charles had begun to find his position one of serious restraint. The Country party, or Opposition, was yearly growing stronger in Parliament, and included many devoted adherents of monarchy and the Church, as well as those who had a leaning towards Puritan and Republican views. The king wished for absolute power, secured by a standing army, and sanctioned by a Catholic hierarchy, re-established in the realm. The stubborn and narrow-minded Duke of York, as much debased by superstition as his brother by indolence and vice, had long been in secret a Catholic, and attended the private rites of that religion. The king was a Catholic at heart, and was ready to declare himself such, whenever it should seem to be safe. Louis, for his part, was eager for the destruction of the power of Holland, and the annexation of Belgium, Franche-Comté, and Lorraine. He knew that the English nation and Parliament were opposed to all his ambitious schemes, and resolved to secure at least the adhesion of the princes of the House of Stuart. He would therefore strive to purchase the connivance of Charles in his Continental plans. The English king was eager for money, and very susceptible to female influence, and these were the methods to be employed. In 1669 James publicly embraced the Catholic faith, and Charles made his own religious views known to his confidants Clifford and Arlington. During the long negotiations with Louis, the English king obtained a large grant of money from the Commons, by a revival of the policy of persecution against Dissenters. The Conventicle Act of 1664 was about to expire in the spring of 1670, when it was renewed in a more stringent shape. Archbishop Sheldon, the primate, urged the most vigorous execution of the penal clauses, and the new Act "put things in such disorder, that many of the trading men of the city began to talk of removing with their stocks over to Holland." The real object of the king's assent to intolerance against the Protestant Dissenters was to force them, in the end, to concur in the design for a general toleration, which should favour the Catholics, and in time make the people indifferent to a Catholic king and heir-apparent. The time at last arrived for a settlement between Charles and Louis. The English king's favourite sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, sister-in-law of the French monarch, was the chief agent between the two courts. She was a beautiful, graceful, and intelligent woman, highly esteemed by Louis, and her efforts were crowned with complete success. The Treaty of Dover was signed on May 22, 1670. Charles hereby bound himself to assist France in war upon Holland, and in her designs

The
secret
Treaty of
Dover,
1670.

upon Spain if the Spanish king should die without male heirs. He was also to declare himself a Catholic at what he deemed to be a fitting time. Louis was, for his part, to pay over to Charles the sum of £230,000 a year during the proposed war, and to aid him with money and troops against any insurrection of his own subjects. England was also to receive a share of the Dutch conquered territory, and of the Spanish dominions in Europe and America, in case they came into French hands. Louis had already sent to London a handsome, crafty, and licentious Frenchwoman, to make herself agreeable to Charles, and to act as spy at the English court. Louise de Quérouaille, known in England as Madam Carwell, was soon created Duchess of Portsmouth, and retained until the king's death the influence won by her charms of person, manners, and conversation. When Parliament met in October 1670, the Chancellor, Orlando Bridgman, ignorant of the secret treaty, set forth the advantages of the Triple Alliance, and the need of an augmented fleet for use against the ambition of France. A grant of £800,000 was the result of this appeal, and then the Houses were prorogued. The next step was to throw dust in the eyes of those ministers who were not cognisant of the Treaty of Dover. Clifford and Arlington alone had affixed their names and seals to that infamous document. Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale were suspicious, and for them a sham treaty was devised. In 1671, Buckingham was sent to Paris to negotiate a treaty, in which no mention was made concerning Charles's change of religion. The money to be advanced by Louis was therein declared to be for use only in the Dutch war. Thus began a policy of craft and meanness which, for nearly twenty years, made England of but small account in the political system of Europe.

In April 1671, Parliament was prorogued, after members of the House of Commons had used plain language concerning the life led by Charles. There was no further meeting of the Houses for nearly two years, and thus a clear stage was left for the policy of the Treaty of Dover. The first aim of the king and the Cabal was to raise more money. The sums already granted would not defray the charges of a single year of hostilities. By the advice of Ashley and Clifford resort was now had to an act of national bankruptcy. The opening of the war with Holland had been fixed for the spring of 1672. The Exchequer was at this time indebted to the goldsmiths of London for an advance of £1,300,000, with interest at 12 per cent. to be paid, along with the principal, as the taxes came in. The creditors were now informed that the principal would be withheld; that the interest was reduced by one-half; and that all payments were suspended for the space of one year. In fact, the interest was not paid for many years. The "shutting of the Exchequer" produced a panic in the City. Many great houses broke, and private families fell into extreme distress. This gross breach of faith was followed by proceedings which were, in fact, strides made towards despotism. In March

1672, a Declaration of Indulgence set aside the penal laws "in matters ecclesiastical, against whatsoever sort of non-conformists or recusants." After twelve years of close confinement, John Bunyan came forth in freedom out of Bedford gaol. The effect in this and other cases was one of unmixed good. The king's purpose was, of course, to show favour to the Catholics. The precedent, however, was most alarming to the lovers of constitutional liberty. A liberal act was done in a most despotic way, and all the friends of civil freedom were ranked against it on the same side with all the foes of religious freedom. The spirit of the constitution, though not the letter of any law, had been violated. Ashley was rewarded for his support of the Declaration by being created Earl of Shaftesbury, and, in the following November, he succeeded Bridgman as Lord Chancellor. He was the last man, not a lawyer, who held the highest judicial office. It must be recorded to his honour, in the words of his keen political satirist, that Shaftesbury, as a judge, proved himself to be a man of "discerning eyes," "clean hands," "swift of despatch," "easy of access," and wont, "unbrib'd, unbought, the wretched to redress." It is difficult to make this statesman a real patriot, or a friend to our ideas of freedom, but it is very unsafe and unfair to regard him as wholly evil, even in his political career.

In March 1672, war was declared against Holland by the French and English governments. England had been already disgraced by an act worthy of a band of pirates rather than of a great nation. Without notice of hostilities, a fleet of Dutch merchant-ships, richly laden from the Levant, was attacked on its way up the Channel. The attempt almost wholly failed. The Hollanders were prepared for treachery, and, with their men-of-war convoy, repulsed the attacks of our admirals, so that only four merchantmen out of sixty were taken. The object of the government had been to obtain money for repaying the goldsmiths lately robbed. The war was almost wholly maritime on our part, and produced the usual obstinate conflicts between the fleets of the two nations. In May, the Duke of York met the Dutch veteran, De Ruyter, in the battle of Southwold Bay. The Earl of Sandwich fell, in command of the English van, and the result of the action was indecisive. A great French army invaded Holland, with a small English force commanded by Charles's natural son, the Duke of Monmouth. The Dutch, led by the young William, Prince of Orange, then in his twenty-second year, could not meet the enemy in the field, and town after town was taken. The outposts of the invaders were in full view of Amsterdam, and the safety of the state seemed lost. Then John de Witt cut the dykes, and let the waters of the sea over the richly-tilled lands. The French advance was checked, and want of supplies soon compelled a retreat. De Witt and his brother Cornelius fell victims to the fury of the people, enraged by the French invasion, and henceforth William of Orange, as Stadtholder and Captain-general, was the head of the Dutch republic. The plans of Louis had

utterly failed. The House of Austria, in both its branches, Germany and Spain, took up arms against the common foe. The English government had uselessly spent all the funds at its disposal, and it became needful to call Parliament together.

The Houses met in February 1673. Before dealing with Shaftesbury's eager demand for money to destroy the power of Holland, which he denounced as the eternal foe of England, the Commons voted an important resolution. It was carried, upon a division of 168 to 116, "that penal statutes, in matters ecclesiastical, cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament." The king strove to maintain his position, but Shaftesbury, in the House of Lords, turned over to the popular side, and declared the Indulgence to be illegal. Charles then withdrew his Declaration, and the Commons pressed on to a more formidable attack upon the Catholics. The nation was becoming feverish in its feeling against the old faith. The Duchess of York, daughter of the banished Earl of Clarendon, had died in the profession of Catholicism. Her two daughters, Mary and Anne, afterwards queens, were being bred as Protestants, by the positive commands of Charles, who dared not, in the face of his subjects, bring up as members of the Church of Rome the children who seemed likely to inherit his throne. The Duke of York's religion was avowed, and, being now a widower, he was about to form another alliance with a young Catholic princess, Mary of Modena. Above all other things, the Cavalier Parliament was resolved to maintain the supremacy of the Anglican Church. Arlington, who aimed at the post held by Clifford as Treasurer, took advantage of this to suggest the measure known as the Test Act. In March 1673, the Act, called "a Bill to prevent the growth of Popery," was read a third time. It excluded from all public employments, military and civil, all persons who should refuse to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and to renounce in writing a belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. The Puritans, or Protestant Dissenters, who regarded the Pope as Antichrist, were content to suffer exclusion from office under the sacramental test. The new Act continued in force for more than a century and a half. Its immediate effect was to compel the Duke of York to lay down his office as Lord High Admiral, a post for which he was well fitted, and in which he had rendered good service to the nation. Clifford, like an honest Catholic, refused to take the test, and retired from his office as Lord Treasurer to his country-seat, vowing never again to see the turbulent city or the perfidious court. Arlington did not attain his object of succeeding Clifford, but resigned his post as Secretary of State for an employment in the king's household. A supply was granted by the Commons for the continuance of the Dutch war, and then Parliament was prorogued till October. The Commons, in the new session, vainly protested against the imminent marriage of the Duke of York with

Home
affairs,
1673.
The Test
Act.

the Princess of Modena. This was followed by the refusal of a supply until "this kingdom be effectually secured from the dangers of Popery, and from Popish counsels and councillors." A majority then voted that a standing army was a grievance, and that the alliance with France was another grievance. Further complaints were stayed by a prorogation in November. The Earl of Shaftesbury was now dismissed from his office as Chancellor. Buckingham retired with him, and they took their places at the head of the democratic politicians of the city of London. Of all the members of the Cabal, Lauderdale was now alone in office, as minister for Scottish affairs.

Sir Thomas Osborne, a Yorkshire baronet, had risen to a high position in the Commons by his talents for debate and business. He now came to the head of affairs as Lord Treasurer, and was soon created Earl of Danby. His character as a public man shines only by contrast with the dark record of most other politicians of his day. He was the minister who reduced to a system the plan of purchasing votes in Parliament. Eager for personal wealth and honours, he had still some regard for the interests of his country and of the Protestant religion. He was a strong supporter of the royal prerogative, but had no intention of degrading England by calling in foreign arms to establish arbitrary power at home. His foreign policy aimed at the depression of the power of France, and in this point he was at one with the Country Party, and at issue with his sovereign, who was ever hankering after French gold, and hoping to become absolute by the help of French troops. The first result of a change of ministers was the conclusion of a peace with Holland. The English fleet, under Prince Rupert, had kept up the war with little result, and in February 1674, the struggle was ended by the Second Treaty of Westminster. The Dutch agreed to pay the sum of £300,000, and to strike topsails to the English flag on the high seas. Sir William Temple accepted the embassy to the Hague, after declining the post of Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The struggle between the Crown and the Commons at this period, and for several years, is a singular spectacle, on both sides, of fickle and eccentric behaviour. Charles was the pensioner of Louis, and sought to earn his money by curbing Parliament through prorogations. The popular leaders, eager for war with France, were yet afraid to advance money, and to raise armies which the king might employ against the nation. Louis himself aimed at maintaining a state of distrust between the English monarch and the Parliament, and thus preventing England from interfering in continental affairs. With this end in view, he freely bribed the members of the Opposition. Neither they nor the French king put any faith whatever in Charles, and even such a man as Algernon Sidney was not ashamed to take French gold as payment for serving his country by thwarting his sovereign. In April 1675, Danby passed through the Lords a bill for allowing no man

to sit in Parliament or to hold office, except he took an oath of non-resistance to the Crown, and against any endeavour to alter government in Church or State. This attempt to extend the Corporation Act to Privy Councillors and members of Parliament was defeated through the efforts of Shaftesbury. He stirred up a violent contest between the two Houses, and in November Parliament was prorogued for fifteen months. Political talk in the coffee-houses of London, representing the clubs of modern days, became violent against the government, and a royal proclamation was issued to close them. The public indignation soon caused the withdrawal of the prohibition, and an opening for constitutional criticism was afforded by the reassembling of Parliament in February 1677.

The government was at once fiercely attacked by the Duke of Buckingham. He maintained that prorogation for more than a year amounted to a dissolution, according to the statutes of Edward III., requiring the annual calling of a Parliament. Shaftesbury and two other Peers supported this view, and, on refusal to apologise to the House and the Crown, they were committed to the Tower, where they remained prisoners for more than a year. In the Commons, the free bribery used by Danby secured a vote of money for the navy, and then the majority refused a grant for troops to be used in a war with France which, by address to the Crown, they had demanded. Parliament was then adjourned till the spring of 1678, and Charles received an increase of his pension from the French king. The arms of Louis had been triumphant against Holland both on sea and land. De Ruyter had fallen in 1676, in unsuccessful conflict with the French fleet. The brave and able William of Orange had been, with honour for himself, defeated by the great Condé in the battle of Seneffe. Danby, from hostility to France, was eager in the Dutch interest, and Charles was now ready to conciliate public feeling in this direction. In November 1677, the Prince of Orange married Mary, elder daughter of the Duke of York, much against the will of James. Louis, enraged against Charles, withdrew his pecuniary help, and bribed members of the Opposition to give all possible trouble to the government. In February 1678, the Houses were again summoned, and the king demanded money for an army, to be used against France. The Commons would grant no supply until war should have been declared, and the troops already raised were, in the end, disbanded. The continental war ended for a time with the peace of Nimeguen.

In the autumn of 1678, the nation was thrown into a panic by the revelation of a pretended plot of Romanists for the murder of the king and leading statesmen and divines, a general massacre of Protestants, and the government of England by the Jesuits. A villain named Titus Oates, who had been a Dissenter, an Anglican priest, a Roman Catholic, and then again

The
Orange
mar-
riage,
1677.

The
Popish
Plot,
1678-9.

a Protestant, was the author of these monstrous fables. Some passages in letters of a Catholic named Coleman did indeed seem to show that hopes were entertained concerning a restoration of the old religion through James, Louis, and Charles. The murder of a London magistrate named Sir Edmond Godfrey, who had received the depositions of Oates, was declared by all true Protestants to be the work of Catholic hands. The body lay, with marks of violence, in a field at Primrose Hill, and the cause and author of the deed remain, to this day, unknown. Parliament met in October, and both Houses agreed in a Resolution as to the reality of a plot, contrived by "Popish recusants," on the lines stated by Oates. Bedloe, Dangerfield, and other rascals, came forward with revelations of their own, and the false informers were supported by the encouragement of Chief-Justice Scroggs. Oates even ventured to accuse the queen of plotting against the king's life, but Charles treated the imputation with scorn, and, by his questions in presence of the Council, proved the falsity of this chief witness. The story of the plot was supported, for their own ends, by Shaftesbury and Buckingham, and the public fear and hatred were vented against the Catholic subjects of the Crown. Oates, the "Saviour of the Nation," was supplied with lodgings in the palace at Whitehall, a body-guard, and a handsome pension. The gaols were filled with Catholic prisoners; five Catholic peers were sent to the Tower; the capital was like a city in a state of siege. Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, was executed as a traitor in December. Other victims followed him to the scaffold, and the bigotry and injustice of Parliament reached their height in the Papists' Disabling Act. By this measure, not repealed till 1829, Catholics were excluded from both Houses.

The political excitement of the Christmas-time of 1678 had not been equalled since the early days of the Long Parliament. In the very height of the fever of the Popish Plot, a discovery was made of the king's latest intrigues with France. The revelation was due to the anger of Louis at the refusal of Charles to disband forces which had been raised as for a war with France. The result of the revelation was the ruin of the English monarch's favourite minister. Montague, the English envoy at Paris, was made the instrument of the wrath of Louis. He returned home, and was elected to the House of Commons. Danby feared what was coming, and caused the new member's papers to be seized, on pretence of his holding private conferences with the Papal nuncio. Montague had, however, concealed the documents needed for his case, and sprang his mine by reading in the House a letter signed by Danby, in which it was stipulated that Louis should pay to Charles a certain sum for three years, at the price of English neutrality between France and Holland. At the bottom of the letter were the words "This letter is writ by my order, C.R." The king's perfidy is placed beyond

Fall of
Danby,
1679.

all doubt by the fact that the letter bears date five days after the passing of an Act to raise money for carrying on war against France. Danby was at once impeached of high treason, and sought refuge in the plea that the king was sole judge of peace and war, and that he ought to be obeyed by his ministers of state, as by all his subjects. In order to save Danby, and to prevent further revelations which might arise in the course of the impeachment, Charles dissolved the Parliament in January 1679. The Cavalier House of Commons thus came to an end, after an existence of nearly eighteen years. The king, in his necessity, turned his thoughts again to Sir William Temple, who had lately, for the third time, declined office as Secretary of State. On reaching London from the Hague, Temple found the country in the throes of a general election, which was proceeding amid excitement never before known. The Duke of York, by his brother's advice, was about to retire to Holland. Temple managed to evade office by losing his election, and stood aside to watch events. The new House of Commons was largely composed of Whigs, a name which, a few months later, was first applied to the opponents of arbitrary power. These men were full of zeal against the Catholics, and of wrath against Danby. The impeachment was at once resumed, in spite of the contention that a dissolution ended such a proceeding. The Lords passed a resolution that the impeachment was still alive. Danby procured from Charles a pardon under the great seal, which the king himself affixed without the knowledge of the Chancellor. The House of Commons then affirmed the great constitutional principle that an impeached minister cannot plead a pardon obtained from the Crown. Danby was committed to the Tower, and the Commons, satisfied with his removal from office, dropped the impeachment at the prorogation.

At this juncture Sir William Temple, the most respectable statesman of that age, chief author of the Triple Alliance and of the Orange match, came to the relief of his distressed sovereign. The new
minis-
ters. The cool and easy indifference of Charles had been routed for a time by the formidable aspect of affairs in the Commons. Temple now sought to erect a barrier between Parliament and the prerogative of the Crown. The House of Commons, in particular, had of late begun to cross the line which divided the legislative and executive powers. A king of England had claimed, and had hitherto been wont, to choose his own ministers. Yet Clarendon, Clifford, and Danby had fallen victims to the anger of the Commons. It had been held that the sovereign alone could make peace and war, and give pardon to offenders. Yet the Commons had forced Charles to make peace with Holland, had almost driven him to war with France, and had sent Danby to the Tower in spite of a pardon granted by the Crown. The scheme devised by Temple was to form a committee of the Privy Council, composed of thirty members of that body. Fifteen of these

were to be high officers of state in political, legal, and religious affairs. The other fifteen were to be noblemen and gentlemen of wealth, independence, and high character, without office, acting as advisers of the sovereign. All the thirty were to be entrusted with every political secret, and the king was to undertake to be always guided by their counsels. The plan was ingenious in theory, but must, from the number of the new board, have failed to secure, in practice, needful secrecy in council, and needful rapidity and vigour in administration. The scheme was, in fact, never submitted to a fair trial, owing to the troubles of the time, and the direction of affairs soon fell into the hands of a sort of interior cabinet of four persons. These were Temple himself; the Earl of Essex, an able man of grave character, who was a member of the Country Party; Viscount Halifax, and the Earl of Sunderland. Shaftesbury had been appointed president of the new Council, but was soon again leader of the Opposition. Halifax was a man of great and varied talents, which gave him high distinction in debate, disquisition, and social converse. He was disqualified for the highest success in public life by the very subtlety and capacity of his intellect, and the coolness and philosophy of his temperament. He could not be a partisan. His keen vision marked the faults of both political bodies, and kept him at an equal distance from the demagogue and from the supporter of arbitrary power. He despised bigotry both in civil and religious affairs, and, being conservative in temper, and of advanced liberal views in theory, he earned the name of Trimmer from the extreme men of both parties, whose vagaries and violence equally repelled his fastidious taste. Sunderland was the embodiment of the political vices of the age. A keen intellect was joined with a thoroughly bad heart, which knew no shame, was void of all principle, and shrank from no perfidy. A long training in continental diplomacy had made him a skilful intriguer, and a shrewd reader of human character, but he often failed to note the signs of coming events, and to apprehend aright the temper of the nation.

The powerful Opposition now struck a blow at Charles in his most tender point, the question of succession to the throne. The Parliament of 1679. nation was filled with dread of a Catholic heir, in the person of the Duke of York. It was fully believed that he would endeavour to overthrow the Protestant religion, and it was feared that he might succeed in his attempt. Men looked back to the days of Mary, and did not choose again to be placed in the alternative of embracing the old faith, or dying at the stake. A bill was therefore introduced, which became famous for all time as the Exclusion Bill. It was in vain that Charles begged Parliament to devise any other security for the Protestant religion. The bill was read a second time, and then the king, without consulting his new Council, prorogued the Houses on May 26th. The measure for excluding James from the throne thus came, for a time, to an end. Charles, on the day

of the prorogation, felt forced to give his assent to one of the greatest of all Acts of Parliament, still in full and beneficent operation. The Habeas Corpus Act was the noble statute which turned into a living principle that clause of the Great Charter which sought to secure the personal liberty of every Englishman. By the Common Law of the realm, no subject could be illegally imprisoned. He might sue for the writ of Habeas Corpus, and be heard in open court. But judges, sheriffs, and gaolers had used every art to refuse and to evade the writ. The Privy Council would cause men to be confined beyond seas, in the king's foreign dominions, out of the jurisdiction of the courts of justice. Political offences, real or pretended, were thus visited with more severity than the law itself would inflict. Unhappy men lingered out years of life in distant dungeons, and their wrongs were never known except to their oppressors. The new Act provided a prompt remedy for this great evil. Severe penalties bound judges to issue the writ on application, and governors of prisons to act upon its order. It was now enacted that prisoners must be produced in court for trial; that they must be tried, at the latest, in the second term of the legal year after committal to prison; that no one must be imprisoned beyond the seas; and that, once tried and acquitted, no one shall be committed to prison again on the same charge. An old weapon of tyranny was thus struck out of the hands of the executive. This triumph was mainly due to the efforts of Shaftesbury. The Parliament was dissolved soon after its prorogation.

CHAPTER X.

THE RISE OF THE WHIG PARTY.

The Duke of Monmouth. The religious troubles in Scotland. The Exclusion Bill. Shaftesbury and Halifax. End of the anti-Catholic mania. The Parliament at Oxford. The two parties in the state. Charles prevails over Shaftesbury. The attack on the town-charters. The Rye-House Plot. Close of the reign.

DURING the summer of 1679, the trials for the Plot went forward, with no abatement of the popular outcry against the unhappy Catholics. One instance will suffice to prove the perjury employed on one side or the other of these proceedings. At the trial of some Jesuits in June, the evidence of Oates went to prove a conspiracy of which he became cognisant in London in April 1678. In his support, eight persons, probably villains suborned by him, swore that they had seen him in England at the beginning of May in that year. On the other hand, sixteen inmates of the Catholic college at St. Omer came over to the trial and swore that, in 1678, Oates had resided amongst them, without an interval of absence, from January to

June. The accused were all found guilty and executed. The grossest partiality was shown on the judgment-seat. Scroggs, the Chief-Justice, who ranks next to Jeffreys for infamy in the judicial annals of Stuart times, kept no bounds of decency in urging the jury to convict. The other judges sat by his side, and interposed no opinion as to the credibility of the evidence against the Catholics. At last a stop was put to these disgraceful exhibitions of bigotry and injustice. In July, Sir George Wakeman, the Queen's physician, along with three Benedictine monks, was indicted for a design to poison the king. Oates indulged in his usual perjuries, supported by his colleague Bedloe. They now, however, met their match in a witness for the defence whom Scroggs could not venture to browbeat or disregard. The Clerk of the Privy Council testified that Oates, when he was there examined, had protested with uplifted hands that he knew nothing against Wakeman. All the prisoners were acquitted, and a shrewd blow was given to the belief in the plot.

The general election sent to Westminster, in October 1679, a House of Commons in which the majority was yet more hostile to the king and the Court Party. The cry for the exclusion of James from the succession was louder than ever, and a new element of rancour was now brought into the strife. Shaftesbury was the prime mover of hostilities in the Protestant cause, and he had ready to his hand an instrument which, for a time, he was to wield with great effect on popular passion. This was James, Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles. He was born at Rotterdam in 1649, his mother being Lucy Walters, a Welsh girl of great beauty. The king, from the first, had shown the lad much favour, and in 1662 the queen-dowager, Henrietta Maria, brought him to the English court. In the following year he was created Duke, with precedence of all dukes. In 1663, Monmouth was married to a great heiress of the house of Buccleuch, and then received the title of Duke of Buccleuch in Scotland. The honours heaped upon the young man included those of a Knight of the Garter, Master of the House, and Chancellor of Cambridge University. He was of handsome face, agreeable temper, and charming manners, and, in spite of a dissolute life, stood high in favour with the Puritans. His gifts of intellect were small, but he showed capacity and courage as a soldier in the war of 1673, when a brigade of English troops assisted Louis against the Dutch. In 1677, Monmouth took the field again, but now served on the Protestant side, under the orders of the Prince of Orange. He returned to England with his popularity enhanced, and soon found a new scene of action in Scotland.

The rule of Lauderdale in Scotland had been one of persistent Scotland tyranny. Archbishop Sharp gave his utmost aid in the work and the of persecuting the Covenanters, whose stronghold was the Covenanters. western Lowlands. The prelate was thoroughly detested, and in 1668 an attempt was made to kill him by shooting. The man

made his escape at the time, but was arrested six years later, and brought before the Council. After a solemn promise that his life should be spared, he confessed his guilt, and was sentenced to perpetual confinement in a prison on the Bass Rock. When all the efforts of Lauderdale failed to suppress the meetings of the Covenanters for worship in their wilds, it was resolved to strike terror by the severest dealing with the assailant of the archbishop. He was brought to Edinburgh for trial, and his own confession was urged against him. Sharp, Lauderdale, and two other Lords of the Council, swore that no promise had been made to spare the prisoner's life. The man was convicted and executed, and then the record of the promise was found in the Council-book. This atrocious complication of treachery, perjury, and cruelty was of no avail to daunt the Covenanters. Lauderdale brought among them a band of half-wild Highlanders, to live at free quarters, and harry the obstinate sectarians. The vengeance of the Covenanters was then let loose against the archbishop. In May 1679, Balfour of Burley, with his brother-in-law, Hackston, and a band of fanatics, met Sharp in his carriage on Magus Moor, near St. Andrews. They dragged him out and butchered him in presence of his daughter. In June, a body of the Covenanters, met for worship at Drumclog, in Lanarkshire, was attacked by a force of cavalry under John Graham of Claverhouse. They beat him back to Glasgow with pike and pitchfork, and then arose an outbreak which approached the proportions of a rebellion. Monmouth was at once despatched from London to command the troops, and on June 22nd he thoroughly beat the insurgents at the Battle of Bothwell Bridge, near Hamilton. The victor used his utmost efforts to stay slaughter in pursuit, and his lenient behaviour was in strong contrast to the subsequent cruelty of the Duke of York, who took Lauderdale's post in Scotland.

The king, in order to baffle his opponents, had prorogued the new Parliament for a year. A belief was already spread abroad, that Monmouth was the lawful son of Charles, and, by consequence, heir to the throne. It was affirmed that Charles had married Lucy Walters, prior to the birth of her son. There was no foundation for the idle tale, and the king had already, to satisfy James, most solemnly declared to his Council "that he had never given or made any contract of marriage, nor was married to any woman whatsoever but his wife, Queen Catharine, then living." In spite of this, Shaftesbury and his party now sought to set aside, not only the Catholic James, but the princesses Mary and Anne, his daughters, in favour of the young Protestant hero, Monmouth. Mary and Anne were strictly attached to the Anglican Church, but the people gave all their enthusiasm to the claims of "the Protestant duke," who had no shadow of right to the throne. It was at this juncture that Charles showed an excellent judgment in dealing with the difficulties of his position. He resolved to give the rein to the violence of his opponents,

Shaftesbury and the Exclusion Bill.

and to trust to the coming of a reaction in his favour. A change took place in the government. Temple's scheme came to an end, and the Privy Council resumed its old form. Essex joined Shaftesbury in opposition, while Halifax and Sunderland remained in the king's service. They were joined by two rising statesmen, Lawrence Hyde and Sidney Godolphin. Hyde, the second son of the Chancellor Clarendon, was an able, bad-tempered Cavalier of the old school, highly regarded by the clergy for his zeal in behalf of Church and King. Godolphin was a clear-headed, hard-working man of business, with a special knowledge of finance. He was ready to act in turns with either of the great parties, but his cautious temper made him shrink from a share in promoting any violent change. In the early days of 1680, Shaftesbury resorted to a new device to embarrass the king, and to force an assembling of the Parliament which, it was hoped, would carry an Exclusion Bill. The country was in a state of agitation such as had scarcely ever been known. The press, the pulpit, the stage were freely used for and against the proposal to exclude James from the throne. It was contended on the one side that the hereditary principle was a matter of Divine right, not to be set aside even by the united assent of king and Parliament. Staunch Protestants vowed that, with a Catholic king on the throne, the religion and constitution of the state would be in imminent peril of destruction. The claims of kindred, friendship, and social amenity were disregarded in the heat of conflict. Shaftesbury now caused the Country Party, who favoured the Exclusion Bill, to set at work the powerful machinery of petitioning the Crown for the immediate assemblage of Parliament. Grand Juries, Common Councils, and other public bodies took part in this demonstration. Then came a host of counter-petitions from the loyalists, declaring their abhorrence of these attempts to put pressure on the sovereign. The words Mob, as applied to the *mobile vulgus* who clamoured for the Exclusion Bill, and Sham, as a taunt against the believers in the Plot, now first came into the language. The ephemeral names of Petitioners and Abhorrrers were succeeded by the famous and permanent titles of Whig and Tory, applied respectively to the opponents and supporters of the royal prerogative. Names of opprobrium were soon assumed with pride. The Whig, in the first insulting sense of the word, was likened to the Covenanters of the western Lowlands of Scotland, where the peasants were called Whigamors from the word *whiggam*, used in urging on their horses. The Tory, in the original derisive use of the term, was likened by his foes to the Irish brigands or rapparees, Popish thieves who preyed on the land. In June 1680, Shaftesbury took the audacious step of coming, with several lords and commoners, before the Grand Jury at Westminster, and indicting the Duke of York as a "Popish recusant." The Chief-Justice eluded this artful device by discharging the jury, while Shaftesbury was in consultation with some of the judges. During the summer, Monmouth, now in disgrace at court,

made a triumphal progress through the west of England. The "Protestant duke" was received with an enthusiasm not always accorded to kings. Armed bodies of esquires and farmers swelled his train as he rode from one country-house to another. The bells clanged from every steeple at his approach, and the towns sent forth crowds to greet him. With absurd arrogance he omitted from his coat-of-arms, amid the lions of England and the lilies of France, the bar sinister which should have marked his illegitimacy. By the most gracious demeanour, and the most cordial familiarity, he sought to win the popular affection, and received from electors the assurance of their support to his candidates for seats in the next Parliament. In October 1680, Charles at last ventured to call the Houses together for the despatch of public business.

The king found himself sorely beset at this crisis. The Whigs had induced the Duchess of Portsmouth, by threats and promises, to recommend the king to give way, and exclude his brother from the throne. Charles was assured by her that he would receive from the Commons an ample grant of money, and be permitted to name as successor his favourite son, Monmouth. James himself believed that he would be abandoned, and was strongly inclined to adopt the advice of the French King, and stir up rebellion in Scotland and Ireland. Godolphin and Sunderland advised Charles to give way, and he entered into negotiation with the leaders of the Whigs. But neither side could trust the other. The king wanted the vote of money to precede the Exclusion Bill. The Whig leaders demanded to have the royal assent to the bill before the vote of money. On October 26th, Lord William Russell carried in the Commons a resolution "to take into consideration how to suppress Popery, and to prevent a Popish successor." On November 2nd, the Exclusion Bill was again brought in, and passed on the 15th. All eyes were then turned to the House of Lords, and rarely indeed in our history has that august assembly been charged with so momentous a decision. The bill was carried to the Peers by Lord William Russell, attended by a great crowd of members, who shocked the sense of decorum by a mighty shout when the measure was delivered to the House. The debate was carried on with unusual heat, so that some peers laid their hands on the pommels of the swords then worn by men of rank and fashion. The king was present to hear the arguments of the two greatest orators of the day, Shaftesbury and Halifax, men whose general principles were the same, but who were, in this contest, pitted against each other. The day was at last won for the cause of legality and legitimacy by the masterly speeches of Halifax. He upheld the claims of the Princess of Orange as transcending those of Monmouth, and in orations marked by the closest reasoning and the most brilliant wit and eloquence he carried the sense of the Peers with him in favour of the Duke of York. The Exclusion

Bill, on the first reading, was rejected by a majority of thirty-three. Sixty-three peers, including the bishops, supported the principle of hereditary right.

In opening Parliament, Charles had urged the "speedy trial of the Lords in the Tower," "for the security of the Protestant religion." These men were five Catholic peers, who had been committed on the accusations of Oates and his associates. Charles had himself the utmost contempt for the belief in the Plot, and was only desirous of turning the wrath of Parliament and the people from his brother against other victims. The only man sacrificed to the dying spirit of bigotry and panic was Viscount Stafford, a noble illustrious in the blood of the Howards, and venerable for his age and infirmities. Impeached by the Commons, he was tried by the Peers on November 30th. The witnesses were Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville, who had already caused the shedding of so much innocent blood. The accused made an able defence, and well exposed the infamous character of Oates. The Peers, by a majority of eighty-six to fifty-five, disgraced themselves in finding Stafford guilty of a plot to assassinate the king. He died on December 29th, protesting his innocence on the scaffold, while many of the multitude cried, "We believe you, my lord—God bless you, my lord." These words were a sign of reaction in the public mind to which the Whig leaders would have done well to pay heed. The words were carefully noted by the crafty and callous sovereign who had allowed a subject to die on evidence which he knew to be false, and, himself a Catholic, had seen a Catholic noble hunted to death without even a sigh for his fate. The House of Commons vented their rage at the rejection of the Exclusion Bill in a series of violent resolutions against Catholics, and Charles dissolved the Parliament in January 1681.

The danger of a new civil war seemed to be approaching when the new Parliament met at Oxford on March 21st. The king was surrounded by his guards. The Whig members, still forming a majority of the Commons, were accompanied by armed bands of retainers, wearing in their hats ribbons inscribed "No Popery, no slavery." Charles was indifferent as to the temper of the Parliament on the question of supplies. He had just concluded an arrangement with Louis for a new subsidy of French gold. At Oxford, the king and his supporters were surrounded by the members of a loyal University, and Shaftesbury had not at hand his faithful train-bands of the city of London. The strength of the position of Charles lay in the fact that the nation's dread of Popery was overmastered by a higher dread—that of civil war. Such a contest might well be imminent, if due provocation were given, and the more prudent members of the Whig party were inclined to endure almost anything rather than incur the risk of challenging new civil

strife. The Parliament of Oxford lasted but seven days. The House of Commons sat in the Schools, while the king and the court were domiciled at Christ Church. In opening the brief session, Charles took a bolder tone than he had yet assumed. He declared that he would not suffer "arbitrary government" of himself by others, and would never give way concerning the succession to the throne. He was willing that the Duke of York should be banished during life to the distance of five hundred miles from the British dominions, and that, on the decease of the reigning monarch, James should, while he assumed the title of king, exercise no sovereign power. The government was to be administered in his name by a regent, first, by the Princess of Orange, and, on her decease, by the Princess Anne. The factious Whigs rejected even this great concession, and again brought in the Exclusion Bill. The king then dissolved the Parliament, and none other was called during the four remaining years of his reign.

The king had at last won the day. The body of the nation had become ashamed of the violence of their Protestant zeal, and of the intemperate proceedings of the Whig leaders. A strong sympathy was felt for the sovereign, who, for once unselfish, had risked his throne rather than betray a brother's rights. Loyal addresses, expressive of unbounded attachment and confidence, were sent up to Whitehall, and the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of Cambridge assured the sovereign that the sole duty of subjects was to honour and obey him. The powers of the law were now directed against men marked down by the court as victims. As a last sacrifice to religious intolerance, Plunket, the titular Catholic archbishop of Armagh, was convicted and executed on a charge of a Popish plot in Ireland. His persecutors themselves believed in his innocence, but it was thought needful to screen the Catholic tendencies of the king by an ostentatious piece of bloodshedding. The reaction of public opinion was not left unused. Some of the witnesses to the Plot were still in hand, and they were now as ready to give evidence against Protestants, as they had been to swear away the lives of Papists. Stephen College, a London tradesman, who had gained the name of "The Protestant joiner," by inventing a flail wherewith to belabour Catholics, was executed on a false charge of treason. Oates was deprived of his pension, and turned out of his lodgings at Whitehall, not for his past perjuries against the Catholics, but for giving evidence in favour of College. Then the vengeance of the court was turned against the arch-enemy, Shaftesbury. In July 1681, he was sent to the Tower, and indicted in November for high treason, before a London grand jury. Shaftesbury's applications for the relief of his own Habeas Corpus Act were disregarded by the judges. A week before the indictment was presented at the Old Bailey, Dryden's great satire, *Absalom and Achitophel*, was published

The Tory triumph: fall of Shaftesbury, 1682.

as a grand effort to blacken in advance the character of the Whig leader. The City sheriffs were, however, men of strong Whig principles, and they had provided a grand jury composed of their own political friends. The bill of indictment was ignored, to the great joy of the citizens, who lighted bonfires, and struck a medal to celebrate the victory. In the following year, the new Lord Mayor, Sir John Moor, assisted by the Lord Chief-Justice, Guilford, and by the Recorder of London, George Jeffreys, contrived to secure as sheriffs men who were the friends of the court. Shaftesbury, knowing that his head would be in danger, if he were indicted before a grand jury selected by the new sheriffs, fled in October to Holland, accompanied by his constant friend John Locke. In January 1683, death by disease ended the restless career of the Whig leader.

The Duke of York was now earnestly pressing Charles to assume arbitrary power. The government of James in Scotland had given a foretaste of his future reign. A Parliament was induced to enact a test, which renounced the Covenant, inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience, and disclaimed any attempt at change in Church or State. The Earl of Argyle, who declined the test in its last clause, was indicted for high treason, and convicted, but made his escape to Holland. His estate was then confiscated, and the Covenanters of the southern and western counties were made the victims of outlawry and judicial murder. These proceedings amply confirmed the opinion expressed by Charles, that "he was confident, whenever the duke should come to reign, he would be so restless and violent that he could not hold it four years." The methods adopted by Charles against the Whigs were marked by a cunning show of legality alien from the coarser spirit of James. The chief force of the middle classes rested in the corporate franchises of the metropolis, and in those of other cities and towns. The old Puritan spirit was not dead, and in the freedom of civic proceedings the temper of the people found a lawful right of assertion. The slavish lawyers about the court advised an attack upon the civic charters. The rebellious city of London was assailed by a writ of *Quo warranto*, taken out in the King's Bench, and was threatened with deprivation of her charter for certain alleged misdemeanours. The corporation then surrendered into the king's hands the right of nominating the mayor, sheriffs, recorder, aldermen, and other officers, and the great Whig stronghold was thus converted into a Tory citadel. Other corporations were terrified into the surrender of their charters, and in 1684, Jeffreys, who had become Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, made a most successful campaign in the seizure of municipal privileges under writs of *Quo warranto*. The corporations of these cities and boroughs were then filled with Tories, and Tory representatives were thus secured for a future House of Commons.

The Whigs, in their time of trouble, turned their thoughts to the

possibility of armed resistance. Plans were formed for insurrections in London, and in the west and north of England, and the assistance of the Presbyterians of Scotland was invoked. The leading spirits in this project were Monmouth, Lords Essex and Grey, Lord William Russell, Lord Howard of Escrick, and the old republican of the school of Vane, Algernon Sidney. At the same time, another plot, without the knowledge of the leading Whigs, was formed amongst more obscure men, for the assassination of the king and the Duke of York. A maltster named Richard Rumbold was the owner of a farmhouse called the Rye, in Hertfordshire, a spot where holiday-makers now make merry on the pleasant banks of the river Lea. Rumbold was a man of courageous heart, and clear understanding, now corrupted and led astray by the fanaticism of party spirit. As an officer in Cromwell's own regiment, he had guarded the scaffold at Whitehall, and had fought well at Dunbar and Worcester. The old dragoon seems to have thought that no unmanly deed would be done, if armed men attacked at the Rye-House the Life Guards who were to escort Charles and James from Newmarket races to London. In his view, an ambuscade, leading to a fight, would be an act of war, and, if the king fell in the skirmish, his death would not be caused by murder. The place was propitious for such an enterprise, including as it did a narrow road over a river by a bridge, gates to pass, a strong hedge on one side, and brick walls on the other. This scheme of attack failed, because a fire at the royal lodgings in Newmarket caused the party to return to London earlier than the day expected. On information given, Russell, Essex, and Sidney were committed to the Tower, and Monmouth, Grey, and others escaped. On July 13th, Russell was put on his trial for treason, and illegally convicted, as he had committed no act which brought him within the Statute of Treasons of Edward III. The circumstances of the trial were highly dramatic. The devoted Lady William Russell, daughter of the Earl of Southampton, sat by her husband's side, and acted as his secretary. The prisoner's "own familiar friend" and relative, Lord Howard, in order to save his own head, appeared as a witness for the Crown. He brought with him into court the news that Essex had just perished within the Tower. The head of that nobleman was found nearly severed from his body, and it was declared to be an act of suicide, but on this men had grave doubts. On July 21st Russell's head fell on a scaffold in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Algernon Sidney was tried on November 21st, before Chief-Justice Jeffreys, and again Lord Howard was the chief witness for the prosecution. After an infamous disregard of law in the judge, who held that a manuscript of the accused, written twenty years before, was the second witness needed by the statute, Sidney was convicted and sentenced. He died on December 7th, at the place of execution on Tower Hill. Monmouth sought and obtained pardon, but soon gave new offence, and went into voluntary exile. Many other opponents of

The Rye-
House
Plot, 1683.

the king were punished by death, imprisonment, or heavy fine, on prosecution for treason, or libel, or conspiracy.

For the last two years of his reign, Charles ruled with little regard to constitutional restraints. In spite of the statute which required that a Parliament should be convoked at least every three years, no House of Commons was chosen, when, in 1684, that period had elapsed since the dissolution of the Oxford Parliament. A concession was made to Protestant feeling by the marriage of the Lady Anne, younger daughter of the Duke of York, to the Lutheran Prince George of Denmark. The Tory clergy and gentry, having regard to the age of the Catholic heir-presumptive, and to the good health of the king, might well believe that the Church of England was made secure without the order of succession being broken. The pulpit and the press teemed with fulsome declarations in favour of the doctrine of non-resistance. The chief administration of public affairs was now in the hands of James, who, in defiance of the Test Act, was restored to his offices of Privy Councillor and High Admiral. Halifax, who had now become a Marquis and Lord Privy Seal, was alarmed at the violence of the Tory reaction, and began once more to advocate Whig doctrines. He advised the calling of a new Parliament, and was strongly opposed to the king's subservience to Louis. On the other side, Lawrence Hyde, now Earl of Rochester, a most intolerant Tory, was supported by the Duke of York in the maintenance of absolute views, and on the wisdom of ruling without a Parliament. Louis, for his part, was engaged in seizing the territory of his neighbours in Germany and the Spanish Netherlands, and made free use in England of bribes, promises, and threats in order to keep her, through her corrupt king and politicians, in a state of ignominious vassalage. Halifax was proof against all his attempts at cajolery, and, by proving Rochester guilty of malversation at the Treasury, caused his removal from the office of First Lord to the more dignified but less important post of Lord-President of the Council. It was this change which the wit of Halifax described as the process of being "kicked upstairs." The cautious Godolphin, now a peer, succeeded Rochester at the Treasury. Sunderland, in whom baseness was an instinct, intrigued against both factions, and, through the influence of the Duke of York and the Duchess of Portsmouth, was restored to the office of Secretary of State, from which he had been driven for his vote in favour of the Exclusion Bill. Charles, with his usual indecision, mingled with his habitual craft, made opposite promises to both sides, and then doubts and difficulties were settled by the interposition of a supreme arbiter. On Monday, February 2, 1685, Charles was struck with apoplexy, and, after being formally received into the Church of Rome by Father Huddleston, a Benedictine monk, he died on the following Friday.

CHAPTER XI.

INTELLECTUAL PROGRESS: RISE OF COLONIES.

Milton's life and poetical works. The courtier-poets. Cowley, Dryden, Otway, Butler, Marvell. Theology and philosophy: Chillingworth, Fuller, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, John Bunyan, Baxter. The Quakers. Hobbes and Locke, Sir W. Temple. Milton in prose-writing. Science: Harvey, Isaac Newton. Rise of colonies.

It is the peculiar glory of John Milton, not only to be the author of the finest epic poem, and of some of the best prose, in the language, but to link together, in his own performances, two ages of literary production. Born in 1608, he wrote his earlier poems, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, *Comus*, and *Lycidas*, in the reign of Charles I. As the poetical devotee of Spenser, Milton conveys into Stuart times the sweet savour of Elizabethan song. The prose works of the great Puritan belong to the later years of Charles and the period of the Commonwealth. His later poems, *Paradise Lost*, *Paradise Regained*, and *Samson Agonistes*, were written under Charles II. As the son of a skilled musician; as a toilsome student at St. Paul's School and at Christ's College, Cambridge; as a scholar ever making wider and deeper his knowledge of the Greek and Latin writers, during six happy years of retirement in his father's country-house at Horton, in Buckinghamshire; as a traveller on the Continent, seeing and holding converse with Grotius, the great Dutchman, and with Manso, Marquis of Villa, the friend and biographer of Tasso; as one who viewed the historic scenes of Paris, Genoa, Florence, Rome, Venice, Verona, Milan, and Geneva; Milton reaped a rare harvest in all the fields of culture that were open to the genius of that age. Recalled to England by news which foreboded civil war, the poet plunged into literary controversy as an ardent foe of prelatical rule. He held, from historical research, that episcopacy, in political influence, had always been opposed to civil freedom, and he dealt many a shrewd blow in this cause at Bishop Hall and at Usher, Archbishop of Armagh. The same love of liberty inspired the noblest of his prose writings, the *Areopagitica*, a plea for unlicensed printing, addressed in 1644 to the Long Parliament, then seeking to put fetters on thought. In spiritual matters, Milton ranked himself with the Independents, and, in one of his sonnets, denounced the "New Presbyter," then prominent in the Westminster Assembly of Divines, as being "but Old Priest writ large." In 1649 he became Secretary for Foreign Tongues to the Council of State under the Commonwealth. To this period of his life belong his great works as a constitutional writer. In 1654, Milton became blind, and, after the Restoration, he was saved by a royalist friend from being made an exception to the Act of Oblivion. Then came the days of his friendship with young Ellwood, the Quaker, and the publication, in 1667, of *Paradise Lost*. In his later years,

Literature:
Poetry,
drama,
satire.

Milton received visits from Dryden, who tells us that his brother poet "confessed that Spenser was his original." The *Samson Agonistes*, modelled on the old Greek tragedies, appeared in 1671. In this work the hero appears as the representative of those who maintained the cause of freedom against the Philistines of the court of Charles, just as *Paradise Lost* may be regarded as descriptive of the ruin of the commonwealth by the monarchical powers of evil. In his latest poetry, Milton almost wholly disdains the use of rhyme, adopted from the French in the tragedies of the later Stuart times. His wonderful power of language made him indifferent to an accessory which he styles the "invention of a barbarous age, to set off wretched matter and lame metre." George Herbert, who was Public Orator at Cambridge University, a courtier of James I., and then the good parish priest of Bemerton, near Salisbury, gave to the Church, before his untimely death in 1633, an offering of saintly song in the ingenious poems called *The Temple*. A crowd of courtly poets wrote easy, sparkling verse in the Stuart age, some of which is still read with pleasure. Among these we find Edmund Waller, Sir John Suckling, Richard Lovelace the handsome Cavalier soldier, and the witty Earl of Dorset, with his *Song written at Sea*. Sir John Denham's *Cooper's Hill* is cherished for the four fine verses on the flow of Thames. Robert Herrick, the Devonshire parson, ejected from his living by the Puritans in 1648, published in London his charming lyrics, among the sweetest in the language, called *Hesperides*. No English writer has ever dealt more gracefully in song with flowers and fruit, birds and meadows, children and maidens fair to see. Abraham Cowley, born under James I., lived to write Pindaric odes in the earlier years of the restored monarchy. He was a royalist, of shy temperament and modest demeanour, unsuited to the court of Charles. His verse, now rarely read, abounds in ingenuity, and in the peculiar wit which consists in a keen perception of points of analogy and points of contrast which, from their subtlety, elude common observation. The period of the Restoration brings before us one of the greatest names in the second class of English writers. John Dryden, born in 1631, not only stands high in the ranks of our poets, but is one of the best masters of modern English prose. The influence of France upon our literature, beginning to be felt under Charles I., was strengthened on the return of royalists who had lived on the Continent during Puritan rule in their own country. In the saloons of the Marquise de Rambouillet, in Paris, where the grammarian Vaugelas gave new words their right to live, and Pierre Corneille read his tragedies, cultured English exiles held converse with members of the French Academy, founded in 1636. The year of the Restoration saw the first satire of the honest, sensible and energetic Boileau, and Molière was then about to produce the finest fruits of his comic genius. The Three Unities of Time, Place, and Action were discussed by Corneille when, for a time,

he quitted drama for criticism, and it was in English drama that French influence was chiefly seen. It is not, however, as a writer for the stage that Dryden shows his powers at their best. He adopted rhyme in tragedy from Corneille, declaring that the dignity of drama demands that style of verse. The dramatic glories of the Elizabethan age had vanished, and Shakespeare was thought lightly of by the critics of the Stuart times. Writers of plays were analytical rather than creative, and, with all their ability for declamation in tragedy, and their display of wit in comedy, they had ceased to be able to draw men and women. Under the Commonwealth, the Puritans had closed the theatres, and, when the Restoration came to the rescue of the stage, the imaginative power which could alone hold up the mirror to nature was found wanting in the dramatists of the time. There are some fine lines in Dryden's heroic plays, *Aurengzebe*, and *The Indian Emperor*, and his *Spanish Friar*, produced in 1681, and pandering to the bigotry of the day against the Catholic priesthood, is notable for the skilful evolution of its plot. Sir William Davenant, manager of the Duke of York's company of players, had introduced from Italy, in 1656, the performance of operas, in which music was blended with dramatic action, and it was he who, at the Restoration, established the practice, begun under Charles I., of women playing parts on the stage. The king's company was under the control of the witty and profligate Thomas Killigrew, one of the boon-companions of Charles, and author of several worthless plays. One of the best compositions of the time was the Duke of Buckingham's comedy, *The Rehearsal*, produced in 1671 to ridicule the heroic dramas of Dryden, who was then poet laureate. This excellent plea for good sense, against fustian and rant, met with great success at the King's Theatre, and had no small influence in the correction of the public taste. The epilogue to the play calls for a cessation of "this prodigious way of writing," and begs that, from the stage, the audience may "hear some Reason, not all Rhyme." The best writer of tragedy in the later Stuart age was, beyond doubt, Thomas Otway, who died in 1685. His strength lies in the pathetic exhibition of distress. He drew tears by truthful and natural appeal to the heart, and followed the great master in the use of blank verse. *The Orphan* is a touching picture of suffering innocence and beauty, and *Venice Preserved* still appears, from time to time, upon the stage. The four plays of William Wycherley are prose comedies of manners, largely based upon a close study of Molière, and worthy of the reign of Charles II. in the licentious wit and heartless tone of the dialogue. *The Plain Dealer* and *The Country Wife* are the best specimens of the powers of Wycherley. The great ability of Dryden is displayed in vigorous and copious rhymed narrative, in his power of conducting an argument in verse, and in the satirical sketching of character. He had a vast command of language, infinite skill in the management of metre, and the most brilliant manner of expressing in verse the greatest fervour of political passion. Bred among

supporters of constitutional freedom, and trained at Westminster School and at Trinity College, Cambridge, the poet wrote heroic verse as a tribute to the memory of Cromwell. He was, however, by nature a man to seek the welfare of the state in the maintenance of a strong monarchical rule, and his *Astraea Redux* was composed in honour of the Restoration. The *Annus Mirabilis*, treating of the events of the year that included the great fire and sea-fights with the Dutch, is a glorification of the navy and the king, often more elaborate than truthful. In the *Absalom and Achitophel*, he sought to direct public hatred against Monmouth and his supporter Shaftesbury, and, in some of his most brilliant verse, drew Buckingham in the character of Zimri. *The Medal* was a piece of invective against Shaftesbury, with reference to the medal struck to commemorate the rejection of the indictment against him at the Old Bailey. In *MacFlecknoe*, the poet retorted, with keen and polished satire, the abuse of his political foe, Shadwell. The *Religio Laici*, published in 1682, shows a leaning towards authority as man's only refuge from religious doubt. Five years later, in the *Hind and Panther*, Dryden appeared as a defender of the Roman Catholic religion which he had now embraced. A great name in satire is that of Samuel Butler, born in 1612, the son of a Worcestershire farmer. Under the Commonwealth, he served as clerk to Sir Samuel Luke, a colonel in the Parliamentary army, and a member of the Long Parliament. After the Restoration, Butler became secretary to Lord Carbery, President of Wales, and steward of Ludlow Castle, where he turned his shafts of wit against his former Puritan employer, Luke, in the first part of *Hudibras*, published in 1663. In this burlesque epic or romance, written in the octosyllabic rhyme, the poet ridicules the Puritan cause, which to him has a strong savour of hypocrisy mingled with its fanatical zeal. The hero, Hudibras, is a kind of Presbyterian Don Quixote, and his Squire, Ralpho, is a caricature of the Independents. The poem had a great and immediate success, but the king and courtiers, who never tired of quoting its droll couplets against their religious and political adversaries, left the brilliant author without reward. A second and a third part appeared in 1664 and 1678, the author living in obscure poverty till his death in 1680. Literary genius did little for the worldly welfare of its possessors in an age which neglected Cowley and Milton, and let Butler and Otway die in extreme penury. The sturdy honesty of Andrew Marvell, author of humorous and satirical verse, did honour to the time whose vices he assailed. Born at Hull in 1620, Marvell studied at Cambridge, and spent some years in Continental travel, during which he added to his Latin and Greek a sound knowledge of French, Italian, Spanish, and Dutch. He won the high esteem of Milton, and in 1657 became his assistant in his post as secretary for foreign correspondence. After the Restoration, Marvell became M.P. for his native town. He was a consistent champion of civil and religious freedom, fighting the battle

with keenly-pointed wit in verse and prose. The king is compared to Sardanapalus, and the Duke of York is described as the man "with Turk in his head, and the Pope in his heart." Charles, who loved humour even when it was directed against himself, strove in vain to win over Marvell by promises of service, and by high bribes of money offered to a poor man. The corruption of members of Parliament by Danby was severely condemned by this true patriot, who predicts that "things will be mended When the reign of the line of the Stuarts is ended."

The middle and later Stuart days were, above all, a time when men insisted on the right of investigating the sources of belief, and getting down to the foundation of things in religion, politics, philosophy, and science. A free spirit of inquiry was abroad, and reason was called in to test the claims of authority in the most important matters that concern the welfare of society.

Divines;
philosophers;
constitutional
writers;
science.

A determined search after first principles was taken in hand by men of great intellectual power in each school of thought, with the abiding results of the acquirement of much solid truth in departments wherein truth can be attained, and the inauguration of a reign of tolerance for opponents who can never be convinced. In scientific matters, the spirit of Bacon worked with powerful effect in drawing wise men to the study of nature amidst the turmoil of civil war, the feverish contests of faction, and the busy baseness of political intrigue. In no branch of study more clearly than in natural science do we perceive that the Stuart age is the real beginning of the modern time. The vast progress achieved during the two centuries which divide King Charles II. from Queen Victoria has made us to differ from the men of his day in degree only, not in kind. In politics, religion, and science we have merely continued to walk in the paths of which some of them were the pioneers. A rapid sketch will serve to give the outlines of a subject of very extensive range and very profound significance and interest. In theology, the latitudinarian spirit appeared within the Church itself, shown forth by divines differing widely from the school of Laud, but orthodox enough for the laxity of the new time. Chillingworth, born at Oxford in 1602, and a godchild of Laud, passed over to the Church of Rome, became again an Anglican, and then, after due inquiry, found matter for objection in the Athanasian Creed. Thomas Fuller, of quaint conceit and vivacious wit in speech and writing, cultured, liberal, and pious, produced his *Church History of Britain* in 1656, and, dying in the year after the Restoration, left to the world his popular *Worthies of England*. Jeremy Taylor, born at Cambridge in 1613, and educated in the newly-founded Perse School, became a friend and chaplain of Laud, and Doctor of Divinity in 1642, as a reward for his support of episcopacy. His *Liberty of Prophesying*, written in 1647, maintained the right of private judgment in interpreting the Bible, only requiring acceptance of the Apostles' Creed as

a rule of faith. True Christian charity was Taylor's constant guide in the prose writings which were illumined by the true spirit of poetry, and adorned by a rare and fervid eloquence of expression. At the Restoration he became Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore, in which office, as preacher before the Irish Parliament, he pleaded for toleration to men of all religious opinions. Ralph Cudworth, successively Master of Clare Hall and of Christ's College, Cambridge, gave offence to bigots by his liberal and philosophical spirit in the *True Intellectual System of the Universe*, published in 1678. The illustrious Isaac Barrow, Professor of Greek at Cambridge, then predecessor of Newton in the Lucasian Lectureship of Mathematics, and finally Master of Trinity, was a divine of the same moderate school. The mild and liberal John Tillotson was a Presbyterian who submitted to the Act of Uniformity in 1662, and died Archbishop of Canterbury in 1694. Robert Leighton, Archbishop of Glasgow, learned, honest, and gentle, strove against the evil deeds of Sharpe and Lauderdale, and resigned his see on failure of the royal promise to grant a liberal measure of comprehension to the Presbyterians. Gilbert Burnet, the friend of Lord William Russell and the Prince of Orange, and Bishop of Salisbury in 1690, was a divine of the same school. Thomas Ken, famed for his *Morning and Evening Hymns*, won the favour of Charles II., and the Bishopric of Bath and Wells, by a manly resistance to the royal wish that he should receive Nell Gwynn as a guest at Salisbury. Among Nonconformists, John Bunyan, the Bedfordshire tinker, was a Parliamentary soldier in the civil war. As a Puritan fanatic, he became a prisoner for twelve years in Bedford gaol, with saddest heart leaving a wife and four young children for conscience' sake. The author of *The Pilgrim's Progress* needs eulogy neither for his heroism as a Christian confessor, nor for the genius which has made his name immortal in one kind of literary art. Richard Baxter, born in 1615, was a Presbyterian divine driven into the ranks of Dissent by the bigoted policy of Laud. He signed the Covenant, but afterwards repented, and remained a strong supporter of monarchy. His *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, one of the most popular religious books, appeared in 1653. He suffered persecution under the Five Mile Act, and became, under James II., an imprisoned victim of the ferocious Judge Jeffreys, on a charge of seditious libel, for complaining of the wrongs of Nonconformists. John Howe, a Cambridge graduate, was a thoroughly tolerant Puritan divine, and the greatest theologian outside the Church. He formed his own system of divinity, and wrote many works, practical and polemical, marked by depth, solidity, and eloquent expression. His abilities and character won for him the high esteem of good men in all parties. George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, was the son of a weaver in Leicestershire. From an early age he was devoted to the study of the Bible, and in manhood came before the world as a religious fanatic of the strangest type.

Rejecting all forms and ceremonies, and denouncing churches as "steeple-houses," he carried his zeal for literal truth and rigid propriety to the most ludicrous extremes. It was falsehood with him to use "you" for "thou," idolatrous to uncover the head to man, pagan to use the names of months and week-days derived from the false gods of our English forefathers and the Roman conquerors of Britain. He began to spread his opinions in 1647, and he and his followers soon came into collision with established authorities in Church and State. Fox himself was moved to vagaries worthy only of a madman. He would enter churches and lift up his voice in protest against the form of service and the preacher's doctrine. Clad in a suit of leather, which gave him the name of "Leather Breeches" with the rude populace, he roamed the land declaring the truth specially revealed, as he claimed, to himself. On one occasion he walked bare-foot through Lichfield, crying out in his delirium, "Woe to the bloody city." The name of "Quakers" was bestowed on him and his converts by a certain justice of the peace whom Fox bade to tremble and quake before the power of the Lord. Fox's interpretation of Scripture was often of the most grotesque kind, and some of his theological writing is mere gibberish, not to be understood by the most acute and careful reader. Yet this strange being, by his sincerity and fervour, won the hearty respect of Cromwell, and became the founder of a sect numbering men and women of mental powers widely different indeed from his own. The early Quakers, even before the Restoration, were sent by hundreds to prison, and expiated the crime of being a peculiar people by suffering with all meekness hootings, peltings, and whippings at the hands of the lawless mob. The intellectual founder of the Friends was a Scot named Robert Barclay. In 1670 he first took up his pen to defend them, and six years later sent forth his famous *Apology*. The preface, in plain words of admonition, called upon Charles to protect "a most peaceful body of his subjects," and to take heed to his own way of life. Barclay was a man of real ability and learning, and by him and William Penn the theories and practices of Fox were trimmed into a shape not utterly repulsive to educated and sensible persons.

The philosophical writers of the time furnish two great names in Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Hobbes, born at Malmesbury in 1588, the year of the defeat of the Armada, lived till 1679, when Protestant zeal, in far different guise, was fighting against the Catholics of England. Intimate at home with Bacon, and Ben Jonson, he knew, in Continental travel, Gassendi, Descartes, and Galileo. Possessing a sound knowledge of Greek, Hobbes made a translation of Thucydides, with the view of setting forth the evils engendered by republican rule. His attainments in mathematical knowledge led to his appointment, in 1647, as tutor to Charles, Prince of Wales. In 1651, after two other works on political philosophy, he published the

Leviathan, on what he conceived to be the "matter, form, and power of a commonwealth, ecclesiastical and civil." The State is, in this view, a huge body created by man for his own defence in a social condition. Of that body the sovereign is the soul, supreme in civil and religious affairs, and allegiance to him may not be renounced, since that would violate the covenant which man has made for the sake of the general peace and safety. In many of the details of this work, the author gave alarm to the orthodox, and incurred charges of heresy, and even of atheism. The truth appears to be that men, after the Restoration, who were devoted to monarchy and bad morals, were glad to shelter themselves under the wing of a great metaphysical writer who, in precise and clear terms, had made the will of the ruler the standard of right and wrong, and had entrusted him with the direction of the religious belief of all his subjects. Under such a king as Charles II., such a theory was very convenient to loose livers, and Hobbism became all the fashion. Locke, born in 1632, and educated at Westminster School and at Christchurch, Oxford, was a follower of the Baconian philosophy. Soon after the Restoration, he became a friend of Lord Ashley, and by his advice devoted himself to the study of political questions. From the first, he showed himself the friend of civil and religious freedom, and gave a strong support to his patron, as Earl of Shaftesbury, when he opposed the dispensing power claimed by Charles. He was in Holland at the time of Shaftesbury's fall, and remained there till 1689. His *Letters on Toleration* are instinct with the spirit of our last, greatest, and bloodless Revolution. Locke pleads earnestly for Christian charity to fellow-men, and confines the duty of the civil magistrate to securing life, freedom, and property to the subject. Over the conscience he can have no control, and every church, or society of believers, must make for itself its own laws. In his *Two Treatises of Government*, Locke combats the pleas of Filmer for absolute monarchy, and places a sovereign's title to the throne solely in the consent of the people. Men are, in his view, born politically equal and free, a position held by the great writer whom Locke styles "the judicious Hooker." The *Essay concerning Human Understanding* develops the theory that all our notions are derived from outward experience, perception, and sensation, and opposes the Cartesian doctrine of innate ideas. The chief literary merits of this great and good man consist in his giving the first example in English of treating abstract subjects with clearness and simplicity, and in his perception of the danger of employing ambiguous terms.

The Stuart age gave to England the first examples of good modern prose-writing. The Memoirs and Miscellanies of Sir William Temple display a lucid and melodious style, sometimes rising into stateliness and splendour. As a critic, Dryden proved himself to be far superior to any of his predecessors, and wrote admirable specimens of prose in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesie*, and in the prefaces to many of his plays.

English writing had at length become cleared from the quaint conceits of euphuism, and manly vigour and directness took the place of the involved periods and affected expression of a preceding age.

The battle of freedom against despotism employed, on each side, the pens of constitutional writers. A few days after the execution of Charles I., a work called *Eikon Basilike* (or, the Royal Image) was published. It professed to be "the Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitudes and Sufferings," from the pen of the king himself, and was mainly a defence of the policy pursued by him towards the nation. The author of the book was John Gauden, a Presbyterian Doctor of Divinity, who became Bishop of Exeter, and then of Worcester, at the Restoration. It made a strong impression upon the people, and Charles II. declared to Gauden that, if it had appeared in time, it would have saved his father's life. The new Council of State took alarm, and Milton was asked to furnish a reply. The poet, now called to express himself in prose, had already published his *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in which he maintained that the sovereign is answerable for breach of the laws by which he is bound to govern. The categorical reply to the *Eikon* was contained in Milton's *Eikonoklastes* (The Image-breaker). The execution of the king had aroused a feeling of horror on the Continent, and one of the chief European scholars was paid to attack the English people for the crime which had been committed in their name. Claude de Saumaise, a Burgundian, better known as Salmasius, wrote in Latin a "Royal Defence of Charles I." The English Council of State again had resort to their Secretary for Foreign Tongues, and Milton's Latin reply, *Defence of the People of England*, cost the writer the little eyesight still left him by the arduous studies of his youth and manhood. His fame spread throughout Europe, and Queen Christina of Sweden, a friend and patron of Saumaise, held that the Englishman had won the day. The responsibility of kings was strongly upheld against the theory of a divine right to implicit obedience. A "Second Defence of the People of England" appeared in 1654, as a reply to another Latin appeal to Europe, from a new French assailant, who wrote against "the English Parricides." The cause of absolute monarchy was upheld, during the Civil War and under the Commonwealth, by Sir Robert Filmer, who denied that men were born equal in right, and maintained, on patriarchal grounds, that the sovereign had his authority direct from heaven, and could be bound neither by the laws made under his predecessors, nor by any laws which he, as the sole legislative authority, chose to make for the consent of Parliament. James Harrington, a cultured and philosophical republican, born of a good Rutland family in 1611, had acquired in Italian travel a love for the Venetian system of rule. In 1656 he published his *Commonwealth of Oceana*, in which an ideal republic is sketched, as one in which the land, which is the basis of dominion, is divided among the whole people. In this work he

advocates the system of voting by ballot for deputies to rule a parish, for church ministers, and for certain civil and military officers.

Sir William Dugdale, born in 1605 of a good family in Warwickshire, was a learned, careful, and honest writer on the anti-**History.** quities of his native county, on the Peerage, the Courts of Law, and St. Paul's Cathedral, and, in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, he gave the charters of the English monasteries. John Rushworth, a skilled writer of shorthand, issued in 1659 the first of eight valuable folios of *Historical Collections*, including reports of some Parliamentary proceedings from 1618 to 1648. The diary of Samuel Pepys gives a most amusing and valuable insight into the byways, as well as the broad road, of our history from 1660 to 1669. The diary of John Evelyn covers, in less or more detail, a period of more than eighty years, from 1624 to 1706. A Surrey gentleman by birth, Evelyn was a scholar with a keen taste for science, and a man of varied knowledge, who wrote on fruit-trees, garden-herbs, copper-engraving, forest-trees (in his famous *Sylva*, published in 1664), navigation and commerce. Anthony à Wood, an Oxford scholar, wrote on the history and antiquities of his University, and, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, gave a valuable account of most of the writers educated there, and of some of those who came forth from the colleges of Cambridge. Lord Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, which first appeared at Oxford in 1702-4, is the work of a man gifted with a sober majesty of style, a keen observation, and an admirable power of historical portraiture.

The achievements of students in natural science form the chief intellectual glory of the Stuart age. The greatest of all natural **Science.** philosophers then won immortal fame, and the discoveries made by learned men who, in the true Baconian spirit, strove to wrest her secrets from nature, created a fund of sterling knowledge destined to accumulate at compound interest for all succeeding time. While Dr. Thomas Browne, of Norwich, in his *Religio Medici*, a quaint and learned work, acute, ingenious, and bold in speculation, and in his *Inquiries into Vulgar Errors*, was still groping in the dark, and believing in alchemy, astrology, and witchcraft, a young man named John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, had accepted the teaching of Copernicus and Galileo concerning the movements of the earth. Robert Boyle, a son of the first Earl of Cork, was devoted to the study of chemistry and other branches of natural philosophy. His improvement of the air-pump led him to the demonstration of the elasticity of air. His friend and assistant, Robert Hooke, made improvements in the microscope, and was the leading man of the country in researches with that instrument. The growing interest in science led to the formation of the Royal Society. During the Civil War, a number of learned men, including Wilkins, Boyle, and Wallis, the mathematician, began to hold occasional meetings in Oxford and in London. They were joined by other earnest students, and these men formed the

nucleus of the society incorporated by royal charter in 1662. Dryden, giving vent to the kindly feeling which he always had for intellectual merit, paid honour in the *Annus Mirabilis* to the new body, of which he was chosen Fellow in the early days of its institution. In medical science, William Harvey, in 1628, had laid a firm foundation by demonstrating, in a Latin treatise which spread the discovery through Europe, the fact of the circulation of the blood. The method adopted in the study and treatment of disease by Thomas Sydenham forms an era in the history of medicine. This great man was born in Dorsetshire in 1624, and from the Restoration until 1670 he was the leading physician in London. Becoming a victim to gout, he was unable to visit sufferers abroad, but he continued, until his death in 1689, to serve society by his advice, and to provide, in his writings, a priceless legacy for the use of posterity. In the spirit of true science, Sydenham turned aside from tradition, and from theories based on chemistry or mathematics, and devoted careful observation and thought to the phenomena of disease. His practice was founded on nature's indications, and his skill in the treatment of fevers arose from his endeavours to discover and follow and help on the processes by which she relieves herself from disorder. At the same time, he did not fail to search for specific drugs provided in nature's own laboratory, and, against an ignorant outcry from some physicians, he made great use in ague of the Peruvian bark, introduced into Europe by the Jesuits in 1639. John Ray, born in 1628, became in succession lecturer in Greek and mathematics at Cambridge, and then devoted himself to the study of botany and zoology. His travels in search of specimens extended over most of the British Isles and the Continent. In 1667 he was chosen a Fellow of the Royal Society, and, under Charles II. and in the two following reigns, he gave to the world his valuable catalogues of British and foreign plants, and the results of his research into the natural history of quadrupeds and serpents. In the study of mathematics great advances were now made. In the days of Charles I., there was little or no mathematical knowledge at the University of Cambridge. Before the death of his son, that great seat of learning possessed the greatest mathematical genius that has ever appeared in the modern world. The first steps in this grand progress of exact science were taken by John Wallis, a Kentish man born in 1616. In 1649 he became Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford, where we have seen him among the founders of the Royal Society. His study of the quadrature of curves led Newton to the extension of the binomial theorem, which became so powerful an instrument of mathematical analysis. In 1655, Wallis published his chief work, on the method of dealing with the calculation of infinitesimal quantities, which showed the way to another of Newton's great discoveries. The fluxions of Newton involve the principles of that higher mathematical analysis known as the differential and the integral calculus, which have proved

of boundless service in the prosecution of mathematics as applied to the investigation of physical science. Isaac Newton was born at Woolsthorpe, near Grantham, on Christmas Day, 1642. Trained at Trinity College, Cambridge, under Isaac Barrow, a man eminent at once in Greek, mathematics, and divinity, the young student soon showed his marvellous mental power, and in 1669 succeeded his tutor in the Lucasian professorship of mathematics. He had already established the theory of fluxions which rendered possible a precise calculation of the movements of the heavenly bodies. Turning next to optics, he made the brilliant discovery of the different refrangibility of the rays of light, and greatly improved the reflecting telescope. His grand work, the *Principia*, published in 1687, was the result of studies which demonstrated the law of gravitation as the power which keeps the satellites revolving round their primary planets, and the planets moving steady in their orbits round the sun.

The colonial empire of the Spaniards beyond the Atlantic was spread
Colonisa- over nearly all the maritime regions of the tropics to the
tion. north and south of the equator. Portugal had laid her hand upon Brazil, but all the rest, whether on the islands or on the mainland, had become the prey of the adventurers of Spain. There was a great stretch of the Atlantic seaboard, from Florida to the river St. Lawrence, left open to the enterprise of other Europeans. This region, chiefly temperate in climate, and fairly fertile in soil, became the scene of English settlement under the Stuart sovereigns. The attempts to colonise North America in the time of Elizabeth had been failures. The adventurers, men unaccustomed to the manual labour of tilling the soil, had gone forth hoping either to find gold, or to reap the fruits of a land teeming with products unsown by man. It was only when these early dreams were dispelled that success came to other men who were resolved to seek subsistence by toil. Raleigh had shown the way to Virginia, and the spirit of enterprise which he had fostered at length received the encouragement of men in power. In 1606, James I. granted charters for colonising North America to a London Company, and to a Plymouth Company. In that year, the London or South Virginia Company sent out three ships, bearing 105 men who were to remain as settlers. Driven by stress of weather into the fine anchorage of Chesapeake Bay, they named the two headlands, after the king's sons, Cape Henry and Cape Charles. Then, ascending a river which they called after the king, they planted their colony in a pleasant spot, and founded the place, since abandoned, known as James Town. The energy and wisdom of Captain Smith, saved from death by the romantic affection of Pocahontas, daughter of an Indian chief, kept the new settlement alive, and, under his guidance, industry slowly achieved its reward. In 1610, a new body of emigrants arrived under the leadership of Lord Delaware, as governor of Virginia, and the colony became prosperous in resorting to the growth of tobacco, for

which a ready sale, in spite of King James' *Counterblast*, was found in the old country. It is remarkable that a sovereign who sought absolute power at home should have accorded a free and representative constitution to this new community beyond sea. In 1621, James, in granting this boon, declared the object of government to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression."

The New England colonies owe their origin to religious persecution, and to the passionate desire of a body of sectaries for a land where they might enjoy liberty of conscience. A congregation of Independents, called Brownists from their founder, Robert Brown, had taken refuge in Holland in 1608. After twelve years of exile, during which they abode at Leyden, they turned their thoughts to the distant west. A patent for a settlement on the shores of the New World was obtained from the Virginia Company of London, and a vessel of sixty tons burden, named the *Speedwell*, was purchased. Another ship, the *Mayflower*, of 180 tons, was hired, and in July, 1620, the party embarked at Delft Haven for England. After two starts made, first from Southampton, and then from Dartmouth, and two returns caused by the unseaworthy state of the *Speedwell*, the *Mayflower* alone finally put to sea, from Plymouth, in September. In November, the shore of America was reached, and, on December 11th, an exploring party landed in Massachusetts Bay, at a spot where arose the town called Plymouth. The settlers numbered about one hundred men, women, and children, and the community was formed by deed into a "civil body politic" of a republican character, but subject to the supreme authority of the crown.

This colony was followed in 1623 by that of Massachusetts, to which a royal charter was granted six years later. The town of Boston now had its rise, with a name derived from the port in Lincolnshire, whose merchants had helped the undertaking. The two following years saw the rise of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The New England colonies soon had their numbers swelled by the arrival of Puritans driven out by the persecution of Laud. Many of the new-comers belonged to the professional classes, and large land-owners were accompanied by farmers from the eastern counties. When the Long Parliament met in 1640, and put an end, for the time, to religious persecution, the tide of emigration ceased, after about twenty thousand people in all had sought refuge on the north-eastern coasts, in the territory still known as New England. The settlement which became Maryland, after the name of Charles the First's Queen, was also due to religious persecution. In 1634, Lord Baltimore, a Catholic peer, sought refuge from the penal laws in a portion of the Virginia Company's domain. A charter was granted by the king, and the Catholic colony was soon in a flourishing condition. After the Restoration, Carolina, originally named by French settlers, after their

The
Pilgrim
Fathers.

Other
Colonies.

king, Charles IX., was colonised in 1663, under a grant of our Charles II. Other settlers followed in 1670, and, early in the following century, North and South Carolina became distinct colonies. The town of New York was, as we have seen, taken from the Dutch, under the name of New Amsterdam, in 1664, and the territory near it, on the river Hudson, then known as the New Netherlands, became the colony of New York. New Jersey, first settled by Danes and Swedes, and then conquered by the Dutch, also came into English hands in 1664. Delaware, a Swedish colony taken over by Holland, followed the same course, and was granted to William Penn, along with other territory, in 1682. The young Quaker claimed from the Treasury, for a loan advanced by his deceased father, Admiral Penn, the sum of sixteen thousand pounds. Anxious to secure his fellow-sectaries from persecution, Penn besought the king in Council to settle his claim by the grant of a large tract in America, a region of mountains and forests and prairies, accessible from the sea by the river Delaware. He knew that Quakers, men remarkable for industry and frugality, would make settlers of the best class, and sought to find them a new home beyond the reach of penal laws. The request was granted, and the name devised was the happy compound of Pennsylvania. A democratic constitution was drawn up by the founder, with the aid of his friend Algernon Sidney. Civil and religious freedom were the main elements, and legislative and executive functions were entrusted to an Assembly and to a Council, both chosen by universal suffrage. In October 1682, Penn and the first body of emigrants landed on the shore of the river Delaware. The city of Philadelphia was founded, and a treaty of friendship and brotherhood—the only treaty, as Voltaire remarks, that was never sworn to and never broken—was concluded with the native Indians.

CHAPTER XII.

FREEDOM'S BATTLE WON.

Argyle's and Monmouth's rebellions. The tyranny of James II. Scottish and Irish affairs. The tools of arbitrary power. The attack on the Universities. The trial of the Seven Bishops. The landing of the Prince of Orange. The first and second flights of James. The accomplishment of the Revolution. William and Mary accept the throne.

THE final struggle of the British people, in the long contest for constitutional right, was sharp, short, and decisive. The new king **James II.**, 1685-89. was, according to his brother's prediction, the very man to cause a revolution. Hard-hearted, obstinate, faithless, and dull, endowed with no charm of manner, and devoid of all tact and prudence, he flung away in three years the exceptional advantages which attended his accession, and then fell with a great fall simply because, like Richard

II., he found none in England to lift an arm in his defence. He had not been king for half-an-hour before he declared to the Council that he would "preserve the government in Church and State as by law established, and defend and support the Church of England." Proclaimed king on Friday, February 6th, James went openly to mass within ten days, and Charles had not been dead a month when, as Evelyn states, the Catholics "were swarming at Court with greater confidence than had been ever seen in England since the Reformation, so that everybody grew jealous as to what this would tend." At the coronation, on April 23rd, some alterations were made in the ritual, and the communion service was not read, nor a copy of the English Bible presented to the new sovereign. A semblance of religious toleration was shown in the discharge from prison of a large number of Quakers and Catholics. The friends of Penn owed their freedom partly to his intercession, but mainly to the fact that they were politically harmless. The other Puritan Dissenters—Presbyterians, or Independents, or Baptists—who were in prison under the Conventicle Acts and the Five Mile Act, remained in durance, to prove that the "toleration" of James was nothing but a transparent sham. The Scottish Estates, at the king's special request, enacted the punishment of death, and confiscation of land and goods, against any who should preach in a conventicle under a roof, or should attend a service in the open air, either as preacher or as auditor. Under this infamous statute, the persecution of the Covenanters proceeded with increased fury, and the soldiery were let loose against them, to indulge in butchery and plunder in the districts where they were still unsubdued.

In civil affairs, the royal purpose was foreshadowed in the choice of counsellors, and in the changes which now took place in the administration. The crafty Sunderland, perhaps already veering towards the Catholic faith, remained in office as Secretary of State, in spite of his vote in favour of the Exclusion Bill. Godolphin had supported the same measure, but his knowledge of business and his industry were indispensable. He was, however, removed from his post as First Lord of the Treasury, and made Chamberlain to the Queen. To Halifax the king owed a great debt for the powerful pleading which had defeated the Exclusion Bill. James knew as much of royal gratitude as other princes of his race, and Halifax, as the foe of absolutism and of the Catholic religion, was compelled to exchange the post of Lord Privy Seal for a far less important office as President of the Council. The mild and just Duke of Ormond, the glory of the Cavaliers, a strong supporter of the throne, a man who had fought bravely for Charles I., and had shared the exile of Charles II., was at this time Viceroy of Ireland. There was no man living to whom the house of Stuart owed so much, but he could not be relied on as a friend of the Catholic faith or of arbitrary power, and he was recalled from his important duties in Dublin to those of Lord Steward

The Ministers.
The Parliament.

at Whitehall. The Lord Keeper Guilford was no friend to freedom, but, having a pedantic regard for the letter of the law, he would not serve the turn of James. Allowed to keep the Great Seal, he was insulted by association in his official duties with the wicked and audacious Sir George Jeffreys, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench. This man now became a member of the ministry and of the House of Peers. On the other hand, the king's brother-in-law, the Earl of Rochester, a Tory of the most bigoted kind, was made chief minister as Lord Treasurer. The new Parliament met on May 19th. The House of Commons was packed with royal nominees, sent there from the boroughs of the land, which, under the new Charters, were almost wholly under the influence of the Court. The country gentlemen from the counties, whether they were Whig or Tory, formed but a small minority, and James declared that, with the exception of about forty members, in a body which then numbered five hundred and eighteen, the House was precisely what he should himself have named. The Commons proved as subservient as might have been supposed, and at once voted to the king, for life, the whole revenue enjoyed by his predecessor. James, unwilling to be, like his brother, a pensioner of Louis, but resolved to become, at any cost of national honour abroad, master of affairs at home, had already accepted from the French king a large sum for present needs. Then he desired to have from the Commons a further sum for the payment of the debts left by Charles, and for the replenishment of the stores of the navy and ordnance. Sir Dudley North, younger brother of the Lord Keeper, and a very able economist, had charge of financial business in the House. By his advice, additional duties were laid on sugar, tobacco, vinegar and wine. Thus the Crown became possessed of a clear revenue, from England alone, of nearly two millions sterling, an income then more than sufficient for the expenses of government in time of peace. The House of Lords, for their part, put an end to the impeachment of four peers who had never been brought to trial. Three of them were Catholics, who had been among the latest victims of perjured Protestants. The fourth was the Earl of Danby, who now resumed his seat in the Lords as a powerful and active Tory.

The king's temper towards the enemies of his faith had been displayed in the treatment awarded to Titus Oates and Richard Baxter. Baxter. Oates, justly convicted of perjury of the foulest kind, was sentenced to imprisonment for life, and was flogged almost to death in a public progress made, on two successive days, from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn. When the just resentment of the Catholics had been thus cruelly appeased, Baxter was made the means of inspiring terror in the Puritans. This excellent man, whose sincere piety made him an honour to his country, was convicted before the brutal Jeffreys of a seditious libel. His offence consisted in some bitter complaints, contained in his Paraphrase on the New Testament,

concerning the wrongs endured by Dissenters. Jeffreys surpassed himself in his treatment of the venerable prisoner, now in his seventieth year. He denounced him as "a rascal" and "a rogue," worthy to stand beside Oates in the pillory. He insulted his victim's counsel, and, when some of Baxter's friends shed tears, they were sneered at by the judge as "snivelling calves." Jeffreys was eager to have the prisoner whipped at the cart's tail, but was overruled by his three colleagues, and was forced to content himself with a fine, the non-payment of which sent the great Nonconformist divine to imprisonment for eighteen months.

The royal speech at the opening of the session informed the Houses that the Earl of Argyle had landed in the western Highlands, with a force of men from Holland. The Whig exiles had been chafing under their late discomfiture. Rumbold and Lord Grey, Robert Ferguson and other men concerned in either of the two conspiracies collectively called the Rye-House Plot, were eager for a fresh attempt, and called on Monmouth to assist them. The "Protestant Duke" had, of late, been the guest, at the Hague, of the Prince and Princess of Orange, who would sanction no enterprise against the English government. The death of Charles II. completely changed Monmouth's position, and doomed him to perpetual exile. He now began to listen to the voice of the tempter, and a double invasion was prepared. The Earl of Argyle had sought refuge in Amsterdam, and, trusting to the help of the Covenanters and to the spirit of his own clansmen, he sailed with three vessels, by the Orkneys, to the Firth of Clyde. The invasion was, from the first, hopeless. The clans, as a body, did not gather around their chief. The counsels of the leaders were divided, and, after a landing had been made, the ships were taken and the stores were lost. The rebels, in separate bodies, passed helplessly to and fro. The royal troops appeared in force, and desertion thinned the ranks of their foe. Then came a general dispersion, and Argyle, on June 30th, was executed at Edinburgh under the sentence passed in 1681. The victim's last hours showed his innate nobleness of character. No threats could induce him to criminate his friends. He asked for no mercy, and, an hour before death, enjoyed the placid slumber which has been worthily treated by pictorial art.

On June 11th, a week before the final failure of Argyle's enterprise, the Duke of Monmouth, with eighty-three followers, including Lord Grey and Ferguson, landed at Lyme, on the coast of Dorsetshire. The borough militia took to their heels, and some of the townsmen raised the cry of "A Monmouth! A Monmouth! The Protestant religion!" The invader of his uncle's realm then put forth a Declaration filled with foul and false charges. James was therein accused of burning London, murdering Sir Edmond Godfrey and Lord Essex, and poisoning his brother Charles. The epithets of "tyrant" and "usurper" were flung at him, and lavish promises of

Argyle's
insurrec-
tion, 1685.

Mon-
mouth's
rebellion,
1685.

good government were made. Monmouth claimed a legitimate birth, and to be, by right of blood, king of England, but was content to leave the matter to the judgment of a free Parliament. For the present, he was the leader of the English Protestants, "in arms against tyranny and Popery." The passions of the yeomen, the trading class, the peasants, and the artisans of the west were thus stimulated, but the manifesto excited the disgust of moderate and thoughtful men, and the enterprise was never favoured by any of the leading Whigs. Monmouth soon headed a force of 1500 men, and recruits came pouring in. On June 14th, Grey skirmished with the militia at Bridport, and then retired in haste to Lyme. The Duke of Albemarle, Lord-Lieutenant of Devonshire, son of Monk, the restorer of the Stuarts, advanced from Exeter with 4000 men to meet the rebels. Disaffection in his own ranks compelled a disorderly retreat, and on June 18th, Monmouth entered Taunton. He there found such enthusiasm for his cause that he assumed the royal title, and sent forth proclamations "from our camp at Taunton, in the first year of our reign." The adherents of "James Duke of York" were denounced as rebels and traitors. This new assumption lent no real strength to his cause, but the peasantry and miners still flocked to his standard, and the body of insurgents soon numbered 6000 men. Arms for their equipment were wanting, and the larger number bore scythes, fixed on upright handles. The spirits of the duke sank, as the militia gathered round his line of march, and the royal army drew near, commanded by Lords Feversham and Churchill. He had none of the qualities of a great leader, and turned, with undecided steps, from Bristol to Bath, and from Bath to Frome, where he heard of the defeat and capture of Argyle. The vanguard of the royal army had been met and driven back at Philip's-Norton, between Bath and Frome, but nothing came of this success, and with a lessened and dispirited force Monmouth, on July 4th, for the second time entered Bridgewater. Two days later, his men, after failing to surprise the royal army in a night attack, and bravely fighting with scythe and pike, when ammunition failed, were utterly defeated in the battle of Sedgmoor. On the 7th and 8th, Grey and Monmouth were captured near Ringwood, in the New Forest. The ruin of his cause, and peril to his life, put the duke to a test beneath which he signally failed. James, justly resolved not to spare a rebel who had claimed the crown, had the cruelty to admit his victim to a personal interview. The unhappy man, after the most abject entreaties, sank so low as to offer to change his religion. When this proved vain, he summoned up a manlier spirit, and on July 15th calmly met death by beheading on Tower Hill. The royal vengeance was let loose through Jeffreys in the Bloody Assizes. In Dorsetshire and Somersetshire more than 300 persons were hanged, and the bodies of the greater number were then quartered and beheaded, and steeped in boiling pitch. The heads were set upon the towers of all the Somersetshire churches; the mangled quarters aroused horror,

fixed upon the oaks of village-greens, and on the sign-posts that guided the wayfarer. Nearly a thousand other victims went for ten years as slaves to the West Indies. The courtiers had a share in the price paid by the slave-merchants, and the queen's maids of honour received £2000 as a payment for the pardon of some young girls at Taunton, who had presented Monmouth with embroidered banners. The Lady Alice Lisle, widow of one of Cromwell's peers, who had been a member of the Long Parliament and of the High Court of Justice, was beheaded at Winchester. Her crime was that of giving food and shelter to two fugitives from Sedgemoor. Her conviction was utterly illegal, preceding, as it did, the conviction of the rebels whom she had harboured. Jeffreys sentenced her to be burnt alive within a few hours of her condemnation. The clergy of Winchester Cathedral procured a short reprieve, and strong interest was used with James, but the only mercy to be obtained was a change in the mode of death. The Great Seal, by the death of Guilford, had become vacant, and Jeffreys, on his return to London, was appointed Lord Chancellor. It was his boast that, in his late judicial progress, he had hanged more for high treason than all the judges since the Conquest.

The prompt and total failure of the late rebellion had filled the egotistic king with exulting thoughts of an absolute rule. His first object was to free himself from the fetters of the Test Act. When Halifax declined to meet the royal views, Downward
course of
James. he was dismissed from office. At this juncture, Louis of France alarmed Protestant feeling in England by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The abolition of this law, which, under Henry IV., had given to the Huguenots a free exercise of their religion, now drove into exile half a million of the best subjects of the French crown. The refugees carried with them their industry to other lands. To England they brought the silk and other manufactures, and some of the most respected names among the middle class of our country began with this expatriation. When Parliament met on November 9th, the king boldly told the members that he was employing officers in the army not qualified under the Test Act, and that, as he thought them fit, he had no intention of removing them. At the same time, he demanded an increase of the standing army, and a grant of money for expenses. In both these points, the loyalty of Tory members was most severely tested, and immediate signs of opposition appeared. The Court party was beaten, by a bare majority of one, on a division, and James was respectfully informed that, in the appointment of the Catholic officers, he had committed an illegal act. The king made an angry reply to the Commons, and then he had to face the Peers. In a debate at which James was present, a high tone of opposition was taken by Halifax, Compton, Bishop of London, Cavendish, Earl of Devonshire, and Lord Mordaunt, afterwards the famous Earl of Peterborough. Jeffreys, the new Chancellor, strove to play the bully in the

presence of his master, but he was soon thoroughly cowed by the indignation of his peers. Parliament was prorogued on November 20th, and the king then turned his attention towards the dispensing power which his brother had claimed, but had prudently shrunk from enforcing. He was not left without warning from those who stood nearest to the throne. His brothers-in-law, Clarendon and Rochester, incurred his frowns by a steadfast resistance to the royal policy. The moderate Catholics themselves looked with apprehension upon the rash counsels of the king. The Pope, Innocent XI., kept advising caution, but James was wholly given up to the Jesuits who surrounded him, headed by Father Petre, and to the shameless Sunderland, who, for the sake of political advantage, had consented to embrace Catholicism. With a petty tyranny which aroused disgust in the Church, Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, was ordered to warn his clergy not to preach on the subject of the persecution endured by the French Protestants, or to ask for contributions on their behalf.

The claim to a dispensing power was, in fact, the assertion of the sovereign's right to abrogate express laws by the exercise of his prerogative. In the earliest times of the Constitution, this prerogative had been exercised, but it had become more and more limited, as the legislative power had become more defined. To admit this dispensing power as a general principle, applicable to all statutes, would be to render the monarchy absolute. James now openly proclaimed his design of rendering the Test Act nugatory by his dispensing power of admitting to all offices, secular or ecclesiastical. He had appointed Sir Edward Hales, a Roman Catholic, to be governor of Dover Castle, and colonel of a regiment. He now sought to have his dispensing power sanctioned by the courts of law. Four of the judges, who ventured to remonstrate with the king on the illegality of his proceedings, were dismissed from their offices. The Solicitor-General, Finch, incurred the same treatment, and all were replaced by men who were ready, for the sake of place and pay, to meet the royal views. A collusive action was brought in the Court of King's Bench for the penalty incurred by Hales, in not taking the Sacrament according to the Test Act. The information was laid by his own servant, while the Crown, behind the scenes, was the real mover in the matter. The defendant pleaded that he was enabled to hold his military commission by letters patent authorising him to do so notwithstanding the Test Act. Eleven of the twelve judges then solemnly decided that the government of England was entirely in the king; that the Crown was absolute; that the penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the king to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to bind the king's power; that he could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties, and that therefore he could dispense with the laws. The Attorney-General, Sawyer, refused to draw warrants by

which members of the Church of Rome were authorised to hold benefices of the Church of England. The new Solicitor-General, Powis, was more obsequious, and warrants were at once issued, under one of which Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, Oxford, who had been a declared Roman Catholic since the accession of James, was enabled to hold his office and his benefices. The king's design of sapping the foundations, if not of destroying the whole edifice, of the Anglican Church, was thus made manifest. At the same time, Massey, a Roman Catholic, was appointed to the Deanery of Christ Church, which was not only a University but a Cathedral office. But one step now remained to be taken. A ready means was needed for the coercion of the Church of England.

James now resolved to create a Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, modelled upon the tribunal which had been solemnly abolished at the Restoration. The king, as head of the Church, had bidden the clergy not to introduce into their pulpits any discussion upon doctrinal points of controversy. At the same time, a royal license was granted to a new Catholic convert, named Hall, to be the king's printer, for the issue of missals, lives of saints, and Roman Catholic tracts, the publication of which was prohibited by Acts of Parliament. Thus the Anglican pulpit was to be silenced, and the Protestant press was to work under fear of venal judges and terrorised juries. The pulpit and press of the rival Church were left entirely free. A London rector, named Sharp, who was also Dean of Norwich, disregarded the royal order, and, at the special request of one of his parishioners, expounded from his pulpit the differences of doctrine and practice between the two churches. Compton, Bishop of London, refused to suspend Sharp from his functions, and the matter came before the new Ecclesiastical Commission. Jeffreys, the Chancellor, to whom all religious and moral principle was a matter of indifference, was president. Sancroft, the archbishop, refused to attend, but the bishops of Rochester and Durham were active members, and the other commissioners were Sunderland, the new convert to Rome, Herbert, the Lord Chief-Justice, who had just declared the dispensing power, and the Earl of Rochester, whose Protestant convictions were not yet strong enough to enable him to risk the loss of place. Compton was summoned to appear, and remained firm against the bullying of Jeffreys. He was then suspended from his spiritual functions, and the see of London became practically vacant. The citizens of London now saw the unwonted spectacle of cowed and girdled friars mingled with the crowd in the streets. Benedictine monks were settled in St. James' Palace. A Jesuit College was established in the Savoy. The Franciscans had their chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields; the Carmelites were domiciled in the City. At Christmas 1686, a Roman Catholic bishop was consecrated with the full pageantry of the ceremonial of his Church at the Chapel Royal, Whitehall. The indignation of the

The High
Com-
mission
Court,
1686.

people caused riots in London, and James then took measures to coerce his subjects by military force.

One of the chief objects of James was the formation of a great standing army. The insurrection led by Monmouth had already furnished a plausible reason for large additions to the military force. The bodies now styled the first six regiments of dragoon guards, the third and fourth regiments of dragoons, and the nine regiments of infantry of the line, from the seventh to the fifteenth inclusive, had just been raised. By these augmentations, and by the recall of the garrison of Tangier, the number of regular troops in England had been increased from six to nearly twenty thousand. No English king had ever, in time of peace, had such a force at his command. The very name of standing army was hateful to the whole nation, and especially to the Cavaliers who filled the House of Commons. They bethought them of the days of Cromwell, of the spoliation of the Church, the abolition of the peerage, the murder of the king, and the reign of the Saints, with all their odious cant and asceticism. The Commons had lately voted but half of the supply, £1,400,000, requested by the ministers, and a strong feeling had been shown in other quarters. When a Roman Catholic chapel was fitted up in Lime Street, in the very heart of the City, the heads of the Corporation protested against the act as illegal. The Lord Mayor, a strong Tory, was summoned before the Privy Council, sharply chidden by the king, and insulted by Jeffreys in the style which he had been wont to use at the Old Bailey bar. Then the populace rose, attacked the chapel, insulted the priests, and set up the crucifix on the parish pump. The Lord Mayor tried in vain to quell the tumult, and some of the trainbands, when they were bidden to disperse the crowd, were heard to murmur, "We cannot in conscience fight for Popery." The business of the city and port of London was seriously affected by these disturbances, and several aldermen, zealous Tories, but not lovers of Popery or martial law, resigned their offices. The king, however, would not yield, and formed a camp on Hounslow Heath. Thirteen thousand men, and twenty-six guns, were there collected, and James hoped thus to overawe his turbulent capital. Two years later, he saw his miscalculation. The camp became a favourite holiday-resort of the Londoners of every class, and a friendly feeling soon arose between the soldiery and the civilians. The army had no terrors for London, and the feelings and opinions of London were largely shared by the troops.

The Scottish people met with the same treatment as their fellow-subjects in England. The Established, or Episcopalian, Church of Scotland was the Church of a small minority. The Lowlanders were chiefly Presbyterians, and nearly all Scottish Protestants hated prelacy. The episcopal polity rested for support on the power of the civil magistrate, backed, in the last resort, by the

power of the sister kingdom. No person could hold any office, sit in Parliament, or even vote, without subscribing, on oath, a strong declaration against both the Church of Rome and the Covenant. The Duke of Queensberry, Lord Treasurer, was a Tory, thoroughly devoted to the Established Church. He had already declared to the court in England that he would sanction no innovation, but there were traitors, in the Privy Council, to the cause which he maintained. The Chancellor, James Drummond, Earl of Perth, and his brother, the Secretary of State, Lord Melfort, were desirous of overthrowing Queensberry, and secured their influence with James by embracing his faith. The Earl of Murray, another member of the Council, descendant of the great Regent who had been a champion of the Protestant faith, also went over to the Church of Rome. When royal letters came down from London authorising Papists to hold offices without taking the test, and the clergy were forbidden to preach against the Roman Catholic faith, and a chapel was fitted up in the house of the Chancellor, the mob of Edinburgh arose. Several citizens were killed by the fire of the troops, and the Chancellor became the object of a deadly hatred. Queensberry was removed from sole office as Lord Treasurer, and from the government of Edinburgh Castle, and then James proposed to exempt the Roman Catholics from all disabilities, while the severe law against the Covenanters was maintained. Some leading members of the Scottish Council opposed this partial treatment, and they were supported both by the Parliament, and by the Lords of Articles, whose duty it was to draw up the Acts on which the Estates were to deliberate. The government could not carry its measures, and the Parliament was then adjourned. James took no heed of the warning which was given by the resistance of so obsequious a body as the Lords of Articles. He resorted to the dispensing power, admitted Roman Catholics to numerous offices and honours, and trampled on municipal rights, by prohibiting elections of magistrates and of town councils, and assuming authority to fill up the chief offices in the boroughs.

The better class of Roman Catholic noblemen had been disquieted by the tyranny of James, exerted though it was in behalf of their own faith. They had a due regard to the national antipathy for their religion, and a prudent dread of the violent reaction which might follow the unconstitutional proceedings of the king. There was, however, at the court a small body of violent Roman Catholics who wished to take full advantage of the power of a Catholic sovereign. Among these men the chief were Roger Palmer, Earl of Castelmaine in Ireland, and husband of the wicked Duchess of Cleveland, who had numbered the late king among her countless lovers; Henry Jermyn, Lord Dover; and Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnel. Tyrconnel was one of the worst men in an age of public and private profligacy. Descended from an old Norman family which had long been settled in Leinster, and had sunk to the level of the aboriginal

Catholic
cabal at
court.

Celts, he had adhered to the old religion, and brought dishonour on his faith by a youth and manhood of the foulest vice. He had attached himself to James, when he was Duke of York, and had gained by the basest means an estate of some thousands a year. Outwardly profuse, impudent, and reckless both in speech and act, boastful in his joyous moods, and a frantic swearer in his wrath, he was really a cold-hearted, mercenary, scheming, and crafty adventurer. He had been raised by James to the earldom of Tyrconnel, and had held command of the troops in Ireland during the nine months which separated the viceroyalty of Ormond from that of Clarendon. He was summoned to London on the eve of the new Lord-Lieutenant's departure for Dublin, and formed at once a close alliance with Castelmaine and Dover. The three friends urged on James in his attacks upon the constitution, and encouraged him in his fatal delusion that the Tory gentlemen and clergy would, in spite of any treatment, act upon their favourite doctrine of non-resistance. Sunderland, who was in the pay of Louis, joined the Jesuitical cabal. The cautious and silent Godolphin strove to maintain a neutral position, while the Catholic counsellors were striving to undermine the influence of Rochester.

The position of the Catholics in Ireland was very different from that established by law for the members of their Church in the Ireland. sister kingdoms. No test excluded them from public employment, and no law closed against them either House of Parliament. The grievance under which they laboured was one of race, not of religion. They were not persecuted as Roman Catholics, but they were oppressed as Irishmen. Those inhabitants of the country who then alone were called Irish numbered about a million, and were made up of the Celts and of descendants of the early colonists who had, in the course of ages, adopted the Celtic manners and language. Nearly all of these had adhered to the old faith. Among them resided about two hundred thousand settlers, proud of their English blood, and strong supporters of the Protestant religion. The greater portion of the land was held by the English and Scottish colonists, divided indeed into Episcopalians and Presbyterians, but strongly bound together, against the Celtic Catholics, by community of race, language, and faith. Over those Celts and Catholics they held and exercised the dominion of wealth, knowledge, and civilisation over poverty, ignorance, and comparative barbarism. James, as at once an Englishman and a Roman Catholic, belonged half to the ruling and half to the subject caste, and might have acted as a mediator between them. The English colonists were thriving, and the revenue supplied a surplus which was duly remitted to England. The king might, if he had chosen, have procured from the Irish Parliament the pecuniary means of indemnifying many of the native families for the loss of lands, and then have trusted to the influence of time for national animosity to wear away. In an evil hour, James resolved to sacrifice all else to the cause of his religion, and to

make the Protestant settlers subject to the Catholic Celts. The colonists turned fiercely upon him, obeying the law of self-preservation, and in the end, as will be seen, the attempt of James subjected the Catholics, for generations, to the operation of a series of barbarous laws. The recall of the Duke of Ormond was the first sign of a changed policy. The administration of Ireland was soon divided between Clarendon as viceroy, and Tyrconnel as general, but the chief power was in the hands of Tyrconnel, who hated the Protestant colonists. By a royal order, the English and Scottish settlers were disarmed, while the native peasantry retained their weapons. Panic spread among the caste that had been lately dominant, and their terror rose to a height when Clarendon was informed that a complete change was to be made in the civil and military rule of Ireland, and that a large number of Roman Catholics were to receive office under government. Several Catholics were at once sworn of the Privy Council, and many Protestant officers of the army, including old Cavaliers who had fought bravely for the monarchy, were deprived of their commissions to make room for Irish Catholics of low class. Tyrconnel, from London, then directed preparations for arming and drilling the whole Celtic population of the land, and thus revealed the king's purpose of using them as instruments for setting up arbitrary government in England. In June 1686, Tyrconnel was again in Dublin. The real government was now in his hands, and, in a few weeks, more than two thousand natives, including a large number of officers, were to be found in the ranks of the army. In February 1687, Tyrconnel began openly to rule his native country, under the title of Lord Deputy, and, in a short time, almost every Privy Councillor, Judge, Sheriff, Mayor, Alderman, and Justice of the Peace was a Celt and a Roman Catholic.

The efforts of the Catholic cabal against Rochester were soon crowned with complete success. The real direction of affairs passed from the hands of the Lord Treasurer. James, Father Petre, and Sunderland alone knew important secrets, and Parliament, against Rochester's known wish, was again prorogued to a distant day. The party were not content with this humiliation of their foe, and urged upon James the removal of a man whose disapproval of his known designs encouraged the nation in resistance. The kindly feeling of the king towards his relative caused a brief hesitation. At last Sunderland, with deep cunning, suggested that James should demand from Rochester a change of faith. The artful whisperer knew that this would not be yielded, and, after some delay, during which the Treasurer pretended to debate the matter with the Jesuits and with his own conscience, he was dismissed from office, being followed in his fall by his brother, Clarendon. Lord Arundell of Wardour, a Roman Catholic, became Lord Privy Seal. Lord Bellasyse, another Catholic, was made First Lord of the Treasury, and Dover had also a seat at the board. In turning out of office a Treasurer, admitted to be both able and loyal, solely for being a Protestant,

The fall
of the
Hydes.

James, who pretended to abhor tests, was imposing a test in behalf of his own Church. It was clear that, where the Hydes had fallen, no Protestant could hope to stand, and men began to look round for deliverance from such a king.

Declara-
 tion of In-
 dulgence,
 April
 1687.

 Foiled in his design of inducing the Anglican Church to share ascendancy with the Church of Rome, James turned towards his Nonconformist subjects. Regarded as a matter of political expediency, the new plan was worthy of the Jesuitical subtlety to which it owed its origin. The king sought to form a league of the sects against the Church, and to secure himself against rebellion by conciliating the only men whose principles allowed them to draw the sword against tyranny. There was something almost portentous in the projected alliance of a Stuart king with the Puritans who had, for four generations, been the determined enemies of his house. A partial toleration was granted to the Scots in February 1687, and then the king, at private interviews with leading peers and members of the Commons, sought to win them over to the abolition of the Test Act. Meeting with a general refusal, he prorogued Parliament for a further term of six months, and, on April 4th, issued his Declaration for entire liberty of conscience. The Established Church was to be protected in her legal rights. All penal laws against Nonconformists were suspended. All religious tests as a qualification for office were abrogated, and every form of worship, Roman Catholic or Protestant, might be publicly followed. The artful lure, in a great degree, failed of its effect. The Dissenters, as a body, did not desire to have relief in the shape of a gross breach of law which the late king had attempted in vain. They had observed the king's repeated violations of his repeated promises to protect the Established Church in the enjoyment of her legal rights. They could not trust the word of such a man as James, and most of them held aloof from the king, while the Court and the Church vied with each other in blandishments addressed to those whom both hated and despised. A great effect was produced by a little tract, the *Letter to a Dissenter*, which was a model of skilful popular argument. The author, Halifax, urged on the Puritans that it was both their duty and their interest to prefer an alliance with the Church to an alliance with the Court. Baxter, now released from prison, was neither to be corrupted nor deceived, and refused to sign any address of thanks to the Crown for the Indulgence, while he strove to promote good feeling between the Church and the Presbyterians. Howe, returning from exile in Holland, called a meeting of Presbyterian ministers, and induced a majority to pronounce against the use of the dispensing power. Bunyan, when the government sought to bestow on him a municipal office, declined to admit the validity of the dispensing power by accepting a place for which he was not legally qualified. The chief effect of the Indulgence was to cause both Churchmen and Dissenters to look wistfully beyond the seas towards the Prince

and Princess of Orange. All the solicitations of James could not win the assent of William and Mary to his action, and, in a firm but temperate letter, they protested against his violation of the law. From this time forward, William was regarded as the head of those opposed to the king, and Dykvelt, his able minister in London, was in frequent conference with the Tory statesmen, Danby and Finch, Earl of Nottingham; with Halifax and Compton, Bishop of London; and with several leading Whigs. Among these were the Earl of Devonshire, and Admiral Russell, of the great house of Bedford, cousin of Lord William Russell. Negotiations were also opened with the rising soldier Lord Churchill, a man destined to win the highest renown as a statesman and a leader in war. His wife was a great favourite of the Princess Anne, over whom she exercised unbounded influence. Through her, the king's younger daughter, and her husband, Prince George of Denmark, were brought over to the league headed by the Prince of Orange.

The conduct of James towards the Universities savours of judicial blindness, and seems to be rather worthy of a rake hurrying on the road to ruin, than of a monarch ruling a free people. The great foundations of Oxford and Cambridge were the strongholds of the Tory clergy, who had ever been foremost as supporters of the kingly power. The fellowships were freeholds, held by Protestant tenure. No one could be admitted to a degree without taking the oaths which Acts of Parliament provided to exclude Catholics from academical honours and offices. These statutes James now resolved to violate. The University of Cambridge was the first victim. On February 7, 1687, a royal letter ordered the authorities to admit Alban Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of Master of Arts. He refused to take the oaths, and left Cambridge muttering threats against those who declined to submit to the sovereign's will. The Vice-Chancellor, John Pechell, Master of Magdalene College, and certain deputies from the Senate, among whom was Isaac Newton, appeared before the Ecclesiastical Commission. After being rated by Jeffreys with his usual insolence, they refused submission on the ground that they were acting in obedience to the laws. The Vice-Chancellor was deprived of his office, and suspended from the enjoyment of the revenues of his freehold, the mastership of his College. Then came the turn of Oxford. The king hoped there at least to find a loyal spirit of obedience. A Catholic dean was in office at Christchurch, and mass was performed in two of the colleges. The king's prerogative, from press and pulpit, had been asserted "in the highest strains of the most abject flattery," and no resistance need be feared. But a change had already passed over the spirit of the University. The undergraduates were mutinous, and a troop of dragoons were quartered in the city, to protect the Catholics from insult. The presidency of Magdalene College was vacant, and the fellows alone had a right to choose his successor, either from their own body, or

Attack on
the Uni-
versities,
1687.

from the fellows of New College. In April, a royal letter commanded the election of a Catholic named Anthony Farmer, in no wise qualified for the post. The fellows chose John Hough, a member of their own body. They were cited before the Commission, and there produced ample proofs of Farmer's unfitness in moral character. Farmer's name was withdrawn, but the election of Hough was declared void, and the fellows were, in August, bidden to elect Parker, Bishop of Oxford. They maintained that the presidency was not vacant, inasmuch as Hough was duly chosen, and on September 3rd the king himself reached Oxford, in the course of a royal progress. The fellows were summoned before James at Christchurch, and sharply chidden for their resistance. They still refused to give way, and Hough would not surrender the keys of the president's lodge. The doors were then broken down, and Parker was, by proxy, installed. In the end, Hough and all the fellows, except two who had yielded, were ejected from the college, and declared incapable of holding any ecclesiastical office.

After repeated prorogations, the Parliament was dissolved by proclamation on July 2, 1687. On the following day, the law was violated in a state reception, at Windsor Castle, of the Papal nuncio, Count Adda. He had lately been consecrated as archbishop in the chapel of St. James's Palace. The young Duke of Somerset, one of the Lords of the King's Bedchamber, now flatly refused to break the law by taking part in the ceremony at Windsor, and was instantly dismissed from his post in the household and from the command of one of the new regiments. Crewe, Bishop of Durham, and Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, aroused general disgust by their presence amid the crowd of courtiers. The king was anxious to obtain a House of Commons which would sanction the Declaration of Indulgence, and lend him aid in schemes which he meditated concerning the succession to the throne. In the autumn of the year, it became known that the Queen was likely again to become a mother. She had already borne four children who had died young, and the prospect of an heir to the throne elated the spirits of the king, and cast a gloom over the countless subjects of the Crown who had looked forward to the peaceable succession of a Protestant in the person of the Princess Mary. The Jesuitical cabal who surrounded James had been grievously tormented by this apprehension, and various plans had been revolved. The thought of a Protestant queen, strongly supported by a Protestant Parliament, was painful, it may well be thought, to those who had been striving, with the grossest violation of the law, to subvert the Protestant religion. A day of reckoning would come, and who could say what retribution would be awarded? At one time, a hope had arisen that, with the help of Louis, the order of succession might be changed, and the crown transferred to the Lady Anne, who might be persuaded to change her religion. It was, however, soon found that

James
tries to
pack a
Parliament,
1687.

she was immovably attached to the Established Church. The new hope that had arisen made it needful to provide for the case of a minority, and Parliament alone could name a Regent. With this end in view, and with no reliance on any House of Commons that might be freely and lawfully chosen, James entered on a campaign of corruption. The elections in the counties, where the whole body of freeholders, high and low, clerical and lay, were strongly excited against the government, were sure to turn out ill for him. The corporations in the boroughs had lately been remodelled in order to destroy the influence of the Whigs and the Dissenters. Every municipal officer throughout the land was now a Churchman and a Tory, but these men could no longer be relied on. The boroughs must be again remodelled. Placemen must be made to vote for the court candidates. Returning-officers must be appointed who would do their duty by the Crown. As for the House of Peers, where there was sure to be a large majority hostile to the king, that could be dealt with by a judicious use of the power of creation. The shameless Sunderland told Churchill, but half in jest, that, if need were, his troop of guards should be called up to the House of Lords. A proclamation appeared in the *Gazette*, announcing that the king had determined to revise the Commissions of Peace and of Lieutenancy, and to retain in his employment only such gentlemen as would support his policy. A committee of seven Privy Councillors sate at Whitehall, for the purpose of "regulating" the municipal corporations. Father Petre the Jesuit, who had just been sworn of the Council, by another gross violation of the law, was one of these Regulators. The Lords-Lieutenants were all bidden to go down to their counties, and to summon all their deputies and all the justices of the peace. They were then to administer to each a series of questions to ascertain how they would act at a general election. The answers, taken down in writing, were to be transmitted to Whitehall. They were also to furnish lists of Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters suited for the bench and for commands in the militia. They were, further, to give an eye to the condition of the boroughs in each county, and make reports for the guidance of the Regulators at Whitehall. The men of rank thus addressed stood aghast at the effrontery of such demands. Half the Lords-Lieutenants of England at once refused to act, and were promptly dismissed from office. Among these were men of high station and long lineage, Aubrey de Vere, twentieth Earl of Oxford; Charles Talbot, the accomplished and popular Earl of Shrewsbury, who had lately, after careful study, left the faith of Rome for the Church of England; and Charles Sackville, the brilliant, graceful, and good-hearted Earl of Dorset. The vacant places were filled by other men, mostly Catholics, and at last the new machinery was set at work. The result was a complete and hopeless failure. The catechism, of three questions, addressed to the country gentlemen, asked for support, as member or elector, to the Declaration of Indulgence. It was everywhere met by an

ingenious form of answer, circulated throughout the kingdom. The responses thus given promised no more than a careful weighing of the reasons for and against a Bill of Indulgence, and the support of candidates whose notions of a representative's duty should agree with those of the voter. From every quarter of the land reports came in that no reliance could be placed on the new bodies of voters in the boroughs, and James was forced to abandon the purpose of assembling a new Parliament.

In view of further steps in tyranny, the Attorney-General, Sir Robert Sawyer, who had declared himself against the dis-
Second Robert Sawyer, who had declared himself against the dis-
Declara- superseded by a venal turncoat named
tion of Williams, who had been a Whig and an Exclusionist under
Indul- Charles II., and now, for the sake of a knighthood, of the
gence, favour of James, and the pay of office, devoted his abilities,
1688. knowledge, and energy, to the service of the infatuated king. On
 April 27, 1688, James put forth a second Declaration of Indulgence, in which he recited the substance of the former document, and proclaimed his immutable purpose of carrying out the matter in hand. The public received this information with indifference, and then came a new and striking display of regal authority. On May 4th, an Order in Council enjoined that the new Declaration should be read, on two successive Sundays, at the time of divine service, by the officiating ministers of all the churches and chapels of the kingdom. In London and in the suburbs the reading was to take place on the 20th and 27th of May, in other parts of England on the 3rd and 10th of June. The Bishops were ordered to distribute copies of the Declaration through their respective dioceses.

The clergy of the Established Church stood aghast at this latest
Attitude affront offered to the laws of the realm, and to the interest
of the and dignity of their own profession. The clergy of London
clergy. were exposed to the first brunt of the battle. Within a few
 days, the Declaration was required to be read from their pulpits, and, in that age of bad roads and slow posts, it was impossible to ascertain the intentions of even a small part of their country brethren. The terrors of the Ecclesiastical Commission were brandished in their faces. A refusal to read the Declaration might, within the space of a single week, eject them from their parsonages, deprive them of their bread, and reduce them to beggary. At this crisis, the clergy of London were supported by the firm and patriotic attitude of the Protestant Dissenters of the capital. Baxter and Howe led the way in a movement by which the Nonconformists of the City took part with the members of the Church, and exhorted them to make a stand in defence of the fundamental laws of the realm. At a meeting of the London clergy, attended by Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, the most famous preacher of the day; by Sherlock, Master of the Temple; by Patrick, Dean of Peterborough and rector of St. Paul's, Covent

Garden, and by Stillingfleet, Archdeacon of London, and Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, a resolution not to read the Declaration was carried and signed. The paper was afterwards subscribed by eighty-five incumbents in London. Some of the Bishops were meanwhile debating on the course to be taken at this grave conjuncture. On May 18th, a meeting of prelates and other eminent divines was held at Lambeth Palace. A petition was drawn up by the Archbishop, Sancroft, assuring the king of the Church's fidelity to the throne, but stating the Declaration to be illegal, and declining, on behalf of the subscribers, to sanction the publication of the same in the house of God, and during the time of divine service. This famous document was signed by the Archbishop and by six prelates of the province of Canterbury, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol. It was now late on Friday evening, and within thirty-six hours the Declaration, by the Order in Council, was to be read in the churches of London. By some unknown means, the petition to James appeared in print on the very evening of the day when it was framed, and it greatly strengthened the hearts of the clergy of the capital. In only four out of a hundred churches was the royal order obeyed. In those churches the chief part of the congregation walked out as soon as the clergyman opened his mouth to read the Declaration, and left him to declaim it at his leisure to the clerk, the organist, the choristers, and the charity-children. When the day arrived for the reading in the provincial churches, not one parish priest in fifty complied with the royal command. Six other bishops had by this time joined in supporting the cause upheld by the seven prelates gathered at Lambeth.

An hour or two after the proceedings at Lambeth, the six bishops crossed the water to Whitehall, and placed the petition in the king's hands. Sancroft had long been forbidden the court, and did not accompany his brethren. James read the document, and at once declared it to be "a standard of rebellion." He insisted on obedience to his commands, reviled the bishops as "trumpeters of sedition," and bade them begone to their dioceses, and see to the publishing of his declaration on the appointed days. Not a man among them showed signs of yielding, and they retired, leaving James to do his worst. The government was placed in a situation of extreme perplexity. It was perilous for the king to advance, and to recede involved humiliation of the bitterest kind. Sunderland, Powis the Solicitor-General, and the Catholic Lords Bellasyse, Dover, and Arundell, wished the king to leave the recalcitrant bishops to themselves, and allow the whole matter to drop. Jeffreys, justly relying, as it appeared, on past experience of servile judges and jurors, insisted on a criminal prosecution, and James accordingly resolved that the bishops should be brought before the Court of King's Bench on a charge of seditious libel. On

The
seven
bishops.

June 8th the prelates appeared before the king and privy council, acknowledged, after much discussion, their signatures to the petition which lay on the table, and were informed by the Chancellor, Jeffreys, that a criminal information would be exhibited against them in the King's Bench. They refused, as being peers of Parliament, to enter into recognisances in a case of libel, and were at once committed as prisoners to the Tower. The multitude gathered around Whitehall saw the seven come forth under a guard, and enter the royal barge. Many of the crowd fell on their knees and prayed aloud for the confessors of the Church. Many more dashed into the water and mud, imploring a benediction from the prisoners. They passed down the river amid blessings from the people in the boats that thronged around, and were received with reverence by the very sentinels who were posted at the Traitor's Gate,

Scarcely had the gates of the Tower been closed on the bishops when the minds of men were stirred by another event of high importance. The queen, Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son on the morning of Sunday the 10th of June. The child doomed to a long life of evil fortune made his appearance on the world's stage a month before the calculated time, and it chanced that few persons were present in whom the nation could place any confidence. Most of the ladies were English or foreign Roman Catholics, and nearly all the privy councillors present were either avowed or suspected supporters of the faith then abhorred by a large majority of Englishmen. The interests of the Princesses Mary and Anne were at stake, as heirs to the throne of a sonless king, yet neither their uncle Clarendon, nor the Dutch ambassador, had been summoned. The Princess Anne was drinking the waters at Bath, but Rochester and Clarendon were both at hand, and the evidence of either would have sufficed to remove all suspicion. The general cry was that a fraud had been practised, and that the child was not the queen's. History has long acquitted James of the crime thus laid to his charge. The political importance of the event lay in the fact that the birth of a prince drove even loyal Protestants to desperation. The child would be reared as a strict Catholic, and imbued with doctrines of absolute rule, and his existence barred the claims of the Protestant heiresses, Mary and Anne, to either of whom, as successor, the Church and nation were looking for relief.

On June 20th the bishops were brought to trial in the court at Westminster Hall. The nation had by this time been stirred to the utmost. The Cornishmen threatened, in their famous song, to rise in arms for Trelawney's defence. The Papal Nuncio, used to the political atmosphere of Rome, was awed by the demonstrations of aroused Englishmen in the native land and home of freedom. Jeffreys himself feared the issue, and Sunderland urged James to forgive the bishops as a boon granted on the birth of a prince. Nothing could turn the tyrant back from the course which

he had resolved to take. He declared that concession had been his father's ruin, and Sunderland, now a suspected man, only made peace with his master by being openly admitted to the communion of Rome. The four judges of the King's Bench took their seats before an auditory such as that court had never before and has never since contained. Thirty-five temporal peers were counted in the crowd. Of the judges, Wright had proved himself to be unscrupulous and servile. Allibone was a Roman Catholic, raised to his high position by the royal exercise of the dispensing power, the legality of which was now in question. Holloway was known as subservient to the royal wishes. Powell's high character for honesty had been stained by his decision in the case of Sir Edward Hales. The prelates, it appeared, could place their reliance on the jury alone, composed of men of good station, with Sir Roger Langley, a baronet of old descent, as foreman. Some of the jurors were Nonconformists, and one, Michael Arnold, was brewer to the king. The counsel for the crown, Powis and Williams, were confronted by Sawyer and Finch, the late Attorney and Solicitor General; by Pemberton, a Chief-Justice of the King's Bench under Charles II.; by Pollexfen, leader of the bar on the Western circuit; Treby, an able and zealous Whig, formerly Recorder of London, and by a young barrister named John Somers, only fully known as yet to a small knot of admiring friends. The bishops were charged, in the information, with having written or published, in the county of Middlesex, a false, malicious, and seditious libel. The trial was full of exciting turns of fortune, which still lend a dramatic interest to the perusal of this greatest of legal contests. The writing of the petition could only be proved, after a sharp altercation between counsel, by the evidence of a clerk of the Privy Council, who had heard the defendants own their signatures, after a discussion between them and the king which left them to understand that the admission would not be used against them. The presiding judge, Wright, was overawed by the peers who watched him, and who might themselves become his judges on a future day of retribution for the perverter of justice. Pemberton, for the defence, took a high tone, and defied the Solicitor-General to do his worst, when he demanded that a question should be recorded by the court. When the handwriting was proved, part of the case for the crown at once broke down, because it could not only not be proved that the writing, in the terms of the information, was done in the county of Middlesex, but it was notorious that the petition was written at Lambeth, in the county of Surrey. The audience were in high spirits, and were expecting a speedy acquittal, when the crown lawyers, giving up the charge of writing a libel, undertook to prove the publication of a libel in the county of Middlesex. But who was to prove this in its only possible form, the delivery of the petition to the king? The king and the defendants had alone been present. The sovereign could hardly appear in the

witness-box, and all the attempts of the prosecution failed to show, as witness after witness was called, that the paper on the table of the Privy Council, the signatures to which had been admitted by the defendants, was the same paper as that which they had delivered to James. Wright himself owned that the Solicitor-General was going beyond all bounds, and the audience laughed and shouted for joy. The case for the crown was closed, and the Chief-Justice, Wright, was beginning to charge the jury, and would, beyond doubt, have ordered an acquittal, when Finch, for the defence, begged for a hearing. A brief interruption occurred, while Wright expressed his surprise, and the colleagues of Finch persuaded him to remain silent, and allow the summing-up to proceed. At this moment news arrived that Sunderland was coming to the court to prove the publication. His evidence, given in a tone of voice and with an expression of face showing that even he was ashamed, was sufficient to satisfy a jury of the fact of the publication. Then came the gist of the charge, as to whether the petition of the seven bishops was a false, malicious, and seditious libel. The counsel for the defendants argued for three hours that the Bishops had truly affirmed the dispensing power to be illegal, and that, as subjects, they had a legal right to petition the king for the redress of grievances. The junior counsel, Somers, addressed the court last, and in a speech barely exceeding five minutes in duration, he placed on a firm basis his reputation as an authority on constitutional law. He proved, to the complete satisfaction of all unprejudiced hearers, that the Bishops' petition was not false, but every word of it true; not malicious, but forced upon them by their sacred duty to the law of the land; not seditious, like a document spread abroad to stir up popular passion, but one delivered to the king alone; not a libel, but a constitutional document, such as a subject might lawfully present to his ruler. The Solicitor-General, Williams, spoke at great length in reply. He had the effrontery to deny that any subject or body of subjects, save the Houses of Parliament alone, had a right to petition the sovereign. The audience expressed their indignation in hisses and shouts, and the Chief-Justice himself looked amazed at such a contention. In his summing-up of the case, Wright expressed no opinion on the dispensing power, and laid it down that the subject had a right to petition. He declared, however, that the petition of the Bishops was, in law, a libel. Allibone agreed with the presiding judge. Holloway said nothing as to the dispensing power, and held that the petition was no libel. Powell denounced the Declaration of Indulgence as a nullity, and the dispensing power as utterly illegal. Parliaments would cease to be, and the sovereign would become the sole source of legislation, if such a use of the prerogative were permitted. The matter was then left to the jury. They sat up all night, while the nine who, from the first, were for acquitting, talked over the other three. By six in the morning all were agreed,

and at ten the judges took their seats. The verdict of "Not guilty" was received with shouts of joy that shook the ancient and massy roof of Westminster Hall. The multitude outside, in the streets, and on the river covered with boats, took up the exultant cry. Gunpowder peals re-echoed from shore to shore, and the news, conveyed by the mere noise, flew over the capital almost with the speed of lightning. Sturdy Englishmen were weeping for joy; men embraced, shook hands, went well-nigh mad. As the bells clanged from the steeples of the City, and the acquitted prelates and the jury, their deliverers, made their way through the throng of men who blessed them for the issue of the great trial, horsemen were hurrying away, east and west, north and south, with the news of the victory achieved by freedom against absolute power. The king, then in his Hounslow camp, was forced to endure as best he might the cheering of his soldiers as they drank to the acquittal of the seven bishops. At night the Pope was burned in effigy at a great bonfire blazing before the gates of the palace at Whitehall. The Roman Catholics of London, both native and foreign, were insulted by the bigoted mob; and the Papal Nuncio declares that "the fires over the whole city, the drinking in every street, with the play of fireworks and the discharge of firearms, mixed with impious outrage against religion, which were continued during the night, formed a scene of unspeakable horror, displaying, in all its rancour, the malignity of this heretical people against the Church." Such were the demonstrations of English feeling when, on the only occasion in all our history, love of the Church, love of freedom, and compassion for the victims of arbitrary power, and joy in their deliverance from peril, were stirring, singly or combined, in the hearts of every citizen, Cavalier and Republican, Churchman and Puritan, Whig and Tory, lord and commoner, gowmsman and soldier, shopkeeper and peasant. The nation was banded against the king, who, in three years of perversity and perfidy, blindness to plain facts, and contempt for rights which he had sworn to maintain, had proved himself unfit to rule.

The bold and unscrupulous Whig, Admiral Russell, nephew of the Earl of Bedford, had already visited the Hague, and counselled William of Orange to come over with an armed force. The wary Prince insisted upon having the written invitation of a few statesmen who represented great interests. Russell then returned to London, and, aided by Henry Sidney, brother of Algernon Sidney, lost no time in consulting the leading Whigs and some of the chief Tories. The Earls of Devonshire and Shrewsbury at once gave their adhesion. Halifax, with his usual caution, desired to know nothing of what was afoot. Danby, eager to be great again, devoted to the Anglican Church, and hostile to the power of Louis, saw his own advantage in a change of rulers, and enrolled himself in the conspiracy. Compton, the suspended Bishop of London, formerly tutor to the Princess of Orange, was ready to welcome his pupil's

Invitation to the Prince of Orange.

husband as a deliverer from oppression. The Earl of Nottingham, son of a chancellor under the late king, still famed in the history of the jurisprudence of the courts of equity, was a Tory of honourable character and staid demeanour, zealous for the Church of England, and strongly opposed to the measures of James since the time of Monmouth's insurrection. He now declined, for conscience-sake, to take an active part in a rebellion, but wished all success to the movement. Lord Lumley, a convert from the Church of Rome, eagerly joined in the proposed scheme, and the plans of the conspirators were soon settled. On the last day of June, the very day when the Bishops were acquitted, a formal invitation was sent to William. He was assured that, if he appeared with an army, the country would rise in his favour, and that James could place little dependence either on the regular troops or the navy. This document was signed by the seven chiefs of the combination, Devonshire, Shrewsbury, Danby, Compton, Lumley, Sidney, and Russell. Admiral Herbert, better known as Earl of Torrington, took over the important and perilous paper. He wore the dress of a common sailor, and made his way in safety to William. The Prince called Bentinck and Van Dykvelt to his councils, and the serious difficulties of the enterprise were discussed. It was idle to dream of obtaining the crown of England by conquest. A defeat of the Dutch troops by the army of James would be fatal to the whole undertaking. The English nation would never submit to a foreign prince whose arms had humiliated their own soldiers. The Prince, moreover, was striving to form a league against Louis, in which he hoped to see England and Holland combined with the Catholic sovereigns who ruled at Vienna, Madrid, and Rome. Yet he was now called upon to put himself at the head of the Protestants of England, and appeal to a great body of heretics, in support of their special heresy, without giving just offence to the Catholic powers whose aid he was seeking against the overbearing power of France. The greatness of William of Orange as a statesman is conclusively proved by the fact that these and other obstacles were, by prudence, tact, and skilful adaptation of means to ends, completely and speedily overcome.

Seldom indeed has a great man, confronted by extreme difficulties, owed so much to the conduct of his foe. At every turn, before and after the throne of England was attained, the folly and obstinacy of James caused him to play into the hands of his son-in-law and nephew. The acquittal of the Bishops gave him no warning, and only hardened his heart in evil. He rewarded the Solicitor-General with a baronetcy for the daring and violence displayed at the trial, and removed Holloway and Powell from the bench for declaring that the petition was no libel. He vowed vengeance, through the High Commission, on all the thousands of rectors and vicars who had failed to read the Declaration. In this project he was disappointed through the resignation of Sprat, Bishop

Conduct
of James
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of Rochester, who had for two years been a member of the Commission, and now at last took the part of the brethren whom he had lately been persecuting. Such boldness from so timid a man was most alarming to his colleagues and to the King, and from that hour no more was heard of prosecuting the recalcitrant clergy. The judges on circuit, by the king's command, enjoined on the grand jurors and magistrates the duty of choosing members of Parliament who would support the royal policy, and denounced the clergy, the seven Bishops, and the petition. The country gentlemen then showed their hostility to the representatives of the crown by declining to join the sheriff in procession to welcome the judges at assize. James, unable to trust his English troops, next aroused public indignation by bringing over several thousand men from Ireland. Aliens in blood, language, and religion, and members of a conquered nation, these men were at once hated and despised by Englishmen, and the insult thus offered by the king deprived him of the lingering remains of loyalty to his person and his crown.

While William was preparing his forces for invasion, he received from England further promises of moral and material support. Two of the Bishops who had signed the petition, Lloyd of St. Asaph and Trelawney of Bristol, gave up their doctrine of non-resistance, and were ready to welcome a deliverer in arms. Colonel Trelawney, who commanded one of the Tangier regiments, now known as the Fourth of the Line, put his sword at the disposal of the Prince. The most important adhesion to the enterprise was that accorded by Lord Churchill, who had great influence in the army, and, through his wife, the famous Sarah, controlled the feelings and the actions of the Princess Anne. Sunderland himself, the arch-apostate, gave verbal assurance of his support. He had come to believe in a successful issue for the Prince of Orange, and he had evil thoughts of what measure might, in that case, be meted to himself by the triumphant Whigs. Meanwhile, the infatuated king was not left without ample warning, to which he paid little heed. Avaux, the French ambassador at the Hague, sent notice of the preparations in Holland both to Louis and to Barillon, the French minister in London, but James would not be convinced that danger to himself existed. At last Louis sent an envoy to London with an offer of naval assistance against invasion, and, by Avaux's mouth, uttered threats to the States General of Holland. The English monarch treated these friendly advances with disdain, and Louis decided to leave him to his fate. The troops assembled for an attack upon Holland were directed against Germany, and while town after town was taken on the Rhine, a fair field was left open to the Emperor's ally, William, for his enterprise beyond the North Sea and the Channel. The Prince had chosen for his second in command one of the greatest warriors in Europe. This was the Count of

The
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William,
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Schomberg, a German Protestant of noble birth, who had served Louis for many years, and had risen, by his own abilities and achievements, to the position of a Marshal of France. The veteran, now past his seventieth year, had declined to aid Louis in persecuting the Huguenots, and had retired to Berlin, and taken service under the Elector of Brandenburg. That Protestant prince now gladly lent the great soldier to the advancement of what both deemed to be the good cause. Several English and Scottish nobles, including the restless and adventurous Mordaunt, afterwards famous as Earl of Peterborough, were in William's army as volunteers. On October 10, the Prince issued from the Hague a Declaration which was in strong contrast to the manifestos of the luckless Monmouth. In its English form, the document was shortened and translated by Gilbert Burnet, a Scottish divine who had once been in favour at the court of Charles II., but had then joined the opposition, written his History of the Reformation in England, and other works in favour of civil and religious freedom, and become the attached friend and confidant of the Prince and Princess of Orange. William set forth herein the gross and systematic violations of the fundamental laws of England which had lately been committed, and the many acts of oppression suffered by loyal subjects of the crown. After reference to the arming of Irish Papists, and to the matter of the seven Bishops, the Prince declared that, in compliance with the request of many Lords spiritual and temporal, and of many other persons of all ranks, he had resolved to pass over to England with an armed force, having no thought of conquest, but with the sole object of causing a free and legal Parliament to be assembled, whose decision on all questions would be fully and finally accepted by himself and his supporters. By this time, even James had become sensible of the imminent peril in which he was placed. He could look for no help abroad. The navy, greatly improved by his own exertions, aided by the energy of Samuel Pepys, secretary to the Admiralty and author of the famous Diary, could muster thirty ships of the line in the Thames, commanded by Lord Dartmouth, a man whose loyalty was beyond suspicion. The army at home was increased, and three thousand more Irishmen were brought over. Then tyranny, subdued by fear too late, sought refuge in concessions which were in themselves a confession of guilt. James promised to protect the Church of England, and not to force Roman Catholics on the House of Commons. The dismissed magistrates and deputy-lieutenants were to be replaced. Compton resumed his full powers as Bishop of London. The Court of High Commission was formally abolished, and the Chancellor, Jeffreys, himself carried back in state to the City the charter forfeited six years before. The ejected President and Fellows of Magdalene College, Oxford, were to be reinstated, and the forfeited franchises of all the municipal corporations were restored. The nation declined to put any

confidence in a ruler who could only be just under threat of armed resistance, and the crowd prayed for "a Protestant wind." The Prince's armament was now ready in the Dutch ports, but persistent gales from the west, which brought over Irish regiments from Dublin to Chester, kept the Dutch armada from sailing. As a last effort to influence the minds of the people, James gathered an extraordinary assembly at Whitehall, with reference to the birth of the Prince of Wales. Privy councillors, lay-peers, bishops, judges, the Lord Mayor and aldermen, were furnished with proofs, and with the solemn assurance of the king, long since accepted by all impartial persons, that the little prince was the child of Mary of Modena, his queen. All appeared to be satisfied, but few really believed, and the clearing of James from an unjust imputation was left to the cooler judgment of a later age. The peremptory dismissal of Sunderland from office, in spite of all his lying protestations that he knew nothing of the doings beyond sea, was one of the last acts of James as king of England in power as well as name. On the evening of October 16th, according to the English reckoning, the Prince of Orange embarked at Helvoetsluys on board of a frigate called the *Brill*. The flag displayed the arms of Nassau quartered with those of England. The motto of the Prince's house was "I will maintain." To these words were now added "the liberties of England and the Protestant religion." On the 19th the whole vast flotilla, of more than six hundred vessels, put out to sea, and was carried half across by a strong easterly breeze. Then a violent gale arose from the west, and the ships were driven back, with the ultimate loss of only one vessel, and no life except those of a few horses. The Declaration had by this time arrived in England, and it was a blow sped to the heart of James. He summoned to the palace some bishops and other peers, and questioned them as to complicity in the invasion. Halifax, Clarendon, and Nottingham truthfully pledged their words that they had not invited the Prince of Orange over. Compton, whose name was one of the seven, escaped by an equivocation not to be distinguished from a direct falsehood. A proclamation was then issued denouncing the severest punishment against all who should dare to circulate, or even to read, William's manifesto. Amid this paltering with coming doom, the fleet of invasion was on the German Ocean. On the evening of November 1st, the ships put to sea for the second time, under a fresh easterly wind, and steered at first for the north-west, as if a landing were to be made in Yorkshire. Then, at a signal from the *Brill*, they tacked and bore away for the Channel. On the morning of the 3rd, the armament had reached the Straits of Dover, with fifty men-of-war guarding the transports, under the command of the English admiral Herbert. The wind which carried on the invaders kept Dartmouth's fleet imprisoned in the Thames, and all went well for William. The shore of Kent was covered with gazers, and the martial music from the vessels was heard on both sides of the Channel. At sunset the fleet was off the stately promontory which

gleams white at the westerly entrance to Pevensey Bay, and the sea was in a blaze for many a mile as the lights were kindled at stem and stern. A more magnificent and stirring spectacle, alike for the eye and the mind of those who viewed it, had not been seen for many generations. On the morning of Sunday, November 4th, the cliffs of the Isle of Wight were beheld from the decks of the ships. It was the anniversary both of William's birth and of his marriage. The mark at which he aimed was Torbay, but, on the morning of November 5th, a sea-fog caused the pilot of the *Brill* to carry the fleet too far westwards, and it was not possible to return in the face of the wind. Plymouth was strongly held by a garrison under the Earl of Bath, and the position was now very critical. Then a change of wind to the south scattered the mist, and carried the fleet at noon round Berry Head into the desired haven. On the then desolate beach at Brixham the Prince stepped ashore, placing his foot first on a fragment of rock still to be seen in a monument that marks the spot at one of the wealthiest seats of our fishing trade. The landing of the troops was quietly effected, with the help of the Devonshire peasants and fishermen. A fierce westerly gale stopped the king's ships off the Dorsetshire coast, as Dartmouth hurried down Channel in pursuit, and the last chance for James vanished. The Protestant prince was safe ashore, and the Revolution was fairly begun.

On Friday, November 9th, William made his entry into Exeter, the capital of the west, and the citizens gazed with wonder on the array. The army was made up of men born in various climes, and accoutred in divers fashions strange to the English eye. At the head rode two hundred gentlemen, mostly English, led by the Earl of Macclesfield, and clad in complete armour, mounted on war-horses of Flanders, each attended by a negro from the Dutch plantations on the coast of Guiana. Then came Swedish horsemen from Finland, with broadswords drawn, and white bearskins over their black coats of mail. The Prince's banner followed, amid a company of pages and gentlemen, and bearing as inscription, "The Protestant religion and the liberties of England." Then appeared William himself, cuirassed on breast and back, mounted on a white charger, and with a white plume of ostrich feathers in his helmet. A battalion of Swiss infantry was followed by the Dutch troops in the orange uniform, led by Bentinck, Solmes, Ginkell, and others, and British regiments closed the column, under the command of Talmash and Mackay. Twenty-one brass guns of large calibre, each drawn by sixteen strong horses, gave an air of power to the pomp, as welcome was shouted to the invaders from many a window of the old gabled houses of Exeter. A service was held in the cathedral, and Burnet read the Prince's Declaration. William was now beginning to feel somewhat uneasy. He had been a week in England, and no man of mark had joined him. The royal army, in large numbers, was gathering at Salisbury. The truth

The
march to
London,
November 6, to
December
18, 1688.

was, that the arrival of the Prince had been looked for in the north, and in the west of England men were not yet prepared. He had not long to wait for a change. Within a week, Lord Colchester, eldest son of Earl Rivers, came to Exeter with a party of horse. He was accompanied by Thomas Warton. This man, son and heir of Lord Warton, was of most vicious private character, but he was a very bold and ardent Whig, who made politics his religion, and spared no money, time, or exertion of his unrivalled skill in all the arts of political faction, to further his hereditary cause. These adherents were soon followed by Edward Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford, and brother of Lord William Russell, whom all good Whigs regarded as a martyr to civil and religious freedom. The Earl of Abingdon, a Tory at last driven to rebellion, was soon seen at William's quarters, and the coming in of this peer of the realm was a good omen of further defections from the side of the king. Viscount Cornbury, the king's nephew, as eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon, abandoned the regiment of dragoons which he commanded, and carried over some of his men to the service of the Prince of Orange. The father was almost ready to invoke a curse on the rebellious son, and bemoaned himself piteously to James. Further treachery followed fast. The king, now much alarmed, left London for his army at Salisbury, and dispatched the little Prince of Wales to Portsmouth, with a view to his safe conveyance to France, under charge of Dartmouth and his fleet. On November 19th James joined his troops, and learned that the chief gentry of the west were daily hastening to Exeter. Sixty men of rank and fortune were now lodged within the city, and William had a court around him. All of them signed a short paper drawn up by Burnet, pledging them to stand to the death by the cause set forth in the Prince's Declaration. This prudent step in organisation was speedily followed by the adherence of the Earl of Bath, who placed at the disposal of the Prince his troops, himself, and the fortress of Plymouth. Then came tidings of rebellion in the north. A Cheshire nobleman, Lord Delamere, made his way to Manchester with fifty armed and mounted tenants. Danby, heading a hundred horsemen, rode into York with the cry of "No Popery! A free Parliament! The Protestant religion!" and was at once joined by four troops of militia drawn up to preserve the peace. The garrison was surprised and disarmed, and the gentlemen of Yorkshire came in a crowd to sign a declaration setting forth the reasons for insurrection. The Earl of Devonshire came in arms to Derby, and thence marched with a great force of friends and tenants to Nottingham, which became the head-quarters of the northern rising. The great nobles daily joined the movement, and the heart of James sank as evil news poured in upon him. On November 21st, the invading prince left Exeter for Axminster, and the foes soon came within skirmishing distance for the outposts. William put forward his British regiments, whose conflict with the king's Irish troops in advance could inflict no wound on the

feelings of any Englishman. A combat at Wincanton, where some men of Mackay's regiment repulsed some Irish under the brave Sarsfield, was followed by a decisive piece of treachery. Lord Churchill went over to the Prince, carrying with him the young Duke of Grafton, a natural son of the late king, a man of bold and active character, who was colonel of the first regiment of Foot Guards. The king, almost driven to despair, retreated from Salisbury on November 25th, and made his way to Andover. On that very night, after supping with James, Prince George of Denmark, his son-in-law, and the Duke of Ormond, accompanied by the Earl of Drumlanrig, eldest son of the great Scottish Tory noble, the Duke of Queensberry, rode off to join William. James was stupefied by the loss of Churchill, and could hardly feel any further blow. He set off for London, only to find that his daughter, the Princess Anne, had fled under the escort of Compton. This last stroke drew a sharp cry of woe from the unhappy father and sovereign. "God help me!" he exclaimed; "my own children have forsaken me!" On the 27th he summoned a council of lords in the dining-room of the palace at Whitehall, but they gave him small comfort. One of his brothers-in-law, Rochester, seemed to despair of the situation, and advised the king to treat with William. The other, Clarendon, bitterly inveighed against Popery and tyranny, and blamed James for his cowardly course in retreating before the foe. Halifax and Nottingham urged the immediate dismissal of all Catholics from office, and the grant of a full amnesty to all who were in arms against him. Even in his dire extremity, James would hardly hear reason. He insisted on having vengeance against the arch-traitor, Churchill, but promised to call a Parliament, and sent Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin to treat with the Prince of Orange. A promise of amnesty was put forth by proclamation, and the very men now in rebellion were declared eligible to be members of the coming Parliament. This action of the king's was a blind to his real purpose of gaining time for the despatch of the queen and the Prince of Wales to France. He intended to have no Parliament as his master, but to leave England for Ireland, Scotland, or the court of Louis. Dartmouth refused to let the king's little heir leave Portsmouth for France, and the child was brought back to London, while futile negotiations were carried on with William, and every post brought news of some further insurrection. Newcastle, Norwich, Bristol, Gloucester, and Oxford were all now on the side of the invader, and the Earl of Clarendon joined the Prince's train at Salisbury. The spirit of dissension between Tory and Whig was already appearing there in the hour of success, but William skilfully kept silence, or referred questioners to his Declaration as the sole evidence of his views. On December 6th, he reached Hungerford, where he was joined in force by the northern lords. A sharp fight at Reading told well for his cause, when a small body of Dutch troops drove out of the town double their number of

the hated Irish. The negotiations at Hungerford with Halifax and his colleagues ended in the Prince's acceptance of the king's terms, that all points should be referred to a coming Parliament, and that he, the invader, should meanwhile not advance within forty miles of London. He stipulated, however, that the royal troops should, while the Houses were in deliberation, withdraw to an equal distance from the capital on the east. Then James threw off the mask. On December 10th, the queen and the little prince were sailing down the Thames, and the king made ready for flight. His departure was attended by conduct hardly worthy of the Lord's anointed. After assuring the Lord Mayor and sheriffs that he intended to remain at his post, he flung the writs for the new Parliament into the fire, and, on the morning of the 11th, crossed the Thames in a boat from Millbank. He threw the Great Seal, which could alone give validity to high legal instruments, into the river as he passed Lambeth. Thence, after many months, it was caught and brought up in a fisherman's net. At Vauxhall the king took carriage and drove to Sheerness. As soon as his flight was known in London, the Earl of Rochester and the army-officers at once declared for the Prince of Orange. An assemblage of peers at Guildhall followed this prudent example, and a deputation invited William to repair to the capital with all speed. The lowest mob of London rose, and the Roman Catholic chapels were plundered and demolished. The fury of the rioters did not spare the homes of the ambassadors of some states. The houses of the ministers of the Elector Palatine and of the Grand Duke of Tuscany were destroyed, and the residence of the Spanish envoy was sacked and burnt. On the next morning, December 12th, the Lords called out the trainbands, and the offended pride of the Spaniard was soothed by a lodging in the deserted palace of Whitehall, with all the honours of royal state. A striking incident of the time was the arrest of the hated Chancellor, Jeffreys. He was seized, in the disguise of a coalheaver, at an alehouse in Wapping, when he incautiously looked out of window, and was recognised, through the terrible look of his savage eyes, by a man who had last seen him in his gorgeous robes as judge, and had been bullied by him as a witness in court. A guard of two regiments of militia barely saved the Chancellor's life from the mob that yelled around the coach which carried him, half-dead with fear, to the Tower. There, a few months later, he ended his wicked life, the victim of disease and drink. The night of December 12th was long memorable in London as "the Irish night." James, by letter, had commanded Lord Feversham to disband his troops, and a rumour spread that the Irishmen were marching on London, burning and murdering on their way. Every citizen came forth with pike and musket to fight for property and life. Every window was lighted up, and barricades were hastily piled in all the leading thoroughfares. Nothing like the state of panic had been seen during the Civil War. The drums were beating; the bells

ringing backward peals; and women shrieked in mad terror. The malignant and ingenious agents who spread this false alarm were never discovered. Letters had been despatched through the provinces threatening woe from the armed barbarians, and in town and country hasty preparations were made. In fact, the poor Irish soldiers, wandering through the towns and villages, begged for food, but had no thought of plunder or massacre. They were soon required to deliver up their arms, and were supplied with the necessaries of life. Then came another event which, for a few hours, seemed likely to disconcert the plans of the invader, whose course had, for five weeks, been attended with good fortune so unbroken. On the morning of December 13th, it was rumoured in London that the king had not yet left the country. This report proved to be true. A body of Kentish boatmen, fifty or sixty in number, haters of Popery and lovers of illicit gain, heard that some richly dressed gentlemen had taken their passage by a vessel lying on the south side of the Isle of Sheppey. She was about to sail when they rushed on board and seized the party. James, from his lean face, was taken to be Father Petre the Jesuit, the royal confessor, and the most influential man at court. The absconding king was roughly handled, robbed of his money and watch, and taken ashore. There he was soon recognised, and succoured by some Kentish gentlemen, but he was still kept a prisoner by the populace. He begged permission to depart, declaring that the Prince of Orange would kill him. Then he wrote to the council of Lords sitting in London, and Feversham, with a troop of Life Guards, was at once despatched to his relief. With him James returned towards London, and sent a letter to William, demanding a personal conference in the capital. The Prince of Orange, now at Windsor, seemed to have failed at the very moment of success. If James were resolved to remain, and to submit all questions to a free Parliament, his deposition could hardly be accomplished. William sought refuge in a policy of silence as regarded any proposals from his adversary, and adopted such other measures as might frighten him into a second and, perchance, a more successful attempt at flight. Lord Feversham, who brought the royal letter, was put under arrest, as being devoid of a safe-conduct. The conference with James was declined, and he was desired to remain at Rochester. This request, or order, came too late. On the afternoon of Sunday, December 16th, the king had reached London, and was received with some favour by the people. Pity for the fallen, ever a power in English hearts, raised some cheers around his coach. The king's mind, weakened by his late calamities, now passed into a phase of haughty exaltation. He severely blamed the Lords who had, during his absence, assumed the duties of administration, and surrounded himself again at Whitehall with the hated Irish and Jesuits. William's messenger, Zulestein, now arrived with an intimation that the Prince would only enter London if all the troops were put under

his orders. James appealed for help in vain to the Common Council. The Corporation had not forgotten the seizure of their charter by arbitrary power in the late reign, and nothing remained but another flight. The Prince's troops had continued slowly to advance on London, and on the night of December 17th, three battalions of foot, under the command of Count Solmes, marched into St. James's Park. The Coldstream Guards, under the Earl of Craven, were on duty at Whitehall, where the king was retiring to rest. At his command, the Guards withdrew, and James slept with Dutch sentinels pacing the rounds about his palace. A little after midnight he was aroused by the arrival from Windsor of Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere. In his bedchamber they handed him a letter from the Prince, informing him that in a few hours William would arrive at Westminster, and desiring him to retire to Lauderdale's villa at Ham, near London. The king preferred to go to Rochester, and to this proposal William, now at Sion House, accorded a ready assent. On the next morning, James quitted Whitehall stairs in the royal barge, and made his way, amid rain and storm, to Rochester. Brigade after brigade of the invading army marched into London from the west, and the charge of the capital was mainly given to the three English and the three Scottish regiments in the service of the States General of Holland. The Prince entered London before nightfall, and slept in St. James's Palace. He had managed to avoid the greetings of a vast multitude decked with orange ribands, and gathered amid ringing bells and the preparations for lighted windows and blazing bonfires. On the following day, December 19th, he received the congratulations of the Corporation of London, of the prelates, clergy, and leading dissenters, and of the lawyers of the capital. This body was headed by Mr. Serjeant Maynard, a wise and energetic veteran who had been one of the accusers of Strafford in his impeachment at Westminster Hall. The words uttered by this man of ninety years were an epigram that justified the Revolution. "Mr. Serjeant," said William, "you must have survived all the lawyers of your standing." "Yes, sir," was the reply, "and, but for your Highness, I should have survived the laws too."

A government had been pulled down, and the difficulties of the Prince at once began. He rejected the advice of those who wished him to assume the crown as his by right of conquest, and to issue writs, as a king, for the assembling of a Parliament. He was too prudent thus to violate the promise given in his Declaration, and to grossly hurt the national pride. A Convention was to be gathered for the purpose of settling the government. The Lords met in their own House on December 22, and took the state of the country under their consideration. Meanwhile, a notice had been issued, inviting all gentlemen who had sat as members of the Commons under Charles II., all aldermen of the City,

The Interregnum, December 18, 1688, to February 13, 1689.

and a deputation of the Common Council, to attend the Prince of Orange on the 26th. A strong party among the peers, hoping still to avoid a deposition of James, sent letters to him at Rochester, urging him even now to abandon all his designs of arbitrary rule. A craven and causeless fear for his life made the king, at this last moment of the eleventh hour, adhere to his resolve to depart. At dawn on Sunday, December 23, the last king of the male Stuart line went on board a smack in the Medway, and, after a rough voyage, landed at Ambleteuse, near Boulogne. His queen and infant son had already reached France, and the royal exiles were received with the utmost generosity by Louis. The palace of St. Germain's, with its chase and beautiful gardens, was assigned to them as a place of residence, and a revenue of forty-five thousand pounds a year was bestowed. The full honours of royalty were accorded, and, while the people of Paris and the courtiers of Versailles pitied the victims of what they regarded as a wicked rebellion of vile heretics and a hateful display of domestic treachery, Louis and his ministers pondered the severe check given to a long, eventful, and successful course of policy. The other Catholic powers, at Rome, Madrid, and Vienna, justly hoping for toleration to Catholics at the hands of William, and justly fearing the insolent and aggressive spirit of Louis, rejoiced that the days of weakness and degradation for England were at an end. The Dutch people were, of course, full of delight and pride. The champion of the true faith, the defender of his country's soil, was now to fill a position in which he could make good his resolve to abate the haughty pretensions of France, and secure his native land from the dread of any future assaults from the same quarter. The news of the final departure of James greatly encouraged the Whigs and the defender of freedom whom they had brought into the land. The French ambassador, Barillon, was ordered at once to quit the country. The debates of the Lords and Commoners ended in resolutions which caused William to summon a Convention of the Estates of the Realm, and to take upon himself the executive government until the Convention should meet. The magistrates were continued in office, the disbanded Irish soldiers were shipped off to the Continent, for service in the Emperor's armies, and immediate financial difficulty was met in the advance of two hundred thousand pounds by the Common Council of the City, on the bare security of the Prince's word. The elections sent to Westminster a great majority of Whiggish members. The Scottish people had risen against their oppressors. There was no regular force in the kingdom, save a small garrison in the castle of Edinburgh, under the command of the Catholic Duke of Gordon. All the other troops had been summoned by James to help him against the invaders of England. The Chancellor, the Earl of Perth, fled for his life, but was caught on board ship in women's clothes, and imprisoned in Stirling Castle. The mob of Edinburgh stormed and sacked the palace of Holyrood, which had been turned into a Romanist seminary and

printing-house, and burned in the High Street the books, beads, pictures, and crucifixes. Town and country took arms for the Prince of Orange, but there was no foe to fight. On January 7, 1689, a large number of Scottish nobles and gentry, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, attended William at Whitehall, and requested him to call a Convention of the Estates of Scotland for March 14th, and, meanwhile, to assume the government of Scotland. He acceded to this desire, and from this day forward held rule in the whole island of Great Britain. In England, the Whigs and Tories had already begun to differ with each other, and to form parties among themselves. Some desired the return of James, but these were soon set aside by the effect of a manifesto from St. Germain's, in which James told his people that he had ever striven to rule them with justice and moderation, and that they had been cheated into ruin by imaginary grievances. Then Sancroft proposed a Regent, to be named by Parliament, while James should continue king in name, with his image on the coinage and Great Seal. Danby and a small but powerful following held that the king had abdicated, and that the crown had thus legally devolved on the Princess of Orange, who should at once be proclaimed by the Houses. The Whigs, opposed to all notions of divine right, and believing the foundation of our government to be a contract expressed on one side by the oath of allegiance, and on the other by the coronation oath, were ready to declare the throne forfeited by gross misgovernment, to fill it by election, and to exact conditions from the sovereign of their choice. The Convention met on January 22nd, and warm debates occurred in both Houses. In the Commons, two young men, destined to rise to the highest office, took their seats for the first time. They were Charles Montague and John Somers. Isaac Newton sat there, as a silent member for the University of Cambridge, and the unswerving supporter of civil and religious freedom. On the 28th, the Commons passed a resolution that "King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and that the throne had thereby become vacant." This declaration was at once very illogical, very prudent, and very safe. It was eminently calculated to win votes from all sides of the great Whig majority. It was instinct with the spirit of compromise, the essence of our political system, and the motion was adopted by the Committee without a division, reported, instantly agreed to by the House, and sent to the House of Lords. It was followed by a vote to the effect that it was inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant nation to be governed by a Popish king. The Lords met on January 29th, and gave an immediate and unanimous assent to the resolution concerning a Roman Catholic ruler. The general question was long debated. The plan of a Regency was only defeated by two votes in a

division of a hundred peers. The expression of the Commons as to the "original contract" was carried by fifty-three to forty-six. The censure on the administration of James was approved without any dissent. It was also resolved without a division that James had "deserted" the government. As to the vacancy of the throne, there was a great difference of opinion. Danby, holding that the Princess of Orange should be proclaimed, was asked how that could be, since James was still living. The case was one not provided for in the laws of England. Both Houses had pronounced that James no longer filled the throne, and the Houses, since the throne was vacant, might ask whom they willed to take it. On January 31st, after a service of national thanksgiving for the late deliverance from tyranny, the Lords resolved, by fifty-five to forty-one, that the throne was not vacant. For two days the people of London were very uneasy, and matters seemed at a deadlock, when James again came to the rescue of his enemy. A letter arrived, addressed to the Convention, in which he assured the Lords and Commons of his clemency for most of those who had betrayed him. The absurdity of this profession weakened the cause of his supporters, and, on February 2nd, the Commons, without a division, adhered to their original resolution. Two days later, the peers resolved to insist on their amendments, and the Tories in the Lower House again tried their strength, but were beaten by nearly two to one. The Commons then sought a free conference with the Lords. William and Mary now interposed. The Princess, writing from Holland to Danby, declined to be her husband's competitor. Anne, influenced by the Churchills, aided by Tillotson and Lady Russell, was willing that William should reign for life. William sent for Halifax, Danby, Shrewsbury, and other leading men, and plainly stated his own views. He declared that he would not be Regent for James, nor would he be king merely in name, subject to his wife's authority. He would accept the crown for life from Parliament, or he would return to his own country. The only question now was whether William should hold the royal dignity alone or conjointly with the Princess. At the conference between the Houses, there was much reference to precedents on the use of the word "abdication," and on the question whether England could be without a sovereign. On returning to their chamber, the Lords, after speeches from Danby and Halifax, voted, with but three dissentients, that King James had abdicated the government, and, by sixty-two to forty-seven, that the throne of England was vacant. It was then carried, without a division, that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared king and queen of England. It now remained to decide on what conditions the crown should be given to the new sovereigns. It was wisely determined to impose on William and Mary no other obligation than that of governing according to the existing laws of England. All changes were postponed to the great purpose of solemnly and distinctly setting forth the fundamental principles of the constitution. A com-

mittee of the House of Commons, with Somers as chairman, drew up the famous Declaration of Right, which soon received the assent of the Lords. This document began by recounting the details of the misrule which had made a revolution necessary. Then followed declarations that the dispensing power was illegal; that no tax could be levied by the sovereign without grant of Parliament; that, without consent of Parliament, no standing army could be kept up in time of peace. Next came the affirmation of the right of subjects to petition, the right of electors to choose representatives freely, the right of the legislature to freedom of debate, and the right of the nation to a pure and merciful administration of justice. All these things were claimed to be the undoubted inheritance of Englishmen. The Lords and Commons then resolved that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, should be declared king and queen of England for their joint and separate lives, and that, during their joint lives, the administration of the government should be in the Prince alone. After them the crown was settled on the posterity of Mary, then on Anne and her descendants, and then on the posterity of William. On February 12th, Mary landed from Holland at Greenwich. On the morning of Wednesday the 13th, in the Banqueting House of the palace at Whitehall, William and Mary received the Houses, the Lords headed by their Speaker, Halifax, the Commons by their Speaker, Powle. The clerk of the House of Lords read aloud the Declaration of Right. Then Halifax, in the name of all the Estates of the Realm, requested the Prince and Princess to accept the crown. William, in the name of himself and his wife, accepted that which was thus offered, and promised to rule by the laws of England and the advice of the Houses, to which he would constantly recur. Then, at the great gate of the palace, before a vast multitude covering the space to Charing Cross, after the boom of kettle-drums and the pealing of trumpets, Garter King-at-arms proclaimed the new sovereigns, charged all Englishmen to bear them true allegiance, and besought God, who had already wrought so signal a deliverance for the Church and nation, to bless William and Mary with a long and happy reign. Thus was accomplished a revolution which was, in reality, nothing more than the affirmation, under new sovereigns chosen by the people, of the fundamental laws of England. The ancient rights of the nation were vindicated, with a strict attention to the ancient forms and ceremonies in every action of both the Houses who represented the English people. The popular element which, ever since the days of the Great Charter, had been found existing in our polity, was now to win its way to predominance. Under four Stuart kings, in a long, fierce, and doubtful strife, involving seditions, impeachments, rebellions, battles, sieges, proscriptions, and judicial murders, the struggle against rulers who aimed at absolute monarchy had been waged. That contest was ended at last. Parliament and the throne would no more engage in a warfare perilous and pernicious to the people who looked to both for

the maintenance of the law and order needful to our social prosperity. To the Declaration of Right we owe the replacing of England in the position which she had held under the Tudors, and still holds in the last decade of the nineteenth century, as a power of the first rank. To the wise moderation of our forefathers, Whig and Tory alike, and to the great prince whom both parties called in to deliver us from a dull and obstinate tyrant, are due, in fact, all the beneficent statutes which have, in the legislation of two centuries, made our country the example of a state combining the widest freedom with the firmest order that the whole history of the world can show.

BOOK XIII.

THE REVOLUTION—GREAT BRITAIN FREE AND POWERFUL.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAST GREAT KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

William III.'s position and character. The Toleration Act. The Nonjurors. Corruption of public men. Affairs in Scotland. Massacre of Glencoe. Conquest of Ireland. The war with France. Battle of La Hogue. Financial measures. The first "Ministry." Death of Mary.

THE Revolution of 1688 was rather beneficent than "glorious." The chief glory belonging to the movement is that which accrues to William of Orange. The nation did not save herself, but sought the help of a foreign ruler whose accession to the throne of England favoured the objects of his own ambition as the inveterate foe of Louis XIV. The perfidy of Churchill was a main cause of the almost bloodless success, in England, of William's invasion and march to London. Politicians and churchmen made a free sacrifice of their principle of non-resistance, when they themselves felt the touch of arbitrary power, and we see, throughout the whole transaction, no display, in any Englishman, of high talents or devoted patriotism. Like all revolutions of abiding success, the change now made was conservative in its aims. In sweeping away the dispensing power, the Revolution simply affirmed the principle, established by the usage of a thousand years, that a sovereign of England cannot, of his own mere motion, make and unmake laws. The king was to be henceforth the great official of executive government, the fountain of honour, the representative of the authority and majesty of law, acting in unison with a free Parliament in which lay the supreme human control of the nation and all its religious, political, warlike, and financial affairs.

William III. was the last of our great sovereigns. It was his task, one requiring a high order of genius and statesmanship, "to adjust the strained and warped machinery of constitutional government in England; to subdue rebellion and assuage the grievances of Church and State in Ireland and Scotland; and to form, cement, and invigorate the great coalition against the power of France in Europe." He had a most difficult position to fill.

Nothing but the indomitable will of an earnest man could have enabled him to consolidate the royal power on principles of constitutional liberty, and to hand down his crown in a succession never broken to this day. The excitement and the danger which had drawn together chiefs and parties soon gave place to security and disunion, and the skill and patience of the sovereign were tried to the utmost in opposing, watching, foiling, and preventing the intrigues of disappointed friends and the cabals of concealed enemies. A counter-revolution was ever impending, and, amid all his pressing anxieties, William knew not, of his English subjects, whom to trust. His Dutch followers were faithful and true, but they were as ignorant of English affairs as himself, and the object of bitter jealousy to all classes of English statesmen. The ablest of these had served all sides, and were mostly self-seeking and corrupt. In every political party, duplicity and perfidy were rife, for this was the time when "the rank harvest of vices sown during thirty years of licentiousness and confusion was gathered in." Many of the leading Whigs themselves were in correspondence with St. Germans, and the greatest man of the age, Marlborough, was the planner of a military revolt which would, he hoped, end by placing himself on the throne. The monarch and statesman who, with such instruments, effected what he did, was nothing short of a marvel of ability. The gentle and amiable Mary, by her winning manners and universal popularity, went far to soften, in the public esteem, the stern coldness of a husband who was wanting in all the social qualities that had won regard for Charles II. The feeble and slender frame of the man who now, in his thirty-ninth year, added the cares of an English king to those of a ruler of Holland, was that of one who had never been young. The broad, high forehead; aquiline nose; keen eyes; pale, thin cheeks, wrinkled by sickness and by care; thoughtful and, at times, sullen brow; firm and somewhat peevish mouth, gave a severe and solemn air to the man whose features, once seen, could never be forgotten. "He spoke little and very slowly, and most commonly with a disgusting dryness," says his friend Burnet. Of literature, science, and art he was ignorant and regardless. For political and diplomatic purposes he knew French, Latin, Italian, Spanish, German, and English. In religion he was a Calvinist, but one honourably distinguished by tolerance for other opinions. His early life and education had been a hard training in silence and self-control. An orphan and devoid of friends in his own class, he had been watched in youth with jealous hostility by the ministers of the Dutch republic, who were enemies of the House of Orange. Deeply sensitive by nature, but with a rare fund of inward strength, he had thus learned wary walking, and knew how to keep secrets, to foil the inquisitive, and to hide strong feeling under the mask of quiet gravity. Long before he reached his twentieth year, he had become a statesman, full of judgment and discretion. A few years later, he was renowned

throughout Europe as the brave and able young soldier and patriot who had met Condé in the field with honour, and had maintained his country's cause, in her darkest hour, against the warriors and diplomatists of France. Inferior in ability to many generals of his time, and very rarely successful in battle, he retained, like Soult in a later age, the credit of being a good commander. His energy and skill in repairing defeat were marvellous, and his courage, not merely in war, but against all risks of illness, shipwreck, and assassination, ranks him with the greatest heroes of all time. Like Nelson, he was never so gracious and so gay as when his life was in imminent peril. Then, at last, his tongue was loosed; then he could be really mirthful. The bodily condition of this wonderful man made his life one long disease. Weak and sickly as a child, he had, in early manhood, been severely attacked by smallpox. Asthmatic and consumptive, he was tortured by frequent headaches and shaken by a constant cough. It was the vital need of pure air that drove him from the palace at Whitehall to Kensington and Hampton Court, and enabled his ungrateful subjects to charge him with neglect of his social duties, and with a contemptuous disregard for the metropolis whose citizens had served him well. Such was the new king, in appearance the most cold-blooded of mankind, but most capable of love and hatred, and without any reserve in his small circle of intimate friends. Malignity itself can truly charge him, in his public capacity, with no worse error than an undue and unwise devotion to his faithful Dutch favourites, whom he lavishly rewarded with lands and gold in a time of heavy public taxation. His share in the crime perpetrated at Glencoe is one of the vexed questions of history, a battle-ground of party passion. The one thing certain is, that William must be pronounced guiltless of the treachery which forms its worst feature.

While even Danby and Halifax, amid a natural reaction of feeling, were apprehensive of a Restoration, if James "would but give the country some satisfaction about religion," the Whigs were eager for the rewards and revenge of the hour of victory, and wished to make William the mere leader of their own party. His own desire was to govern by a balance of parties, and with this view he chose his ministers. He assumed himself the management of foreign affairs, for which he was far better fitted than any active statesman of the realm. Danby became President of the Council, Halifax was Lord Privy Seal. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were the Secretaries of State, Herbert the First Commissioner of the Admiralty, Mordaunt and Delamere, ardent Whigs, were the two chief men at the Treasury, but the real man of business there was their colleague, the clear-headed, cautious, and industrious Godolphin. The Great Seal, declined by both Nottingham and Halifax, was entrusted to a commission of eminent lawyers, headed by Maynard. The twelve judges now chosen were men of conspicuous merit. Pollex-

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fen was Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas. The learned, honest, and courageous Holt presided in the King's Bench. Powell again became a judge; Treby was Attorney-General, and Somers was made Solicitor. In the royal household, Devonshire was named Lord Steward, and Dorset, the patron of genius and the reliever of misfortune, held the post of Lord Chamberlain. Of the Dutchmen, Bentinck became Groom of the Stole, with the enormous salary of £5000 a year; Zulestein had charge of the robes, and Auverquerque, a brave soldier, in whose veins ran the blood of Nassau and of Horn, was appointed Master of the Horse. The Convention was turned, as at the Restoration, into a Parliament, and the king opened the session on February 18th. The first business taken was the settlement of some financial matters. The tax called hearth-money, sorely oppressive to the labouring class, was abolished, at the express desire of the king, who, on his march from Torbay, had received from the peasantry many complaints of the grievance. The sum of £600,000 was voted for the purpose of repaying to Holland the charges of the expedition which had delivered England.

An event which occurred at Ipswich led to the passing of the first **Mutiny Act**. Mutiny Act, a measure which became annual, and proved to be of the highest importance, as giving to the House of Commons a complete control of the existence of a standing army. A Scottish regiment, now ranking as the First of the Line, had been ordered to march to Harwich, to take service in Holland in the war just declared by France. The men broke into mutiny, seized four pieces of cannon, and set out for Scotland, to the number of about 800. Pursued by a strong force of cavalry under the brave and able Dutch general, Ginkell, they were overtaken in Lincolnshire and forced to surrender. No man was put to death, and the regiment, sent on its foreign service, redeemed its fame by discipline and valour in many hard campaigns. The Mutiny Act now declared that standing armies and courts-martial are unknown to the law of England, but placed the existing troops under martial law for military offences. By frequent renewal of the Act, an exception became a rule, and the annual need of pay for the troops, and of powers to maintain discipline, necessitates the annual assembling of a Parliament, on pain of a disbanding of the forces.

Distracted by the animosity of factions and sects, William saw the accomplishment, in part, of one of his great desires, in the **Toleration Act**. passing of the Toleration Act. It was in 1689 that the first legal indulgence was granted to dissenters, and the last serious attempt made to admit Presbyterians to the Church of England. A scheme for comprehension, based on such a revision of the Liturgy as had been sought at the Savoy Conference, was frustrated by the bitter opposition of the High Church party. It was at this time also that the Low Church party, in its two very different sections of the Puritans and the Latitudinarians, assumed the position which it still holds

between the Nonconformists and the rigid devotees of ritual. The Low Churchmen were very strong in the House of Commons, chosen when the Whigs were triumphant. The king was at the head of their party. His feelings had been clearly shown by his appointment to the see of Salisbury of his chaplain, Gilbert Burnet, a man detested by the High Churchmen both for his Whig politics and for his broad views in theology. The choice proved to be excellent, and the Bishop, till his death in 1715, acted as one of the most zealous, diligent, and generous of prelates. It was by his exertions, at a later day, that the poorer clergy obtained from the crown the grant known as Queen Anne's Bounty. The Toleration Bill passed both Houses with little debate. None of the severe Acts against dissenters was repealed. The Act of Uniformity, the Five-Mile Act, the Test Act, and the Conventicle Act still remained on the statute-book. It was now, however, provided that Protestant Nonconformists might officiate and worship in licensed buildings, if they took the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, subscribed a declaration against transubstantiation, affirmed in writing their belief in the Trinity and the canonical Scriptures, and subscribed the Articles of Religion, except the 20th, 34th, 35th, and 36th. Quakers were relieved, according to their scruples, from taking the oaths, and Baptists were not compelled to assent to infant baptism. It is clear that Socinians, or Unitarians, and Roman Catholics, were excluded from the benefit of the new measure.

The Act imposing new oaths of allegiance and supremacy created the small, but important and troublesome party known as the **The Non-Nonjurors**. It was decreed that no person should be admitted to any civil, military, ecclesiastical, or academical office without taking the oaths to William and Mary, and that every person now holding any such office should be deprived of the same, unless he took the oaths on or before August 1, 1689. A grace of six months was accorded to the clergy, and it was enacted that any person holding ecclesiastical or academical preferment who did not then take the oaths should be forthwith ejected from his office. Of the 10,000 clergy of the Church, about 400 finally refused to swear. The Primate, Sancroft, headed this scrupulous band of brethren, and he was followed by six bishops, including four more of the Seven. These were Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and the excellent Ken of Bath and Wells. The other two were Lloyd of Norwich and Frampton of Gloucester. Among the lower clergy, the most notable Nonjurors were Charles Leslie, formerly Chancellor of Connor in Ireland, the learned Hickes, Dean of Worcester, and the brave and able Jeremy Collier. The men now deprived of their sees and livings became a sect. Some of them preached in secret to a few Jacobite hearers. Some begged and lounged their way through life. Many became chaplains, tutors, and spiritual advisers in the homes of rich lay Nonjurors. Some were constant and artful plotters against the

new settlement of the nation. After a vain attempt to conciliate the recalcitrant bishops, the vacant sees were filled in 1691. Tillotson became Archbishop of Canterbury, amid a burst of hostile feeling from the Jacobites which deeply wounded his gentle and sensitive spirit. Patrick went to Ely, and Sherlock, who had hitherto refused to swear, took the oaths and became Dean of St. Paul's in succession to Tillotson. The coronation, which took place on April 11, 1689, was accompanied by honours bestowed on some leading men. Devonshire, Ormond, and Schomberg were appointed knights of the Garter; Danby was henceforth to be known as Marquess of Caermarthen, Churchill as Earl of Marlborough; and William's faithful friend, Bentinck, entered the peerage as Earl of Portland.

The House of Commons showed caution in its pecuniary grants to the new sovereigns. The hereditary revenue, consisting of rents from the royal domains, fines and fees, the profits of the post-office, and the excise duties which had replaced the old feudal claims, was left unaltered, and assigned for life. The revenue from customs and other sources was only granted for four years. A change of great importance was made in what is known as "the appropriation of supplies." Whatever sums were voted by the Commons were henceforth to be spent on particular services, according to estimates furnished by the financial minister. One of the greatest benefits of the Revolution is seen in this provision against regal misuse of the national wealth. The distribution of the revenue had hitherto been left wholly to the sovereign. The remedy now applied to an evil which had become conspicuous in the last two reigns had the effect of rendering the legislative power supreme, and an executive government became unable to subsist except in harmony with the representatives of the people.

After reversing the attainders of Lord William Russell, Algernon Sidney, Alice Lisle, and other victims of Charles and James, and the release of Oates with a small pension, Parliament passed the Bill of Rights. In this famous measure the Declaration of Rights was reduced to the form of a statute. Some important additions provided that the sovereign should, in Parliament and at the coronation, by repetition and subscription, adopt the declaration against the doctrine of transubstantiation. Roman Catholics were thus excluded from the throne, and it was also enacted that, if the sovereign should marry a Papist, the subject should be absolved from allegiance.

The victorious Whigs were eager for vengeance on their adversaries, and their implacable spirit almost wore out the patience of William. He declared himself ready to retire to Holland, and leave the government in the hands of the queen, and this threat had a great effect on the public mind. In order to make themselves irresistible in a new House of Commons, the Whigs had sought to disqualify for municipal office all persons who had been

instrumental in surrendering the charter of any borough. The proposed disqualification was to last for seven years, and the effect would have been to make Whig electors predominant in most of the boroughs. This attempt failed, through the votes of Tories and moderate Whigs. The extreme men also introduced so many exceptions into a Bill of Indemnity promoted by the Tories, that it really became a measure of proscription. By a dissolution in January 1690, the king baffled the Whigs, who intended to oppose his departure for Ireland, and the new House of Commons was largely composed of Tories.

After the revenue had been finally settled on the terms already stated, the new Parliament dealt with a measure brought forward, at the king's instance, by Caermarthen in the House of Lords. The Whigs had failed to carry a bill requiring every holder of office to abjure King James. Then William resolved to put an end to the contest, and the Act of Grace was passed by both Houses without debate. The exceptions were scarcely more than nominal, since they included only the surviving regicides, and some of the evil instruments of James. This clemency, sneered at by many who received its benefits, and condemned by those who were baulked of their vindictive purpose, has been justly described by the great Whig historian as "one of William's noblest and purest titles to renown."

It is impossible to have a correct idea of the position of the new sovereign without a proper estimate of the gross corruption which pervaded all departments of the public service. Neglect and peculation were rife among those charged with the duty of providing stores for the army and navy engaged against the enemies of the state, and only the king's personal exertions had any effect in remedying the mischief. The victualling of the fleet and the commissariat of the army were infamous, and a member of the House of Commons defied the authorities to raise seamen, only to be starved and poisoned. The Commons could themselves be managed only by the use of bribery. Halifax and Godolphin had quitted office, and Caermarthen was the chief adviser. Sir John Trevor, the Speaker, was the agent of the minister in a course of bribery which William detested, but which was then the only method of obtaining votes needful to carry on the government. Trevor himself, at a later day, was convicted of receiving a large sum from the Corporation of London, in order to further the passing of a bill which they promoted, and he was forced to declare from the chair that the Ayes had it when it was moved that he had been guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour. His expulsion from the House followed, but he left behind him many men of like character with himself.

The Scottish Convention met on March 14, 1689. Viscount Dundee, the Claverhouse of the days of persecution, had arrived in Edinburgh as the agent of James, and for a short time the enemies of the Revolution rallied round him. A letter from James, countersigned by Melfort, and breathing vengeance against all

Act of
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who should not at once return to their duty, made his cause hopeless. Dundee and other Jacobites went first to Stirling, and then the brave royalist, despairing of every other means, started for the Highlands, with intent to rouse the clans. The Convention went to work in the settlement of the kingdom. The throne was declared to be vacant through the misgovernment of James, and the crown of Scotland was accorded to William and Mary, subject to their acceptance of a Claim of Rights. This document embodied the same substance of constitutional law as that laid down by the Declaration of Right, with the addition of a clause abolishing episcopacy. On these terms an Act was passed settling the crown on the new sovereigns of England, and they were proclaimed king and queen in Scotland on the day of the coronation at Westminster. In 1690 the Presbyterian religion was finally established by the Scottish Parliament, when they set up the authority of synods, and made the signature to the Confession of Faith the test of orthodoxy.

The great moving principle of politics in the Highlands was the hostility of clans. The men of the mountain, the loch, and the moor knew nothing of the causes of the English Revolution. The ancient kings of Scotland were, according to their firm belief, descended from them, and they were persuaded that King James was of their own blood, and entitled, by divine right, to the crown. Dundee appealed, at Inverness, to men who hated the clan Campbell, headed by the MacCallum More, Argyle, who had joined the cause of the new sovereigns. The fiery cross was sent round, and the Macdonalds, Macleans, and Camerons mustered, with their long broadswords, in Lochaber. The army of William in Scotland was commanded by the brave and able General Mackay, and he advanced to reduce Blair Castle, the key of the northern Highlands. His force, numbering about 3000 men, met the clansmen, in about equal strength, just above the narrow defile of Killiecrankie. A cloud of bonnets and plaids appeared, and, after a volley or two, the wild rush of the clansmen swept away the regulars in a headlong flight down the pass. Dundee fell from his horse, shot dead by a musket-ball, and became the hero of Jacobite song, and of no small share of Jacobite romance. The Highlanders, eager for plunder, were soon busy with the enemy's baggage, and the loss of Dundee far outweighed the value of a victory which left no leader to reap its fruits. The mountaineers dispersed to their homes, and a new gathering was made under the command of General Cannon, sent over by James from Ireland. A body of four or five thousand Highlanders was repulsed from Dunkeld by the newly raised Cameronian regiment, and all open resistance was soon at an end. Mackay built and garrisoned Fort William, and the king, as early as March 1690, showed a wise disposition to tranquillise the Highlands by gentle measures. He issued a warrant to Lord Tarbet, authorising him to offer indemnity, money, and honours to the leaders of clans, upon their return to their duty.

Killiecrankie,
July 27,
1689.

Some of the Highland chieftains were still vainly looking to James for aid, and at last, in the autumn of 1691, the government in London engaged Lord Breadalbane to treat with the heads of clans, and to expend fifteen thousand pounds in the work of pacification. The honesty of Breadalbane was very doubtful, but the main cause of the tragedy which followed was the conduct of Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, and Secretary for Scotland. In August, a proclamation had been issued, offering indemnity to all Highland chiefs who should take the oaths on or before the last day of December 1691. In default of this submission, they and their clansmen would become subject to military execution. When that day arrived, all the clans had given their adhesion to the new sovereign, except the Macdonalds of Glencoe. MacIain, their chief, was an enemy of Breadalbane's, and Dalrymple had an especial grudge against the clan for their refusal of the offers made. He wrote a letter to the commander of the troops, bidding him to "destroy entirely" the country of Glencoe and other districts, if submission were not made by the prescribed day. "I hope the soldiers will not trouble the government with prisoners;" these were the words that signed the death-warrant of MacIain. That proud chieftain, holding out to the last moment, presented himself on December 31 to Colonel Hill, the commanding officer at Fort William. Hill, not being a civil magistrate, had no legal power to receive the oaths of submission, and referred MacIain to the sheriff of Argyshire at Inverary. The distance, over mountain-paths covered with snow, was not traversed before January 6th. The sheriff administered the oath, and sent a certificate of the fact to be laid before the Council at Edinburgh. The clerks refused to receive it, and the document was finally suppressed. The government in London were not aware of the general submission of the clans, and on January 16th instructions were issued in these terms: "As for MacIain of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the rest of the Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that sect of thieves." This sentence formed part of a long letter signed by the king, who was left without any knowledge of the oaths having been taken by MacIain. Sir John Dalrymple wrote to Colonel Hill an entreaty that "the tribe of Glencoe might be rooted out to purpose." He then sent further orders that the thing should be "secret and sudden." On February 1st, 120 men of Argyle's regiment, under Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, arrived in Glencoe, asking for quarters in the guise of friends. After twelve days of hospitality, the guests rose before dawn upon their hosts, and slaughtered nearly forty, including the aged MacIain and his wife. The rest, including about three-fourths of the adult males, with their wives and children, escaped to the snow-clad hills, where many died of cold and starvation. In that age of slow communication, the details of this cruel treachery were not known for many weeks to the people of London. About the end of 1692,

Glencoe,
February
13, 1692.

Charles Leslie, the Nonjuring clergyman, published the circumstances, and the Jacobite press made much use of the matter in libellous attacks upon the government. It was not till 1695 that public opinion in Scotland forced the Parliament at Edinburgh, after a recess of two years, to make inquiry, and William also issued a commission to ascertain and report on the facts. The Master of Stair was dismissed from office for his part in the transaction, and this leniency has been the main ground for charging the king with the guilt of a crime devised by Scottish statesmen and carried through by Scottish soldiers.

On March 12, 1689, James landed from France at Kinsale, in the **Conquest of Ire-land, 1689-91.** hope of making Ireland a base for the recovery of his other dominions. His generous host had said at parting, "The best thing I can desire for you is never to see you back again." Under the rule of Tyrconnel, the civil and military strength of Ireland had come almost wholly into the hands of the Catholics, and William and Mary had been proclaimed only at the Protestant towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen. The city on the Foyle was held by a garrison under the command of Colonel Lundy. Amongst those who had fled thither was the rector of a neighbouring parish, George Walker. Both names, in different ways, were destined to become immortal. James, after a grand reception in Dublin, advanced into Ulster, only to find that the people of Londonderry had driven out Governor Lundy, on clear proof of a treacherous purpose, and were being organised by Walker for defence against a great host of Irish Catholics, assisted by French officers in command. During a siege of one hundred and five days, every attack was repelled, and the utmost extremity of hunger was endured, with a heroism never surpassed in any age or country. On August 1st, two days after the arrival of ships with ample supplies of food, the besieged saw the enemy's forces march away towards Strabane, with a total loss of at least 8000 men. Good news from Enniskillen added to the joy of the victors. An army of 5000 natives, under Lord Mountcashel, had been routed on July 30th by 3000 Protestants at Newton Butler, and the other stronghold of the cause was safe. On May 7th, James had opened his Parliament in Dublin, and this body, having but six Protestants in the House of Commons, passed Act after Act of confiscation and proscription. The Protestants became mere pariahs, and those who had not fled to England were looking beyond the sea for help. William, yet unable to quit his difficult post, sent over Schomberg in August with a force of 10,000 men. The town of Carrickfergus was taken, but the troops, ill provided with clothing and other necessaries during a rainy season in the field, perished by thousands in their camp near Dundalk, and the expedition failed through the villany of English officials trained in all the arts of peculation. At last, on June 4, 1690, the king left London for Ireland. Great preparations had been made for his enterprise, and nearly 40,000 men

were in the field, well fed and clothed, and amply supplied with the munitions of war. James had been reinforced by 6000 French soldiers, worth far more than all his host of Irish, who destroyed more than they consumed for food, and were fast turning the land into a desert. At Carrickfergus William landed and reviewed his army, made up of English, Dutch, Danes, Brandenburgers, Swedes, and French Huguenots. As his force approached Drogheda, the enemy, on June 30th, were seen encamped in a strong position on the south bank of the river Boyne. As William gazed upon the foe, a shot from a field-piece grazed his right shoulder, and he was seen to stoop upon his horse's neck. A rumour flew as far as Paris that the hated Prince was killed, and cannon were fired to hail the news, but soon another tale arrived. At early morning on July 1st William's army was in motion. His right wing, of horse and foot, under Portland and the younger Schomberg, crossed the river by or near Slane Bridge, to turn the left flank of James. Marshal Schomberg led the centre, almost wholly made up of infantry, and William led the left wing, all cavalry, to the river a mile above Drogheda. The contest was decided by the centre and the left of William's army. The Irish foot fled before the Dutch, English, Danes, and French Protestants under Schomberg, but their horse made a brave resistance, and the old Marshal fell, along with Walker, the hero of Londonderry. Then William, with his horse, came in from the left, and hard fighting won the day against James. The French troops covered the retreat, while the defeated king, who had kept well out of danger, hurried off to Dublin with the news of his discomfiture. The victors had sustained a loss of about 500 men. The vanquished were the weaker by not more than 1500. The moral consequences of the event were great, in exposing the character of him who was seeking to regain a throne. His rival had risked his life amid the heat of conflict. James, when he reached Dublin, reviled the cowardice of the men whom he had himself deserted. A few days later he landed at Brest from a French frigate, and pestered Louis with vain proposals for an immediate invasion of England. Dublin and Waterford were soon in William's hands, and in the second week of August he encamped before Limerick. The brave Sarsfield had the honour of inflicting a check on the victor of the Boyne. Deserted by Tyrconnel and by the French troops under Lauzun, he made a sortie which cut off the king's battering-train and stores. Assault after assault failed, and on the 30th the siege was raised. The war in Ireland was intrusted, on William's return to England, to the efforts of the Earl of Marlborough. Cork surrendered, after two days' fighting, in the last days of September, and the capture of Kinsale gave a firm hold of the south of the country. In 1691, Tyrconnel came over from France to assume his position as the viceroy of James, and he was followed by St. Ruth, an able French general, as commander-in-chief of the Irish army. He took his post at Limerick,

and made great exertions to bring the disorganised troops into a state of efficiency. The leadership of the English forces was given by William to the Dutch veteran, Ginkell. On June 30th, the new commander took Athlone by assault. On July 12th, St. Ruth was attacked at Aughrim. The Irish now fought, under proper leading, with desperate courage, and the issue was long doubtful. At the crisis of the battle, the French general was killed by a cannon-ball, and the matter ended with a total rout and great slaughter of the native forces. The capitulation of Galway was followed by a second siege of Limerick. The assailants were now provided with ample artillery and stores, and an English fleet rode in the Shannon. After a severe bombardment, and a blockade of two months, Sarsfield was forced to surrender on October 3rd. The civil treaty was signed by the Lords Justices of Ireland, who had really no authority to make any such terms, and the subsequent legislation of an Irish Parliament, wholly Protestant, caused Limerick to bear, among the Catholics, the name of "The City of the Violated Treaty." The first article of the document contained the words, "It is agreed that the Roman Catholics of this kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second." The penal laws against Catholics were a shameful commentary upon this stipulation. A Catholic was deprived of some of the chief rights of ownership in land, and his wife and eldest son were tempted to turn Protestants in order to become independent of his just authority. A Catholic could not purchase land, or keep school, or send his child to a Catholic school at home or abroad, or hold a commission in army or navy, or serve in any civil office of honour or emolument, or sit in Parliament, or vote for members. It was a felony to teach the Catholic religion, and to convert a Protestant to that faith was a capital offence. It was not for nearly ninety years that any of these grievous disabilities, however in practice their severity may have been assuaged, were removed by legislation. The Irish troops, over 10,000 in number, who surrendered at Limerick, were offered their choice of serving under King William, or of being shipped off to France as soldiers of Louis. By far the greater number decided for expatriation, and, under Sarsfield's charge, sailed from Limerick and Cork for France. Most of their families were left behind, and fathers, husbands, and brothers quitted the shores of their country for ever with a wail from women and children ringing in their ears that touched the hearts of the sternest men among the conquerors. In Ireland there was at last the peace of exhaustion and of despair. The exiles went to form the famous Irish Brigade of the French army, and to win, under foreign banners, high renown for discipline and courage. Many of the gentry rose to high honour as diplomatists and generals under Continental sovereigns, while their ancestral lands, under a new

and widespread confiscation, became the property of William's Dutch and English servants and supporters.

Early in 1689, William had succeeded in forming his great coalition against Louis, and France was to find herself at war with England, Spain, Holland, and the Empire. The cruel devastation of the Rhenish Palatinate by the French troops under Marshal Duras had aroused the horror of Europe, and the Catholic powers were ready to join Protestants in the work of vengeance, and of defence against the common oppressor. Louis was, at this moment, the ally of the Moslem Sultan, and his reproaches against Catholics who were in league with heretics only recoiled on his own head. The interference of the French king in Ireland had enraged the English Parliament, and, soon after the coronation, the House of Commons presented an address, in which they warmly offered to support the king in a war against Louis, who was denounced as "the most Christian Turk, who ravages all Christendom, and makes war more barbarously than the Turks themselves." The opening of the struggle at sea was not auspicious for our navy, but the disgrace incurred was afterwards amply redeemed. A powerful French fleet, under the Count de Tourville, sailed from Brest in June 1690, and on the 30th, off Beachy Head, fought a squadron, under Herbert, now Earl of Torrington, combined with Dutch vessels commanded by the brave and skilful Evertsen. Torrington had express orders to fight, in spite of the odds against him, and a man like Blake would have made a bold bid for victory. The English admiral left the brunt of the conflict to the Dutch, who fought with all their old obstinate courage, while the gazers on the Sussex downs witnessed the unwonted spectacle of British ships fleeing to the Thames for shelter. The spirit of the English people was aroused. Invasion was imminent, and the country was devoid of regular troops. The Jacobite plotters were gloating over the humiliation of their country, and looking for the coming of a French army. All loyal hearts rallied round the queen, who, in the absence of her husband in Ireland, was charged with the defence of his throne. The Lord Mayor offered instant help in men and money, and thousands of troops were quickly in arms. On July 4th a messenger from Ireland brought news of the victory at the Boyne, and of the safety of William, and the public feeling was changed into joy. The efforts of the victorious French fleet were confined to some damage done at Teignmouth, where many houses and some fishing-boats were burnt. A national subscription reimbursed the losses of the Devonshire people, and the temporary alarm proved highly beneficial to the cause of the new sovereigns. Tories of nearly all shades were no more willing than Whigs to see James restored by the help of French arms. The House of Commons, in October, voted over £4,000,000 for the army and navy, the largest sum hitherto ever granted for warlike operations. The war on land was marked by almost unbroken success for Louis in

the Netherlands, but the dogged resolution of William enabled him to maintain the struggle with vigour, and to present a formidable front soon after each reverse. In 1689, some troops under Marlborough aided the Prince of Waldeck to defeat the French at Walcourt, but the allies, in 1690, succumbed to the Duke of Luxemburg, the greatest of the French generals, in the hard-fought battle of Fleurus. Early in 1691 William attended a congress of the allies at the Hague. The league against Louis now included the Protestant Elector of Brandenburg, afterwards Frederick I. of Prussia, and Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy. The confederacy, however, suffered from the clash of divers interests, and, while diplomacy was dallying, the French army, moved by a single will, suddenly appeared with Louis before Mons. A severe bombardment forced a surrender before William could reach the scene with 50,000 men, and Louis returned in triumph to Versailles, to enjoy the flatteries of courtly poets.

In the spring of 1692, a crisis came for the cause of constitutional freedom. James had at last induced his host to hazard the **La Hogue**, **May 1692**, chance of an invasion. The deposed monarch had already, with his usual folly, done his utmost to arm against himself the spirit of the nation whom he again sought to rule. James issued a Declaration, which the queen and council, ruling during the king's absence in Holland, at once took pains to reprint and circulate. The document contained no word of regret for the past, no promise of future amendment. It breathed vengeance against prelates and lay-peers; it proscribed whole classes as rebels; it threatened judges and juries who had dared to convict Jacobite plotters; it stooped so low as to denounce the Kentish fishermen, who, in ignorance of the king's personality, had treated him with indignity when he first sought to abandon his kingdom. The feeling thus excited amongst Englishmen was worth a powerful reinforcement, if a foreign armament had reached our shores; but for that the British navy, under other commanders than Torrington, needed first to be overcome. A great camp was formed at La Hogue, near the north-east point of the Cotentin, due south of the Isle of Wight. Ten thousand French troops were assembled with the Irish regiments in the service of France. On April 24th, James arrived from St. Germain, and waited for the French fleet, under Tourville, to clear the way to England. On May 15th, the English and Dutch fleets, under Admirals Russell, Sir George Rooke, Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and other commanders, were gathered at St. Helen's. The whole force amounted to ninety sail of the line, against which the French admiral could bring but half the number. Trusting to defection in his enemy's fleet, and favoured by the wind, he advanced boldly to attack on the 19th, and a fight of five hours, in mid-Channel and nearer to France, ended in the flight of the French to their own harbours. Every Englishman and Dutchman had done his duty. Tourville's flagship, the *Royal Sun*, the finest vessel then afloat, escaped to Cherbourg

with two other great ships. Our admiral, Delaval, attacked them, among the shoals, with his fire-ships and boats, and all three were burned to the water's edge. The French admiral himself, shifting his flag, had reached the bay of La Hogue with twelve three-deckers. There, on May 23rd, under the eyes of James himself, and exposed to the fire of forts and field-batteries, Admiral Rooke went in with a flotilla of boats and fire-ships. In two days' work, which was mere play for British seamen, the whole of the French armada was burnt, and no more was heard of a restoration by the arms of Louis.

On land, the French monarch, with Luxemburg in real command, had the satisfaction of taking the great fortress of Namur, The war in the Netherlands. almost in presence of a large army commanded by William. The town and citadel were defended by works created by the science of Cohorn, the great military engineer of Holland, but in the lines with Louis was found the still higher genius of Vauban. The place surrendered on June 30, 1692, and, in the first week of August, William failed in an attack on Luxemburg's position at Steinkirk, a village between Mons and Brussels. The fighting was of a desperate character, causing each side a loss of about 7000 men. In July 1693, Luxemburg, now becoming the assailant, defeated William's forces in the battle of Landen or Neerwinden, between Mechlin and Liege. The French were in superior force, and all the English king's valour, at the head of the brigade of guards, could not win the day. A slow and orderly retreat, after twelve hours' fighting, and with the loss, on both sides, of 20,000 men, showed the greatness of William in the hour of misfortune. Three weeks later, his army was gathered in formidable force for the defence of Brussels, and the only fruit of his great adversary's success was the capture of Charleroi. In the same year, English and Dutch commerce suffered a severe blow in the dispersal and partial destruction or capture of the rich fleet of merchantmen outward bound for the Levant. The English and Dutch convoying squadrons failed to act in unison, and the combined French fleets from Toulon and Brest, under Tourville, secured a very rich booty among the four hundred sail of unarmed vessels. The record of disaster may fitly close with an event which illustrates, in tragic fashion, the shameful treachery of the Jacobite enemies of England. An expedition against Brest, under the command of the brave Talmash, was dispatched in June 1694, and should have had all the effect of a surprise. The enemy were found well prepared with batteries and troops in Camaret Bay, and Talmash, with more than a thousand men, fell in the attempt to land. Full information had been sent to St. Germain, by a letter in the hand of Marlborough, who had long been in correspondence with James.

In January 1691, Lord Preston and another agent of James were tried and convicted for high treason. They had been seized on board a vessel in the Thames, with letters from some leading Jacobites,

inviting an invasion during William's absence on the Continent. Caermarthen, Godolphin, and Shrewsbury were among the men guilty of the careful treachery, not amounting to overt treason, of endeavouring, by friendly words, to make themselves safe with the exile of St. Germain, in the possible event of his restoration. The lenity of William, who spared the life of Preston, only encouraged this kind of baseness in men of the lowest moral character, but his prudent moderation, and the deaf ear which he generally turned to the revelations of convicted traitors, had a happier effect on many minds. The man whom nothing but a regard for his own interest could touch was Marlborough. Early in 1692, the Earl was "removed from his employments," in the words of his beloved Sarah, "without any reason assigned." At the same time, the Princess Anne, who was but "Mrs. Morley" to Lady Marlborough, was required to part with "Mrs. Freeman," as she called her favourite courtier. The popular feeling regarded the Earl's dismissal as a just punishment for covetous conduct in taking bribes, and for extortion practised on his military subordinates. The truth is, that Marlborough was planning a rupture between the king and Parliament, in the shape of a motion that all foreigners in civil or military employ should be sent out of the kingdom. Marlborough was then to declare with the army for the Parliament, and the restoration of James might follow. A few months later, when William was in his camp near Namur, a plot for his assassination was revealed by the associates of a French gentleman named Grandval, who had been in close communication with James. Grandval's guilt was made clear at a trial by court-martial, by whose sentence he suffered death.

The financial and debating abilities of Charles Montagu were now to prove of great service to the state. By his advice, estates were revalued in 1692 for assessment of the land-tax, and, at the rate of four shillings in the pound, were made to produce the large annual revenue of two millions. When the expenses of the war demanded further supplies, the new financier resorted, in 1693, to a loan of £1,000,000, which proved to be the commencement of our National Debt. The advance was secured by the returns of an excise-duty on beer, ale, and other liquors, and Louis is said to have expressed surprise at the facility with which the money was raised in a country already heavily taxed. The truth was, that the national industry was ever creating new capital, and the working and accumulating middle class was far more powerful in England than in France. The borrowed money was to be repaid through a system of life-annuities, and in this respect the loan differed from those which afterwards created a permanent stock. In 1694, the public needs caused Montagu to contract another obligation to a body of capitalists who became the nucleus of our national bank. The amount required by the Exchequer was £1,200,000, and the subscribers to this loan were made into a cor-

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porate body entitled "The Governor and Company of the Bank of England." The scheme of such an institution had been proposed in 1691 by a Scottish projector named William Paterson. Godfrey, a London merchant, now gave able support amongst his commercial friends, and the eloquence of Montagu prevailed in the House of Commons. The subscription list was filled in ten days. Some timid Whigs objected that a bank and liberty were incompatible, since the crown would command the wealth of the Company. A clause was, therefore, inserted in the Act, preventing the Bank of England from making loans to the government without authority of Parliament. In 1696, a remedy was applied to the intolerable evil of a debased silver coinage. In 1695, of the various coinages of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., it was computed that five millions were in circulation, along with about half-a-million of the new coinages of Charles II., James II., and William. The old money, which had no milled edge, had been gradually clipped, in spite of the death penalty for the offence, so that at last the current silver coin had been diminished in weight by nearly one-half. Of this clipped money about four millions were in circulation, and its transfer from hand to hand at market, shop, and fair, and in every sort of transaction, gave rise to countless disputes, and to grievous loss imposed upon the poorest of the nation. It was reckoned that about a million and a half pounds value in unclipped coin was hoarded. As fast as new silver coins were issued from the Mint they disappeared. The price of commodities was raised by traders in order to bear a proportion with the true value of the clipped coins. The labourer who had his weekly wages paid in the light coin could thus obtain only a small loaf instead of a large one. The dealer who had to remit a sum of money in guineas was obliged to pay at least thirty shillings of the light silver for each guinea. The government resolved to make a new coinage of intrinsic value, and to throw upon the public the loss involved in the clipped money. A house-tax and a window-tax formed a special fund for this purpose, and while the new coin was being made, Exchequer bills were issued as a medium of payments. Isaac Newton was made Master of the Mint, with John Locke as his assistant, and the energetic efforts of many weeks, at the London and provincial mints, supplied the nation with a good milled coinage, and put an end to the misery of incessant conflict and confusion in commercial dealings.

In 1693 a great change began in our administrative system. For nearly five years the king had endeavoured to govern by choosing his ministers from each of the two great parties. Sometimes the Whigs had the preponderance, at other times the Tories. These high officials carried on the public affairs of their several departments without any well-defined principles of action, amidst personal hatreds and jealousies often very detrimental to the national interests. Party government was a thing as yet unknown, and the House of Commons, having become supreme in financial

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affairs, had no effective means of controlling the executive government. It was now absolutely needful for the heads of departments to be united by some common agreement on political principles. The man who suggested this change was the faithless Sunderland, who had returned from a voluntary exile in Holland, and soon gained, by his knowledge of English public men and affairs, a considerable influence over William. He had now declared himself a Protestant, and his past conduct towards James had placed him beyond the reach of forgiveness. He would be true to his new master, because he could find no advantage in any further treachery. Sunderland had come to see that the powers once wielded by the whole privy council must now be exercised by a committee of that body, composed of men holding similar political views. It was by slow degrees that, during the eighteenth century, the modern Cabinet was evolved, in its "three essential attributes of political unanimity, unity of responsibility, and concert in action." The new adviser induced William to place his main reliance upon the Whigs, as the men who had brought him to the throne, and who held his title to be sound. A body of men was soon in power, who became known as the Junto. The wise, eloquent, learned, and moderate Somers became, in 1693, Keeper of the Great Seal. Russell was at the head of the Admiralty, Montagu became Chancellor of the Exchequer, Wharton was appointed Comptroller of the Household, and Shrewsbury, after two refusals, became Secretary of State on promise of a dukedom and the Garter. Nottingham, Caermarthen, now Duke of Leeds, and Godolphin had all withdrawn from office before the end of 1697. Soon after the formation of the new Whig ministry, the Triennial Bill, rejected by William in 1693, became law. This measure provided that no Parliament should in future exist for more than three years.

On the day that William gave the royal assent to the Triennial Bill at Westminster, men observed the discomposure of his looks. **Death of Mary,** It was no affair of state that moved him, but a matter very **December** near his heart. The queen was dangerously ill at Kensington, **1694** and her malady proved to be the dreaded small-pox. The king was in despair, and Burnet saw his burst of tears, as he exclaimed that he would soon be the most miserable creature on earth. Mary heard her doom with the utmost fortitude and resignation, as she learnt it from the lips of the new Archbishop, Tenison. She died, and left the nation mourning, on December 28th, in the thirty-third year of her age. Her charity and moral purity, her simple tastes and devotion to public duty, were noted and admired by those who could not in their hearts approve her wearing of her father's crown. Her body lies in the great Abbey. Her memory is enshrined in Greenwich Hospital, the noble building designed for a palace, and turned, by Mary's wish, after the battle of La Hogue, into an asylum for disabled seamen. In following her husband's fortunes, the dead queen had but acted in accordance with the highest sanctions. St. Simon shows us a phase of the father's

character when he learnt the news of the daughter's decease. "The king of England prayed the king that the court should not wear mourning."

The funeral of Mary was scarcely over when a great and silent revolution, of which no man at the time suspected the vast importance, was begun in the refusal of the House of Commons to renew the Act which restrained unlicensed printing. The censorship of printed matter was thus swept away, and freedom of the press was granted, in opposition to the House of Lords, by a House of Commons which assuredly was not concerned for any great question of principle. One immediate effect of this change was the appearance of the first unofficial newspapers. The *London Gazette* contained no matter except what the Secretary of State approved. The only restraint upon emancipated printers was now to be in the law of libel, and the new freedom, by a natural process, caused even libellous pamphleteers to use more decent language than when the mere act of printing was a violation of the law. Experience has proved that the force of public opinion is the best engine for controlling the excesses of a free press.

CHAPTER II.

THE KING'S DIFFICULTIES AT HOME AND ABROAD.

The French war. Capture of Namur. The Barclay Plot. Peace of Ryswick. Irish and Scottish affairs. The Darien Scheme. The two Partition Treaties. Party-spirit at work. The Act of Settlement. The Grand Alliance. Deaths of James II. and William.

THE energy and perseverance of William as a commander were at length to be crowned with success. His formidable rival, Luxemburg, had been removed by death, and that great general's successor, Villeroy, was not only himself a man of moderate abilities in war, but was hampered by the presence of the Duke of Maine, an illegitimate son of Louis. This young prince held an important command, for the requirements of which, from ignorance and cowardice, he was wholly unfit. After some skilful strategical movements, the English king, with the armies of Bavaria and Brandenburg, suddenly appeared before Namur at the end of June 1695. The fortifications, since the capture by the French, had been much strengthened by Vauban, but nothing could resist the skill and energy of Cohorn, and the courage of the allies. In face of Villeroy's relieving army of 80,000 men, the town was forced to surrender on July 28th. On August 26th, the remnant, 5000 men, of the French garrison of 16,000, quitted the citadel under Marshal Boufflers, and the whole of the great fortress was won.

After a brilliant reception in London on the night of October 10th, William resolved to summon a new Parliament, and made a progress in which, for the first time, he mingled with a genial freedom amongst all classes of his subjects. On the racecourse at Newmarket, in the splendid mansion of Sunderland at Althorp, with the Duke of Newcastle at Welbeck, in the hunt at Sherwood Forest, and at the feudal towers of Warwick, he showed himself as at last a conqueror in war, and his presence was effective in inducing voters to send up to the House of Commons a majority of men well affected to the principles of liberty which had placed him on the throne. The passing of the Re-coinage Bill was followed by a new Treason Act, which allowed the accused to have a copy of the indictment five days before trial, to put witnesses on oath, and to be defended by counsel.

On February 24, 1696, the king went to the House of Peers, and **The Barclay Conspiracy.** informed the assembled Lords and Commons that he had received well-grounded information of a design to assassinate him, and of a projected sudden invasion of the kingdom. Enthusiasm was at once aroused. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, a joint address to the king was agreed to, and a Bill was passed to the effect that the Parliament should not be dissolved by the death of William. The members of the Commons also entered into an Association, declaring him to be "rightful and lawful king of these realms," and pledging themselves to defend his person and government to the utmost against "the late King James and all his adherents," and, in the event of William's death, to maintain the enacted succession of the crown. A similar association was formed by the peers and by the nation at large. The plan of invasion had been intrusted to the Duke of Berwick, a natural son of James and of Marlborough's sister, Arabella Churchill, but the English Jacobites would not rise until a foreign force had landed, and no army from abroad would attempt to land until a first move had been made in England. The assassination plot was of a really formidable character. Sir George Barclay, a Scot who had served under Dundee, received a commission from James authorising his "loving subjects" to do all such "acts of hostility against the Prince of Orange as may conduce most to our service." Barclay enrolled by degrees a body of nearly forty conspirators, including a knight named Sir William Parkyns, and men named Porter, Charnock, and Goodman. The king was to be attacked and murdered at Turnham Green, on his return from hunting in Richmond Park. Several persons implicated gave information to the Earl of Portland, and the agreement between their stories was so striking that the king was at last induced to believe. The most respectable of these informers was a Roman Catholic named Pendergrass, who had willingly entered a Jacobite plot for an insurrection, but abhorred the scheme for slaying the king. Many of the plotters were arrested, but Barclay made his escape. Parkyns,

Charnock, and six others died on the scaffold. The effect of the plot is well expressed by Evelyn: "Though many did formerly pity King James's condition, this design of assassination, and bringing over a French army, alienated many of his friends, and was likely to produce a more perfect establishment of King William." In connection with these Jacobite plots, Sir John Fenwick, with doubtful justice, was executed under an Act of Attainder. He had, in a confession since fully proved to be true, made charges of treacherous correspondence with St. Germain against Shrewsbury and Godolphin, Marlborough and Russell. Fenwick was a personal enemy of the king's, whom he had formerly affronted by a rude demeanour towards the queen.

The campaign of 1696 was of no decisive character. William's operations in Flanders were much hampered by want of money, and the national finances were in the crisis of the re-coinage. The Bank of England came to the rescue with a small advance, but there were other difficulties connected with the war. The great alliance against France was showing signs of dissolution. The Duke of Savoy made a separate peace, and, when William returned to England and met Parliament in October, the prospect was but gloomy. The bold language of the king had a good effect upon the Commons. He declared that "the only way of treating with France is with our swords in our hands; and that we can have no reason to expect a safe and honourable peace, but by showing ourselves prepared to make a vigorous and effectual war." The skill and eloquence of Montagu were now used with great effect. He proposed and carried three resolutions. The first of these pledged the Commons to support William against all foreign and domestic foes. The second restored public confidence by declaring that the standard of money should not be altered in fineness, weight, or denomination. The third undertook to make good all parliamentary funds since the king's accession, that had been made credits for loans from the subject. The effect of this statesmanship was instantaneous. The hoarded unclipped money at once flowed into circulation, when the holders found that no false value would attach to it. Trade revived, and the House of Commons, within a fortnight, hurled defiance at the foes of England by voting nearly five millions for the prosecution of the war. Some ministerial changes and promotions were made before the session closed in April 1697. Somers became Lord Chancellor, with a peerage. Russell was created Earl of Orford, and Montagu received the office of First Lord of the Treasury. The new campaign was distinguished by only one important event. A rapid night-march of William over the plain of Waterloo, and through the forest of Soignies, saved Brussels from a second bombardment. The French king, impressed by the attitude of England, and the confidence lately shown in her sovereign, was now ready to conclude peace. A conference was held at Ryswick, a village between the Hague and Delft, but William became weary of the ceremonious delays of the

Peace of
Ryswick,
Septem-
ber 1697.

envoys, and the Treaty of Ryswick was really concluded between Boufflers and Portland, as the representatives of the two chief nations concerned. The States-General of Holland, Spain, and the Emperor gave their adhesion, but the arrangement proved to be nothing but a truce. All conquests were to be restored. The most important provision was that which acknowledged William as king of England, and undertook that Louis should in no wise assist his enemies. William's reception in London proved that, for the time at least, he had won the hearts of his people. December 2nd was a day of public thanksgiving, and the new St. Paul's Cathedral was opened for worship, still unfinished after the work of twenty-two years.

The last four years of William's reign were destined to see a steady decline of his popularity, and to make him acquainted with some of the vexations incident to the career of a constitutional monarch, subject to the will of a free Parliament. The nation was under a heavy burden of taxes, and the Commons were still jealous of a standing army. The king, in his distrust of the issue of Continental politics, was anxious to keep on foot a substantial force, but the army was, in spite of all that could be urged, reduced to 10,000 men. A zeal for orthodoxy, at a time when the stage, and the society which play-writers portrayed, were disgraced by gross immorality and profaneness, caused the passing of an Act against Socinians. It was hereby enacted that if any person educated in the Christian religion, or who had made profession of the same, should deny the doctrine of the Trinity, or the truth of the Christian religion, or the divine authority of the Scriptures, he should, for the first offence, be disqualified for any public office, and, for the second, be incapable of bringing any action, of purchasing land, or of being guardian, executor, or legatee. He was also to be subject to three years' imprisonment. The progress of infidelity, in the highest classes, during the next three reigns, is a grim commentary upon this attempt to promote Christianity by Act of Parliament. A wiser effort to help the cause of the Christian religion was seen in the establishment, at this period, of the two great and now venerable Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge and for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The establishment of these associations was mainly due to the exertions of a clergyman named Thomas Bray. The new Parliament which met in December 1698 gave manifest signs of Tory reaction in the elections to the House of Commons. Regardless of the king's wish to maintain an adequate force for the maintenance of the national position in view of foreign complications, the House passed a resolution that the land-forces should not exceed, in England, 7000 men, or 12,000 men in Ireland, and that all such troops should consist of natural-born subjects. The navy was, at the same time, reduced to 8000 men, from five times the number. William felt most keenly the humiliation of thus losing his faithful Dutch guard, and the Huguenot soldiers who had served him during

a war of nine years. The influence of Somers, and the king's better judgment, after his first angry resolve, prevented the disaster of an abdication. The House of Commons, after thus wounding the sovereign in his most tender point, turned against some of the ministers. Montagu was baited into resigning his office as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Somers was assailed with false accusations of corrupt conduct. The great Whig was fully absolved, but the temper of the Commons was much inflamed, and William, by his grants of Irish land, had laid himself open to further annoyance. A Commission was appointed by the House to inquire into the Irish forfeitures, and the measure was "tacked" to a money-bill, so that it could not be discussed in the Lords or rejected by the crown. In November 1699, the Commissioners made their report, and the estates granted to Portland, Albemarle, and other Dutch favourites were resumed by the nation, after a dangerous conflict between the two Houses.

It is only in the nineteenth century that English statesmen have been able at once to understand and to practise the doctrine of freedom of trade. The statute-book of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries abounds in Acts designed to support and encourage some home-manufacture, and to prohibit some foreign product. In 1698, Parliament impeached a number of merchants for fraudulently importing foreign silks, and for illegally exporting native wool. The delinquents pleaded guilty at the bar of the Lords, and were mulcted in very heavy fines, which were applied to the building of Greenwich Hospital. Nor was this paternal system confined to countries which were then regarded as natural rivals, if not as natural enemies. Soon after the Restoration, commercial jealousy in England began to lay severe restrictions on the trade of Ireland and Scotland. In 1673, a Whig statesman, Sir William Temple, advised the deliberate depression of Irish trade in those points wherein it clashed with English interests. The importation of Irish cattle into England was forbidden as "a nuisance" to the English farmer. Then the Irish farmers began to breed sheep, and the abundance of wool caused the establishment of an Irish woollen manufacture. The west of England and the eastern counties were at that time the chief seats of our commercial and manufacturing industry. The clothiers of Frome, Trowbridge, Devizes, and Bradford, of Norwich and other eastern towns, were aroused. The Commons addressed the king in 1698, and the Irish Parliament was forced to lay heavy duties on the exportation of Irish woollens. The Navigation Acts had already shut out Irish ships from the colonial ports, and in 1699 an Act of the Parliament at Westminster prohibited the exportation of Irish woollens to any part of the world. The manufacture of wool in Ireland was thus destroyed; many thousands of workmen left Ulster and other parts for the Continent and for America, and the Irish people were thrown for sustenance almost entirely upon the land. Even the linens

Ireland
and
Scotland.
The
Darlen
Scheme,
1695-99.

of the country were virtually excluded from England by a duty of thirty per cent., and a rising manufacture of cotton was strangled by prohibitive legislation. The same course was followed until nearly the close of the eighteenth century. In the middle of the reign of William III., a spirit of commercial activity began to show itself in Scotland. The people of that country, always constant, brave, and proud, were now to display some of the social effects of the Reformation, the peculiar course of which in Scotland so largely modified the national character. The religious change had there been productive of great political results. The Scottish Church, when Presbyterianism had swept away Episcopacy, became, in fact, a republican institution. The whole body of the laity had their share in the work of government. The church polity founded by Knox and developed by Melville turned a nation of vassals into a free people, and with freedom came the aspiration for mental and material improvement. Before the close of the seventeenth century, the Parliament which sat at Edinburgh passed an Act for the establishment of parochial schools, and the next century saw a marvellous change in the moral and intellectual character of the people. The trade of the country was, at the time of the Revolution, labouring under great disadvantages. The war with Louis cut off the ancient intercourse with France. The exchange of commodities with England was hampered by prohibitions and heavy duties. The trade with the English colonies was absolutely forbidden. The country could not hope to combat the monopoly of the East India Company in Asiatic commerce. The kingdom was beginning to feel the benefits of peaceful industry, and to seek new fields of enterprise. Zeal without knowledge is not less pernicious in commercial than in political and religious affairs, and to this cause may be safely laid the issue of a disastrous enterprise for which William has been unjustly blamed. The originator of the Bank of England, Paterson, procured in 1695 a Scottish Act for the formation of a Company to trade from Scotland to Africa and the Indies. The scheme had been promoted by Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, then in very evil odour for the massacre of Glencoe. The House of Commons took alarm, addressed the king, and declared the directors of the Scottish Company guilty of a high crime and misdemeanour, in making use of a Scottish statute to obtain in England subscriptions for their shares. The London capitalists withdrew their countenance from the venture, and Paterson then appealed to the public spirit of Scotland. The sum of £400,000, about half of which was paid up, was subscribed by persons of all ranks, but mainly by professional men and the lower class of traders. The purpose of the scheme devised by Paterson, and warmly supported by the honest and eccentric patriot, Fletcher of Saltoun, was nothing less than a revival of the project of Columbus. That great navigator had hoped to connect Europe with the distant East by a commercial route across the western seas. The rediscovery by Gama of the passage round the

Cape of Storms had caused the trade of Europe to pass round Africa, and America was left to be the seat of European colonies. Paterson proposed to occupy a portion of the Isthmus of Darien, and there establish an emporium which would, he fondly hoped, attract the trade between Europe and India. His country, Scotland, would become a mart for Oriental wealth, and rise into commercial greatness by the toll exacted from the produce of the richest countries of the world. Neither the sanguine projector nor the Scottish people, who, with passionate belief, intrusted him with half their little wealth, had reckoned for a moment with the power and jealousy of Spain. The scheme could only be initiated by the use of force which Scotland did not possess, and which it was quite certain England would not dream of supplying. The Elizabethan day was done, and neither William nor his Parliament would countenance an interference with the Spanish possessions beyond the Atlantic such as must inevitably provoke a war. Holland could not but regard with an evil eye a scheme which, if it were successful, would be the ruin of her lucrative trade with the East Indies. The old and the new East India Companies of England were, of course, in arms against a project so directly hostile to their interests. English opposition, however, only made the Scottish people more eager in their blind delusion, and in July 1698, three vessels sailed from Leith with twelve hundred men on board. In November they landed in the Gulf of Darien. The English government had sent notice to the governors of the colonies in North America and the West Indies that the proceedings of the Scottish colonists had no sanction from the king. The Spanish governors in every quarter treated them from the first as enemies. The climate was pestilential, and supplies of food began to fail. The sick and feeble remnant of the wretched settlers sailed, in their three vessels, to New York and Jamaica. A second expedition, which set forth from Leith in September 1699, while the fate of their predecessors was yet unknown, soon came to blows with the Spaniards. The settlement was blockaded by sea and land, and in March 1700 the adventurers surrendered to the governor of Carthagena. The Jacobites of England and Scotland libelled William for the failure. The king, replying to an address from the House of Lords, took occasion again to recommend an union between the two realms.

The country was now to feel the responsibilities of the new position which the Revolution had conferred upon her. Under the rule of William, Britain had become the mainspring of that European policy which aimed at the regulation of the balance of power. In 1698, Charles II., king of Spain, had been for thirty-four years the figure-head of her vast empire. Imbecile in mind and body, the childless monarch was near his end, and the question which was destined to convulse Europe, in a war of twelve years' duration, came before the diplomacy of the nations. The Spanish

The two
Partition
Treaties,
Oct. 1698,
March
1700.

empire was still, in appearance, a great and splendid heritage. The European dominions of the last prince of the House of Austria surpassed, in their mere extent, those subject to the king of France. The power of Spain had greatly decayed during a century of gross misgovernment. Who was now to succeed to the inheritance which, under better rule, might again become formidable? The Dauphin of France had the nearest claim in blood. His mother had been the eldest sister of the king of Spain. But the son's claim was barred by her renunciation, confirmed by the Cortes, of her succession to the Spanish crown. The Electoral Prince of Bavaria was descended from a younger sister of the Spanish king, and she, on her marriage with Leopold of Germany, had renounced her claims to the Spanish crown. The Cortes had not sanctioned this renunciation, and it was held by the Spanish jurists to be, on this ground, invalid. The weakest claim, in respect of lineage, was that of the Emperor Leopold, grandson of Philip III. of Spain, and first cousin to the present king. His mother, however, had made no renunciation on her marriage. With a view to the peace of Europe, the Emperor and the Dauphin each offered to waive his own pretensions in favour of his second son; the Emperor, in favour of the Archduke Charles; the Dauphin, in favour of Philip, Duke of Anjou. Soon after the peace of Ryswick, William and Louis resolved to settle the question of the succession without reference to either the Spanish or the German sovereigns. France, England, and Holland, by the first Partition Treaty, arranged that the Electoral Prince of Bavaria should succeed to Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands. The Emperor's son was to have the Milanese, or Duchy of Milan; the Dauphin was to take the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The king of Spain and his advisers were anxious to avoid dismemberment. Charles therefore made a will assigning all the Spanish dominions to the Bavarian prince. The will was hardly completed when the Prince died, and the whole question was re-opened. The second Treaty of Partition was then concluded between France, England, and Holland. Spain, the Indies, and the Netherlands were now to pass to the Archduke Charles, and France was to take, in addition to Naples and Sicily, either the Milanese or Lorraine. The news of this arrangement aroused indignation at the court of Madrid. The Spanish ambassador in London made remonstrance in such terms that he was at once ordered to leave England. The king of Spain retorted by the dismissal of the English and Dutch envoys. The first Partition Treaty had been concluded, so far as William was concerned, on his own sole authority, without consulting any of the Ministers, and the Chancellor, Lord Somers, had sent a blank commission, under the Great Seal, for the appointment of persons to sign the document. This unconstitutional action gave a handle to the Tories, and William was to feel their resentment. He found it prudent to part with Somers, and to admit Rochester and Godolphin to his councils.

All the efforts of William, at once to check French aggrandisement and to preserve the peace of Europe, were made futile by the intrigues and the bad faith of Louis. His agents were about the death-bed of the king of Spain, and they persuaded Charles that England and Holland were alone to blame in the affair of the partition. In November 1700, the breath at last quitted the body of the wretched monarch, and, when his will was read, Philip of Anjou was found to be the sole inheritor of the Spanish dominions. Louis, after some mock hesitation, pronounced his acceptance of the will which he had inspired, and, when his grandson left Versailles for Spain, the haughty king exclaimed, "The Pyrenees exist no longer." The heroic soul of William, wounded deep but undismayed, prepared to face the new conditions of the time. His work on earth was nearly done, but to the last he strove to serve his native and his adopted country. The English people were, at first, mainly in favour of the will, and, for the present, William could do nothing but acknowledge the young Bourbon as Philip V. of Spain. The Emperor, who had not acceded to the second treaty, and had obtained from Charles of Spain, in June 1700, a will leaving all to the Archduke Charles, was preparing to dispute in war the arrangement which had robbed and mocked the House of Austria in the moment of expected triumph.

A new Parliament, in which the Tories were predominant, assembled in February 1701. Godolphin was First Lord of the Treasury; Rochester was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. A Tory member, Robert Harley, was chosen Speaker by a majority of two to one over the Whig nominee. The death of a young English prince, on July 30, 1700, had opened up anew the question of succession to the throne. The young Duke of Gloucester, who died at Windsor in his twelfth year, was the last survivor of the seventeen children of the Princess Anne. The Jacobites were talking of the coming rule of the "Prince of Wales," the chief part of the nation looked towards the Electress of Hanover. All the other Stuart heirs were of the Catholic religion, and the strong Protestant feeling of the nation's representatives had been shown in the previous year by a statute of the utmost bigotry. The Act to restrain Popery, rarely enforced, and repealed in 1778, made Catholic priests liable to imprisonment for life for celebrating mass or keeping school, and debarred all Catholics from acquiring any landed property. The Electress Sophia of Hanover was the last surviving child of Elizabeth Stuart, daughter of James I., and of Frederick, Elector-Palatine, the unfortunate "winter-king" of Bohemia. This accomplished lady was now in her seventieth year, and her eldest son, George Louis, forty years of age, had become Elector of Hanover in 1698. The new Act of Settlement assigned the crown to the Electress and her descendants, if both William and Anne died without children. Some of its provisions, aimed by the Tories at William's own acts in providing by war for the

The
Spanish
king's
will.

Act of
Settle-
ment or
Succes-
sion, 1701.

safety of Holland, in visiting his native land, in establishing government by a Cabinet, and in admitting foreigners to the Privy Council, to Parliament, and to offices of trust, have since been repealed or modified. Amongst those which are still in force are the important one which renders judges independent of the crown, by enacting that they cannot be removed during good behaviour, and only on an address from both Houses. The first clause provided that the sovereign must be in communion with the Church of England, and the whole measure may be regarded as "the last grand enactment securing the substance of our liberties."

The Tories now displayed a rancorous party feeling in the impeachment of Portland, Somers, Orford, and Montagu (who had been created Baron Halifax), for their concern in the two treaties by which the king had endeavoured to save Europe from the war which was now impending. Portland and Halifax were also accused of misdealing with the public moneys, and Somers and Orford, to the disgust of all good citizens, were charged with a share in the piratical deeds of Captain Kidd. The Commons actually asked William to condemn the four peers without trial, by removing them from his councils and presence for ever. The king made a mild reply of thinly-veiled contempt, and all the impeachments were allowed to drop. A great satirist informed the Commons that they were "authors of a new and wonderful thing in England, which is, for a House of Commons to lose the universal favour of the numbers they represent." A signal proof of Whig reaction among the people was given in the Kentish petition. The grand jury, in the spring quarter-sessions held at Maidstone, drew up a petition to the House of Commons, which was unanimously signed by them, and also by the Chairman, twenty-one justices, and a large body of freeholders. It was presented to the House on May 8th, and enraged the Tory majority by its plain speaking. They found themselves rebuked by men who were "deeply concerned at the dangerous estate of this kingdom, and of all Europe," for their share in "creating a misunderstanding among ourselves" and "distrust of his most sacred majesty, whose great actions for this nation are writ in the hearts of his subjects, and can never, without the blackest ingratitude, be forgot." The House was then implored "to have regard to the voice of the people, that our religion and safety may be provided for, that your Loyal Addresses may be turned into Bills of Supply, and that his most sacred majesty (whose propitious and unblemished reign over us we pray God long to continue) may be enabled powerfully to assist his allies before it is too late." The House voted this petition to be "scandalous, insolent, and seditious, tending to destroy the constitution of Parliament, and to subvert the established government of these realms," and committed to prison the five gentlemen from Kent who had brought up the document. A strong feeling ran through the country, and a paper, known as the Legion

Displays
of party
and
popular
feeling,
1701.

Memorial, written by Daniel Defoe, who signed himself as "Legion," was sent to the Speaker, Harley. The grievances of the nation were here set forth, and the rights of the people asserted, in the boldest terms, and the memorial concluded with the threat, that if the members of the Commons continued to neglect their duty, they might "expect to be treated according to the resentment of an injured nation; for Englishmen are no more to be slaves to Parliaments than to kings." The Kentish gentlemen were, in due course, released at the end of the session, and a public dinner was given to them at the Mercers' Hall by the chief citizens of London. Defoe himself, as author of the Legion letter, sat next the chief guests. In his *True-born Englishman*, the same sturdy and sagacious representative of the great middle class attacked the vulgar prejudice which, regarding every foreigner as an enemy to England, had compelled William to dismiss the Dutch guards and the French refugees. The representatives of the people were being taught that the power of commanding a majority in the House of Commons by declamation and invective, or by worse arts, was not to set them above public opinion. The House of Lords, at this time, had a quicker comprehension of the national temper than the Commons, and, in an address to William, they begged him to form a league with the States-General of Holland, and with other Powers, against "the present visible danger, arising from the union of France and Spain." The Commons, slowly coming to a better mind, voted sufficient supplies to enable the king to send assistance to the States, now seriously threatened with attack by Louis.

On June 24th, Parliament was prorogued, and, a week later, the king embarked for Holland, and began to form the new league. The coalition, in the end, embraced the Emperor, Holland, the kingdom of Prussia (as the Electorate of Brandenburg had now become), Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and Savoy. Marlborough, who had been already sent to Holland with a body of troops, gave able help in this diplomacy. The treaty of alliance between England, the States-General, and the Emperor, with powers for all kings and states to join the league, was signed at the Hague on September 7th. Fighting between the troops of the Emperor and Louis had already begun in Italy, where the famous Prince Eugene of Savoy, the victor over the Turks at Zenta, was commanding the Imperial army against Catinat and Villeroy.

The stipulations made between the parties to the Grand Alliance had not committed England to war. There was no declaration as to the inheritance of the crown of Spain. It was only agreed that the contracting powers should unite in order to prevent the union of the crowns of France and Spain; that France should be compelled to evacuate the Netherlands, and that she should not acquire any of the Spanish colonies in the West Indies. The ink was scarcely dry, however, on the new

The
Grand
Alliance,
September 7,
1701.

Death of
James II.,
September 16,
1701.
Death of
William,
March
1702.

treaty, when an event took place which involved this country in a war against France, upon far more popular grounds than the question of the succession to the throne of Spain. On September 16th, James II. died at St. Germain, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. Then Louis, "at the most important crisis of his life, was hurried by his pride and his passions into an error which undid all that forty years of victory and intrigue had done, which produced the dismemberment of the kingdom of his grandson, and brought invasion, bankruptcy, and famine on his own." Over the death-bed of James, in presence of all the French and English courtiers, he violated the chief stipulation of the Treaty of Ryswick, by undertaking to acknowledge the "Prince of Wales" as king of England. The rage of the British nation was unbounded. Whigs and Tories joined in the outcry for war which was raised by the city of London, and echoed and re-echoed from every corner of the realm. William had, at last, the whole nation at his back. He hurried from the Hague to London, dissolved the Houses on November 11th, and, on the last day of the year 1701, delivered his first and last speech to the new Parliament. The French king was declared to have become the real master of the whole Spanish monarchy, in placing his grandson on the throne of Spain, and the nation was called on to assist the sovereign in maintaining peace and safety at home, in guarding trade, and in preserving the liberty of Europe. The Commons voted an immediate supply, and resolved upon the maintenance of forty thousand men for each of the services. An Act of Attainder was passed against the "pretended Prince of Wales," and another statute required an oath of abjuration of his claim from all civil officers, ecclesiastics, schoolmasters, and members of the Universities. A few weeks later, the reign was at an end. On February 21, 1702, as William rode upon his favourite horse, Sorrel, in the park at Hampton Court, the animal stumbled at a mole-hill, and his master was thrown. A broken collar-bone soon caused a fever which brought death to the enfeebled frame. On February 23rd he sent a message to the Commons, urging a parliamentary union between England and Scotland. On March 3rd the king seemed to rally, but, three days later, he declared that his end was near, and on the 8th he died, holding his faithful Bentinck by the hand, and with "his reason and all his senses entire to the last minute." The Jacobites were wont to drink a toast to William's horse, and a health to "the little gentleman dressed in velvet," the mole which raised the hill of soil that caused the steed to stumble. Their spite was worthy of their master who had lately passed away, but neither their malignity nor their treasonable efforts could undo the work of William. The union of Europe was accomplished. The master-workman was dead, but the machine was truly designed and wrought, and it "went by the impulse it had received from the first mover." "The Grand Alliance survived, in which King William still lived and reigned."

CHAPTER III.

THE CONTEST FOR "BALANCE OF POWER."

Queen Anne. Marlborough. The great war. Blenheim and its effects. The struggle with France by land and sea. Party-spirit in home-affairs. The Union with Scotland. The Tories in power. Treaty of Utrecht. Failure of Jacobite plans. Literature of the time.

THE political interest and importance of the reign of Queen Anne belong mainly to a great man, a great war, and a great event. The man was Marlborough. The war was that of ^{Queen Anne,} the Spanish Succession. The event was the Parliamentary ^{1702-1714.} Union of the northern and southern kingdoms. England, having resumed in Europe the place which she had held under Cromwell, triumphed, as chief of a great coalition, over a power that had seemed invincible. The exploits of the Duke of Marlborough recalled the days of Cressy and Poitiers, and gave a foretaste of the glories of Vittoria and Waterloo. The British soldier, well led, was again proved to be the most formidable of all warriors. The Union with Scotland was a measure destined to confer great benefit on both countries, in effects lasting to the present day. The new order of things established by the Revolution was quietly developed, in spite of the sovereign's Jacobite views. Ruling by a parliamentary title alone, Anne was obliged to conform to the national will, and never seriously tried to thwart it. From the time of her accession, the voice of Parliament remained supreme in all affairs of national importance. As the eighteenth century advanced, the nation was to find the power of the House of Commons, good in itself as an impregnable barrier against despotism, productive of a wide-spread corruption, an oligarchical rule, and a gross abuse of patronage in state administration. These evils, having their source in the selfishness of human nature, and not inherent in the system of government by parties, could only be controlled and lessened by the force of public opinion, as uttered by an independent press. Amid the contests of faction at home, and the thunders of war abroad, the age of Anne produced a literature devoid, indeed, of the imaginative power which had marked the exulting prime of English genius and taste, but rich in the endowments of the sober maturity that relies on masculine sense and perfect expression. Queen Anne, who has met with scant favour at the hands of some historians, and has been dismissed as merely dull and inoffensive, was a conscientious ruler, and excellent in all the relations of domestic life. Her errors were due to the domination of the Marlboroughs. It was for them that she forsook her father's side in the hour of his greatest trouble, without her

sister Mary's reasons for clinging to a husband's cause. Anne's consort, George of Denmark, was a mere nonentity, who rarely went to bed sober, but possessed the merit, somewhat rare among his class in that age, of being a faithful and devoted spouse. The queen was a sincere and earnest supporter of the Church, and even the influence of the Duchess and of the ministers could not prevent her from regarding personal fitness, rather than party reasons, in episcopal appointments. On several occasions she proved herself to be not merely stubborn, but straightforward and clear-sighted, and, in her anxiety for the national welfare, she shines by comparison with the factious and selfish politicians, of both parties, whom she was compelled to employ. She showed a royal generosity on two great occasions of patriotic charity. In 1703, she made a gift to the country of £100,000 from her civil list, and declared her intention "to straiten herself in her own expenses while her subjects remained under the burden of such great taxes." In 1704, she gave up her whole revenue arising from the First-Fruits and Tenths for the benefit of the poorer clergy, and the benefaction, to the annual amount of £14,000, is to this day productive of good in hundreds of parishes. The fund, once a toll for the support of the Crusades, was swept into the royal treasury by Henry VIII., and had, under Charles II., helped to provide for his female favourites and their children.

The moral character assigned to Marlborough by different historians varies more widely than the estimates which have been formed of any other great man. According to one eminent authority, he was an unprincipled scoundrel. By one enthusiastic biographer he is set forth as a man of stainless honour and patriotism. The first judgment here quoted is, beyond all doubt, far nearer the mark than the second. The key to his career is found in Marlborough's determined purpose of climbing to the height of fame and fortune by the use of any means which could further the objects of his undeviating and wary ambition. He was incapable of love for any but himself, except for one woman, his imperious and wilful wife, and she was the only human being that he ever feared. If he felt, he never showed hatred, and was always cool, composed, pitiless, and polished, as he moved forward to the accomplishment of his aims. His countless treacheries were the cautious provision made, by a most skilful and unscrupulous man, against possible changes of fortune in a time that was fertile in critical conjunctures. His avarice was beyond measure. He cheated his soldiers of their pay, took bribes on all hands, and shared largely in the plunder made by thievish contractors. It is due to him to record that love of lucre never made him change his religion, but it is a relief to turn from the moral to the intellectual side of this wonderful man. He possessed all the talents which belong to the great politician, diplomatist, and soldier. His natural skill in cunning devices and persuasive words made him the master of nearly all men, and of

all manœuvres of statecraft. His conquest over obstacles was greatly aided by the serenity of a temper that nothing could ruffle, and by the suavity and grace which he displayed, amidst a medley of animosities and petty jealousies, towards impracticable Dutch deputies and stubborn German princes and Electors. He was the life and soul of the confederacy against France. He was the one man who could arrange difficulties, and well earned the praise of Voltaire that "he never conducted a negotiation which he did not bring to a prosperous close." He was full of sound judgment, wisdom, and resource, and did great deeds that must live in our history, where an inferior man would have been able to effect little or nothing. As a master of the art of war, Marlborough has never been surpassed. In modern times, the grandeur and boldness of his conceptions have been equalled only by Napoleon, and the career of the English general was marred by no failure. His keen insight, perfect judgment, and imperturbable coolness enabled him to divine precisely what could be done with his own resources in the face of opposition, and, alike in the deliberate strategy of a campaign and amid the heat and tumult of battle, he always did the right thing, in the proper way, and at the fittest time.

According to the statute of 1696, Parliament was not dissolved by the demise of the crown. The queen declared to the Houses her resolve to enter on war with France, and the Earl of Marlborough, with the Order of the Garter, received the appointment of captain-general of the forces. The Tories, whom Anne called the Church-party, became the objects of her favour. Somers, Halifax, and Orford were removed from the Privy Council, and Nottingham became Secretary of State. Marlborough and Godolphin, who passed for Tories with the queen, by degrees obtained a great ascendancy, and the war, started by the Whigs, and supported by a Whig opposition, at last brought power into Whiggish hands.

War was declared against France on May 4, 1702, by England, the States, and the Emperor. There were three chief scenes of conflict for our forces in the War of the Spanish Succession. On the Continent and on the coast of Spain our arms won much success. In the interior of Spain our efforts failed to remove Philip from the Spanish throne. Marlborough arrived at the Hague before the end of May, and was at once made by the States general-in-chief of all their forces. The trust reposed in him by William towards the end of the reign, and his own proved ability in diplomacy and war, made him William's natural successor as director of the coalition. The allied forces were brought together, and Marlborough, aided by Cohorn, became master, before autumn was over, of Venloo, Liege, and other fortresses on the line of the Meuse. The failure, at Cadiz, of a combined Dutch and English armament, in which our forces were commanded by the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke, was compensated by exploits at Vigo and Gibraltar. The treasure-ships from America,

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escorted by some French men-of-war, had taken refuge, on their way to Cadiz, in the Bay of Vigo. The English vessels broke the boom; English soldiers stormed the forts; the French set fire to their ships and escaped ashore; and a vast amount of silver and merchandise was either taken or destroyed. Two years later, in 1704, Rooke's fleet, with several regiments on board, commanded by the Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, appeared before the rock of Gibraltar. The English sailors surprised the fortress, and our flag was placed upon the ramparts from which all the efforts of the armies and navies of France and Spain were never able to pull it down. Marlborough's success in Flanders was rewarded with a dukedom and with a large grant of money, to which much objection was made even in the Tory House of Commons, which had met in October for the first Parliament of the queen's reign. In 1703, Savoy and Portugal joined the alliance against France. It was hoped that the adhesion of Portugal would open the way into the heart of Spain, of which the Archduke Charles of Austria had now been, in Germany, proclaimed king as Charles III. Louis then despatched to the help of his grandson an army of 12,000 men, commanded by the Duke of Berwick, and that able soldier held in check the allies under Lord Galway. Nothing of moment took place in the Netherlands. Some minor strongholds were taken by Marlborough, but the French declined to meet him in the field.

The chief interest of the struggle, in 1704, was transferred to Ger-
 many, which now became the scene of one of the decisive
 battles of modern history. The Elector of Bavaria had joined
 his arms to those of France, surprised the strong fortress of
 Ulm, and, by effecting a communication with the French on the Upper
 Rhine, had opened a way for the armies of Louis to the centre of the
 empire. In the two previous years, Marshals Tallard, Marsin, and
 Villars had brought Leopold into great straits. Augsburg, Passau,
 and Landau were in French hands, and in Hungary an insurrection,
 encouraged by Louis, drew off eastwards some of the Imperial forces.
 A bold plan was formed in the military councils of France. In Flanders,
 the troops were to stand on the defensive, under shelter of the for-
 tresses, and a portion of that army, under Villeroy, was to form a
 junction in Germany with Tallard, Marsin, and the Elector of Bavaria.
 The French army in Italy was to press through the Tyrol, and the
 whole host, united on the Danube, was to march on Vienna and end
 the war at a blow. Marlborough, divining this purpose, formed a
 grand and daring counter-project. He made his views known to the
 great Dutch statesman, Heinsius, the faithful friend and supporter of
 William, and to his own colleague, Prince Eugene, lately victorious over
 Catinat and Villeroy in northern Italy, and now commanding the Im-
 perial forces in Germany. It was needful to deceive the deputies of
 the States-General, who watched the movements of their army in the
 field, and greatly hampered the operations of Marlborough. The stated

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 August
 13, 1704.

purpose was to carry the war to the Upper Rhine and Moselle; the real intention was to surprise Tallard and the Elector. While Villeroy was wondering, as he marched and counter-marched between Flanders and the Moselle, what could have become of the enemy, Marlborough pushed on towards his mark. He crossed the Rhine at Coblenz, and marched down the right bank. Tallard, who lay at Strasburg with a great army, was deceived by movements which appeared to threaten an invasion of Alsace. In the first week of June, the English general left the Rhine for the Danube, and gave notice to his German and Danish allies to join him on the march. After crossing the Neckar, Marlborough marched south-east to Mundelsheim, where he had his first personal interview with Prince Eugene. On July 2nd, the Bavarian entrenched camp was stormed on the heights of the Schallenberg, near Donauwörth, and the Electoral dominions were overrun. Tallard hastened to the rescue, marched through the Black Forest, and made a junction, near Augsburg, with the troops of Marshal Marsin and the Elector. Marlborough then re-crossed the Danube, and on August 11th united his forces with the Imperialist army under Eugene. They occupied a position a little higher up the left bank of the Danube than Donauwörth. The enemy were posted a little farther to the west, between Blenheim and Lutzingen, both armies extending northwards, at right angles to the Danube, with the little stream of the Nebel, and some marshy ground, between them. The Franco-Bavarian army numbered about 60,000 men, with sixty-one guns. Marlborough and Eugene commanded about 56,000, with fifty-two guns. The French right, under Tallard, was at Blenheim, which village was defended by strong palisades and entrenchments, manned by a very powerful garrison. Their centre was at the hamlet of Oberglau, occupied by a body of foot which included the famous Irish brigade. The left, under Marsin and the Elector, was very strong in infantry and cavalry alike. The battle was fought on Sunday, August 13th. Marlborough took charge of the centre and the left, and Eugene's men formed the right, facing the Bavarians and Marsin. A fire of artillery began about eight o'clock, but the troops did not come to close quarters until nearly noon. Then Marlborough's left, under Lord Cutts, called "the Salamander," from his indifference to fire, rushed to the attack of Blenheim. All efforts there failed, and it was long before our left wing could force its way beyond the Nebel. At one time, the Irish brigade broke the Hanoverians in our centre, but Marlborough charged the victors with British cavalry on their flank, and brought his line again into order. Eugene, meanwhile, had struggled hard upon the right, but had only been able, through the steadiness of some Prussian regiments, to save his wing from utter defeat. It was now five in the afternoon, and Marlborough resolved on an effort to break the enemy's centre. He had 8000 fine cavalry, drawn up in two lines. The great body of the French in Blenheim were held in check by his infantry, and our horse,

supported by foot and artillery, made a slow and steady advance up the slope where the French cavalry, 10,000 strong, awaited them. The summit was won with some trouble, and then our whole mass of horse dashed forward at the foe. The courage of the French could not abide the shock. They wheeled round and rode off, while the conquering squadrons turned to right and left against Marsin and Tallard. The two French commanders were now severed from each other. Hundreds of Tallard's horse and foot were driven into the Danube. Others, with the general himself, were surrounded and forced to surrender. Eugene made a fresh attack, and drove Marsin and the Elector before him. The French in Blenheim were thus left helpless, and Marlborough, massing his guns round the village, backed by his victorious troops, opened a fire which would soon have destroyed the place and all that it contained. There was no resource but surrender, and twenty-four French battalions, with twelve squadrons of horse, there became prisoners of war. All the cannon, a vast number of colours, all the tents and equipages, and twelve hundred officers, were included in the prize of war. The conquerors lost over 12,000 men; the conquered were the weaker by the same number of disabled, besides 14,000 prisoners. The French host had, in fact, ceased to exist as an effective force. The moral effects of the triumph were immense. The repute of French invincibility was utterly destroyed, and Louis' dreams of universal conquest vanished in the battle-smoke of Blenheim! The immediate and substantial results were the submission of Bavaria and Hungary, and the complete deliverance of Germany from the aggressive power of France.

The successes of Marlborough, with Prince Eugene, in other campaigns, were but the natural sequel of the triumph on the Danube. With the exception of Villars, the opponents of the English general were greatly his inferiors in military skill, and, under his leadership, the Dutch, German, and Danish allies were fully a match for the veterans of France. In July 1705, he broke through the enemy's lines, constructed in formidable strength from the Meuse, near Namur, to the Scheldt, at Antwerp. They were defended by 70,000 men under Villeroy, but the French were driven beyond the Dyle. In May of this year, the Emperor Leopold died, and his son and successor, Joseph, took up the contest for the House of Austria. Prince Eugene, by a series of skilful and energetic movements, raised the long siege of Turin, the capital of Amadeus of Savoy, and drove the French out of Italy. On May 12, 1706, Marlborough gained a complete victory over the French and Bavarians, under Villeroy and the Elector, at the battle of Ramilies. The loss of the conquerors was under 4000 men; the vanquished were the weaker by 7000 killed and wounded and 6000 prisoners. The artillery, baggage, and eighty standards became the prizes of war. One result of this success was the almost complete reduction of the Spanish Netherlands. Louvain,

Malines, Alost, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Ostend, Brussels, Dendermonde, and Ath, were surrendered before the close of the campaign. By these achievements, Marlborough, more than any other one man, brought about the Union. The blow of 1706 left France in dread of her own dismemberment, at the very time when the Jacobites of England and Scotland were looking for the help of Louis, and were inviting him to invade the northern kingdom. The year 1707 was one of more activity for Marlborough in diplomacy than in the field. The brave king of Sweden, Charles XII., was sought by Louis as an ally, and the English Duke, at a personal interview, induced the northern hero to be neutral. In the Netherlands, the Duke of Vendôme now headed the French army, but the movements of two skilful generals did not lead to any battle. In July 1708, Marlborough and Eugene defeated, at Oudenarde, a great army under Vendôme. The enemy were driven off with the loss of 7000 prisoners and many colours, and then Marlborough, against the advice even of his daring colleague Eugene, resolved on the siege of Lille, the key of northern France. The place had been fortified with Vauban's utmost skill, and was defended by the gallant Boufflers, the antagonist of William at Namur. The French made the utmost efforts to cut off the supplies of the besiegers, and our brave General Webb won great and just fame by his victory at Wynendael. With a force of but 6000 men he was bringing a large convoy of stores from Ostend, and, in a gallant fight of two hours' duration, he drove off French assailants of thrice his own number. The thanks of the House of Commons were a recompense to Webb for the mean injustice of Marlborough, who, in his despatch, had given all the credit to the victor's subordinate, Cadogan. The great fortress was surrendered before the year 1708 closed, and the court of Versailles began to cherish thoughts of peace. The sufferings of France were enhanced by a terribly severe winter, which destroyed the vines and olives, and caused the sown grain to perish in the soil. The overtures of Louis were met by such demands, on the part of the allies, as roused the pride alike of the monarch and the people. The man who had aspired to be, and, but for the energy and skill of William and Marlborough, would have become, the master of Europe, was now required, not merely to give up Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria, but to assist the allies, with his own armies, in deposing his own grandson from a throne in the possession of which he was supported by the Spanish people. Louis appealed to the patriotism of his subjects, in a circular letter addressed to all local authorities. He sent his own silver-plate to be coined for the service of the war, and the rich nobles and traders followed his example. Recruits flocked into the ranks, glad to obtain as soldiers the subsistence which the forces of nature had denied to their peaceful labours. In the campaign of 1709, Marlborough and Eugene headed 100,000 men. Villars was defending the northern frontier of France. Tournay was taken by the allies, after a severe

siege, and their march to attack Mons led to the battle of Malplaquet. Villars, with 70,000 men, took up a strong position, protected by rising ground, thick woods, and entrenchments, and awaited the attack of the allies, who were forced either to fight or to abandon the siege of Mons. The struggle, ending in the retreat of the French, was the most sanguinary of the whole war. Twenty thousand of the victors fell, but the French did not lose much more than half the number. Mons was taken in October, and the campaign came to an end. In 1710, conferences for peace were opened, but the allies still insisted on Louis' active aid against his grandson. In May, Villars was again in the field with a great army, while Marlborough and Eugene were investing Douay. The capture of this and some other fortresses, in the face of his able foe, were almost the last military deeds of Marlborough. He returned to London in December, and, in spite of the loss of his political position, he took the field again in March 1711. In April, the Emperor Joseph died, and his brother, the Archduke Charles, was elected to the empire in October, as Charles VI. All cause for war, as regarded Spain, was now at an end, but Marlborough clung with desperation to his military work. His vigour and sagacity were never more admirably shown. He had lost the favour of the queen. He was distrusted and hated by the ministry, and he was odious to the people as the supposed obstacle to peace. His opponent, Marshal Villars, had constructed a series of fortified lines upon the frontier of France, and from this position he openly defied his adversary. Resolved to invest Bouchain, which lay beyond the lines, Marlborough, by a series of skilful movements, which thoroughly deceived the enemy, made his way through by the first week of August, and received the surrender of Bouchain before the middle of September. Two months later, he was back again in London, a mark for general hostility, and he never held another command.

In 1705 an expedition was sent to Spain under the command of the brilliant and eccentric Earl of Peterborough. The titular
The war in Spain, 1705-1710. Charles III. was taken on board at Lisbon, and the fleet steered for Barcelona. By a miracle of luck and valour, the great fortress of Monjuich was taken in a sudden assault by a few hundred British soldiers under Peterborough and General Stanhope, and the town of Barcelona fell. The Catalonians then rose in favour of the Austrian pretender, and in February 1706 Peterborough was master of Valencia. Then the Earl of Galway marched from the west into the heart of Spain. Berwick was forced to retreat, Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca were occupied, and the invaders, entering Madrid in triumph, proclaimed the Archduke. Arragon followed the example of Catalonia. Saragossa revolted, and Carthagená, with the best arsenal and the last ships of Spain, was surrendered by the treacherous governor. Spain seemed now to be lost to the House of Bourbon, but the people of Castile and Leon, of Andalusia and Estre-

madura, took matters into their own hands. The peasantry were all in arms, and the allies were cut off from Portugal westwards, and from the sea on all sides. The soldiers under Galway made their Capua of Madrid, and a bold advance of Berwick forced a retreat to Valencia. Peterborough had, by this time, quarrelled with the Archduke, and retired in disgust to Italy. The command of the allies was left to the sluggish and methodical Galway, in a contest where nothing but the utmost skill, prudence, and daring could have won success. At the battle of Almanza, his army of English, Dutch, and Portuguese was totally defeated by the French and Spaniards, under Berwick. Eighteen thousand men were killed, wounded, or taken, and all the baggage and artillery were lost. Before the close of 1707, Catalonia was the only part of Spain which still adhered to Charles. During the two following years, the English army was commanded by General Stanhope, a man of fair abilities both in war and civil life, and he had for his assistant Staremburg, a methodical tactician of the German school. In 1710, they pushed into Arragon, defeated Philip's troops at Almenara and Saragossa, and made their way to Madrid. The Castilians would have none of the Austrian Archduke, and in December it was needful to retreat. The allies now had to encounter the Duke of Vendôme, the worthy successor in the French army of William's great adversary, Luxembourg. He pursued the retiring allies with the utmost speed, overtook Stanhope at Brihuega, forced him and his gallant little British army, which had fought with desperation against great odds, to an honourable capitulation, and then turned to meet Staremburg. The battle of Villa-Viciosa was obstinate and bloody, and the German was left master of the field. The moral victory, however, lay with Vendôme. The allies, with the country up in arms, were forced to retire towards Catalonia, and at length the Austrian general, with but 6000 wearied and disheartened men, was glad to take refuge in Barcelona. The attempt to win Spain by force of arms in Spain itself had completely failed, and Philip V. was left firmly seated on the throne.

In the first Parliament of the reign, of which Harley was chosen Speaker, an address to the Queen was carried by a large majority, in which the words occur, "We promise ourselves that, in your reign, we shall see the Church perfectly restored to its due rights and privileges." These expressions were the signs of a Tory movement against the Toleration Act of 1689. The offices of Corporations were now open to the influential class of Non-conformist traders. During William's reign, the feud between the Church and Dissent was confined to the preachers and pamphleteers. The High Church party, relying on support from the queen, were for extreme measures against the Nonconformists, and a Bill was introduced to prevent occasional conformity. The Test Act was again to be applied to all holders of office and borough electors, and heavy fines, with transpórtation for a second offence, were to be imposed on any

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one who, after having once taken the sacrament according to the rites of the Church, should enter a Dissenting place of worship. The Bill passed the Commons with large majorities, but the Lords met it with a firm resistance, and, after a conflict between the Houses on amendments, the voice of reason and of liberty prevailed. The battle of the press was as violent as that within the walls of Parliament. The dissenting Defoe enraged the High Churchmen by the trick of his ironical pamphlet entitled *The Shortest Way with the Dissenters*. It was a too successful literary hoax, which completely, for a time, deceived the very men in whose cause it was composed. The gallows and the galleys were declared to be the only fitting punishment for the schismatics. The book was ordered, in the Commons, to be burnt, as a seditious libel, by the hangman, and Defoe, after standing in the pillory for three successive days, went as a prisoner to Newgate. In 1704, the Conformity Bill was again brought forward, and the extreme men in the Commons, who became known as "tackers," wished to tack it to a money-bill, and so send it up to the Lords. This proposal was defeated, and the Bill itself, passed in the Commons, was again thrown out by the Lords. Godolphin, by Marlborough's advice, retaliated on the "high-flying" Tories by depriving every man of office "who had given his vote for the tack." Whigs were thus again called by degrees into the public service, and the cause of moderation made way. The elections of 1705 were conducted with the utmost bitterness of party-feeling. From Berwick to Land's End a cry arose that the Church was in danger. The queen was beginning to show some favour to the Whigs, and the High Churchmen, from their pulpits, rallied their forces to the fight. Jacobite and Tory pamphleteers charged the Bishops with the betrayal of the Church, and the Court with the design of selling it to the Dissenters. Godolphin, the Lord High Treasurer, became more plainly Whiggish, and William Cowper was appointed to the high office of Lord Keeper. The House of Commons had a Whig majority, and their candidate was chosen Speaker. The royal speech declared the queen's attachment to the Church, but angered the Tories by an expressed resolve to maintain the Toleration Act, and by begging her subjects to lay aside their divisions. They retaliated by a motion, which was negatived in the Lords, that the Princess Sophia of Hanover, as heir-presumptive of the crown, should be invited to reside in England. The queen was not at all inclined to favour the Act of Settlement, and was indignant at the factious conduct which now supported, for her annoyance, a measure which the Tories had always opposed. The Whigs then carried a Regency Bill for the conduct of the government, in case of the queen's demise, until the arrival of her successor. By this measure, the control of affairs, in order to secure the Hanoverian succession, was placed in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chief-Justice, and four great officers of state.

“It may be done, but not yet,” said King William to Defoe, speaking of the union which he so fervently desired. In 1702, Commissioners were appointed by an Act of the English Parliament to meet Scottish officials on the subject of a union, but nothing came of their deliberations. The Scottish people were still sore from the wide-spread ruin caused by the Darien disaster, and their demands for a share in the colonial trade, and for equal commercial privileges with England, were treated with indifference by the representatives of the southern kingdom. In 1703, the Scottish Parliament showed a leaning towards France, and a desire to bring about the separation of the crowns. An Act of Security was carried, enacting that, on the demise of Queen Anne without issue, the Estates of Scotland were to name a successor from the Protestant line of the House of Stuart, with conditions to secure “the religious freedom and trade of the nation from English or any foreign influence.” The Lord High Commissioner of England refused his assent to this Act, which was again passed, now with the royal assent, in 1704. The English Parliament replied with menaces of war, and passed a statute which provided for a treaty of union, excluded Scots from English privileges, until their Parliament should settle the succession to their crown in the same line as the English Act of Settlement, and prohibited all importations, from Scotland into England, of coals, cattle, sheep, or linen. Great bitterness of feeling existed in Scotland until the English session of 1705. Then the prudent and moderate Godolphin sought to allay hostility by the repeal of the offensive Act of the previous year. Friendliness begat friendship, and in the spring of 1706, thirty-one Commissioners on the part of each kingdom met at Whitehall, to negotiate the terms of union. By slow degrees it was arranged that there should henceforth be one kingdom, one crown, one Parliament, and that the new realm be styled Great Britain; that freedom of trade be established, with a system of equal duties upon imports and exports; that the Scots should send forty-five members to the House of Commons, and sixteen representative peers, chosen for each Parliament, to the House of Lords. The laws of Scotland were to remain in force, with the exception of those relating to trade, customs, and excise. The standards of the coinage, and of weights and measures, were to become uniform with those of England, and the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were to be conjoined on flags, banners, standards, and ensigns. In October, the Articles of Union came before the Estates of Scotland. The Jacobites, of course, strove to thwart a measure which destroyed their hopes, and they excited the mob of Edinburgh to riot in the name of a fictitious patriotism. The mercantile class took a wide and prudent view of the country’s real interest, and, in spite of a wild oration from Lord Belhaven, predicting utter ruin for the land, the measure slowly made its way. A separate Act, for the security of the Scottish Church, provided that each sovereign of Great Britain should,

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upon accession, take an oath to protect the government, worship, discipline, rights, and privileges of the Church of Scotland, and this statute was incorporated in the Act of Union. Jacobites and extreme Covenanters still stirred up resistance, and in November there was serious rioting in Glasgow. The Duke of Queensberry, the Queen's High Commissioner, rendered great service by his patience and moderation, and on January 16, 1707, the Act was passed in the Scottish Parliament by a hundred and ten votes against sixty-nine. A payment of nearly £400,000 by England cleared off the Scottish debt, and recouped many of the losses incurred through the Darien Company. On March 6th, the Bill of Union passed by the English Parliament received the royal assent. The history of the two countries, from that day to this, has amply proved the wisdom of this great measure.

The first Parliament of Great Britain met on October 23, 1707.

Home affairs, 1707-1711. Harley was now striving to form a party opposed to Godolphin and Marlborough. Those powerful ministers charged him with being implicated in the treasonable correspondence of one of his clerks with the French government, and, though no proof was forthcoming, they forced the queen to dismiss him, in 1708, from his office as Secretary, in which he had succeeded Nottingham in 1704. At the same time, his friend Henry St. John, one of the most brilliant, unscrupulous, and unlucky of English statesmen, resigned the post of Secretary at War to the rising young Whig, Robert Walpole, and Somers soon became President of the Council. The Whigs were now in the ascendant, but Harley was rapidly undermining the influence of the Duchess of Marlborough. That imperious lady had introduced at court a relative named Hill, better known as Mrs. Masham, and this quiet, sly, persuasive personage crept into the queen's favour, and was the instrument of Harley's intrigues. Anne was now become weary of "Mrs. Freeman's" plain-speaking, and the hour of her fall was near. The death of Prince George of Denmark in October 1708, caused great grief to the widowed queen, and she passed much time in retirement at Windsor, in a house which she had purchased. It was at this period that, through Mrs. Masham, Harley was enabled to pursue his plans, and to strengthen his hold upon the sovereign by adroitly fostering her desire for the Jacobite succession.

In 1709, the Whig government came to his aid, and provoked an outburst of Tory feeling. **Dr. Sacheverell.** Dr. Sacheverell, preacher at St. Saviour's, Southwark, delivered two bitter sermons, at Derby and at St. Paul's Cathedral, reflecting upon the principles of the Revolution and upon the Whig ministry. Godolphin was compared to Volpone, a cunning character of Ben Jonson's, and, against the advice of Somers, the government resolved to notice criminally the bold utterances which were probably inspired by Harley. The House of Commons passed a vote that the sermons were malicious, scandalous, and seditious libels. Sacheverell was dignified by impeachment, and, in February 1710,

he appeared in Westminster Hall. The queen watched the proceedings from a private box. The populace of London and the country gentlemen were inflamed by the words of the clergy, whom the persecution of their zealous brother had aroused. After the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience had been fought over, at wearisome length, by counsel for the prosecution and defence, the peers, by a majority of sixty-nine to fifty-two, pronounced Sacheverell guilty. He was then condemned to suspension from preaching for three years, and to have his two sermons burnt by the common hangman. The large minority, and the mildness of the sentence, were held to be a Tory triumph, and the queen was emboldened to turn against her Whig ministers. The real victory lay with those who, though by unwise means, had asserted the principles of the Act of Settlement, and had caused, through the printed reports of the trial, the wide-spread circulation of sound arguments against the political doctrines of Sacheverell and his admirers. The momentary issue was the downfall of the Whigs. The abiding result was the Hanoverian succession.

The virtual dismissal of the Duchess of Marlborough, in the summer of 1710, was followed by the removal of her son-in-law, Lord ^{The} Sunderland, from his office of Secretary of State. Then came ^{Tories in} the dismissal of Godolphin, whose office as Treasurer was put ^{power,} into commission. ^{1710-1714.} Harley was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Whig ministers were all removed, and a new Parliament was summoned. The Houses met in November, the efforts of the clergy having sent to Westminster a Tory House of Commons. The queen's speech now contained no allusion to the Whig war, but announced her determination to support and encourage the Church. The Toleration was styled an "Indulgence," by an adoption of the language of Sacheverell. When Marlborough returned to London in December, his influence was gone. All his entreaties to the queen did not prevent a peremptory order that the Duchess should forthwith send in her key of office. Mrs. Masham became keeper of the Privy Purse, and the haughty Sarah was turned out of her apartments in the palace. The failure of the contest in Spain, under the direction of the Whig commander, Stanhope, was of service to the new ministry. The late mismanagement was contrasted with the successes under Peterborough. The pen of Swift was used in sarcasms against Marlborough's fondness for the substantial rewards of victory. The Whigs had failed, in their day of power, to give due promotion to the ablest writer of the age, and his talents were now at the service of Harley and St. John. Steele and Addison, in political controversy, were no match for such a champion. Some extreme Tories in the Commons were intriguing against Harley, who "did not come up to their height" of enmity against the Whigs, when the blows of an assassin rendered him a great service. A French refugee named Guiscard, who was brought before the Council as a traitor and a spy, gave the minister some stabs with a penknife, and

then received mortal wounds from the swords of St. John and other members. A mystery surrounds the attempt, which made Harley Earl of Oxford and the leading member of the government as Lord Treasurer. Both he and St. John were engaged in secret negotiations with France for peace, and both were resolved on the ruin of Marlborough. Early in 1711 he was censured in the House of Commons, by large majorities, for illegal receipts of money from contractors, and for deductions from the pay of foreign troops in the queen's service. He alleged that the sums thus obtained were received partly by precedent and usage, and partly in accordance with royal warrant, and that all the money had been expended on secret correspondence for the public service. The queen then dismissed him from all his offices, and the creation of twelve new peers gave the ministry a majority in that House in favour of peace. The Earl of Nottingham was now able to carry the Occasional Conformity Bill, and, just before the reign closed, the Schism Act provided that all schoolmasters, under pain of imprisonment, should subscribe the Declaration of Conformity, and obtain a license from the bishop.

In 1703 the navy suffered serious loss in the great storm which arose in the west, south, and east of England, in the last week of November. This furious tempest, which furnished Addison with his famous simile in the poem written to glorify the campaign ending at Blenheim, has had no parallel in our history. Steeples were blown down, houses ruined, the watch-towers of the coast swept away, and the shores of the Channel strewn with wrecks. The Thames and the Severn were crowded with dismasted merchantmen. Fourteen men-of-war were cast away, and 1500 seamen perished with them. No other storm has ever been the subject of a Parliamentary address and a national day of fasting and humiliation. After the taking of Gibraltar in 1704, Rooke, with some Dutch vessels, met a French and Spanish fleet off Malaga. Not one of the hundred ships engaged was sunk, burnt, or taken, but the indecisive action, which the brave Sir Cloudesley Shovel describes as "very sharp," dismasted both fleets, and caused a total loss of 7000 men. Our ships, under Sir John Leake, in the autumn of the same year, assisted to maintain Gibraltar against a French and Spanish siege. In 1707, when Victor Amadeus of Savoy and Prince Eugene made their unsuccessful invasion of France, the fleet under Shovel was active in bombarding Toulon. That faithful and gallant commander, who had risen from the lowest rank, and was proof against all the arts of the Jacobites, perished on the rocks of Scilly, as he returned with his fleet of fifteen ships of the line. The flagship and two other vessels ran ashore on a dark night in October. The body of the admiral, found after some days, was brought to the Abbey for burial. Before the year closed, another naval disaster led to serious complaints in Parliament. Five British men-of-war, escorting merchantmen to Lisbon, encountered off the Lizard fourteen French

ships. Most of the merchantmen escaped, but one of our vessels was blown up, and three were taken by the enemy. In March 1708, an attempt at a Jacobite invasion of Scotland was foiled by Sir George Byng. A body of French troops embarked at Dunkirk, and sailed for the Firth of Forth, but the appearance of the English squadron drove them from their station near the Isle of May, and the armament returned, with the Pretender, James Edward, to the French port. Before the year ended, Sardinia was taken by the fleet under Sir John Leake, and the same commander, with General Stanhope, took Port Mahon by storm, and gave us the possession of Minorca.

The nation was ready to welcome peace, but, through the removal of her great general, she was destined to see the French arms triumph at the close of the contest. Party hatreds never caused a greater humiliation to Britain than that endured in the campaign of 1712. Prince Eugene, the faithful and gallant colleague of Marlborough, was left to struggle alone with the enemy at the very time when a vigorous combined effort would have taken the allies to the gates of Paris. The Duke of Ormond was placed in command of the British forces, but he had secret instructions from St. John to give no real aid to Eugene. Duplicity and treachery were, in fact, to be employed in favour of the secret negotiations with France which the English ministry were carrying on, contrary to the express terms of the alliance. On May 26th, Eugene and Ormond, with a far larger force than had taken the field under Marlborough in the previous year, passed the Scheldt below Bouchain. A French army of inferior strength was before them under Villars. Ormond declined to join in an easy attack on the French camp, and the last work done by our troops was a share in the siege of Quesnoy. The place surrendered in July, and Ormond, after a secret correspondence with Villars, concluded an armistice for four months between England and France. The British troops were withdrawn, but nearly all the foreign contingents in our pay declined to follow this example, and they became a part of the army of the Empire, and of the States of Holland, under the orders of the Prince. This infamous betrayal of the alliance gave an opening to the ability and energy of the French commander. On July 24th, the weakened army of Eugene was beaten at Denain, and, one by one, the fortified posts and towns were retaken by the French. The English ministry, fearful of some success in Flanders that might derange their plans, had given secret information to the enemy of the military projects of the allies. The brilliant intellect of St. John was degraded by the political profligacy which caused him, in the interest of party-government, to recommend that Villars, in case he were attacked by Prince Eugene, should "fall upon him and cut him in pieces, him and his whole army." Halifax in the Lords, and Pulteney, in the Commons, denounced the dishonour in impressive language, but they were both defeated by large majorities. The government sought to

The
Treaty of
Utrecht,
April
1713.

check anonymous attacks upon its policy by the passing of an Act which imposed a stamp-duty on "certain printed papers, pamphlets, and advertisements." This attempt to fetter the freedom of the press was the first of a series of such duties which endured, with large additions, for more than a century and a half. The services of St. John were rewarded by his accession to the peerage as Viscount Bolingbroke, and he was now despatched to Paris, with his secretary, the poet Prior, to arrange with Torcy the terms of peace. The suspension of arms was not at first accepted by the States, but in December they yielded to necessity, and on April 11, 1713, the Treaty of Utrecht, as settled at a congress held in that town, was signed by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Savoy, Portugal, Prussia, and the States-General. The Emperor refused to be a party, and made his own terms at the Peace of Rastadt in the following year. In July 1713, Spain agreed to the Utrecht treaty, and the long contest came to an end. Spain and the Indies were assigned to Philip of Anjou. The French king recognised the Protestant succession in England, and engaged to cause the Pretender, James Stuart, to withdraw from the French dominions. Louis also renounced for himself, his heirs, and his successors, the throne of Spain, and Philip, in his turn, renounced in like manner the succession to the throne of France. Great Britain retained Hudson's Bay and Straits, and acquired Nova Scotia and Newfoundland, with a reserve to France of certain rights of fishing. A separate treaty with Philip gave Minorca and Gibraltar to Great Britain. The Emperor received the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, Sardinia, and the Spanish Netherlands. Sicily, separated from Naples, was given to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of king. Luxembourg, Namur, Charleroi, Ypres, and Nieuport were given to the Dutch. A small majority in the House of Commons rejected clauses in a commercial treaty which would have made an approach to freedom of trade between France and Great Britain.

The House of Commons had shown its adhesion to the principles which had placed Harley and St. John in power, by appointing Sacheverell to preach before them. The Triennial Bill, however, limited the term of its existence, and the Parliament was dissolved in July. The elections were conducted with more than the wonted violence of party, and the Tories wore green boughs in their hats in honour of the Stuart restoration. The ascendancy of Bolingbroke greatly favoured the schemes of the Jacobites. The Earl of Oxford had become almost powerless, and the Secretary, with the Duke of Ormond, was making such military arrangements as might assist their plans concerning the succession. Regiments raised by William were disbanded, and the Earl of Mar received the command of the troops in Scotland. The Chevalier St. George, as the Pretender was styled, thwarted the schemes of his adherents by an honourable refusal to profess a change of his religion. The new Parliament met

Death of
Anne,
August 1,
1714.

in February 1714. The queen, in her speech, denounced those who suspected danger to the Protestant succession. Oxford secretly gave Swift £100 for an anonymous libel on the Whigs, but openly professed indignation against such writings. Steele, as the author of a famous pamphlet called *The Crisis*, maintaining the Act of Settlement, was expelled from the House of Commons. Addison aided his defence, and Walpole, in a vigorous speech, exposed the tyranny involved in an invasion of the liberty of the press by one part of the Legislature. In May, the Princess Sophia of Hanover died in her eighty-fourth year, and her son George, now fifty-four years of age, became heir-apparent to the crown. At this juncture, a violent quarrel between Oxford and Bolingbroke caused the dismissal of the Earl, and the course seemed clear for the Secretary's measures. All his hopes were baffled by the vigour and promptitude of two Whig Dukes, Somerset and Argyle, and of the Tory Duke of Shrewsbury, who favoured the Hanoverian succession. The queen was seized with illness in the last days of July, and then Argyle and Somerset suddenly appeared, without summons, on the 30th, at the council called by Bolingbroke. They had arranged to ask Anne to appoint Shrewsbury to the leading position in the ministry as Lord High Treasurer, and to him she now delivered the staff of office, while the Secretary and his party were paralysed by this bold intervention. On the morning of August 1st the queen died, and the Jacobites had at hand no means of preventing the peaceful proclamation of the Elector.

The drama, in the age which followed close on the Revolution, mainly consisted in the licentious comedy of manners wherein Wycherley had led the way. Congreve, marked by brilliant Literature. wit and incomparable neatness and sparkle of dialogue, wrote, under William, his plays called *The Old Bachelor*, *The Double Dealer*, *Love for Love*, and *the Way of the World*. His tragedy, *The Mourning Bride*, was produced with great success in 1697. Vanbrugh, who also wrought in stone as the architect of Castle Howard and of Blenheim, was the author of *The Relapse* and *The Provoked Wife*, comedies of less artifice and polish than those of Congreve, but invested with much wit and vigour. George Farquhar, of Irish birth, wrote his best play, *The Beaux' Stratagem*, in 1707. The bad morals of the stage were fiercely attacked by the bold Nonjuror, Jeremy Collier. He had the best of all the wits, and even Dryden was compelled to strike his colours to the author of *A Short View of the Immorality and Profaneness of the English Stage*. The great poet was now winning fame as the translator of Virgil, and, in the same year, 1697, he rose to high rank as a lyrical writer by *Alexander's Feast*, an ode for St. Cecilia's day. His career ended in 1700, soon after the publication of the vigorous verse known as *Fables*. The verse of Addison and Prior, in a time of poetical dearth, won political reward. Prior became secretary to several important embassies; Addison obtained

a pension through Montague and Somers, and received from Godolphin a good post in the excise. John Philips' *Splendid Shilling*, a poetical burlesque of Milton, is one of our best parodies, and his poem called *Cyder* is a good modern Georgic. In 1706, Addison had become an Under-Secretary of State, and, two years later, he was chief secretary to Lord Wharton, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. The reign of Anne, before its close, saw the bright beams of the mounting sun of Pope. The *Pastorals* and the *Essay on Criticism*, displaying high powers of versified expression, were followed, in 1714, by the complete form of *The Rape of the Lock*, the finest specimen of the mock-heroic. That great genius, Jonathan Swift, showed equal power of keen satire in verse and prose. The controversy of the Cambridge scholar, Richard Bentley, the most learned classical linguist in our history, with the Oxford champion, Francis Atterbury, the most skilful of shallow pretenders to knowledge, on the spurious Epistles of Phalaris, stirred the sarcasm of Swift in his *Battle of the Books*. In mastery of easy verse, full of point, pith, and venom, he never was surpassed. The coarse, powerful humour of the *Tale of a Tub*, a prose satire on the lack of charitable feeling between Christians of different Churches, shocked the taste of reverent readers by its free handling of sacred things, and stayed the promotion of its author to a seat among the spiritual peers. His great services to the Tory cause, by papers in the *Examiner*, and by the pamphlets known as *The Conduct of the Allies* and *The Barrier Treaty*, were rewarded by Harley and St. John with the Irish deanery of St. Patrick's. The close of the Stuart age is marked by the rise of a popular literature, and by the supreme excellence of English prose attained in the form of essays written for a cultured class. We find writers who address themselves, not merely to noble patrons, but to the main body of their countrymen. French influence enters on a long stage of decline, and the spirit of the time is seen working in the utterances of a new school of periodical writing. The great names of the life-long friends Steele and Addison bring before us the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian*. In 1704, Defoe had issued, in penny weekly numbers, a paper called the *Review*. Chiefly dealing with political affairs, it also contained reflections on the manners of the town. The discovery of the power of periodic publication soon turned an age of pamphlets into an age of magazines and miscellanies. In 1709, Steele began to address the large class of readers who had no very strong political or religious convictions, and who sought amusement rather than instruction. The *Tatler* was a penny paper, published three times a week. Its pages were soon enriched by the genius of Addison. Two years later, the first number of the daily *Spectator* appeared. In these publications, the "masters of common life" opened for the people a rich fountain of playful humour, gentle satire, familiar criticism, and tolerant morality. They rendered to their own age an inestimable service, and bequeathed to the historian a most valuable

picture of life and manners. It was one aim of these admirable essayists to diffuse some desire for knowledge, and some taste for the higher work of genius. Addison, in a series of papers on *Paradise Lost*, descanted on the beauties of Milton, and Steele led his readers, by quotation and criticism, to the pages of neglected Shakespeare. It is the glory of Steele to have been the first of our writers who showed a real admiration and respect for women. The comic poets regarded them merely as instruments of gallantry. Swift, with rare exceptions, treated the female society of his day with the scorn that he felt for the whole human race. Addison regards them, in his polite and gentle fashion, as pretty, harmless creatures, fit subjects for a kindly laughter at their weaknesses and whims. Steele pays a manly homage to their goodness and their sense, as well as to their tenderness and beauty, and is the author of the noblest of all compliments, when he declares of a lady whom he knew that "to have loved her was a liberal education." Addison, whose conversation made him "the best company in the world," directed to high ends his powers as a writer. He retorted on vice the mockery which vicious wit had been directing against virtue. He made indecent utterance and act look mean and loathsome, and caused men to regard them as the marks, not only of a profligate, but of a fool. Steele and Addison together, in the characters of the Club in the *Spectator*, and in the narrative that connects the essays dealing with Sir Roger de Coverley and his friends, gave English readers "their first taste of an untried and exquisite pleasure," and became the founders of a school of English fiction.

BOOK XIV.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

ENGLAND COMES UNDER WHIG RULE.

George I. and the Jacobites. The Septennial Act. Home-affairs. The South Sea Scheme. Rise of Robert Walpole. Spain and the Jacobites. Bishop Atterbury. Swift's power in politics. Foreign affairs. Death of the King.

AFTER the death of Queen Anne, our political history, in the eighteenth century, falls into two great divisions. The first is marked by the ascendancy of the Whigs, and the second by the supremacy of the Tories. For nearly half a hundred years, the great party whose hopes fell in the failure of Bolingbroke, had but a small share in public affairs, except as a feeble Opposition. The great Whig families divided with each other the spoils of office, and maintained their hold on Parliament by a free use of the means of corruption which political power had lodged in their hands. The first two sovereigns of the House of Brunswick scarcely strove for any part of the control wielded by the Whig oligarchy in home policy. In Continental affairs, the possession of Hanover introduced a perplexing and pernicious duality of interests and rule. During the eighteenth century, Britain rose to be the greatest power in Europe. France, on the death of Louis XIV., swiftly declined from her high position, under the system of misrule which ended in a grand catastrophe. Her rival yearly grew in political and commercial influence, and acquired, under constitutional government, the wealth and maritime resources which enabled her to cope with the most formidable combinations of foes.

The new sovereign of Great Britain was a shy, short, and awkward man, whose kindly despotism in Hanover had endeared him George I., 1714-1727. to his German subjects. He spoke no English, and had no showy qualities. On September 18th he landed, with his eldest son, at Greenwich, and was received with acclamations which implied no real enthusiasm for a ruler whom a statute, dictated by the nation's convenience, had placed upon the throne. Lord Townshend, a Whig who had assisted in arranging the Scottish Union, replaced Boling-

broke as Secretary, having Stanhope as his colleague. Halifax was First Lord of the Treasury, and Walpole took office as Paymaster of the Forces. The only Tory in high office was Nottingham, as President of the Council. The elections for the new Parliament took place in March 1715, and sent a Whig majority to the Commons. Disturbances excited by the Jacobites caused the passing of the Riot Act, still in force, for prompt dealing with seditious persons. The new government stirred the wrath of the Pretender's partisans by impeachments of his chief adherents. Bolingbroke fled to France, and became Secretary of State to "James III." The Earl of Oxford went to the Tower. Ormond followed Bolingbroke in his flight, and Acts of attainder were passed against both. The proceedings against Oxford came to an end two years later, when the Houses differed on a matter of detail.

The causes of the Scottish rising of 1715 were the Highland feeling in favour of the elder Stuart line, and the discontent of Lowland lairds with the late Parliamentary Union. The commercial classes of the towns were in favour of the new settlement. Those who planned the insurrection hoped to receive support from the Roman Catholic gentry of the English border counties, but this very hope proves how slender were the chances of success in England for such an enterprise. John Erskine, Earl of Mar, who had supported the Union, first as a Whig, and then as a Tory, Secretary for Scotland, had offered his congratulations to the new sovereign, but he was promptly removed from office. In September 1715, he raised the royal standard of "James VIII. and III." in Braemar, and was soon in command of 12,000 men at Perth. The Jacobites were already sorely discouraged by the news of the death of Louis on September 1st, and Bolingbroke wrote "my hopes sank as he declined, and died when he expired." The Duke of Orleans, who was Regent for the young king, great-grandson of Louis XIV., refused to give any help to the Scottish rebellion. The Duke of Argyle, a staunch supporter of the Hanoverian succession, was in command of the forces in Scotland. A body of the Highlanders, who were joined at Kelso by some Lowland gentry and nobles, and by Northumbrian supporters under Mr. Forster, made their way to Preston. Some Lancashire Catholics gave their help, but, after a sharp fight in the outskirts of the town with the royal forces under General Wills, who had marched north from Wigan, the rebels were surrounded on November 13th by a large body of cavalry under General Carpenter, despatched in pursuit from Scotland. About 1500 men laid down their arms, of whom two-thirds were Scots. Some of the officers, who had held commissions in the royal army, were shot after trial by court-martial, and some of the privates were hanged or transported as traitors. The noblemen and other leaders went under guard to London. In Scotland, on the very day of the collapse at Preston, Argyle fought with Mar on the Sheriffmuir, near Stirling. The left wing of the royal army was scattered by the rush of High-

The Re-
bellion
of 1715.

landers under Mar, but Argyle made a rout on the left of the rebels. A half-success for the insurgents was equal to defeat, and Mar's retreat to Perth was followed by a gradual dispersal of his forces. In January 1716, when all hope was gone, the Pretender, James Edward Stuart, landed at Peterhead, and took up his abode at Scone. He gave no signs of energy or spirit, and, on the approach of Argyle with a fresh army, this feeble claimant of a throne, accompanied by Mar, took ship at Montrose, and sailed away to France. The few insurgents yet in arms sought their homes among the hills, and the enterprise thus came to an ignominious end. The Earls of Derwentwater and Kenmure died on Tower Hill as traitors. The Earl of Nithisdale, on the night before the execution, escaped from the Tower disguised in his wife's clothes. Lord Winton, Mr. Forster, and other leaders, made their way out of Newgate and the Tower with an ease which appeared to show a politic connivance on the part of the government. The Pretender avenged his failure by the dismissal of Bolingbroke, and that unlucky statesman made and kept a promise that never more, with sword or pen, would he serve a Stuart prince.

One consequence of the Jacobite rising was the passing of the Septennial Act, which is still in force. Before the Triennial Act of 1694, the duration of Parliament was limited only by the will of the sovereign, or was determined by his death. The Parliament existing in 1716 would expire in the following year, and the Whig government desired to avoid the risk of tumult at a general election, at a time when, as the preamble to the Septennial Act declared, "a restless and Popish faction" might prove "destructive to the peace and security of the government." The Triennial Act was now repealed, and Parliaments, by the new statute, were enabled to sit for seven years. The great Whig, Lord Somers, who died on the day that the Bill was read a third time in the House of Commons, believed that the measure would be "the greatest support possible to the liberty of the country." The House of Commons was thus finally emancipated from its former dependence on the crown and the House of Lords, but the next two reigns were to show the evils that arose from this new freedom. The Commons became an oligarchical body, whose deliberations were secret, and whose power was immense. The government of the day had every motive to offer bribes for votes given in its favour, and many of the members had no motive to refuse what the government offered. A large number of them, not returned by popular support, but nominees, in petty boroughs, of the crown or of great landlords, had nobody to please but themselves. Those who were returned by popular election did not speak and vote, as now, under the vigilant and strict control of their constituents. The electors had no daily cognisance of the doings of their representatives. The secrecy of the proceedings in the Commons, which had formerly guarded the House when the Privy Council was wont to send the

leaders of opposition to the Tower, was now maintained with the utmost strictness as a defence of dishonest legislators against those who sent them to Westminster. The Parliament which had shaken off the yoke of the royal prerogative, had not yet become subject to the influence of public opinion, and, until nearly the end of the century, the country was, to a great extent, governed by the system of corruption which, under Charles II., Clifford had commenced and Danby had extended, and which Walpole, Newcastle, George III., and Henry Fox were to carry to the furthest limit. The House of Commons which, under the early Stuart kings, had been the people's champion against regal tyranny, became itself a body of tyrants, trampling under foot the rights of electors, and only reduced to order, in the end, by the irresistible force of public opinion and of a reformed franchise.

In 1716, the king was preparing to visit his German dominions, lately increased by the purchase, from Denmark, of Bremen and Verden. George, Prince of Wales, was on bad terms with his father, and gave an example, followed in the two next reigns, of an heir-apparent gathering round him a party in opposition to the government. To the English people, George I. was a mere foreigner, surrounded by German favourites, two of whom received titles as Duchess of Kendal and Countess of Darlington. The heir to the throne spoke English, and mingled freely in English society. During the king's absence abroad, he was intrusted with a kind of regency, the powers of which were restricted by his father's jealousy, and Townshend was removed from office when he sought an extension of authority for the Prince. Walpole soon afterwards resigned his post, and in the summer of 1717 Stanhope became head of the government, with the Earl of Sunderland and Joseph Addison as Secretaries of State. In the autumn, an open quarrel arose between the king and prince, who was commanded to leave St. James's Palace, with his wife, the Princess Caroline of Anspach. He set up a rival court at Leicester House, where Walpole was high in favour. In 1718, Stanhope, for "strengthening the Protestant interest in these kingdoms," caused the repeal of the Schism and Occasional Conformity Acts. This relief to Protestant dissenters left in force the Test and Corporation Acts, but after the beginning of the next reign it was only against Catholics that these intolerant statutes were enforced. In 1719, a Peerage Bill, introduced by the ministry, proposed to limit the royal power of adding to the numbers of the House of Lords. According to this measure, the roll of English peers was not to be extended by more than six above the existing number, except in the case of royal princes, and the sixteen elective peers of Scotland were to be replaced by twenty-five hereditary lords, chosen by the sovereign. The resolutions, in the Lords, were carried by a large majority, but, in the Commons, this attempt to turn one house of the Legislature into a "compact impenetrable phalanx," which could defy alike the Commons and the Crown,

Home
affairs.
1717-1721.

was rejected through the eloquence of Walpole. In 1720, an attempt to deal with a portion of the national debt, now amounting to over £50,000,000, led to the financial panic known as the South Sea Bubble. Just before the Peace of Utrecht, a South Sea Company had been formed, which undertook the burden of £10,000,000 of floating debt, on the security, for the payment of interest, of certain permanent custom duties. In return for this relief to the national finances, the Company obtained the sole right of trading with the Spanish ports in South America. The Assiento Treaty with Spain, of 1713, permitted the despatch to the Pacific of only one English ship annually, but a great system of smuggling arose, and the new commercial body held a strong position, and included many wealthy men among its shareholders and directors. Sir John Blunt, one of the chief managers, now proposed to Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to buy up the annuities granted under William and Anne. This yearly charge upon the revenue amounted to £800,000. The Company's offer was not accepted in this form, but the annuities were put up to auction, and the South Sea directors, outbidding the Bank of England, undertook to pay £7,500,000. The annuitants had then the option of exchanging the government bonds for the Company's stock. The dense prevailing ignorance as to the real value of the Pacific trade, and delusive stories spread by the directors, at once caused two-thirds of the annuitants to take up a stock which seemed to promise boundless wealth. A rush upon the new undertaking caused a sudden and enormous rise, and in August the £100 share was quoted at £1000. Other schemes, of the wildest character, competed for the hoarded wealth of the nation, and the City streets were turned into open-air offices, where nobles, lawyers, dandies, doctors, squires, actors, shopkeepers, farmers, and fine ladies plunged on a road to ruin. There were companies for fattening hogs, importing Spanish asses, and extracting oil from sunflowers, and one swindler, in a few hours, obtained £3000 from subscribers to a scheme in which he held forth the certainty of large profits, but declined to reveal his secret until the money was paid in. The South Sea directors, jealous for their own enterprise, themselves hastened the reaction from this speculative madness. Their issue of writs against some unauthorised projectors started a panic which brought down their own shares, before September closed, to about one-sixth of the value which they had once reached, and the stock of this and other companies soon became waste paper. The national credit was not seriously injured by the infatuation which had caused wide-spread private misery. The mischief that resulted from "a most quick and violent shifting of property from one hand to another" caused a loud cry for vengeance against the prime authors of the calamity. Walpole had again joined the government, and a just confidence in his financial abilities turned all eyes towards him. Investigation proved that some of the ministry had shared in

frauds committed by the directors, and a Bill was passed for confiscation of the private estates of guilty managers. Two millions sterling, thus provided, went to compensate the sufferers, and a remission of the large sum payable to the Government helped to maintain at their true value the bonds assigned to the annuitants. One of the guilty ministers, James Craggs, successor of Addison as Secretary of State, died of small-pox during the parliamentary inquiry. His father, the Postmaster-General, committed suicide by poison. The Earl of Sunderland, acquitted by a majority of votes, could not resist the force of public odium, and resigned his high office. Aislabie was expelled from the Commons, and committed to the Tower. Lord Stanhope, wholly innocent of complicity, became an indirect victim of the great financial catastrophe. During a debate in the Lords upon the conduct of the directors, the Duke of Wharton, in a furious attack, compared him to Sejanus, the wicked minister of the Roman emperor Tiberius. The anger to which Stanhope was stirred in his reply caused a fatal attack of apoplexy. Townshend again became Secretary of State, and Walpole, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, was henceforth a power in the land.

The great Continental struggle closed by the Peace of Utrecht had bequeathed to the nations a legacy of unrest. In the spring of 1716, the British government was forming, with Holland and the Emperor, defensive alliances against possible aggression from France or Spain. The French Regent, Orleans, and his able minister, Dubois, were peaceably inclined towards England, and in January 1717 a triple alliance was formed between Great Britain, France, and the States-General. A rupture of the peace was destined to be caused by Spain. Cardinal Alberoni, an active and ambitious Italian, who had risen from a low rank to be prime minister of Philip V., was found to be intriguing with Charles XII. of Sweden for a new Jacobite insurrection in England, and the invasion of Scotland by Charles. The main object of his policy was the recovery of Italian territory which the Treaty of Utrecht had transferred from Spain to the House of Austria. In August 1717, a Spanish fleet anchored in the Bay of Cagliari, and a body of troops took possession of Sardinia. The Spanish statesman also had an eye upon Sicily, given by the peace to Amadeus of Savoy. After vain attempts at mediation, Stanhope, in 1718, prepared for warlike operations according to the terms of the alliance, which soon became quadruple by the accession of the Emperor to the league. A Spanish fleet, with troops on board, arrived off Sicily in July, took Palermo, and besieged Messina. The British fleet of twenty sail, under Admiral Byng, encountered and destroyed most of the Spanish vessels in an action off Cape Passaro. Alberoni could only retaliate by the seizure of British goods and vessels in Spanish ports. The failure of a conspiracy which he fomented against the Regent Orleans was followed by a declaration of war from France,

Foreign
affairs,
1716-1720.

The Spanish minister then invited the Pretender to Madrid, and, in 1719, a Jacobite invasion of Scotland was prepared in an expedition commanded by the Duke of Ormond. The armament was scattered by a storm in the Bay of Biscay, and a small force of Spaniards, who landed in the western Highlands, became prisoners of war. The ambitious efforts of Alberoni ended in complete failure. The troops of the Emperor, ably assisted by Sir George Byng, forced the Spaniards to evacuate both Sardinia and Sicily, and a French invasion of Spain under Berwick, the victor of Almanza, with the capture of Vigo by a British fleet, brought King Philip to submission. In December 1719, Alberoni, at the dictation of Stanhope and Dubois, was dismissed from all his offices, and ordered to quit Spain within twenty-one days. A peace of twelve years' duration was the result of the Quadruple Alliance, to which Philip was now compelled to give his adhesion.

In 1720, the wife of James Stuart gave birth to the son, Charles Edward, who was to become famous as the younger Pretender. The Jacobites were stirred to new conspiracies, and Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, who had sworn allegiance to the House of Brunswick, who had assisted in crowning George I., and had abjured "James III.," "without equivocation or mental reservation, on the true faith of a Christian," took part in a plot for an invasion. In August 1722, the High Church party were enraged by the news of the arrest of their ablest leader. In 1723, the Bishop was attacked by a bill of pains and penalties, which was strongly opposed, on legal and constitutional grounds, by the Whig ex-Chancellor, Lord Cowper. His objections were the same as those applying, in the reign of William, to the attainder of Sir John Fenwick. An offender, whose guilt could not be proved under the law of treason, was dealt with by a method needing only "moral" proof. The peers, however, passed the bill by a majority of forty, among whom were most of the bishops, and the eloquent Jacobite went into life-long exile.

In the whole history of national credulity on public measures there is no instance more discreditable both to the deluder and the deluded than that known as the affair of "Wood's halfpence," or *The Drapier's Letters*. Ireland was suffering from the want of small current coin, and in 1722 a royal patent was granted to William Wood, a proprietor and renter of iron and copper mines in England, to enable him to coin farthings and halfpence for Ireland, in the space of fourteen years, to the value of £108,000. The fair-dealing of Walpole in the matter is clearly shown by the fact that Sir Isaac Newton, as Master of the Mint, approved the terms of the contract, and an assay demonstrated that in weight and fineness of metal the pieces of money were satisfactory. The Irish Parliament were the first cause of strife. They voted an address to the king, in which they declared that the terms of the patent would occasion a loss

Bishop
Atter-
bury.

The
Drapier's
Letters,
1724.

to the Irish people of 150 per cent. Walpole, astounded by this shameless assertion, referred the matter to a committee of the English Council, and their examination again proved that the patentee had supplied good coinage at a fair price. It was, however, conceded that the amount of copper coins issued should not exceed the value of £40,000. At this juncture, Dean Swift, in his hatred of a Whig government, poured out a flood of venom in a series of letters which professed to come from a Drapier or Draper, addressed "to the tradesmen, shopkeepers, and country people in general, of the kingdom of Ireland." The writer's skilful use of sound argument, based on premises utterly false, and of his unrivalled powers of invective, drove the Irish people mad. The streets rang with songs from the same author, demanding that Wood should be scalded in his own melted copper, and predicting "rack and ruin" for the land. Such was the ferment that Lord Carteret encountered when, in 1724, he went to Dublin as Lord-Lieutenant. A reward of £300 was offered for the discovery of the author of the Drapier's Letters. The printer was prosecuted for libel, but the grand jury threw out the bill. Another grand jury made a presentment, denouncing Wood's coinage as "base metal," and uttering an eulogy, which was written by Swift himself, on the "patriotic" author of the Letters. Walpole, with his usual prudence, quieted the storm by cancelling the patent and withdrawing the obnoxious coins. In 1725, a successor of Francis Bacon was impeached for malversation in his great office. The Earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor, was found guilty, fined £30,000, and excluded from the public service, upon charges of selling masterships in the Court of Chancery, and of conniving at the frauds of Masters in trafficking with the trust-money of suitors and the estates of widows and orphans.

The foreign policy of George I., under the advice of Walpole, had become decidedly pacific. The nation was prospering, and the House of Brunswick, never much troubled by fear of the Pretender, was becoming firmly fixed on a constitutional throne. The death of the Regent Orleans in 1723 placed the government of France in the hands of the youthful Louis XV., with the Duc de Bourbon as his minister. The alliance of France with Britain continued, and the chief menace to the peace of Europe existed in the person of the restless Elizabeth Farnese, second wife of Philip of Spain. It was she who had brought Alberoni into Spain, and, on his enforced removal, she found an active successor in a Dutch adventurer who was created Duke de Ripperda. The indignation of the Spanish court had been roused by the breaking of a match arranged between Louis of France and the Spanish Infanta, a girl eight years old. Ripperda was sent to Vienna to court alliance with the Emperor, and the Treaty of Vienna, in 1725, set Germany and Spain in hostile attitude towards the courts of Versailles and St. James. Happily for France and England, Walpole and Cardinal Fleury, who had succeeded to

Foreign
affairs,
1720-27.
Death of
the king.

Bourbon's power with Louis, were both resolved to keep the peace. As a measure of precaution, the Treaty of Hanover, signed in September 1725, bound together Britain, France, and Prussia, in an engagement to support each other, if any of the trio were attacked. In the last year of the reign there were some bickerings of war, without a formal declaration, between England and Spain. Ripperda was dismissed from power in 1726 by his termagant employer, Elizabeth of Spain, and, in fear of royal or popular resentment, he took refuge at Madrid in the house of our minister, Colonel Stanhope. In defiance of the laws of nations, he was seized in that asylum, and dragged away to prison. Feeling was embittered by the revelations which Ripperda made to Stanhope of some secret articles in the Treaty of Vienna, which he declared to be aimed at the Protestant religion, in an attempt to place the Pretender on the throne. In February 1727, a futile siege of our impregnable position at Gibraltar was begun, and languished, in a sorry fashion, for four months. In June, the king set out for Hanover, but was struck with apoplexy on the road, and died, on June 10th, inside his coach, before the horses, at a gallop, reached the courtyard of his one surviving brother, the Prince-Bishop of Osnabruck.

CHAPTER II.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE AS CHIEF MINISTER.

George II. and his queen. Walpole's public character. The political power of the pen. Walpole in finance. Death of the queen. The Porteous affair at Edinburgh. Foreign diplomacies and troubles. War with Spain. Fall of Walpole. War with France. The Jacobite rebellion. Culloden and the end of Stuart hopes.

FOR the first ten years of the new reign, the government of the country **George II.**, was chiefly in the hands of two discreet and able allies, Queen **1727-1760.** Caroline and Sir Robert Walpole. George II. was a brave and honest man, of much pride and some sense. He had been with Marlborough at Oudenarde, and was now in his forty-fourth year. His eldest son, Frederick, was twenty years of age, and was regarded with a strange antipathy by both his parents. The second son, William, still a young boy, was to become known as Duke of Cumberland. The queen possessed the rare skill of governing her husband without the appearance of any control. When any matter of state was discussed in her presence between the king and his ministers, she never offered an opinion, but her opinion, in the upshot, was sure to prevail. Queen Caroline and Walpole well understood the safe method of rule for sovereigns of the new dynasty. Their great principle was expediency. Their motto was—Let well enough alone. Keep the nation, if possible, at peace with all her neighbours. Assert no prerogative that may

appear to meddle with Parliamentary government. Secure a majority in Parliament, through the cupidity of dishonest politicians. Surrender what you know to be right, if popular clamour against a measure be loud and long-enduring. These do not appear to be noble maxims of government, but they rendered great service to Britain in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. To the steady application of these principles the nation owed much progress in the arts of industry, and a great increase of resources laid up against a time of long and exhausting conflict.

Sir Robert Walpole was the greatest statesman of his time, and one of the chief ministers produced by our parliamentary system of government. He was a sturdy, long-headed man, of very strong natural insight, and a spirit like our heart of oak. Possessed of great talents and great virtues, he was not an orator, nor a scholar, nor a wit. His ignorance of history and literature were remarkable, and his manners, even for that age, were boisterous and coarse. His strength as a ruler lay in his knowledge of mankind, of the English nation, of the House of Commons, and of the Court. He was one of our best financiers, and showed admirable ability in business, tactics, and debate. The rival and contemporary of Bolingbroke at Eton, he became, in a political career, as conspicuous for solid success as his school-mate was for brilliant failure. Laborious, shrewd, cautious, methodical, with spirits that never flagged and courage that nothing could subdue, he won, as he deserved to win, an ascendancy which lasted for more than twenty years. He was the first of a long line of great leaders of the House of Commons, managing its members with a tact, frankness, and good-humour that never fail of their effect in an assembly of English gentlemen. Walpole aimed at no great feats of legislation or administration, but he attained his two chief objects, to keep himself in power, and to give the country a long rest from foreign war. It is true that he governed by deliberate corruption, in order to maintain a parliamentary majority, but the cynical saying which has been constantly put in his mouth, that "all men have their price," is merely a perversion of his statement, as he pointed to a group of members, "that all these men have their price." His private morals were as loose as those of many public men in that age, but history owes to him a tribute that few English statesmen who preceded him could claim. There rests upon his memory no stain of treachery, of ingratitude, or of cruelty. Greedy of power as he was, and resolved to be sole master among the ministers who were his colleagues, he was humane and generous, to a high degree, towards the most rancorous opponents. For thirty years of public life he saw the worst parts of human nature, and was not spoiled by the constant spectacle of depravity and meanness. His temper was not soured, his heart was not hardened. He suffered overthrow at last, as he had long borne factious hatred and foul aspersion, from a combination of foes including many men whose

treacherous dealings with the Pretender, well known to their magnanimous victim, had put their liberty and life within his grasp.

The accession of the new sovereign seemed, for a short time, likely to end the supremacy of Walpole. Sir Spencer Compton, afterwards Lord Wilmington, who had been Treasurer to George as Prince of Wales, and was also Speaker of the Commons and Paymaster, came for a moment to the front, but Walpole, backed by the queen, and aided by his own ability, soon resumed his old mastery. He threw out a bait for the king's avarice in a large increase of the royal revenue, and secured the queen by a jointure of £100,000. Compton, a good-natured man, who knew, and showed that he knew, his own inferiority, was consoled by a peerage and the Presidency of the Council. Walpole's love of absolute power in the ministry caused him, with a lack of his usual wisdom, to get rid of all colleagues who ventured to have a will of their own. The tie between himself and Lord Townshend had been broken in 1726 by the death of Lady Townshend, Walpole's sister, and in 1730 the brothers-in-law had a serious quarrel both on home and foreign policy. Townshend retired from office to his Norfolk residence at Rainham, where he served his country well by introducing the growth of turnips as winter food for sheep, and so led the way to a system of cultivation which enabled the agricultural production of England to keep pace with the increasing numbers of her people. Pulteney, a man of great influence from his wealth, character, official experience, and ability as a debater in the House of Commons, a man who was always a consistent Whig, had been forced away by Walpole in the late reign, in spite of long and faithful support. He was now, in the Commons, at the head of the formidable opposition that the minister had to face in both Houses, and outside the walls of Parliament. In 1730, the eloquent and accomplished Carteret was driven to resign his post in Ireland, and he recrossed the Channel to become, in the House of Lords, one of the most determined and formidable enemies of his old colleague. In 1728, the king's eldest son, Frederick, afterwards Prince of Wales, arrived in England, to assume the unhappy position, for an heir to the throne, of a prince at variance with both his parents, and stinted of pecuniary means by a parsimonious father and sovereign. He became, in a few years, the close friend of the section of the Opposition known as the Patriots, a body of discontented Whigs of much ability, experience, and weight. Their leader in the House was Pulteney, and they were, from time to time, recruited by young and ardent members, of whom the most distinguished was the first William Pitt. In 1736, Frederick was married to the Princess of Saxe-Gotha. Two years later, she became the mother of a boy who reigned, in due time, as George III. Walpole was also fiercely assailed by the poets, the pamphleteers, and the writers for the periodical press. He paid no court, and gave no places or pensions, to men of literary skill, and, in revenge for his

Home
affairs
1727-1734.

neglect, or inflamed by honest party zeal, they railed in prose and verse against the "wicked minister." Pope, Swift, Gay, Arbuthnot—the author, under Anne, of one of our cleverest political satires, the *History of John Bull*—Fielding, Johnson, Thomson and Akenside, were all the foes of his administration. Bolingbroke, who owed to Walpole his return from exile in 1723, now attacked him in *The Craftsman* and in pamphlets with great skill and vigour, the effect of which was enhanced by the charms of an admirable literary style. Walpole met his assailants with unabated courage, and sneered at the young supporters of the Whig revolvers in the Commons as a band of "boys." The temper of the House towards public opinion was shown in 1729, when a Gloucester printer was brought to the bar on a charge of having published speeches said to have been delivered in the Commons. An unanimous resolution was passed, "that it is an indignity to, and a breach of the privileges of, this House, for any person to presume to give, in written or printed newspapers, any account or minutes of the debates, or other proceedings of this House, or of any Committee thereof; and that, upon the discovery of the authors, printers, or publishers, this House will proceed against the offenders with the utmost severity." A few years later, Pulteney, the Whig, dreaded that the publication of speeches in Parliament would look very like making members "accountable without doors for what they say within." A staunch and sensible old Tory, Sir William Wyndham, shocked his fellow-members by the blunt declaration, "I don't know but what the people have a right to know what their representatives are doing."

In 1733, a storm arose upon the subject of the excise scheme brought forward by Walpole. In the previous year, wishing to relieve proprietors of estates from a portion of the land-tax, the minister had revived the salt-duty. Pulteney had wisely opposed the measure, on the ground of injury to agriculture and manufactures, and had specially denounced it as a step enabling "ambitious and wicked ministers" to proceed to a "general excise upon every person, and almost every thing that can be converted to the use of man." Excise duties were, indeed, no novelty in our financial system. The Long Parliament, during the Civil War, had so taxed beer, ale, cider, and perry. These and like duties were continued at the Restoration, and in the two following reigns. The proposal now made by Walpole was thoroughly sound and wise. The customs duties on tobacco, tea, brandy, and wine were very productive, but were diminished by frauds of enormous magnitude. A Committee of the Commons had reported, in 1732, that, in tobacco alone, the government lost one-third of the duties, through perjury, forgery, and collusion. The smuggling of tea and brandy was conducted with violence so systematic that, in the space of nine years, 250 custom-house officers had been severely injured, and six had been murdered, by the armed gangs. The minister wished to prevent these frauds

The
Excise
Bill, 1733.

and outrages, and to largely benefit the revenue, by changing the tax on imported wine and tobacco from customs duties into excise. The amounts now paid by merchants at the custom-house, upon the arrival of a cargo, were to be turned into payments made on the removal of the goods from bonded warehouses, and the retail dealers in the articles would come under the same excise laws. London would thus become a port free from customs, and a mart for the commerce of the world. An immediate and violent outcry was made against excise duties as being "badges of slavery," and it was said that an army of new excise officers would become subject to the government as voters at elections, and that tradesmen would be made the victims of an odious inquisition. The Excise Bill was fiercely debated for three weeks, and Walpole's majority in the Commons sank from sixty to sixteen. A mob gathered round the door of the House, and the minister, intimating that the multitude were gathered through the influence of the City merchants, gave great offence by denouncing them as "sturdy beggars." The feeling shown throughout the country was such that a general insurrection was feared, and Lord Scarborough told the queen that he would answer for his regiment against the Pretender, but not in the matter of the excise. On April 11th, Walpole virtually withdrew the measure, and the matter ended with bonfires and illuminations in every town, and the wearing of cockades inscribed "Liberty, Property, and no Excise." Lord Chesterfield, courtier, orator, wit, and statesman, was compelled, for his murmurs against the Bill, to deliver up his staff as Lord Steward, and many other noble and powerful functionaries were dismissed from the service of the crown.

Walpole, by the strong support of Caroline and George, and by the votes which a free use of bribery placed at his disposal, maintained his position at the head of affairs. In 1734, a debate on the repeal of the Septennial Act was remarkable for the sarcastic portrait of Walpole drawn by Wyndham, the Tory leader, and for Walpole's powerful invective against Bolingbroke, the real author of Wyndham's attack. The boldness of the minister produced a sensible effect upon his adversaries, and Bolingbroke, conscious of final failure, soon retired from public life. In 1736, the debates on Sir Joseph Jekyll's Gin Act, laying a duty of twenty shillings per gallon on the spirit which had lately come into use, threw a lurid light on the growing intemperance of the lower class. Within the London district there were said to be 20,000 houses for the sale of spirituous liquors. The outcome of the measure was instructive. Every retailer was to take out a license at the annual cost of £50, and the statute was to be enforced by the help of the common informer. The Act was constantly evaded; informers were rolled in the mud, pumped upon, or thrown into the river; and, seven years later, it was found that the consumption of gin had decidedly increased. In the same year there

Home
affairs,
1734-1737.

occurred at Edinburgh the tragedy which gave Sir Walter Scott a subject for one of his finest romances. In Scotland, since the Union, a jealousy of English fiscal burdens had made the smuggler very popular. He was regarded as a useful member of society, and almost every one, in all ranks, was an abettor of his calling. A smuggler named Wilson, whose goods had been seized by the revenue officers, was sentenced to death for taking his redress by breaking into a custom-house in Fifeshire, and seizing a sum of money. He maintained that his act was but legitimate reprisal, and this view was shared by most persons in the Scottish capital. The scaffold, at his hanging, was surrounded by some regular troops, in addition to the city-guard, and no rescue could be tried. When the body was cut down, the mob strove to seize it for burial, and attacked the city-guard, commanded by Captain Porteous. He gave the word to fire, and several persons fell, some with fatal wounds. Tried for murder before the High Court, Porteous was condemned to die, but was reprieved by the English Secretary of State, as having acted in self-defence. Then the mob of Edinburgh, on September 7th, the day before that fixed for his execution by the local authorities, rose and took possession of the town. The Tolbooth prison, the "Heart of Midlothian," was forced open, and Porteous was dragged out and hanged. Queen Caroline was, at this juncture, regent during the king's absence in Hanover. Strong measures against the magistracy and people of Edinburgh were proposed, but, after much heated discussion between the partisans of both countries, in and outside Parliament, the matter ended with the disgrace of the Lord Provost, who was disqualified from holding office, and the infliction of a fine of £2000 upon the city of Edinburgh, for the benefit of Porteous's widow.

The marriage of the Prince of Wales became the occasion of a final rupture between himself and his father. The king's long absences abroad had helped to make him very unpopular, and the Prince daily rose in favour. The king refused to increase, upon the marriage, his annual allowance of £50,000, and an application to Parliament was defeated in the Commons by a majority of thirty. When the queen became dangerously ill in November 1737, her son was not allowed to see her, and she died on the 20th, after recommending to Walpole's care the king, her children, and the realm. The Prince's residence, Norfolk House, St. James's Square, became henceforth the resort and head-quarters of the Opposition.

No subject can now be more profitless or wearisome than a detail of the tangled diplomacies and confused conflict of desolating wars that beset European history near the middle of the eighteenth century. Britain's share in these struggles was largely due to the Hanoverian connection, and great loss of men and treasure was caused by the abandonment of Walpole's principle of

Death
of the
queen,
1737.

Foreign
affairs,
1727-1741.

non-intervention. The policy of Continental sovereigns was a maze of jealousies and intrigues, largely concerned with the affairs of Austria and Prussia. In 1733, the Bourbon kings of France and Spain, united by their first "Family Compact," were at war against Austria. George and the queen wished to intervene with arms on the German side of this quarrel concerning the Polish throne, but Walpole's efforts to maintain our neutrality were successful, and at the close of 1734 he was able to declare, "there are 50,000 men slain this year in Europe, and not one Englishman." Peace was concluded in 1735. The day was fast coming when the great peace-minister was to be forced from his position. Mercantile cupidity and mock patriotism were bringing us a quarrel with Spain. The commercial enmity between the two countries had lasted for a century and a half. Drake and his compeers, in their eagerness to break up the Spanish monopoly in South America, had acted by direct piracy. The adventurers of the eighteenth century sent a crowd of merchant-ships in the wake of the one vessel which, by treaty, could sail yearly from England to the Pacific ports, and the Spanish revenue-cruisers had to deal with a vast contraband trade. Their legal right of search, sometimes followed by the seizure of vessels and by severe treatment of the crews, caused bitter resentment in England, and the Opposition used the feeling in order to drive Walpole into a war. He was striving to obtain redress in a peaceable manner, and resisted a motion for the production of papers as likely to embarrass this effort. In the House of Lords, a warlike address to the crown was carried. Petitions complaining of Spanish outrages were daily presented to the Commons, and captains and seamen were brought to the bar, to relate grievous stories of Spanish cruelty. At last the minister's hand was forced by the narrative of an outrage that stirred both Parliament and people into a rage which even Pulteney could not heighten, and which Walpole himself could not control. In March 1738, a merchant-captain named Robert Jenkins, who was earless on the left side, was brought to the bar of the Commons, and there produced, out of a box, an ear wrapped in cotton-wool. He avowed that, seven years before, his ship had been seized in the Gulf of Florida by a Spanish revenue-vessel, and that, after other cruelties, his ear had been torn off, and flung in his face with the words, "Carry that to your king, and tell him of it." On his return to England, he had vainly sought redress from the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State. Public feeling was inflamed by the reply which Jenkins made to one of the members who asked what his feelings were at the moment of the outrage. "I recommended my soul to God," he cried, "and my cause to my country." It was in vain that, in February 1739, the royal speech announced the conclusion of a convention with Spain, by which British subjects were to receive compensation for losses, and matters of dispute were to be settled by plenipotentiaries of both nations. Pitt, the "terrible cornet

of horse," as Walpole styled him, thundered against the convention as "a stipulation for national ignominy," and the ministerial majority was only twenty-eight, in a house of nearly five hundred. Some years later, the opponents of Walpole admitted to Edmund Burke that the cry for war was thoroughly unjust, and freely condemned their own conduct. An English squadron had been sent to the Mediterranean, and Walpole, yielding to the king and to public clamour, now demanded from Spain the renunciation of their right of search. A peremptory refusal caused a declaration of war by Britain on October 19, 1739. The heralds who rode into the City were accompanied by the Prince of Wales and by a number of leaders of the Opposition, and, whilst every steeple sent forth a joyous peal, the Prince stopped at a tavern near Temple Bar, and set the mob shouting by calling for a tankard, and drinking "success to the war." Walpole, hearing the sounds of the bells, exclaimed, "They may ring the bells now; they will soon be wringing their hands." The contest which ensued brought little glory or profit to the country. In December, Admiral Vernon captured Porto Bello, on the northern side of the Isthmus of Darien, now known as Panama. In September 1740, Commodore Anson, with six ships, started on his famous four years' voyage round the world. Passing round Cape Horn to the coast of Peru, he plundered the seaboard and destroyed the town of Paita. On his way home round the Cape of Good Hope, he took a Spanish galleon richly laden with silver, and returned with the *Centurion*, sole survivor of his squadron. Early in 1741, Vernon, in the West Indies, was reinforced by a great fleet of men-of-war under Sir Chaloner Ogle, and of transports, carrying 12,000 soldiers and marines, commanded by General Wentworth. This powerful armament was destined for the attack of Carthage, the strongest fortified place in Spanish America. Want of union between the naval and military chiefs, after some show of success, caused a complete failure. Great numbers of men died of disease, and the expedition retired to Jamaica. The eyes of British rulers were now being drawn to Continental affairs. In October 1740, the Emperor Charles VI. died, leaving all his dominions to his daughter, Maria Theresa. The document called, in a hybrid jargon, the Pragmatic Sanction, or settlement of affairs, had been issued by the Emperor, before he had any children, in 1713. His one son died early, and Charles had procured the guarantee of Spain, Russia, Prussia, Holland, France, and England, to the maintenance of the arrangement by which his dominions were to pass in the female line. The weakness of Austria, who had lost, in her recent wars, Naples, Sicily, part of the Milanese, Servia, and Wallachia, and the rising ambition of Prussia, were portentous of the struggle known as the War of the Austrian Succession.

The threatening aspect of foreign affairs produced no moderation in the conduct of English parties. Tories and dissentient Whigs, agreed on no other point, were united in a hatred of Walpole. He met all

attacks with his usual courage, and declared, in reply to much eloquence on the subject of patriotism, that patriots were "mush-rooms" that could be raised in any number by a minister's refusing to gratify an unreasonable or insolent demand. The elections of 1741 gave him a diminished majority, and this slowly dwindled away. On February 1, 1742, he resigned office, and went among the peers as Earl of Orford. The malignity of his enemies was not satisfied by his loss of power, and an inquiry into his conduct was demanded, with a view to criminal proceedings against him. The king, the new ministers, and the peers were able to suppress this effort, and the fallen statesman lived in peace till his death in 1745. His rival, Pulteney, had soon joined him in the House of Lords as Earl of Bath. There Orford walked up to him and uttered his congratulations in the words: "Here we are, my Lord, the two most insignificant fellows in England." On the retirement of Walpole, Newcastle kept his place as Secretary of State. Lord Wilmington became First Lord of the Treasury, but the real head of the ministry was the other Secretary, Lord Carteret.

England and Holland alone adhered to the guarantees which they had given in support of the Pragmatic Sanction. Frederick II. of Prussia, the ablest monarch of the age, claimed and seized Silesia. France and Bavaria invaded the queen of Hungary's dominions on the west. Britain, under the leading of the king and Carteret, both anxious for the "balance of power," was soon finding money for the pay of many thousands of Hanoverian and Hessian troops. Pitt uttered bold invectives against a course which, as he declared, had made "a great kingdom into a province of a despicable electorate," but the ministry commanded a majority, and George was soon enabled to take the field in person. On June 27, 1743, the king and the Duke of Cumberland, with the British troops under Lord Stair, and a large body of German auxiliaries, numbering in all less than 40,000 men, met and defeated 60,000 Frenchmen, under Grammont and Marshal de Noailles. The battle took place at Dettingen, on the Main, and was the last in which a British sovereign led his troops to battle. The king showed great courage in meeting the French attack upon our right wing, and his son acted equally well upon the left. It was not till March 1744 that France declared war, and ended the anomalous position of affairs described by Horace Walpole, "We have the name of war with Spain without the thing, and war with France without the name." The campaign in Flanders of 1745 is notable for a defeat which covered the British soldier with a glory not surpassed on any of our victorious fields. On May 11th, a combined army of Dutch, Austrians, Hanoverians, and English, under the Duke of Cumberland, advanced in an attempt to raise the siege of Tournay. Barely 50,000 strong, they were faced, in a formidable entrenched position, by 60,000 Frenchmen, under the able

Marshal Saxe. Louis XV. was present on the field. The Austrians and the Dutch failed in their attack upon the French right, and would make no further effort. Then Cumberland, in a kind of heroic madness, formed a solid column of 14,000 British infantry, with a front of from thirty to forty men abreast. These men he led straight at the French centre. With cannon playing on them from redoubts to right and left, they strode, with terrific loss, right through the enemy's lines, carrying all before them. The French cavalry were driven off, and nothing could withstand their onset until batteries were brought to fire on their front, and infantry, including the renowned household troops of France and the Irish brigade, charged fiercely on both flanks of the column. Then slowly the mass moved back, still keeping their faces to the foe. The ranks were not broken, and not a man left his post, till cavalry arrived to cover the retreat. Four thousand of the stubborn sons of Britain were left upon the ground which they had traversed. In 1747, the Duke of Cumberland, with a combined army, was defeated by Saxe at Lauffeld, near Maestricht, where courage, unaided by judgment in their leader, again caused severe loss to the British. On the ocean, skill and valour combined were rewarded with the usual success. In May 1747, Anson captured or destroyed a whole French fleet off Cape Finisterre, which was aiming for our North American possessions. In June, forty French ships, with rich ladings from the West Indies, were taken. In October, Admiral Hawke defeated a French squadron off Belleisle. In April 1748, the war ended with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which not a single point was gained for which Britain had been fighting Spain and France for eight years. All conquests were restored. The right of search claimed by Spain off her American coasts was retained, and the only concession made by France was the expulsion from her soil of the Pretender who had lately made his vain attempt in Britain.

As long as Walpole was in power, and England at peace with foreign states, the Stuarts saw no chance of winning a throne by Rebellion invasion and revolt. The war with Spain and France seemed of 1745. to afford an opening. In 1744, an expedition sailed from Dunkirk, but a great storm destroyed or scattered the fleet of transports. Among the Highlanders of Scotland there was still a spirit of disaffection to the Hanoverian kings, and the defeat of Fontenoy, with the absence of British troops on the Continent, encouraged Charles Edward Stuart, the younger Pretender, to make what proved to be the final effort for a Stuart restoration. In the last week of July 1745, he landed, with but seven friends, in the district of Moidart, on the west coast of Inverness. His French vessel, *La Doutelle*, had brought a small supply of arms and 4000 louis-d'ors. A few small chieftains soon joined the tall, handsome, blue-eyed, and curly-haired adventurer, but the first important adherent of the enterprise was Cameron of Lochiel. In three weeks' time, 1500 Highlanders were in arms, and

the Marquis of Tullibardine, attainted heir of the Dukedom of Athol, unfolded the Prince's banner, and read aloud a declaration claiming the British throne, and calling upon officers and soldiers to desert the colours of "a foreign usurper." Scottish and English officials affected to despise the attempt, but it was by no means, as regarded Scotland, so rash and desperate as it appeared. There were not in the northern kingdom 1500 troops ready to take the field, and these were under the command of the incompetent Sir John Cope. On August 20th Cope started for Inverness, leaving the Lowlands open to the advance of the rebels. The Prince passed him on the way, by Blair Athol and Dunkeld, and entered Perth on September 4th. In his progress southwards, he was joined by Lord Kilmarnock, the first Lowland man of rank to join his banner. On the 17th, Charles Edward entered the palace of Holyrood, and was proclaimed as "King James VIII." at the High Cross of Edinburgh. Cope, finding out his mistake, brought his men by sea from Aberdeen to Dunbar, and thence marched against the enemy. At Prestonpans, on the shore of the Firth of Forth, the regulars were routed by the Highland rush. Cope galloped off to Berwick with the news of his own discomfiture, and the Prince returned in triumph to Edinburgh, with the guns, stores, and money-chest of the defeated force. For nearly six weeks the Prince lay at Edinburgh, the darling of the Scottish ladies, in dalliance with whom he spent the precious hours which might, by a prompt advance, have carried him to London. In no case, however, could permanent success be hoped for. The English people had little loyalty for George, but they had by this time found the advantage of constitutional rule, and were not likely to recur to men who aimed at arbitrary power. The king returned to England on August 31st, and prompt measures were taken to meet the danger. Troops were brought in haste from Flanders, the militia were called out, General Wade held Newcastle with a strong force, and the Duke of Cumberland took the field in the Midlands. On November 8th, the Prince's army, now increased to about 6000 men, entered Cumberland, and Carlisle was surrendered, after a semblance of attack by artillery. The Highland chiefs had always opposed the march into England, and already ill news was coming from their rear. Some of the chief commercial towns of Scotland, Glasgow, Paisley, and Dumfries, were raising forces for the Hanoverian king, and Edinburgh had renewed her allegiance. Charles still persisted in advancing southwards, and Preston was reached on November 29th. Few recruits had joined the invaders, who arrived at Derby on December 5th, and then it was found that the hour for retreat had come. The Duke of Cumberland and Wade were marching from the west and east in far superior force, and it would be madness to risk a battle in which defeat would mean destruction to the last man. The retiring movement was directed with great ability by Lord George Murray. The pursuing army of the Duke was repulsed near Penrith, and the

border was recrossed on December 20th. The Duke then returned to London, to meet a threatened French invasion, leaving General Hawley to follow the rebels into Scotland. Highland reinforcements raised the Prince's army to 9000 men, and on January 17, 1746, Hawley was beaten in a sharp battle near Falkirk. The Duke came in haste from London, and reached Edinburgh on the 30th. The rebels then retired to the north, and arrived at Inverness in the third week of February. Cumberland, now supplied with 5000 Hessians, slowly followed, and took up his quarters at Aberdeen. The rebels were now cut off from the abundant supplies of the Lowlands, and the king's ships intercepted all succour sent from France. When spring made the roads open, the Duke marched for the final encounter. On April 16th, the armies met on Culloden Moor, where cannon, cavalry, discipline, and courage finally ruined the Stuart cause. The horrid cruelties perpetrated by the victors on the rebels and the Highland peasants gave the Duke his name of "the Butcher," and made him for many years one of the most unpopular men in England. The deliberate legal vengeance of the government sent to the scaffold about eighty officers and men taken prisoners at Carlisle, and Lords Balmerino, Lovat, and Kilmarnock, the last victims of beheading in Britain, died as traitors on Tower Hill. Prince Charles Edward, escaping from the fatal field, was a wanderer for five months in the wilds of the western Highlands, owing his safety to the courage and skill of the famous Flora MacDonald, and to the fidelity of needy peasants whom a reward of £30,000 could not tempt to his betrayal. On September 20, 1746, he took ship for France in Moidart, near the spot where he had landed, and died in 1788, a worn-out drunkard. His father, the elder Pretender, died in 1765, and his younger brother, Henry, Cardinal York, dying at Rome in 1807, ended the ill-fated elder Stuart line.

CHAPTER III.

GREAT BRITAIN FINDS A MAN AT NEED.

Henry Pelham, Newcastle, the elder Fox and Pitt. Outbreak of the Seven Years' War. Pitt's influence with the nation. His rise to supreme power. The contest with France in North America. Braddock, Montcalm, Amherst, Wolfe. British victorious at Louisburg and Quebec. Prowess of the British fleet. End of the reign.

APART from "the '45," the internal history, for fourteen years, is mainly concerned with ministerial changes, and with the rise to power of one of our greatest statesmen, the first William Pitt. The brilliant Carteret did not long remain in office. The support of the king and of the Prince of Wales availed little to counterbalance the minister's neglect of the means by which Walpole

Home
affairs,
1742-1756.

had created and maintained his power. His thoughts were all fixed on Continental policy, in which he was devoted to the king's Hanoverian schemes, and he would have nothing to do with the drudgery of corruption, in which Newcastle and his brother, Henry Pelham, were proficient. In 1744, the Pelhams forced the king to dismiss his favourite, who became Earl Granville, and then they formed the "Broad Bottom" ministry, which included Whigs of various sections, and one or two Tories. For ten years to come, the Pelhams were supreme. The Duke of Newcastle was a man of the most slender abilities, weak in character, timid, jealous, ignorant, perfidious, but strong in his immense wealth, and in his influence as the acknowledged leader of the Whigs. His nominees filled the seats for many boroughs, and he made the fullest use of office in the bestowal of places, pensions, and bribes. Henry Pelham was a weaker Walpole, good at business, finance, parliamentary tactics, and debate, but a man of yielding spirit, who allowed his own colleagues the greatest latitude rather than drive them into opposition. In 1746, Pitt was brought into the ministry, and soon became Paymaster of the Forces. The king disliked him for his bitter words against the Hanoverian policy, but he soon won public confidence by his rigid honesty, disdainful of all gains beyond his strict legal salary. In the House of Commons he was already one of the leading men, from the wonderful power of his oratory, and the fear inspired by his sarcasm and invective. After the battle of Culloden, the government took measures for the final pacification of the Highlands. The feudal power of the chiefs was ended by a statute which abolished heritable jurisdictions. Roads were cut through the glens and over the hills, which opened up the country for the march of troops, and for peaceful travelling and trade to perform their civilising work. The time soon arrived when regiments raised among the mountaineers became defenders of the throne which their kindred had assailed, and, on many a hard-fought field, won new glory for the British army. Prince Frederick of Wales died in 1751, and with him disappeared the very semblance of opposition to the government. The reform of the calendar, in the same year, was a useful measure which brought England abreast of the Continental nations in her reckoning of time, and caused an ignorant multitude to clamour for the restoration of their lost eleven days. The bill was carried through by the energy of Lord Chesterfield, who, after good service in Ireland as Lord-Lieutenant, had retired from ministerial work, and of Lord Macclesfield, a learned mathematician, afterwards President of the Royal Society. A great social reform came in 1753 with the passing of the Marriage Act. Hasty and irregular unions, performed by clergymen of loose character, for the fashionable folk at Keith's chapel in Mayfair, and for the common sort within the liberties of the Fleet prison, now had an end. The Chancellor, Lord Hardwicke, provided by the statute that a legal marriage could only follow the publication of banns in a

parish church, or the issue of a license, with the consent of parent or guardian in the case of minors, by a proper authority. This important step in the improvement of the conjugal relations of the people, making marriage a solemn contract, not to be formed without deliberation, nor ratified without witnesses and public record, has been held to be a main cause of the wondrous growth of the population during the century which ensued. The death, in 1754, of Mr. Pelham, Prime Minister and Chancellor of the Exchequer, was a loss both to the nation and to the king. Under his rule, the country had for some years continued in the path of peaceful progress. The interest on the national debt, now approaching eighty millions, had been reduced to three per cent., and the nation, with increasing wealth, bore with ease a burden which previous financiers would have regarded as the sure precursor of national bankruptcy. The sovereign clearly saw that he would now be exposed to trouble from the conflict of turbulent and ambitious spirits whom the influence of Pelham had long restrained. "I shall now have no more peace," was his cry. The royal authority had endured a grievous blow in 1746, when the Pelhams, backed by the House of Commons, had driven out his favourite Granville, but defeat had at least brought repose to the aged monarch. The Duke of Newcastle, insatiable of power, at last reached the height of his desires in succeeding his brother as head of the Treasury. The leadership of the House of Commons was given, in the end, to Henry Fox, afterwards the first Lord Holland, and father of the famous Charles James Fox. He was a man endowed with the greatest parliamentary talents, but of very loose political morality, firmly believing that the government of the country could only be carried on by corruption. Pitt, confident in his own powers and in the public confidence which he had won by his manly and disinterested character, was biding his time. He knew that days of trouble were at hand. A new Parliament met in November 1754, and, in the following spring, a royal message spoke of the need of preparations for war. France and England were already in conflict both in the East and in the West, striving for the mastery in India and America. In 1743, the two Bourbon powers, France and Spain, had made their second "Family Compact," binding them to make common cause against each other's enemies in every quarter. The growing commercial and naval power of Britain was the object of their bitter jealousy, and both governments aimed at restraining the development of British empire in the eastern and the western world. The king became anxious for Hanover, and treaties were concluded for the payment of subsidies, in return for a supply of troops, to Hesse-Cassel and other petty German states. Legge, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, refused to sign the Treasury-warrants which were needed to give effect to the treaties. Pitt, still Paymaster of the Forces, would not come to the help of Newcastle, and, in the autumn session of 1755, he declaimed against the subsidies with wonderful power and effect. The govern-

ment, strong in its bribes to members, of course triumphed in the division, and Pitt and Legge were at once dismissed from office. The influence of Pitt over the minds of the public outside the walls of Parliament was daily growing, and disastrous events were soon to make him irresistible.

In its Continental form, the great struggle which now began was the work of a most powerful coalition, which aimed at the destruction of the rising state, Prussia. The Empress-Queen, Maria Theresa of Austria, whose husband, Francis of Lorraine, Grand-Duke of Tuscany, had been elected emperor in 1745, was resolved to recover Silesia from Frederick. It was the great object of her life, one in which she signally failed, to humble to the dust the house of Hohenzollern. In this enterprise she was joined by France, now really ruled by Madame de Pompadour and her creatures, and by Russia, Saxony, Sweden, and the Germanic body, who placed the Prussian king under the ban of the empire. His dominions were, after the conquest, which the confederates deemed would be speedy and complete, to be partitioned among his foes. They little knew the dauntless spirit, the heroic fortitude, the boundless mental resources, of their intended victim. He was to issue from the long contest still master of Silesia, and with the country which he ruled raised into one of the leading powers of the world. In Britain alone did Frederick find a friend. George wanted protection for Hanover against France, and Prussia sorely needed help against the host arrayed against her. In January 1756, the two countries were allied, and England was once more engaged in Continental and maritime conflict with her ancient enemy. The Duke of Newcastle was not the man to deal with such a crisis. The only business in which he was skilled was that of parliamentary jobbery. He could not choose fit men to be the leaders of fleets and armies, and he was wholly destitute of courage in the face of defeat. His only instinct then was to abandon to popular vengeance the victim of disaster caused by his own incompetent administration. The loss of Minorca roused the nation to fury. Port-Mahon, the best harbour of the Mediterranean, was thought a more important British possession even than Gibraltar. Early in 1756, the ministers knew that a formidable expedition was being prepared at Toulon. The castle of St. Philip, the fortress at Port-Mahon, was intrusted to a small garrison, commanded by Blakeney, an aged and infirm general. Admiral Byng, the son of Lord Torrington, the Admiral Byng of Queen Anne's time, was sent out with an ill-equipped fleet of ten ships, and on May 21st, he encountered off the island the French squadron of twelve ships of the line. In the partial action which ensued, Rear-Admiral West, the second in command, severely handled some of the French ships, but Byng, by an error of judgment, shrank from a close encounter, and returned to Gibraltar. The fortress was surrendered to an overwhelming French army, after sustaining an

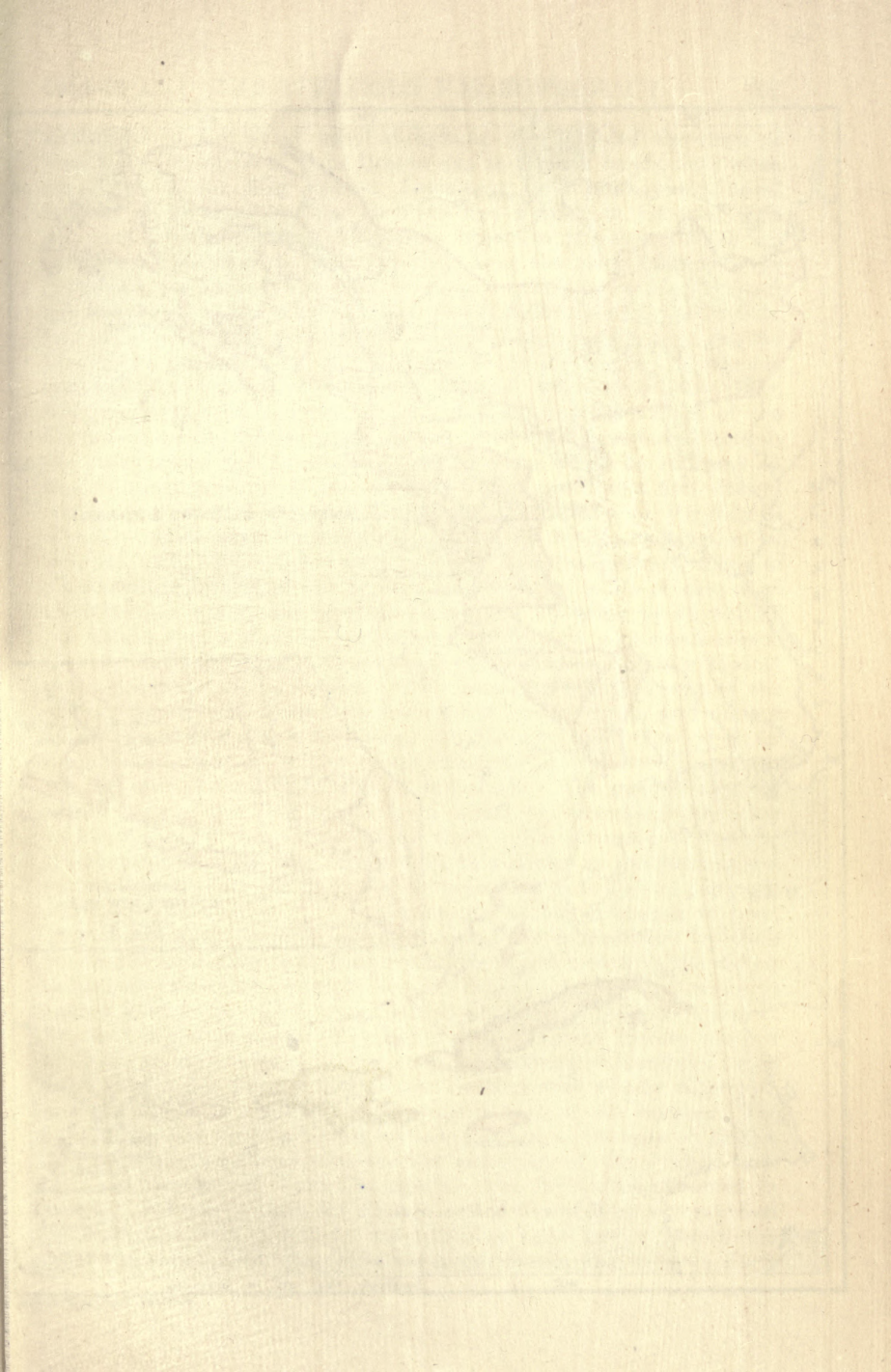
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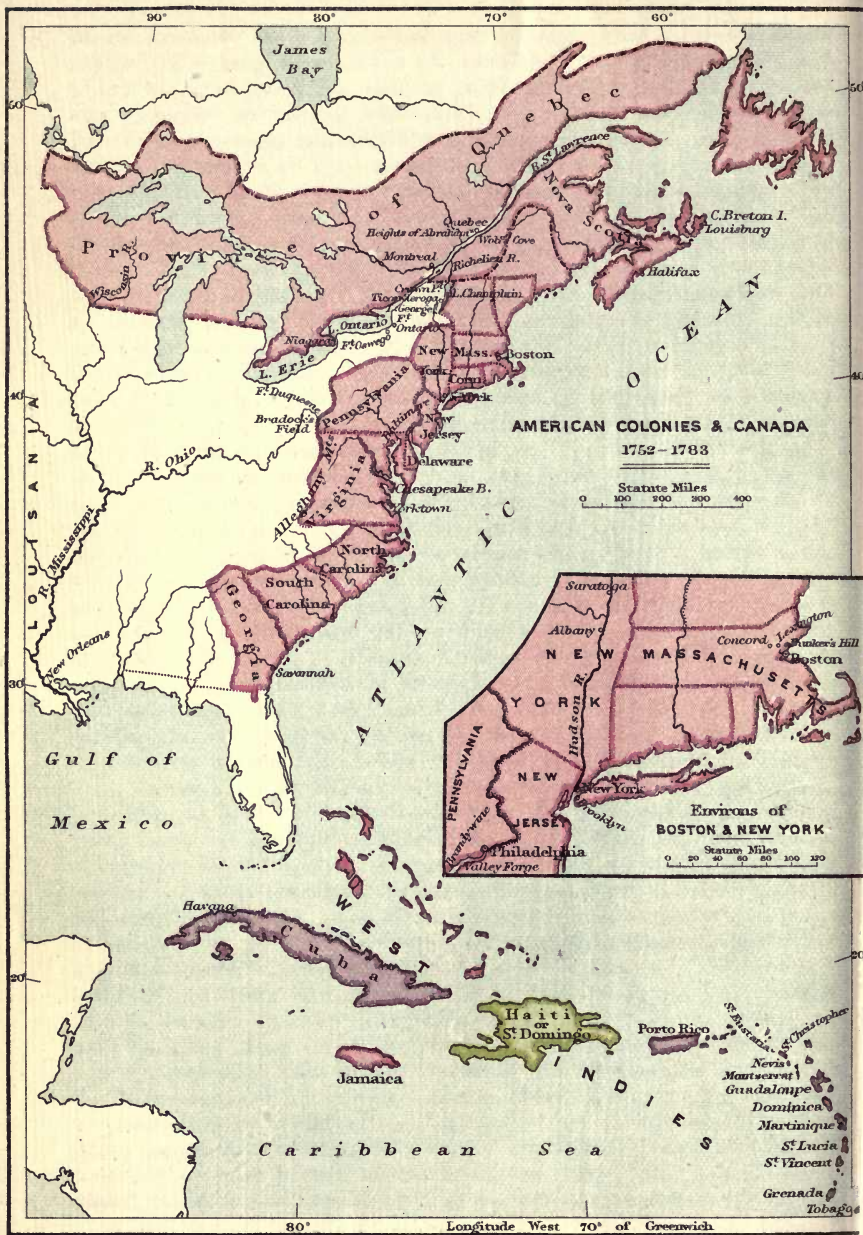
assault. Fox resigned his office, in face of the clamour which arose, and Pitt refused his aid to the king, unless Newcastle quitted power. In November 1756, the Duke resigned office, and was succeeded at the Treasury by the Duke of Devonshire, with Pitt as Secretary of State. On March 14, 1757, Byng was shot at Portsmouth by sentence of court-martial. Pitt risked his popularity and power in a brave and honest effort to save him. When he pleaded with the king, George made the memorable reply, on being told that the "Commons seems inclined to mercy," "Sir, you have taught me to look for the sense of my people in other places than the House of Commons." These words precisely define the place held by Pitt as a statesman, and reveal the secret of his power. The House of Commons was a corrupt body, largely composed of nominees of great landowners, and not representing the middle class, the commercial interest, which had now risen into great importance. The new statesman stood aloof from each of the two parties whose leaders strove to keep power by the distribution of places, pensions, and money-bribes. Pitt, full of courage and enthusiasm, appealed to the better and nobler parts of human nature. He strove to win and retain office by the sheer force of public opinion, and, looking neither to royal nor oligarchical support, but relying upon the mass of the nation that lay midway between the landowning and the labouring classes, he inspired them with a firm belief in his talents and his probity, and showed them that his noble ambition was that of gaining permanent renown by means of great services rendered to the state. Frederick of Prussia declared that England, long in sore travail, had at last produced "a man." In April 1757, Pitt was dismissed by the king, and Newcastle was again summoned to form a ministry. The feeling of the great towns was all in favour of Pitt. The city of London voted him its freedom, and for some weeks, as Horace Walpole phrases it, "it rained gold boxes" on the statesman whom the court did not delight to honour. In spite of this, Newcastle was the man who possessed, in his peculiar way, the confidence of a majority in the House of Commons. A strong government was formed at last, when Pitt, for the sake of the country, consented to combine with Newcastle. The forces of corruption and of incorruptibility were thus arrayed together, and, while Pitt assumed the work of saving the country in the hour of defeat and humiliation, Newcastle, at the Treasury, disposed of the patronage and spent the secret-service money. Pitt, as Secretary of State, directed the war and foreign affairs, and a great change was soon visible. The new ministry, formed in spite of the objections of the king, began its career in the last week of June 1757. The first events of the war, under this new direction, were not marked by success. Expeditions sent to the French coast did little at Aix, Rochefort, and St. Malo. A French invading army of Hanover defeated the Duke of Cumberland, and in September forced him to the disgraceful Convention of Klosterseven,

which involved the capitulation and disbanding of 40,000 German troops. The king received his son with the greatest indignation, and Cumberland resigned his post as commander-in-chief. This failure was redeemed by our ally Frederick's two greatest victories, over the French at Rosbach, and over the Austrians at Leuthen, and the Continental campaign of 1757 closed in a blaze of glory. In the spring of 1758, the alliance with Prussia was renewed, and the annual subsidy to Frederick was raised to nearly £700,000. In the hands of so thrifty and capable a man, this sum provided for the maintenance of a large body of troops, and the Continental war against the French was intrusted, in the place of Cumberland, to the able Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. In June, he defeated the enemy at Crefeld, and in 1759, with a combined force of British and German troops, he won the victory of Minden. Hanover was saved, and the policy of Pitt, more lavish in his subsidies for the defence of Hanover than Carteret had ever been, brought him into high favour with the king, without any loss of his influence with the nation.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, an enterprising French navigator, Jacques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, discovered and explored the great river St. Lawrence. He bestowed the name of Mont Royal on an eminence above a native town, on the site of which now stands Montreal. Francis I. appointed a governor of Canada, but it was not till early in the next century that a permanent settlement was made, under the leadership of Samuel Champlain. In 1608 he founded the city of Quebec, and, ascending a river afterwards known as the Richelieu, he reached the lake since called by his own name. In 1620 he went out as governor of Canada, and died at Quebec in 1635. By slow degrees French colonisation spread within the valley of the St. Lawrence, and in 1663 Louis XIV., by the advice of his minister Colbert, made Canada into a royal government, with the laws and usages of France. Ten years later, two Jesuit missionaries, Joliet and Marquette, entered the Mississippi from the river Wisconsin, and sailed far down the mighty stream. French settlements arose in that quarter, and New Orleans was founded in 1718. The French claimed dominion over the great region watered by the Mississippi and its tributaries, and it became a part of their colonial policy to connect Canada with the southern territory. During the French and English wars in Europe, the British settlers in New England and our other North American colonies were often in collision with their French neighbours, and a crisis came in their relations a short time before the opening of the Seven Years' War. Our colonies in North America were regarded as possessions to be defended at all cost from foreign assault. The latest settlement was that of Georgia, founded in 1732 by General Oglethorpe, under a charter granted by the king. Our hold of Nova Scotia, called Acadie by the French, was strengthened in 1749 by the

The
contest
in North
America,
1752-1760.





settlement of a body of 4000 emigrants, who founded the town of Halifax. The island of Cape Breton was in French hands, and, when the Seven Years' War opened, Louisburg, its capital, was a naval fortress of great strength. In 1752 the French in Canada, then governed by the Marquis Duquesne, began to threaten British interest. A line of forts built by them along the river Ohio and the Alleghany mountains was held to signify a design of blocking out our settlers from any share in the internal fur trade with the natives. One of these works, called Fort Duquesne, had been erected on the site of the present town of Pittsburg, in Pennsylvania. If Canada and Louisiana were once united by a strong chain of military posts, and the French became masters of the Mississippi as well as of the St. Lawrence, the British would be restricted to the territory between the Alleghanies and the Atlantic, and France would be supreme on the vast continent of North America. The sword was first drawn, on the part of the British colonists, by the settlers of Virginia, a territory whose planters daily grew in wealth by the cultivation of tobacco. The tobacco-fields were a Potosi, and the growers, many of whom sprang from good old English families, lived a life of ease upon their estates, surrounded by their slaves, and affording to all visitors the welcome of a profuse hospitality. In 1754, a gentleman named George Washington, then twenty-two years old, was fighting against the aggressions of the French. After defeating a detachment of the enemy, he was surrounded in one of the British forts, and obliged to capitulate to superior numbers. In January 1755, General Braddock, with a body of British troops, marched against Fort Duquesne. He fell into a French and Indian ambushade. The general received mortal hurts; half his troops were killed or wounded; the other half fled, leaving their guns behind them. The governor of Canada, the Marquis de Montcalm, followed up this stroke by the capture and destruction of Forts Ontario and Oswego, and thus gained the command of Lake Ontario. In 1758, the tide of fortune began to turn. Pitt was now the guiding spirit, choosing his commanders by their reputation for ability, and firing both officers and men with the ardour of his own determined, energetic soul. In June, a great fleet was sent against Louisburg. The 12,000 troops were led by General Amherst. The second in command was Brigadier James Wolfe. Before the end of July, in spite of the strong works, Louisburg surrendered, with 6000 men. The French fleet in the harbour was utterly destroyed, and the island of Cape Breton became a part of our empire. The eyes of Pitt had already turned towards Canada, and a body of British and colonial troops was sent for the reduction of the French forts on Lake George and Lake Champlain. The first attempt ended in failure. An attack upon the strong fort of Ticonderoga was repulsed by Montcalm with a loss to our forces of 2000 men. Before the campaign ended, Fort Duquesne was in our hands, and in 1759 Forts

Ticonderoga and Crown Point were captured by Amherst, and Niagara became the prize of General Prideaux. The crowning exploit of the year was the reduction of Quebec. An army of 8000 men, under the command of Wolfe, arrived before the town in the last week of July. The place was of immense strength, and all attempts upon the works were unsuccessful, with a loss to our men, from fighting and disease, of nearly half their number. Then Wolfe, sick and weary, bethought him of attacking Montcalm on the Heights of Abraham, in the rear of the town. The transports bore the troops several miles above Quebec, and, soon after midnight of September 12th, the soldiers, crowded into boats, floated down the river with the tide. About two miles above the town, in an inlet now called Wolfe's Cove, a landing was made at the foot of a cliff, where one narrow path led up to the table-land where Montcalm was encamped. The men, who included one of the new Highland regiments, struggled upwards with the aid of boughs and stumps, or clinging to projections in the rock. Soon after break of day, the little army stood in order on the heights, as Montcalm, amazed at their presence, led out his men from their entrenchments. The battle which ensued was short and sharp. The French troops ran before some volleys, followed by a charge, and the victory was won, as Wolfe lay dying on the ground. His brave antagonist, Montcalm, also had a fatal wound, and expired in the city on the following day. The place was surrendered on September 18th. The capture of Montreal in the following year completed the conquest of Canada, and brought to an end the French hopes of domination in the western world.

The year 1759 was also one of glory for the navy. There was no fear now of the backwardness and caution which had proved fatal to the life, though not, in a fair judgment, to the character for courage, of the unfortunate Byng. A French expedition for invasion was attacked by Rodney at Havre, and the gunboats and transports were destroyed. In August, Admiral Boscawen defeated a French fleet in the Bay of Lagos, on its way from Toulon to join the squadron at Brest. In that port a strong fleet, under Conflans, was blockaded by our ships under Hawke. They were driven off by the equinoctial gales, and the French admiral came out with twenty-one ships of the line and four frigates. He was intending to attack a British squadron near Quiberon Bay, but the appearance of Hawke to the rescue drove Conflans to the mouth of the Vilaine. The coast was thickly strewn with rocks and shoals, and the sea, as the wind blew a gale, ran high amid the darkness of the night. The pilot spoke to Hawke of the danger of attack, and was bidden to lay the vessel alongside that of the French admiral. The roar of the guns was mingled with the howling of the wind, and on every side, as a lull came in the fire, were heard the signal-shots of vessels in distress. The morning light showed two British ships on the shore, but their

Naval
affairs,
1759.
Death of
the king,
1760.

crews were saved. Four of the enemy's vessels, including the flagship of *Conflans*, were sunk; two struck their colours, and the rest, with commanders and crews cowed by the courage which had dared all risks, fled for hiding up the rivers of Brittany. This victory ended all plans for an invasion, and Pitt, to whose vigour, and wise selection of commanders, all successes were mainly ascribed, reached his highest point of power and renown. He had won to himself the favour of the king. He was master of the House of Commons, the idol of the nation, and an object, to the enemies of his country, of terror not unmixed with admiration. At this point in the war, on October 25th, the reign ended with the sudden death of George II.

CHAPTER IV.

REGAL POWER AND ITS EFFECTS.

Character and aims of George III. The Tories in office. The war. John Wilkes. The Stamp Act. Grenville. Lord Chatham. *Junius*. Lord North. Rising trouble with American colonies. The King and the London Corporation. The House of Commons at war with the press. The Royal Marriage Act.

WHEN George III., at twenty-two years of age, came to the throne of his grandfather, he entered on a new epoch in the history of our monarchy. A born Englishman, and English in his tastes and habits, his virtues and his faults, he was welcome as a ruler to all classes of his subjects. Jacobitism, both as a political cause and as a sentiment, was dead. As the fourth in descent and third in succession of the Hanoverian dynasty, the new king brought with him a fair show of hereditary right, and Tories could once more indulge their instinctive loyalty towards the occupant of the throne. The chief elements of the young sovereign's character were a strong will, a firm temper, a moderate, narrow understanding, a hearty desire to perform faithfully his private and his public duties, and to be the benefactor of his people. His chief political aim was that of restoring and maintaining the decayed regal prerogative, and, in the pursuit of this object, his prejudice and his obstinacy caused him sometimes to indulge resentments which set aside all kindly feeling, and the rules which guide men of honour. In purity of private life and in homeliness of tastes, he set a sound example in a coarse and vicious age, and the unwonted spectacle of piety and virtue in the highest station won from his people a personal respect and love that no public errors or disasters could impair.

George
III. 1760-
1820.

“Ministers are the king in this country.” Such had been a cry of disgust uttered by George II., when he was hard pressed by the Whig nobles, who made and unmade at pleasure, supported by the House of

Commons, the real rulers of the land. One of George's III.'s courtiers declared his master's policy to be "to recover monarchy from the inveterate usurpation of oligarchy." This object was effected after a struggle of over twenty years. It was not, as under the Stuarts, the strife of the king against the people, but a contest between the king and a few men of great influence over the Commons. In his struggle with the Whig houses, George strove to bring back into royal hands the power wielded by William in 1690. His success was due to his own determined will, exerted through and by the House of Commons, which he was enabled to work upon by means of the enormous resources then placed in the hands of the monarch. Nomination boroughs and many county seats were at the disposal of the crown. The king had an income equal to that possessed together by many of his richest subjects. A civil list of £800,000 for England alone, the royal revenue derived from Scotland and Ireland, and the wealth accruing from the German territories, gave to George III. the annual command of means wherewith to purchase seats at elections, and to provide sinecures and pensions for elected members ready to swell the ministerial or royal majority. Keeping all patronage, both in Church and State, strictly in his own hands, and with a keen eye on the division-lists, George governed as well as reigned, and made himself fully felt as the rewarder or punisher of those who obeyed or opposed his wishes.

The Earl of Bute, Groom of the Stole, and the adviser of George as **Ministers and the war, 1760-1763.** Prince of Wales, became at once a member both of the Privy Council and of the Cabinet. The "coming man" was almost unknown to the nation. He had been, for a short time, a Scottish representative peer, but had taken no part in politics for nearly twenty years. As one of Prince Frederick's household, he had been brought into close relations with the Princess of Wales, who had shared with him the political training of the heir to the throne. "George, be a king," was the motto of the mother. Bute was a man of cultivated mind, limited intelligence, and a cold and haughty demeanour. Pitt and Newcastle still kept their posts, but Bute became one of the Secretaries of State in March 1761, and again entered the House of Lords, at the general election, as one of the Scottish peers. The great point at issue was the continuance of the war. The king, the favourite, and most of the nation were in favour of peace, and this view was shared by several members of the government, notably by the acute, laborious, stern, and honest George Grenville, brother-in-law of the great man who, as director of our fleets and armies, had lately raised his country to the height of fame, victorious in Asia and America, and undisputed mistress of the sea. Pitt was eager not only to continue, but to extend the contest. Charles III. of Spain, eldest son of Elizabeth Farnese, and a determined foe of Britain, concluded with France, in August 1761, a third "Family Compact" between princes of the House of

Bourbon. A secret article of this agreement, which became known to Pitt, bound Spain to declare war against England in May 1762, if peace were not then concluded between the two belligerent powers. Pitt insisted that war should at once be declared against Spain, in time to attack her homeward bound silver-fleet from America. Bute, supported by most of the Cabinet, rejected this wholesome advice, and Pitt resigned office in October, with his brother-in-law, Lord Temple. The great statesman was rewarded by a peerage for his wife, and by a pension, for three lives, of £3000 a year. A few days later, when the king, with his bride, the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, went to the Lord Mayor's banquet at Guildhall, the royal pair were scarcely noticed. The eyes and cheers of all were directed to the fallen minister, and Bute was pelted and hooted through Cheapside. In January 1762, the ministers felt compelled to begin hostilities with Spain, and Pitt received the credit of the successes which ensued. A fleet under Rodney, with a large force of troops, took from France the islands of Martinique, St. Lucia, Grenada, and St. Vincent. Before the year closed, Havana, the capital of Cuba, and Manilla, the chief town of the Philippines, were captured with a vast booty. The American fleet, laden with bullion, had reached Cadiz in safety before Bute could be convinced that Spain was our foe. In May 1762, Bute forced Newcastle to resign, and so became in name, as he already was in fact, prime minister and head of the government. The Tory party now, for the first time in fifty years, was in the ascendant, and the old animosity between Whigs and Tories was revived. Bute was hated, as a favourite devoid of talents suited to his high position, and as a Scot who brought northern place-holders to prey upon the English nation. A mark for riotous assailants in the streets, for the venal pens of Grub Street garrets, and for the rancorous libels of Wilkes and Churchill, he began also to feel alarm for his majority in the Commons. Terms of peace had been arranged in November, and it was likely that Pitt, the Whigs, and the public voice outside, would all be combined against them. The able and unscrupulous Henry Fox, hitherto quiescent in his lucrative office as paymaster, was induced, by the bait of a peerage, to abandon the Whigs of whom he had been a leader, and to strive to save the Tory government. By means of wholesale and unblushing bribery, and of a free and cruel use of intimidation, in the removal of officials from the highest to the lowest ranks of the public service, the new leader of the Commons gained a large majority for the peace, finally signed at Paris in February 1763. Havanna and Manilla, by a great sacrifice of our legitimate claims, based on the achievements of British valour by sea and land, were restored in exchange for the worthless Florida. Our great and permanent gain was the French provinces in North America. As regarded Prussia and her enemies, the Seven Years' War ended, within a few days of the Treaty of Paris, by the signature of the Peace

of Hubertsburg. The national debt of Great Britain now exceeded one hundred and thirty-two millions.

In April 1763, to the great surprise of Parliament and the nation, Bute resigned all his appointments. The government had been greatly damaged in debates concerning a tax on cider, which formed the chief part of the budget. The Tory hatred of excise burst forth, and caused the members for "Ciderland" to unite, for the moment, with the Whigs. The minister who had been suddenly raised from an obscure position in political affairs to the highest post of government was daunted and disgusted by the storm of public obloquy, and by the venomous license of lampoons. His wealth placed him beyond need of the emoluments of office, and his desire for honours had been sated by the bestowal of a Garter on himself, and of a British peerage on his son. Fox went to the House of Peers as the first Lord Holland, and the ambitious, fearless, self-confident Grenville became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. He claimed to be a Whig, but his theory of rule was that power resided in Parliament alone, which ought to domineer over both the nation and the court. A prime minister supported by the House of Commons should, according to Grenville, be a mere despot.

It was not long before the new ruler was at issue with the people, whose liberties he violated in making war on the public press. John Wilkes, member for Aylesbury, chiefly known as a vicious and profane rake, of hideous features, charming manners, and delightful conversation, had first ruined his fortunes by debauchery, and then sought to repair them in the business of a political adventurer. He did not win success in parliamentary debate, but his weekly paper, the *North Briton*, attracted many readers by its lively style and its audacious attacks upon the government. In the famous No. 45, which was, in truth, far less libellous than many preceding issues, Wilkes was assumed by Grenville to have ascribed falsehood to the king in person, in the comments made on the royal speech at the close of the session on April 19th. That document was, in fact, expressly styled "the minister's speech," but Grenville, eager to show his power, caused Wilkes to be arrested and conveyed to the Tower under a General Warrant. This document was an authority to apprehend any person or persons supposed to be implicated in a particular charge. On May 3rd, Wilkes was brought before the Court of Common Pleas upon a writ of habeas corpus. He was there and then discharged from custody on his privilege as a member of Parliament, which protected him from arrest except for treason, felony, or an actual breach of the peace. Nearly fifty other persons had been arrested under the general warrant, and some of them obtained heavy damages for false imprisonment in actions brought against the government. The constitutional importance of the case was seen when, in December 1763, Chief-Justice Pratt, afterwards Lord Camden, decisively declared general warrants

to be illegal, as expressly condemned in the law-books. The House of Commons supported the minister by resolving that the *North Briton*, No. 45, was a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burned by the common hangman. The mob attacked the constables at the ceremony of the burning, rescued the paper, and committed to the flames a jackboot and a petticoat, in allusion to the Christian name and the title of the late hated minister, and to his friendship with the king's mother, the Princess of Wales. On January 1764, Wilkes was expelled from the House of Commons, and, failing to appear in the King's Bench to answer the charge of libel, he was declared an outlaw. The king used his power in favour of his ministers by the prompt dismissal from office of all those who, in the person of Wilkes, had maintained what they believed to be the cause of freedom. Earl Temple was removed from the lord-lieutenancy of Buckinghamshire, and from the Privy Council, and General Conway was deprived of his regimental command for a conscientious vote in favour of Wilkes' parliamentary privilege.

Grenville, by his imperious manners and jealousy of Bute's "secret influence," had caused the king to apply to Pitt. That ^{The} favourite of the people would not return to power except in ^{Stamp} conjunction with Whig leaders, by whom George had de- ^{Act,} ^{1765-1766.} clared that the crown, in his day, should never more be enslaved. This failure made Grenville a still harder master of the court, and the king was awaiting a chance for his removal. Grenville, before his fall, was to pass a measure destined to produce a great revolution in the affairs of the British empire, and to affect the remote interests of a large portion of the human race. The thirteen North American colonies, then containing a population of about 2,000,000, were subject, under the Navigation Acts, to a prohibition of trade with the Spanish colonies in South America. A great contraband traffic had long prevailed, with the connivance, or without the knowledge, of the government in England. Grenville, in an evil hour, took upon himself to read the Colonial despatches, and caused much discontent by endeavours to suppress the illicit trade. At the same time, this pedantic and intrepid statesman, who looked only to the letter of the law, and had no fear of consequences, conceived the idea of lessening the burden of the national debt by the imposition of a stamp-duty on vellum and paper used in the colonies for commercial and legal documents. A Stamp Act that would raise, according to the Treasury estimate, the annual sum of £60,000, was destined to cause a war that cost a hundred millions. The measure passed both Houses after a brief debate and only one division. The Assembly of Virginia, the least democratic of all the colonies, led the way in resistance, and was followed by the delegates of nine other colonies in resolutions which condemned taxation imposed on people who were not represented in the House of Commons. An illness of the king, which really portended the mental malady of his later years, caused a dispute which ended the power of Grenville. He

and his colleagues had striven to exclude the Princess of Wales from the proposed regency, and George was at last driven to appeal to a section of the Whigs. In July 1765, the Marquis of Rockingham, a man of admirable sense and character, became Prime Minister. The veteran jobber Newcastle was Lord Privy Seal, but most of the ministry belonged to the "New Whigs," men who were devoid of the political immorality by which their party had been stained. Conway, who became leader of the Commons, and the Duke of Grafton, were the Secretaries of State. The new Administration was very weak in talents for debate and in experience of office, and lasted for but a single year. This brief term of power did not pass without events. A young Irishman named Edmund Burke, private secretary to Rockingham, entered the House of Commons, where he was to prove himself to be the greatest of philosophic statesmen, abounding in eloquence, in industry and mastery of detail, and in comprehensive power of intellect. The firm resistance of the Colonies caused the repeal of the Stamp Act. At a great debate in January 1766, Pitt strongly denounced the measure. Grenville and the king would have enforced obedience by the sword, but Rockingham and his colleagues carried the repeal, followed by an Act declaring that the king and Parliament had full legislative power and authority to bind the colonies and people of America by laws and statutes "in all cases whatsoever." The principle of taxation without representation was thus affirmed, and left as the germ of future mischief. The ministry sought popularity in the repeal of the cider-tax, and in the passing of resolutions which declared the illegality of general warrants. The army-officers dismissed by the king for their parliamentary votes were restored to their commands, and George now became anxious to be rid of the Rockingham Cabinet. The ministers would not resort to the old method of buying votes, and they were victims of the ceaseless opposition and intrigues of a faction called the "King's Friends." This was a party of servile politicians such as was never before and has never since been known in this country. They had no political attachment except that which bound them to the throne. They were ready, at a moment's notice, to act with or abandon any party, in order to please the sovereign. None of them was in high office, but most of them held places, under successive ministries, endowed with good pay, and involving little work, and no responsibility. They were present in the House of Commons for the sole purpose of thwarting the king's constitutional advisers in any measure which was known to be distasteful to the master whom, in far different fashion, both sought to serve. Rockingham's appeal to the king produced nothing but evasive promises that these rebels, if they proved persistent, should be dealt with by dismissal. The truth was that George had won over Pitt, and was hoping, by his assistance, to defy all sections of the Whigs. Pitt's own view was in favour of a government supported by the nation, without regard to party bias.

In July 1766, Rockingham was dismissed from office, and the Pitt-Grafton ministry was formed. The Duke was First Lord of the Treasury, and Pitt, created Earl of Chatham, would only take office as Lord Privy Seal. Conway and Lord Shelburne were the Secretaries, and Charles Townshend was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Pitt, as Chatham, was again in power, but he found that, on accession to the peerage, most of his popularity had vanished. With gross injustice to an eminent man, whose services had well earned reward, and whose advancing years and failing health sorely needed the comparative repose of the House of Lords, a cry arose that he had sold himself to the king and court. The "great Commoner" became an object of hatred to the long faithful citizens of London, and the pamphleteers assailed him with the most scurrilous invectives. The course of the new ministry was marked by little but mistake and misfortune. Chatham's physical suffering affected him both mentally and morally. His imperious behaviour soon drove out some of the minor members of the ministry. He treated some of his chief colleagues with a sullen and mysterious reserve that greatly embarrassed their conduct of business in the House of Commons. A coalition of Whigs, adherents of the Bedford, Grenville, and Rockingham connections, helped the county members to beat the government on a vote for the land-tax. In the budget of 1767, Townshend laid taxes on tea, glass, paper, and other articles imported into the American colonies. The colonists had hitherto admitted their liability to customs duties, but they now repudiated all taxation by a Parliament in which they had no representatives, and riots followed the attempt to raise the new form of revenue. Before the year ended, Townshend died, and was succeeded by Lord North at the Exchequer. In the spring of 1768, a general election caused a renewal of the conflict between the people and the House of Commons. The outlawed John Wilkes was returned as member for Middlesex. His committal to the King's Bench prison, under his outlawry, caused riots attended by loss of life. He was finally sentenced to two years' imprisonment for the libel in the *North Briton*, but he still carried on the war. In January 1769, he was elected an alderman of the City, and his expulsion from the House of Commons was promptly followed by unanimous re-election for Middlesex. The House declared his election to be null and void, and a third time the freeholders of Middlesex chose him as their representative. When this proceeding was annulled by a new vote in the Commons, and Colonel Luttrell opposed Wilkes at a fourth election, the popular favourite was again chosen by a large majority. Then the House of Commons, taking a further step in a course of tyranny which even Grenville vigorously denounced, assigned the seat for Middlesex to Luttrell. Chatham, in October 1768, after nearly two years of privacy, had resigned office. The ministry was at this time assailed by the famous letters of the anonymous writer called "Junius." They appeared in the columns

Pitt and
Grafton,
July 1766
to Jan.
1770.

of a paper called the *Public Advertiser*, printed and conducted by Mr. Woodfall. The profane, brutal, and scurrilous writer was a man of great power and no principle, who at one time attacked "Wilkes and his banditti," and, within the year, was hounding on the followers of Wilkes to acts of violence. This most abandoned of anonymous literary assassins, full of "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness," denounced with the bitterest personalities and the most cowardly insinuations the great jurist Sir William Blackstone, the serene, dignified, and polished judge, Mansfield, the Duke of Grafton, the Duke of Bedford, and other men of high position. His main object was to destroy the administration of Grafton, who was already tottering to his fall under the open assaults of widely different foes. In January 1770, Chatham, now restored to mental health, attacked, in the House of Lords, the tyranny exercised by the House of Commons over the rights of electors. His eloquent harangue was followed by the indignant revolt of the Chancellor, Lord Camden, who declared that his colleagues had "by their violent and tyrannical conduct alienated the minds of the people from his Majesty's government." In the Commons, the Marquis of Granby, the brave, honest, generous, and popular soldier who now held the post of commander-in-chief, voted against the Cabinet of which he was a member. Granby then resigned his office, and Camden was dismissed. A few days later, Grafton quitted office, and the king, exulting in the prospect of at last having a minister to his mind, committed a new government to the charge of Lord North, eldest son of the Earl of Guildford. "The rightness of the measure," on which the king insisted in his letter to North, was now to be tested by twelve years of national calamity.

The king, after the efforts of ten years, had at last gained his end.

Lord North's ministry, January 1770 to March 1782.

The sovereign and the people had triumphed over the Whigs, now split into factions, and the "King's Friends" were banded together in support of the stout Tory who was ready to direct government in accordance with the monarch's ideas.

George did not intend to share the spoils which public opinion had enabled him to win. He and his new minister were resolved to maintain the contest both against the rising spirit of disaffection beyond the Atlantic, and against the political forces at home, which, outside the House of Commons, were seeking vent through the press and by utterance at public assemblies. Lord North was a man of a temper not to be disturbed by any assailants or any events, and his unflinching good-humour rendered rare service to his cause.

In 1768 a third Secretary of State was appointed, and the Earl of Hillsborough assumed the post of Secretary for the Colonies, an office which now demanded a union of firmness with moderation. In reply to Townshend's measure for raising new duties, the colonists of Massachusetts resolved to forbear the use of many articles of British produce or manufacture. An order from

American affairs, 1768-1775.

London dissolved the House of Representatives, on their refusal to rescind this resolution. The popular leaders then summoned a Convention to meet at Boston, in the building called Faneuil Hall. A protest was there made against taxation by the British Parliament. In September 1768, a squadron arrived from Halifax bearing troops with artillery, and four regiments were quartered in and near Boston. The spirit of resistance was not thus to be extinguished. The "sons of liberty" would wear no English broadcloth, and the "daughters of liberty" would drink no tea which had paid duty at threepence a pound. The House of Lords, early in 1769, carried an address to the king, calling for condign punishment on the traitors of Massachusetts. Burke and Grenville, in the Commons, denounced the action of the Lords as folly, and a member named Pownall, who had been governor of Massachusetts, gave the wise but unheeded advice, "Let the matter of right in taxation rest upon the declaratory statute, and say no more about it." The Secretary, Hillsborough, came next into collision with the House of Representatives in Virginia, which included among its members George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson. Unanimous resolutions were there passed to the effect that the right of laying taxes on Virginia was exclusively vested in its own Legislature. The governor dissolved the Assembly, but the example of Virginia was at once followed by Pennsylvania and Delaware. In the course of 1769, the people of Massachusetts were guilty of excesses. Opponents of the patriotic cause were tarred and feathered, and at a public dinner there was a toast to "strong halters, firm blocks, and sharp axes, for such as deserve them." These events bring us to the period of Lord North's administration. The merchants of London and other great commercial towns, alarmed by the decline of trade with America, petitioned the House of Commons. North then repealed all the duties except that on tea. In March 1770, there was fighting in the streets of Boston between the people and the troops, and two of the soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter. A lull then came in the quarrel, and lasted for three years. Then, through the action of North, the tea question was revived in a form which led to fatal results. In 1773, the East India Company, seeking financial relief, were permitted by an Act to export tea to the American colonies without payment in England of the duty of one shilling per pound. The colonists would have the benefit of this drawback, apart from the trifling charge for freight, but the duty of threepence was to be levied at the American ports. On November 28th, the British ship *Dartmouth*, laden with chests of tea, sailed into the harbour of Boston. The people were prepared to resist the landing of the cargo, and, after vain negotiation with the consignees of this and of two other cargoes which arrived, the matter ended in an act of violence. On the night of December 16th, forty or fifty men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded the three ships, and tossed the tea from the opened chests into the waters of the

harbour. The news reached London on January 27, 1774. Benjamin Franklin, as agent for Massachusetts, was at this time in London, supporting a petition from that colony for the removal of an obnoxious governor and his deputy. On January 29th he appeared before the Privy Council, and was now assailed by Wedderburn, the Solicitor-General, with a torrent of invective, at which the Lords cheered and laughed. He treated the affront with perfect calmness, and took back home the news that the petition was rejected as "groundless, vexatious, and scandalous." In March, both Houses passed a Bill for removing the custom-house from Boston, and this prospective ruin of the port was followed by a measure which annulled the freedom of the State government. The protests of Chatham in the Lords, and of Colonel Barré in the Commons, were overborne by the "mechanical majority," and the king, in a note to Lord North, rejoices in "the feebleness and futility of opposition." The colonists were not slow in taking up the challenge. General Gage, despatched from England as commander-in-chief for the colonies, landed at Boston on May 13th. He found the people gathered at a meeting which resolved to call upon the other colonies to suspend all commercial intercourse with Britain until the late coercive Acts were repealed. A Committee of Public Safety was appointed, and a force of 12,000 militia, called "Minute Men," as being bound to serve at a moment's notice, was promptly organised. On the motion of the Virginian Assembly, a Congress of deputies from all the colonies, except Georgia, met at Philadelphia on September 4th. All commercial intercourse with Britain was renounced, and a Declaration of Rights claimed for the colonists the benefits of representation, self-taxation, and free discussion, all of which had been recently violated. In the autumn of this year, a general election showed that a majority of the people, to the small extent in which they were then represented in the House of Commons, were in favour of coercing the American colonies. The new Parliament met on November 29th, and the royal speech asserted a determination "to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of this Legislature over all the dominions of my crown." Chatham's voice, raised in a demand for the withdrawal of the troops from Boston, was called by the king "a trumpet of sedition." In March 1775, some conciliatory resolutions proposed by Burke were rejected in the Commons by a majority of nearly two hundred. Wilkes, now Lord Mayor of London, presented an address and remonstrance to the king, denouncing the measures of the government towards the American colonies. The wise foresaw the gathering of a storm beyond the ocean which was soon to burst in irresistible and desolating force.

The temper of the City of London towards arbitrary rule was shown by the action of Sheriff Townsend, who declared, in his place in the Commons, on February 7, 1770, that it was not his intention to pay the land-tax. On behalf of the freeholders of Middlesex he pointed

out that their lawful representative, Mr. Wilkes, was kept out of the House by force and violence. His goods were seized for payment of the tax, and he brought an action against the collector. Lord Mansfield, Chief-Justice of the King's Bench, a zealous supporter of the government, charged the jury that the question simply was, whether there was a legislative power in this country, and a verdict was given against the Sheriff. On March 14, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, with a few aldermen and a great body of the Common Council, presented to the king in person, according to their ancient right, at St. James's Palace, an address, remonstrance, and petition, praying for the dissolution of Parliament and the removal of evil ministers. It was declared that "secret and malign influence" had deprived the people of their dearest rights, and that the existing House of Commons did not represent the nation. The royal reply was couched in a tone of severe rebuke, and the House of Commons, by a large majority, supported the king's view. In May, Beckford, the Lord Mayor, headed a deputation to present a second remonstrance, and, in defiance of usage, he followed up the written document, of which the king had received a copy, by some bold utterances against those who dared to alienate the sovereign from his loyal citizens of London. In the following year a contest arose between the House of Commons and the Corporation of London, concerning the publication of debates. In March 1771, a printer named Miller, connected with a journal that had published an account of some proceedings in the Commons, was apprehended, at his house in the City, by an officer despatched by the serjeant-at-arms. The officer was himself promptly arrested by a City constable. All parties went before Crosby, the Lord Mayor, attended by Aldermen Wilkes and Oliver. Crosby decided that the arrest of a citizen, within the bounds, without the authority of a City magistrate, was a violation of her charters. He ordered Miller to be released, and the officer of the Commons to give bail to answer a charge of assault. The king wrote to Lord North, "If Lord Mayor and Oliver be not committed, the authority of the House of Commons is annihilated." Crosby and Oliver, both members of the House, appeared by order in their places. Both the king and the Commons shrank from a farther conflict with Wilkes, who had written a letter to declare that he was the lawful member for Middlesex, and would not attend at the bar, but only as a member. The Lord Mayor, on leaving the House during the debate, was drawn by the mob in triumph to the Mansion-House. Oliver was sent to the Tower on the morning of March 27, and Crosby again appeared in his place. Lord North was attacked by the populace in his carriage outside the House, and with some difficulty rescued from violence. The Lord Mayor followed his colleague to the Tower, where both remained prisoners until the prorogation in May. From that day forward the

The City
and the
King;
Parlia-
ment and
the press,
1770-1771.

House of Commons, vanquished by public opinion in the hour of a technical victory, never more intermeddled with the publication of its sayings and doings.

The main fact in foreign affairs at this period was the growth of the power of Russia. In 1768 the cession, by the republic of Genoa, of Corsica to France, followed by the heroic resistance of the patriotic Paoli, came near to causing a war between England and her old foe. Choiseul, the French minister, was anxious for a rupture, but was overruled by Louis XV., and the child born at Ajaccio in 1769 was left to become a French, instead of a possible British, subject. In 1772, by the first partition of Poland, Russia, ruled by Catharine II., the "Semiramis of the North," gained a great part of Lithuania. Little heed was paid by the British government to this "first great breach in the modern political system of Europe." A war between Turkey and Russia, connected with the affairs of Poland, ended in 1774 to the great advantage of the rising power. By the Peace of Kainardji, Russia acquired the chief ports on the Sea of Azov, free navigation of the Black Sea, a free passage through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and, above all, the protectorship over all the Greek churches within the Turkish empire. The "Eastern Question" of our day was thus opened for the diplomatists of Europe. A significant event in the religious and political world was the suppression, in 1773, of the order of Jesuits, whose members had rendered, during their incessant war against Protestantism, great services towards the progress of secular knowledge. Already suppressed in Portugal, France, and Spain, the Society was annulled by Pope Clement XIV.

In 1772, during a quiet time which followed the contest of the Crown and the Commons against the City, a majority in the House of Commons voted for a repeal of the Test Acts, but the Non-conformists were defeated in the Lords. The same year saw the death of the king's mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, and the matrimonial connections formed by two of his brothers led to the passing of the Royal Marriage Act. In 1771 the Duke of Cumberland had married Mrs. Horton, daughter of an Irish peer, and, some years prior to that event, the young Duke of Gloucester was united to the widow of Lord Waldegrave. George conceived that "the honour and dignity of the crown" made it necessary to restrain princes and princesses of the blood from following their private inclinations, and the Act, carried after long and vehement debates in both Houses, provided that no descendant of George II., except the issue of princesses married abroad, could contract matrimony without the previous consent of the king, his heirs, or successors. After the age of twenty-five, an appeal from the sovereign's refusal to the Houses of Parliament was permitted. The measure is still in force, and objections made against

Foreign
affairs,
1768-1774.

Home
affairs,
1772.

it as "an encroachment upon the law of nature" have been well met by the question, "What turn would English history have taken if this Act had never been passed?"

CHAPTER V.

REVOLT AND LOSS OF AMERICAN COLONIES.

The colonists in arms. Declaration of Independence. Colonial success at Saratoga. Great Britain face to face with France, Holland, and Spain. Rodney to the rescue. Elliott at Gibraltar. Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. The Peace of Versailles. Home affairs: the Gordon Riots. Attempts at Parliamentary reform. Irish affairs.

In April 1775, the colonists of Massachusetts had a store of arms at Concord, a town about eighteen miles north-west of Boston. The American General Gage, commander of the British forces, sent out from ^{the American} head-quarters a body of troops for the capture or destruction ^{war, 1775-} of the weapons and ammunition. ^{1777.} The country rose in resistance, and after a fight at Lexington, ten miles from Boston, and the destruction of the stores still remaining at Concord, the retiring British force was severely harassed, and only saved from ruin by troops despatched by Gage to their relief. Nearly three hundred men were killed, wounded, or missing, and civil war had fairly begun. The first success of the rebels was followed by their capture of the forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the Congress at Philadelphia appointed Colonel George Washington of Virginia to the chief command of the colonial forces. On May 25th, large reinforcements from England arrived at Boston, under the command of Generals Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, and the army under Gage numbered ten thousand men. The "United Colonies," as they styled themselves, were still anxious for a peaceful settlement, and sent to the king the Olive Branch petition. George's refusal to receive this document was based on the pedantic ground of its emanation from a "Congress," an illegal assembly, which could not have recognition. On June 18th, the battle of Bunker's Hill, really fought on Breed's Hill, commanding Boston from the north, was a Pyrrhine victory for the royal troops. The position held by the colonists was stormed, after three attacks, with a loss of above a thousand men, including eighty officers picked off by marksmen trained in warfare against Indian foes. The stubborn resistance made against regular soldiers greatly encouraged the colonial militia, and Washington, through the autumn and winter, maintained a land-blockade of Boston. Colonial attacks on Canada failed, but, in the spring of 1776, General Howe, the successor of Gage, withdrew his forces by sea to Halifax, and from that time the northern or New England colonies were mainly free from British control. Public opinion in England, apart from the

majorities in Parliament, largely supported the king and Lord North in a vigorous prosecution of the war. Large numbers of troops were hired in Brunswick and Hesse, and no heed was paid to the efforts for conciliation made by Shelburne and Grafton in the Lords, and by Burke, Fox, and Barré in the Commons. On July 4, 1776, a decisive step was taken by the colonists. The Declaration of Independence established a new republic as the "United States of America." The document, maintaining that "all men are created equal," and endowed with "inalienable rights," and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, was hailed with joy by the followers in France of the *Contrat Social* of Rousseau. The French government, under Louis XVI., vented its hatred of Britain, with the utmost political blindness, in supporting a new democracy whose principles were soon to sweep away in France itself a vast fabric of misrule. The interest of the war was now transferred to the State of New York. In August 1776, Lord Howe, with a great army, defeated Washington at Brooklyn, and drove him, pursued by Lord Cornwallis, through New Jersey into Pennsylvania. The Congress retired to Baltimore, and the prompt use of vigorous measures might then have subdued all resistance. The vigilance, enterprise, prudence, and endurance of Washington soon proved his fitness for supreme command, and in the spring of 1777 a series of skilful operations led to the recovery of nearly all New Jersey. In the autumn, Howe took a large force from New York to the Chesapeake, routed the Americans, under Washington, at the battle of Brandywine, captured Philadelphia, and finally drove his enemy into winter quarters at Valley Forge, where the American troops had to endure terrible suffering from hunger and cold.

A turning-point was reached in the third year of the struggle. The spirit of resistance was most stubborn in the New England States, largely peopled by the descendants of the Puritans whose kinsmen had been led to victory by Cromwell. An able plan was formed by the British ministry and military leaders, for the separation of the northern States from those of the centre and the south. Seven thousand veteran troops, British and German, with a well-equipped force of artillery, were sent out to Canada, under the command of General Burgoyne, a brave and experienced officer. A southward march by the line of the lakes, and thence along the banks of the Hudson, was to unite this army, at Albany, with a force under Clinton from New York. They were then to turn, in irresistible strength, against the New Englanders, and it was hoped that their utter defeat would bring the other States to submission. The two armies failed to meet. The Red Indian warriors serving with Burgoyne were guilty of atrocities which aroused the whole population to a desperate resistance, and a great army was soon gathered under Generals Gates and Arnold. The march of Burgoyne,

The Con-
vention
of Sara-
toga,
October
17, 1777.

beginning in the last week of June, was at first successful. Crown Point and Ticonderoga forts were taken, and on July 30th he reached the left bank of the Hudson. Then his difficulties began. A month was expended in the gathering of supplies, and detachments of the troops were beaten by the ever-growing forces of the enemy. The Hudson was crossed, and on September 14th the British army was encamped on the heights of Saratoga, about sixteen miles from Albany. Their forward movement was barred by the Americans in strong entrenchments. The Indians and Canadians were deserting, provisions began to fail, and Clinton, with all his efforts, made with admirable skill, could not force his way to a junction. On October 7th, Burgoyne, after a severe battle, was defeated in a bold attempt to force his way through the American lines, and, ten days later, hopeless of relief, and hemmed in by forces of four times his own numbers, he was obliged to surrender, with the honours of war, to his skilful adversary, General Gates. Nearly 4000 soldiers laid down their arms and became prisoners of war.

The surrender at Saratoga was really decisive of the issue. Chatham, in the House of Lords, before the fatal news arrived in England, had declared that the conquest of the Americans was impossible. He vowed that, if he were a colonist, he would never lay down his arms while foreign mercenary troops were landed in his country, and he denounced with indignation the employment in the British service of "the tomahawk and scalping-knife of the savage." The ministry were now eager to make peace, but the honour of the country was involved by the action of the French government. When the news from Saratoga reached Paris, the long efforts of Franklin, the American negotiator, met with immediate success. In February 1778, France and Spain acknowledged the independence of the United States, and made a treaty with the new power. Public opinion in Britain was strongly aroused, and loyal offers of men and money poured in from the great towns. The death of Lord Chatham, soon after the stirring scene in the House of Lords when he made, on April 7, 1778, his protest against "the dismemberment of this ancient and most noble monarchy," occurred at the beginning of a fresh struggle with our old European foes. In July, Admiral Keppel fought an indecisive battle with a great French fleet off Ushant, and was acquitted after a long trial by court-martial, upon charges of misconduct made by his second in command, Sir Hugh Palliser. In June 1779, Spain declared war, and her fleet, combined with that of France, was seen riding in the British Channel. Sixty-six sail of the line, with a large force of frigates, formed an armament which, with little more than half their number, our admirals could not assail, and a landing on our shores appears to have been prevented only by an outbreak of disease on board the crowded ships of the enemy. The famous Paul Jones, with a little squadron of American vessels, insulted our coasts,

War with
France,
Spain,
and Hol-
land.
1778-1783.

and captured two of our smaller men-of-war. In January 1780, our naval reputation was vindicated by Sir George Rodney, who completely defeated a Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, with the loss of eight ships of the line. In December of the same year, a quarrel concerning our right of search, on neutral vessels, for contraband of war, ended in our declaration of hostilities with Holland. The Dutch suffered great losses in their valuable commerce. In February 1781, their West Indian island, St. Eustatia, was captured by Rodney, with a vast store of tropical produce, and 250 merchantmen. Spain deprived us of Minorca and of West Florida, and the French fleet, under the Comte de Grasse, worked much mischief to our trade and possessions in the West Indies. In 1782, our martial credit against France and Spain was completely restored by two achievements. On April 12th, Rodney and Sir Samuel Hood, with thirty-six sail of the line, inflicted a great defeat on the French under De Grasse. The enemy's fleet, of thirty-three first-rates, bore a large number of troops intended for the conquest of Jamaica. The armaments met near Dominica and Guadeloupe, and a severe battle of eleven hours, in which Rodney performed the feat of breaking the enemy's line and doubling upon a portion of their ships, ended in one of our most glorious naval victories. The flagship, the *Ville de Paris*, of 110 guns, the pride of the French navy, was taken with De Grasse on board. Five other large ships were captured, one was sunk, and the whole fleet was broken up in flight. A few days later, Hood became master of two seventy-fours and two frigates. A large sum of money and a whole train of siege-artillery formed a portion of the prize won by those who saved Jamaica. In September, General George Elliott, afterwards ennobled as Lord Heathfield, repulsed the last great attack in a three-years' siege of Gibraltar. The place had more than once been nearly starved into surrender, but the noble garrison had resisted with success siege, bombardment, and blockade by the naval and military forces of France and Spain. The eyes of all Europe had been turned upon the long leaguer, when, on September 13th, the grand final effort was made. Forty thousand troops, under the Duke de Crillon, fresh from the conquest of Minorca, invested the place by land. Nearly fifty sail of the line, with ten formidable floating batteries, united their fire with that of nearly 200 heavy cannon in the siege-works. Elliott replied all day and far into the night with a terrific storm of red-hot shot, cold shot, and shell, and a little after midnight one of the enemy's floating forts burst into flames. By morning the whole of them, abandoned by the crews, were on fire fore and aft, and the safety of the place was finally secured by the arrival of Lord Howe with stores and reinforcements.

In 1778, nearly the whole of the middle States were recovered by the Americans, and the new British commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, sought success in the south, where many "loyalists" or supporters of the king's cause were still to be found. Savannah, the

capital of Georgia, was taken, and the French and Americans were beaten in the Carolinas. Early in 1780, Charlestown was taken by Clinton, who then sailed for New York, leaving Lord Cornwallis in command. Gates, the victor of Saratoga, was defeated in August, and Cornwallis started for the north in order to assist Clinton. This adventurous movement led to a great and final disaster. In the summer of 1781, Cornwallis was hemmed in at Yorktown in Virginia. An overwhelming body of French and Americans blockaded him by land, and a French fleet from the West Indies cut off all succour from the sea. After holding out until the failure of his ammunition, Cornwallis, on October 19th, came to a surrender with nearly 7000 men. Washington and Gates, the Count de Rochambeau and Lafayette, representatives in war of the new American republic and of the old European monarchy, were present at the imposing and touching scene of this memorable capitulation.

The news of this crowning calamity reached London on November 25th. Two days later the session of Parliament was opened, and the Opposition, which had long been growing in strength and bitterness, fell fiercely on the ministry. Charles Fox, the greatest debater in either House, a man whose eloquence was marked by the union, in consummate strength, of argument with passion, moved an amendment to the Address. The royal speech, with a brief allusion to the Virginian catastrophe, had declared a resolution of extinguishing the spirit of rebellion amongst the deluded subjects of the crown in America. The tone employed would have been appropriate if Cornwallis had sent Washington a prisoner to London. Burke and young William Pitt, then not twenty-three and already one of the finest speakers in Parliament, also denounced the ministers who were bringing ruin on the state. On February 22, 1782, a motion of General Conway's for the discontinuance of the war was lost by only one vote in a House of nearly 400. On March 9th, a vote of censure on the ministers, moved by Lord John Cavendish, for the conduct of the war, was rejected by a majority of only ten, and a few days later Lord North resigned office. The king, to his great disgust, was for a time compelled to fall back upon the hated Whigs, and Lord Rockingham became premier, with the staunch Tory, Thurlow, retained as Chancellor, Fox and Lord Shelburne as Secretaries, and Burke as Paymaster. This government was dissolved by Rockingham's death in July, and Shelburne was prime minister until February 1783. Fox and Burke resigned office, and Pitt became Chancellor of the Exchequer. The success of Rodney in the West Indies, and of Elliott at the rock-fortress guarding the entrance to the Mediterranean saved the honour of our arms, and the king, the ministry, and the nation wished for the return of peace. In November 1782, the independence of the United States was privately acknowledged in negotiations held at Paris with Franklin, and in January 1783, preliminaries

were signed between Great Britain, France, and Spain. To France England ceded St. Lucia and Tobago, receiving in return the islands of Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat. Spain kept Florida and Minorca, and the peace made with Holland at the definitive signature of terms in September was concluded on the basis of a mutual restitution. At this time the coalition ministry, nominally headed by the Duke of Portland, was managing affairs of state. An alliance between Lord North and the Whigs led by Fox drove Shelburne and Pitt from power in February 1783. It was not till April that the king would consent to place the chief control of government in the hands of a man so repugnant to his views as Fox. The new ministers, Fox and North, were the leaders of hostile parties who revolted at the coalition, and zealous Whigs and zealous Tories combined against men whom both regarded as traitors to their own cause. The rejection, in the House of Lords, at the special instance of the king, of Fox's Bill for the government of India, enabled George to dismiss his obnoxious advisers, and in December 1783, William Pitt, in his twenty-fifth year, reached the highest post as First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

From 1780 to 1782 the public mind of Great Britain was in a restless and feverish state. The Parliament had become opposed to the people, and, through the tendency to govern by the corruption of the Parliament, the executive power had grown out of harmony with the theory of the constitution. The abuses consequent upon the excessive number of sinecure offices, and of large pensions unsanctioned by parliamentary authority, called for economical reform. The scandalous proportion of members of the House of Commons returned for rotten boroughs demanded parliamentary reform. A large amount of public opinion was brought to bear upon these two points, in the form of Associations for the redress of grievances. In February 1780, a great petition signed by 8000 gentlemen, clergy, and freeholders of Yorkshire, was presented to the House of Commons by their member, Sir George Savile. Strong complaints were made of the burden of taxation, and of declining trade caused by the war, and of the many sinecures and pensions enjoyed by unworthy persons whose votes had enabled the crown to acquire "a great and unconstitutional influence, which, if not checked, may soon prove fatal to the liberties of this country." Similar petitions were adopted by twenty-three counties. On February 11th, Burke delivered his famous speech on economical reform, exposing and denouncing the number of useless posts and expensive abuses connected with the court and the public offices. Lord North's amendment to the Bill for reform was carried, in a full House, by a majority of only two. The measure, on the second reading, was lost by a majority of over forty, and the king triumphed in spite of the carrying of Dunning's abstract resolution in committee, "that the influence of

Home
affairs,
1778-1783.
Efforts at
reform.

the crown has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished." George wrote to Lord North his hope that a new Parliament would "keep the present constitution of the country in its pristine lustre." According to the royal theory, that lustre would have been shorn of its beams if fifty useless places had not been held by members of Parliament, pledged to do the bidding of the court without reference to the wishes or interests of the nation.

The year 1780 was disgraced by an outburst of brutality and intolerance against the peaceful and loyal Roman Catholic subjects of the crown. The severe Act of 1700 had ceased to be applied, but its provisions still existed as a temptation for informers to extort money from the timid, and as a stigma upon the adherents of the old religion of the land. In 1778, on the motion of Sir George Savile, these obsolete penalties were repealed. The change now made did not apply to Scotland, but the fanatical fervour of Protestants beyond the Border was alarmed, and riots took place in Edinburgh. A Protestant Association was formed, and a half-witted nobleman, Lord George Gordon, became its president. He had been for some years a member of the House of Commons, distinguished only by his monomania against the Catholics. Many Protestant Associations had been established in England, and Gordon, in November 1779, declared in the House that the indulgences given to Papists had alarmed the whole country. He threatened the government with the "hundred and twenty thousand men at his back," but was treated only with contempt. On June 2, 1780, he led a vast multitude from St. George's Fields to Palace Yard, and, as they filled the lobbies and strove to force the doors of each House, he presented a petition for a repeal of the late Act passed in favour of the Catholics. Colonel Gordon, his own near relative, threatened to run him through the body with his sword, if a single one of his "rascally adherents" entered the House of Commons. The rabble were at last dispersed by the arrival of some Horse-guards, after many peers had been treated with outrage, proved by their dishevelled hair and clothes covered with mud. On that very day, by a most unlucky and inopportune arrangement, the Duke of Richmond introduced a Bill for manhood suffrage and annual Parliaments. The display at that moment of popular ignorance and violence was a sufficient answer to his arguments, and influenced for many years the political condition of the British nation. The mob turned their wrath against the representatives of some Catholic powers, and showed their pious zeal for Protestantism by sacking and burning the private chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian envoys. Thirteen of the rioters were apprehended by the military and lodged in Newgate prison. Saturday, the 3rd of June, passed off in comparative quiet, but it was only a lull before the storm. On Sunday afternoon, Catholic chapels in Moorfields were beset, and the altars and pulpits were torn down and burnt. On Monday, the supineness of the magistrates, and the

lack of any efficient police, encouraged a renewal of disorder. The No-Popery fanatics had now been joined by all the idlers, drunkards, and thieves of the capital. The house of Sir George Savile was wrecked, and the neglect of due measures against the rioters made the more lawless and desperate regard London as a city to be sacked. On the evening of Tuesday, a fierce multitude attacked Newgate, fired the governor's house on his refusal to release the prisoners, broke open the prison, and set the whole place in flames. Three hundred criminals were let loose in the streets, and the like work was done at the prison of Clerkenwell. Then the exultant mob turned in fury against the administrators of the law. The houses of three magistrates were sacked. At midnight the miscreants came before the house of Chief-Justice Mansfield in Bloomsbury Square. He and Lady Mansfield barely escaped before pictures, books, and furniture were flung into the street, where they served as fuel for a bonfire. The law library of the greatest lawyer of his age, enriched with his own notes, and the precious correspondence of half a century, perished in the blaze. Wednesday the 7th, as Walpole writes, "was the fatal day." The first great operation was an attack upon the Bank of England, but a single volley from the troops who guarded it drove off the cowardly assailants. The king called a meeting of the Privy Council, and the Attorney-General, Wedderburn, gave his opinion that military force could be lawfully exercised, without the intervention of a magistrate, when no other means of restraint was effectual, and a tumultuous assemblage were engaged in committing a felony, such as setting fire to a house. This exposition of the law satisfied the scruples of the Council, and its prompt application saved the capital from ruin. A proclamation was at once issued, commanding all householders to keep themselves and their families within doors, and announcing that the king's officers were authorised to repress the riots by an immediate exercise of force. The decision did not come an hour too soon. On that evening, the sky above London was lighted by the glare of thirty-six conflagrations. The mob were at last beaten by volleys of musketry, which left more than five hundred bodies lying in the City streets. Gordon was tried on a charge of high treason, but acquitted through the skill of his advocate, Erskine. Twenty-one rioters died upon the scaffold.

The elections in the autumn of 1780 were notable for the rejection, Measures by the freemen of Bristol, of the great statesman, Edmund for re-
form, Burke, who had served them for six years. The justice and
1782. liberality of his constituents may be estimated by their charges that he had voted for Bills removing restrictions upon the trade of Ireland, that he had supported a Bill for reforming the law-process concerning imprisonment for debt, and that he had assisted Sir George Savile in relieving the Roman Catholics from the penal laws. The returns of members were generally favourable to the court, and all

questions of reform were, for the time, hopeless. Some progress was made under the Whig ministry of Rockingham. The king was in favour of some changes in behalf of economy, and Burke was enabled to pass his Civil List Bill, which abolished a number of useless and mischievous offices, usually held by members of Parliament. The pension-list was also limited to the annual amount of £90,000, and no pension was to exceed £300 a year. The same session saw the carrying of two important changes in the constitution of Parliament. The one excluded public contractors from sitting in the House of Commons, and the other prevented revenue-officers from voting at elections for representatives in that assembly. Lord Rockingham declared that in seventy boroughs the returns of members chiefly depended upon the votes of the functionaries thus disfranchised. In May, William Pitt, following the example of his father in 1775, moved for a committee to inquire into the present state of the representation of the Counties in Great Britain. The petitions from Yorkshire and other counties had asked for a large addition to the number of county members, and for the repeal of the Septennial Act. His motion was supported by Fox, and rejected by only twenty in a House of three hundred members. No division so favourable to reform occurred for nearly fifty years.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, we have in Ireland a country where a Parliament, managed by corruption, represented only a Protestant minority. The members were elected at the beginning of each reign. They assembled, on an average, but once in two years, and had no power of legislation save by permission of the English Privy Council or Parliament. In spite of the grievous restrictions upon trade, the country had continued to improve in wealth, and, in 1753, a gleam of independent spirit was shown in a contest which arose between the Irish House of Commons and the English government concerning the application of a surplus revenue. From this era dates the great parliamentary history of Ireland. The Parliament elected in 1760 demanded a Septennial Act, and denounced the abuses involved in the pension-list. In 1768, Henry Flood, a leading Irish politician, obtained the passing of an Act limiting to eight years the duration of Irish Parliaments, and he, along with the eloquent Henry Grattan, became an advocate of legislative independence for the country. The Irish House of Commons continued to contest with the government the right to originate money-bills, and the period of the American war, when the country was almost denuded of its garrisons, gave new strength to the patriotic cause. In 1778 the British Parliament gave some small relief to Irish commerce. In 1779, when a French invasion was expected, the people, of their own motion, raised large bodies of volunteers, who received arms from the government, and elected their own officers. The vigorous and honest Grattan became the champion of his country in an outcry for freedom of trade. The king and Lord North had no means of resistance, and

early in 1780 three Bills were passed at Westminster which threw open the colonial trade to the Irish, and removed the prohibition on the export of woollens. Then Grattan boldly claimed a free Parliament for Ireland. The fall of Lord North, the victory won by the Americans, the great armed force of more than 80,000 volunteers, gave irresistible strength to the rising national spirit. In February 1782, a Bill passed the Irish Parliament, which gave to the Catholics the rights of citizens in property, religion, marriage, education, and the bearing arms for their defence. In the same month there assembled at Dungannon the delegates of 143 corps of volunteers. These men unanimously adopted a resolution that "no power but the king, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, could bind that kingdom." In April, a Declaration of Rights was adopted in the Irish Parliament, and the Rockingham ministry, inspired by Fox, who had full confidence in Grattan, induced the British Parliament to meet Ireland on her own terms. The legislative and judicial authority of the British Parliament was renounced; the right of the Privy Council to alter Bills transmitted from Ireland was abandoned, and the independent Legislature known as Grattan's Parliament began its career of eighteen years' duration. It was the Parliament only of a Protestant minority, and soon became subject to the same corrupt influences of bribery and close boroughs as had been long employed in England, by Whigs and Tories alike, for the gaining and maintaining of a majority of votes. Pensions, places, and the system of nomination by the owners of boroughs, kept over a hundred members in close adherence to the government. The real national life of the country lay outside the walls of the Legislature, and was organised in other forms which led to serious trouble in the closing years of the century.

CHAPTER VI.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

Religion, morals, the Church, the Methodists. John Wesley and his sect. Philanthropists. Progress in tillage, trade, communications, manufactures. The arts, literature. The intellectual revolt in Europe. The precursors of the French Revolution.

BISHOP BURNET, in his "History of his Own Times," charges his clerical brethren with being, among all the religious ministers that he had observed, "the most remiss in their labours, and the least severe in their lives." He contrasts their "dead" condition with the zeal of the Romish clergy and the Dissenters, and bids them to adopt a more earnest use of their pastoral office, instead of cherishing extravagant notions of the authority of the Church. The clergy of the Georgian era were, to a great degree,

Religion
and
morals,
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tury.

exposed to the same censure. Few and feeble attempts were made to struggle with great social evils. Education, in any large sense, there was none. London, and all other great towns, were swarming with destitute children, who were left to grow up as thieves, and in due course to be hanged by the barbarous criminal code of the time. The Church, which, in 1701, had founded a society for spreading the gospel abroad, left the heathen at home to swell the festering mass of sin and sorrow, until the whole fabric of society was in peril from its outcasts, and no man's life or property was safe. If it be unfair to take the character of the clergy from the satirical pages of Fielding, Smollett, Goldsmith, and the playwrights of the time, we may not reject the testimony of the grave Dr. Knox, headmaster of Tunbridge School, when he declares that "the public have long remarked with indignation, that some of the most distinguished coxcombs, drunkards, debauchees, and gamblers who figure at the watering-places, and at all public places of resort, are young men of the sacerdotal order." The apathy of the clergy was as injurious as their indecorum. From the pulpit, the most meagre and tedious discourses were delivered in the tamest monotone. At the Universities, whence the future pastors of the flock went forth to seek ordination, discipline was dead, "study languished, emulation slept." The schools of examination for degrees were a scene of solemn farce, in which, according to the evidence of a distinguished Oxford Fellow, "the examiners and candidates converse on the last drinking-bout, or read the newspaper, or a novel, till the clock strikes eleven, when all parties descend, and the *testimonium* is signed by the masters." Wilberforce, a graduate of Cambridge, describes his introduction, on the first night of his arrival at St. John's, "to as licentious a set of men as can well be conceived. They drank hard, and their conversation was even worse than their lives." After his first year, he sought better company among the Fellows of the College, and these, he complains, "did not act towards me the part of Christians, or even of honest men. Their object seemed to be to make and keep me idle." The pictures of Hogarth, with all due allowance for caricature, present us with a startling view of debauchery in the higher class, and of low profligacy and crime. The written records of the time abound in proofs of the gross indulgence in gaming and drunkenness among the leaders of society. George Selwyn said, with as much truth as wit, when one of the waiters at his club was committed on a charge of felony, "What a horrid idea he will give of us to the people in Newgate." There were lower depths still than the open excesses and debauchery of life in London. There were men of high position who flung the foulest insults, not merely at morality and virtue, but at the established religion of the land. The Medmenham Abbey Club, near Marlow, consisted of twelve men of fashion, who met for the express purpose of indulging in ribaldry, profanity, and licentiousness. The motto, from Rabelais, placed over the grand

entrance was: *Fay ce que voudrais*. Although the club became notorious, and the disgusting wickedness practised by its members was well known, it proved no bar either to the reception of the members in society, or to their advancement in the state. Sir Francis Dashwood, the founder, who officiated as high-priest at the profanation of the most sacred rites of the Church, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Sandwich was First Lord of the Admiralty, and Wilkes, as a political hero and a martyr to the enmity of the court, was in high favour, as we have seen, with the citizens of London. It is a relief to turn from such a spectacle to the better and the worse portraits of the country gentleman. Fielding's Squire Allworthy, benevolent, not learned, but a fair judge of books, improved by converse with men of eminence, is one of the class who, with some narrowness of view, did honour to the great country party in the Commons. The same writer's Squire Western, coarse, passionate, violent in his politics, a roaring, hard-drinking foxhunter, is the ruder and, in that age, the more usual specimen of the landed gentry.

The light literature of forty years, in the middle of the eighteenth century, overflows with ridicule of Methodism. The preachers **Religious revival.** are pelted by the mob, and the converts are held up to execration as fanatics or hypocrites. Early in the reign of George II., a group of young Oxford students, meeting at each other's rooms for prayer and for religious study and discussion, were known, among the scoffers around them, first as "Sacramentarians," then as "Bible Moths," and finally, from the regularity of their lives, and their strict observance of religious duties, by the enduring name of "Methodists." They were destined to become the authors of a moral revolution which changed, in due time, the spirit of English society. New life and vigour arose within the Church. Books, men, and manners were purified in tone, and a new zeal was created for humane work among the poor and helpless. The chief of these young reformers were the brothers John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. The Wesleys were the sons of a Lincolnshire clergyman, and, after education at public schools, John, the elder, at the Charterhouse, and Charles at Westminster, they proceeded to Christ Church College, Oxford. Both took orders in the Church, and preached for a time to the colonists in Georgia, returning to England in 1738. Charles was the poet of the new religious body whom the Church declined to recognise, and he greatly helped the movement by the composition of his many fervent and pleasing hymns. John Wesley, the founder of the great schism, whose followers assumed his name, was a strong adherent of Episcopacy, and never formally separated from the Church. He was a man most earnestly devoted, in spite of all derision and obloquy, to what he firmly held to be the highest good of mankind, and regarded himself as a priest who had taken "the world as his parish." His eloquence and logical acuteness might have won fame in literature, but

in 1739 he began his work of fifty years as an itinerant preacher, riding from forty to sixty miles a day, and often delivering, at intervals of such a journey, in the open air, or barns, or chapels, four or five sermons. His genius for government and his organising power were of the highest order, and enabled him to establish on a solid basis, with doctrines little differing from those of the Church, the sect which now includes in England, the United States, and the British colonies, more than twenty millions of adherents. Whitefield was a student at Pembroke College, Oxford, and, after taking deacon's orders in 1736, preached for a time in Georgia. On his return to England in 1739, he was ordained priest, and soon gained great fame in London pulpits. He then followed John Wesley's example, and preached in the open air, in Britain and America, to vast audiences. His mighty voice could be heard by twenty thousand listeners, and his fervent appeals produced an unequalled effect. Floods of tears rolled down the grimy cheeks of the colliers to whom he preached at Kingswood, near Bristol, and the power of words addressed rather to the imagination and the passions than to the understanding of his hearers, excited the censure of the judicious, and the scoffing of the infidel, by shrieks, swooning, and convulsions. The general effect was that some of the most ignorant and debased of mankind found nourishment and hope in utterances which came home to their hearts, and the gradual influence of a more earnest sense of religion was diffused through the whole community. It was a principle of individuality that had originally isolated both Wesley and Whitefield from the torpid religion and the lax morality of college life. It sent them to preach to the neglected poor wherever vice and ignorance most abounded, without much regard to the discipline of the Church of which they were members. At a later stage, their paths diverged, without any formal and permanent breach of friendship. Whitefield adopted strong Calvinistic views, and was satisfied with rousing the sinful and indifferent, without providing for the systematic continuance of his personal efforts. His preaching created a host of followers, who branched off in their several localities, and were content to be led by men without education. Starting up as teachers from the lowest ranks, such men, too presumptuous and vain to see their own mental incompetence, were better judges, in many cases, than the educated clergy, of the mode in which rude natures could be best awakened into penitence for sin. Wesley saw the danger of admitting every fanatic to be a preacher of the gospel, and took up the task of instituting and perfecting the organisation which has made his name immortal.

A feeling of consideration for the miseries of the lowly and the indigent, early in the eighteenth century, caused the institution of refuges for the sick and the maimed, freely supported by voluntary gifts. The Westminster Hospital, founded in 1719, was followed by St. George's in 1733, by the London and the

Philanthropic effort.

Middlesex in 1740, and by the Small-Pox Hospital in 1746. Towards the close of the reign of George II., Jonas Hanway, a London merchant, was the chief instrument in founding the Marine Society, which took distressed boys off the streets, trained them for the seaman's life, and placed them in the royal navy or the merchant service. One of the chief subjects for reproach in the England of the first three Hanoverian kings was the condition of the public prisons. In the early years of George II.'s reign, reports of a Select Committee of the House of Commons exposed the horrible system of oppression and cruelty existing in the three London prisons for debtors, the Fleet, the Marshalsea, and the King's Bench. The law made no distinction between the unfortunate and the criminal. A noble philanthropist, General Oglethorpe, a man whose "strong benevolence of soul" is eulogised by Pope, a kind friend to Samuel Johnson when he was a friendless and unknown writer, was chairman of the committee that penetrated into the dismal recesses of the Fleet Prison. In that ancient building, the illegal punishments of the Star Chamber had been administered without control, until the Long Parliament swept its tyranny away. It then became a gaol for debtors, and for those committed for contempt by the Courts of Chancery, Exchequer, and Common Pleas. By statutes passed under Charles II., the government of all prisons was vested in the judges of the higher courts, and in justices of the peace. The corruption of the times had placed this control in the hands of a warden, who enjoyed a patent office, purchased by a large payment to some minister of the crown. It was found that the two patentees, who were then sharing the warden's office, after paying for the privilege the sum of £5000, were making an annual income of nearly that amount in extortionate fees and charges for lodging. The affluent prisoner alone could obtain even the humblest shelter and the coarsest food. The penniless endured starvation, filth, and disease, and remonstrance was visited by confinement with fetters in damp and loathsome cells. A wretch named Bambridge, one of the co-wardens, a chief agent in these cruelties, was deprived of his office by an Act of Parliament. Even after the accession of George III., cruelty, neglect, and extortion were rife in the treatment of prisoners. The bankrupt and the burglar were placed on the same level, and only those who could pay exorbitant fees enjoyed a sufficiency of food. Some legislation for the remedy of these evils was caused by the benevolent exertions of John Howard, who held, in 1773, the office of High Sheriff of Bedfordshire. His book *On Prisons*, published four years later, was the result of a personal inspection of nearly all the English, and of many Scottish, Irish, and Continental gaols. After many more years of toil and travel in the same good cause, he died of a contagious fever caught at Kherson, in the south of Russia. For the partial extension of education to the humblest classes of the community, England was indebted to Robert Raikes, founder, in 1781, of the first Sunday-school. He was pro-

prietor of the *Gloucester Journal*, and was struck by the degraded state of the children in the suburbs of his city. On a Sunday their numbers were increased, and their dirty condition and disorderly conduct were more revolting. He obtained the services of a few good women to teach some of them to read on the Sunday; he persuaded them to go to church with clean hands and face and combed hair; he gave them Testaments for their perusal. Their self-respect was raised, and from mere pariahs they were made capable of honest industry. The good example was rapidly followed, and Sunday-schools were established in all parts of the realm.

At the close of the American war, politicians of all ranks believed that the country was ruined. The augmented burden of the public debt was thought to portend inevitable bankruptcy, and Conway, writing to his brother, declares "the sums spent in losing America are a blow we shall never recover." These prophets of evil were possessed of a delusive notion that the population of the country had decreased. The truth was, that the numbers of the English and Welsh people had grown from about six and a half millions in 1751 to nearly eight millions in 1781. Norfolk and Suffolk became the nurseries of "the new husbandry." The great change came with enclosures, long leases, and large farms, by the marling of light lands, and by the introduction of an excellent course of crops, in which the culture of turnips and clover was the distinguishing feature. It was an era in English agriculture when Mr. Coke, a man justly ennobled, in the first year of Queen Victoria, by elevation to the modern earldom of Leicester, came into possession, in 1776, of his estate at Holkham. This great enlightened lord of the soil converted West Norfolk from a rye-growing to a corn-growing district. Unable to let his estate even at five shillings an acre, he resolved to become himself a farmer. Gathering around him all the practical tillers of his country-side, he soon learned from their experience to become an instructor of others. The annual sheep-shearings of Holkham became famous throughout the civilised world. Men came from every quarter to see a great English gentleman, who had raised his rents from tens to hundreds, and had yet enriched his tenants as much as himself, mixing, with a far nobler simplicity than that of the feudal times, with guests of every rank, and seeking, even from the humblest yeoman who was earnest in his calling, the knowledge of some new fact that would benefit his district and his country. His long life enabled him to see most of the triumphs of scientific husbandry. A like work was done for Bedfordshire by the labours of her Duke at Woburn. Robert Bakewell, a yeoman of Leicestershire, taught his visitors at Dishley Grange, men high in rank and science, his new method of producing breeds of sheep and oxen that could be most readily fattened, and be the most valuable for meat. To him, apart from his merit as the founder of the famous breed of Leicester sheep, is to be ascribed the great impulse which raised the

National
progress:
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occupation of the grazier into an art. In Berkshire, the king set a good example to the agricultural part of his subjects, and earned, by his "Flemish farm" and his "Norfolk farm," in the Great Park of Windsor, the honourable name of "Farmer George."

In Stuart times the roads of England were, in general, so bad that (2.) Roads, during several months of the year the markets were often inaccessible, and the fruits of the earth were sometimes allowed to rot in one place, while in another place, distant only a few miles, the supply fell far short of the demand. The movement for better roads began in 1770, and the unjust method of compelling parishes, often with a sparse and impoverished rural population, to maintain the roads between rich and populous towns, was superseded by a comprehensive system of turnpikes, which, before the end of the century, supplied the country with 30,000 miles of solid highways. In 1784, at the instance of Mr. Palmer of Bath, the government caused the establishment of the mail-coaches which continued to be the chief means of travelling for more than half a century. The public stage-coaches, which had been running, or crawling, before this improvement, occupied about three days on the journey from London to Manchester. In the last years of the reign of George II., and in the earlier years of his successor, an enormous revolution in the peaceful arts was begun by the great captains and champions of modern industry. An unequalled series of bloodless triumphs over physical and moral obstacles increased the resources of their country, during less than fifty years, to an extent which chiefly enabled her to sustain the pressure of the most tremendous war in which she ever was engaged. Abundant opportunities of profitable labour were bestowed upon a population that was growing beyond all example, and new and unlimited fields of production were opened for the multiplication and diffusion of the necessaries of life, and of the comforts and refinements of civilisation. The chief of these great men were Brindley, Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, Roebuck, Wedgwood, and, greatest of all, James Watt. In 1758 a wise man named Francis Egerton, third Duke of Bridgewater, was devising plans for the improvement of his fortune by making his encumbered property more productive. His estate of Worsley had a rich bed of coal, but it was nearly valueless. Within an easy distance was the great town of Manchester, containing with its suburbs a population of about 40,000, ready to welcome an additional supply of fuel for domestic use and for manufactures. A happy alliance of capital and brain-power brought to the Duke's assistance a millwright named James Brindley. This man was almost destitute of the rudiments of education, and he was totally devoid of scientific training, but he had an extraordinary genius as a civil engineer. Across rivers and through hills, by aqueduct and tunnel, in a series of such works as England had never seen, he carried his canal to Manchester, and reduced the price of coals by one

half. This work was followed by the Staffordshire Canal, which brought the iron and pottery districts into easy communication with the Mersey and the Trent. A network of water-ways in due time joined the chief rivers, and brought inland hives of industry into connection with the chief ports. In 1767 a Lancashire man named James Hargreaves completed the invention called the spinning-jenny, enabling a workman to spin cotton-yarn on eight spindles at once. The jealousy of his neighbours drove him in flight to Nottingham, but the new instrument was soon found in every weaver's cottage. In 1769, Richard Arkwright, a barber of Preston, patented his admirable spinning-frame, and, five years later, Samuel Crompton invented the mule-jenny for spinning cotton, a contrivance which combined the principles devised by his two ingenious predecessors. South Lancashire became the chief seat of the cotton industry, and in 1785 a Nottinghamshire inventor, Edmund Cartwright, gave to weavers his powerloom. This man was a clergyman, bred at University College, Oxford, of some note as a poet and a critic, when the talk of a mixed company on the want of hands to weave the cotton so swiftly spun by the new machines made him labour at producing a loom that would weave cloth without hands to throw the shuttle. Our vast modern manufacture of iron was due to that great public benefactor, Dr. John Roebuck. In the seventeenth century the Forest of Dean was the chief seat of our ironworks, the woods being burnt for charcoal, then the only material used for smelting. The Weald of Sussex was once famous for its charcoal-made iron, but the forests were almost exhausted, and the iron railings round St. Paul's Churchyard were nearly the last produce of the southern works. In 1740, the annual produce of iron in the whole country only amounted to about 17,000 tons. Roebuck, a Birmingham physician with a scientific knowledge of chemistry, founded in 1760 the famous ironworks at Carron, in Stirlingshire. The ore was now first smelted by the use of pit-coal, and economical processes there used sent cheap grates into the homes of England, and, early in the next century, cast the guns for the battering-train used by Wellington. To Roebuck belongs the glory, in the annals of manufacturing industry, of uniting, in bonds which time can never dissolve, the neighbours coal and iron. This union made iron "the soul of every other manufacture," and has since covered the land with works that are amongst the noblest triumphs of a great era of science and art. In the year 1757, over the door of a staircase opening from the quadrangle of Glasgow College, was exhibited a board inscribed "James Watt, mathematical instrument-maker to the University." The ingenious young workman, then in his twenty-first year, soon attracted the notice of men whose names will ever be held in veneration, Adam Smith, Robert Simson, and Joseph Black. In 1763, a small model of Newcomen's steam-engine was put into Watt's hands for repair. The radical defect of the

machine was, that three times as much heat was lost as was needed for the work done. It was used in draining mines, in raising water for water-wheels, and in blowing furnaces for iron-smelting, but the construction was clumsy and imperfect, and the expense of working was enormous. After the labour of six years, Watt's improvements ended in the construction of the first cheap and effective steam-engine. In partnership with Matthew Boulton, an able, honest, generous, and prudent manufacturer, who had works at Soho, near Birmingham, Watt supplied the machinery which created the vast modern system of manufactures. Steam took the place of water as a source of power, and the Glasgow mechanic earned his statue in the great Abbey as "an illustrious follower of science" and "a real benefactor of the world." The name of Josiah Wedgwood suggests a happy combination of the useful and the beautiful in human products. This artisan of Burslem, in Staffordshire, was supplied, in the Cornish clay discovered by Mr. Cooksworthy of Plymouth, with a material equal to that used in the manufactories of Sèvres and Dresden. His own skill and taste taught him to produce pottery which possessed, along with unequalled cheapness, an admirable imitation of the most charming forms of ancient art. The fine and durable Wedgwood ware removed the pewter dishes from their dingy rows in the tradesman's kitchen, and superseded the wooden platter and the coarse brown dish of the peasant's cottage.

In the earlier years of the House of Hanover, English art was in a very low condition. Architecture had greatly declined from
 (3.) *The fine arts.* the position to which it had been raised by the genius of Wren, and the only good painters and sculptors were Italians, Germans, Flemings and Frenchmen. The first great English painter was William Hogarth, some of whose portraits were excellent, and who displayed, in his satirical pictures and engravings, extraordinary invention, realism, imagination, and vigour. He was the true founder of the English school. In April 1760, there was opened in London, at the room of the Society of Arts, the first public exhibition of the performances of living artists. The few works of merit included some specimens of the powers of Robert Strange, founder of the English school of historical engraving, a man whose plates display remarkable breadth, purity, and power. The Royal Academy, with Sir Joshua Reynolds as first President, was founded in 1768. English art was now fairly launched on its career, and within a few years Reynolds had raised our portraiture from sheer mindless mimicry to a level with that of the noblest days of art, and was employing his pencil in handing down to an admiring posterity the features of the statesmen, soldiers, and writers, and of the matrons, maids, and children among whom he lived and moved. Gainsborough, endued with less technical power, and of less variety in portraiture, than his great rival, surpassed him in depicting the lighter phases of female beauty, and was also the first great painter of the poetry of our

homely scenery. Romney, as a portrait-painter, ranks next, and very near, to Gainsborough and Reynolds, and his works are distinguished by originality, fine colour, and a subtle sense of beauty. Wilson, a man endued with a fine eye for grandeur of form and largeness of effect, was great in classic landscape. Benjamin West, a native of Pennsylvania, when it was still an English colony, succeeded Reynolds as President of the Academy, and must be regarded as the first of our historical painters. His powers were but moderate, but his famous "Death of Wolfe" is justly memorable for the daring and wise innovation of dressing the actors in the costume of their time, instead of in classic or conventional apparel. Woollett, a man of rare genius as an engraver, rivalled in British landscape the work of Strange, who delighted in translating the historical pictures of the old masters. The first great English sculptor was Thomas Banks, a worker on classic themes, whom Reynolds pronounced to have the mind of an ancient Greek. The strength of his genius lay in poetical conception. John Bacon, inferior to Banks in all the higher qualities of his art, wrought with his chisel most of the public monuments erected in the later years of the eighteenth century, and is best known by the memorial of Lord Chatham in the Abbey. Later in date came one greater than either of these, John Flaxman, who would have been one of the very greatest sculptors of modern times, if his skill in execution had been fully worthy of the purity, grace, and richness of his invention. He was a true artist, whose highest productions are the glory of the English school of sculpture, whose designs from Homer, Æschylus, and Dante won the admiration of the best European critics, and who, in modelling a porcelain cup or plate for Wedgwood, never failed to produce work that an ancient Greek would have seen with delight.

It was under George I. that Defoe, near the close of his career, produced, in *Robinson Crusoe*, his masterpiece of realistic fiction. In the last year but one of the reign, Swift, in his marvellous *Literature. Travels by Gulliver*, satirised the politics and philosophers of his day, concluding with a fierce assault upon the whole human race. Pope's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, an excellent pastoral play, the delight of the Scottish peasantry, belong to the same period. Thomson, in his *Winter*, the first published of his *Seasons*, and John Dyer, in *Grongar Hill*, gave signs of a reaction in favour of natural poetry against the artificial, Gallo-classic style. The reign of George II. and the first two decades of his successor witnessed the advent of many writers of enduring repute. One of those already great crowned his poetical fame by the *Essay on Man* in 1733, and by the grand fourth book of the *Dunciad*, completed in 1742. The abuses, as he conceives them, of literature, learning, science, and education, are painted with the boldest style, in the most lasting and brilliant colours. The age was instructed and adorned by the weighty sense of Johnson and by Goldsmith's easy grace. The great English novelists

began with Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, and Smollett. Gray, in his *Elegy* and *Bard*, Collins, Akenside, Gay, and Young, Percy, in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, Johnson, in the *Lives of the Poets*, and Thomas Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, continue the poetical succession, or restore a taste for simplicity and freshness, or furnish valuable record and criticism. The free-thinkers of the age, rejecting revealed religion, were encountered with great force by Joseph Butler, Bishop of Bristol, in his *Analogy*, published in 1736. In graver literature, the middle and the later decades of the eighteenth century supplied much work of high distinction. To this period belong David Hume, the acute sceptical philosopher and earliest of our great historians; Reid, the Scottish metaphysician; Robertson, the historian of America and Charles V.; the illustrious Gibbon; Adam Smith, the founder of the science of political economy; Blackstone, expositor of English law; Burke, greatest of political philosophers; Boswell, prince of all biographers; and the earliest works of Bentham, the man who founded jurisprudence as a science. That age bequeathed to us Horace Walpole, more important as a painter of manners even than the novelists, the dramatists, or the essayists. It was the present century that saw the publication of his *Letters*, and the public of his own time knew little of his surpassing power in presenting the peculiarities of his own exclusive class, and introducing us to the saloons, where, hidden from profane eyes, the noble and the great were playing "Low Life above Stairs." From the picturesque attractions of the highwayman and stage-coach, the postboys and the great inns, the London tavern loved by Johnson and his friends, the fashions and the frolics of Ranelagh and Vauxhall; from the stage where peerless Garrick trod; from Bath and its dictator, Richard Nash, M.C., we must turn away to matters of more serious concern.

The eighteenth century is remarkable for the outbreak of free thought on subjects of the highest importance to the interests of mankind. War against authority was the intellectual watchword of the time. Anthony Collins, a follower of Toland, and author of the *Discourse on Free-thinking*, published in 1713, was a leader among English deists. In 1730, Matthew Tindal wrote strongly in favour of natural against revealed religion, in his *Christianity as Old as the Creation*. Bolingbroke and Hume were able and advanced free-thinkers. The defence of Christianity made by the orthodox was, in general, but feeble, and most of the leading men, in politics and in the world of fashion, were avowed unbelievers. The strongholds of Christianity were fixed in the middle class, and in the hearts of the ruder converts to the Methodist revival. In Germany, the movement of mind took the form of a revolt in literature against the influence of France, and Bodmer, Klopstock, Wieland, Lessing, Schiller, and Goethe became the founders and the great adorners of the new German school of letters. In France, the *Encyclopédie*, pro-

The intel-
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revolt.

jected and edited by Diderot, assisted by the great mathematician and scientist D'Alembert, was published between 1751 and 1765. This grand work was intended as a free review of all knowledge, produced by men who in all departments had thrown off the shackles of blind submission to authority. Bold inquiry and judgment marked its general tone and philosophy in religious and political affairs. Existing opinions and institutions were brought to the bar, and proof, in place of assertion and of appeal to the mere prescription of the past, was demanded. Christianity in France had then become a despicable thing, supported by the corrupt and selfish men who maintained, in Church and State, a system of abuses and oppression. Voltaire applied his matchless powers of wit and sarcasm against the bigots who encountered the assailants of the faith, not with effective argument, but with the resources of a petty persecution that was cruel to the weak, and quailed before the strong. He was the leader of the intellectual reaction, conservative in political affairs, while Rousseau, an emotional republican, professing eagerness for a return from debasing civilisation to a state of nature, and glorifying "the noble savage," claimed, in his Social Contract, the sovereignty of all in place of monarchical control. The strength of the French philosophers lay in the truth which was mingled with their errors, and in their generous enthusiasm for the improvement of the condition of mankind. Attacking Christianity with the utmost unfairness and rancour, they were animated by the spirit of charity enjoined by Christianity towards men of all classes and creeds. The faith of the Gospels was assailed by weapons borrowed from the evangelical morality. Irreligion, in alliance with philanthropy, was too strong for religion accidentally combined with social and political wrong. Every distinguished man of letters in France was found in the ranks of the reformers, and unbelief became necessary to the character of an accomplished gentleman. The new opinions spread beyond the Alps and Pyrenees, and Italy and Spain became infected with the heresy. Human reason had risen up against a caste, and a struggle of the people against princes and nobles for political freedom was coming in the near future. The movement, on its intellectual side, was encouraged by the very class to which it was likely to be most baneful. Frederick of Prussia, Catharine of Russia, Joseph of Austria, and the nobles of France, were patrons of the new philosophy which was destined, at no distant day, to threaten with destruction all the thrones and aristocracies of Europe. Fénelon, in his *Telemachus*, had startled the least servile minds among the courtiers of the great Louis by teaching that kings existed for the good of the people. The lesson had been long working, and now, when two generations of men had passed away, the old abuses in the state and the new theories of the philosophers were flourishing in equal vigour side by side. Anarchical speculation was rife, and every principle on which the institutions of the state reposed was ridiculed or

denied. The writings of Voltaire and Rousseau, acting freely on the mind of a people subject to the most odious misgovernment, which they had no constitutional means of checking, were to generate a mighty change, begun by an explosion that convulsed the world.

CHAPTER VII.

GREAT BRITAIN UNDER WILLIAM PITT.

Pitt as a prime minister. The Tories in full power. The French Revolution. Its influence on British affairs. Burke, Fox, Mackintosh, Paine. The Libel Act. The great war begins. The British navy in revolt. Rise of Napoleon. Pitt's policy of restriction. Irish affairs. The insurrection of 1798. The Union Act. A lull in the storm.

WILLIAM PITT the younger was one of the greatest of parliamentary rulers. His copious and stately eloquence, his sarcasm, his skill in debate, gave him the complete command of an assembly in which the power of speaking ranks above all other political gifts. In the House of Commons, the able speaker may well hope to rise to high office in a government without having given proof of the possession of judgment, prudence, legislative or economical knowledge, diplomatic or administrative skill. The precocious and powerful intellect of Pitt enabled him, in a great degree, to dispense with the ripe knowledge that is the fruit of a long and wide experience in the business of life. His quick apprehension could seize, and his facility of expression could turn to the best account, the materials for a telling speech which expert subordinates supplied. His power of lucid exposition was equalled by his faculty of shrouding any real meaning in a cloud of impressive words. He was not, as injudicious admirers have declared, a "heaven-born minister," but he was a man of enlightened views, good intentions, and great abilities, who, in prosperous and peaceful times, was the wise author and proposer of parliamentary, commercial, and religious reform. In the midst of his career, his qualities as a ruler were tested by foreign and domestic difficulties such as no British minister has ever had to encounter, and his policy, in some points, conspicuously failed. The correctness of his private life was worthy of the public character of a man distinguished by personal integrity, and by a proud demeanour which revealed a self-esteem based upon the possession of mental and moral superiority. No British minister has ever wielded such a power in the state. Master alike of the nation and the court, he made an end of bribery in Parliament, of secret influence over the sovereign, and of the power of the vile intriguers called the "king's friends." Nothing could more forcibly display the intrepid character of the young premier than the circumstances under which he now took office. As leader of the

House of Commons, he had the bold and ready Dundas as his only able supporter against an Opposition composed of a large majority headed by Fox, Burke, Windham, North, and the brilliant Sheridan, who, already renowned as a writer for the stage and for his social gifts, had lately, under the auspices of Fox, entered Parliament as member for Stafford, held office at the Treasury, and won high fame as an orator. In the spring session of 1784, Pitt was beaten in division after division. His India Bill was thrown out, and a resolution was carried that "the continuance of the present ministers" in office was unconstitutional, and "injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people." Pitt steadily refused to resign, and was strongly supported by the king, now more than ever resolved to break down the Whigs and the hated coalition. Addresses of confidence in the minister came from every part of the country, and the Corporation of London presented him with the freedom of the City. A dissolution on March 25th gave Pitt a complete triumph at the general election. He was himself returned at the head of the poll for Cambridge University. His friend Wilberforce, the son of a Hull merchant, and so a representative of the middle classes, was brought in for the county of York by the manufacturers of Sheffield, Halifax, Bradford, and Leeds, against two Whig candidates supported by the Yorkshire landowners. A hundred and sixty supporters of the coalition lost their seats, and became known as "Fox's Martyrs." The king, after a long struggle, had at last established the ascendancy of the crown, and the Tories, for nearly fifty years, were at the head of affairs in the state.

Eight years of prosperity and peace followed. The foreign foes of England saw her, after the loss of the American colonies, more wealthy and more powerful than ever. Trade and manufactures flourished, and bold measures of finance were adopted. A great reduction of duty stayed the smuggling of tea and spirits. New taxes provided for the interest of a loan, which absorbed a large amount of unfunded debt. An endeavour to remove fetters on trade between England and Ireland was thwarted by the English manufacturers. A Bill for parliamentary reform, by the purchase of thirty-six "rotten" boroughs, returning seventy-two members, and by the assignment of these seats to London, large provincial towns, and the counties, was rejected by a large majority. The famous Sinking Fund, setting aside a million annually, to accumulate at compound interest for the reduction of the national debt, was based on a fallacious notion, and the plan was swept aside by the first foreign war. In the same year, 1786, there was concluded with France an equally short-lived treaty of navigation and commerce. Events were to prove too strong for Pitt, but the occasion was made memorable by his denunciation of the doctrine that "France was, and must be, the unalterable enemy of Britain," and by his expressed desire to promote "habits of friendly intercourse and of mutual benefit," as likely to serve the

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interests of peace. The complicated system of indirect taxation was simplified by a consolidation of the several duties of customs, stamps, and excise. The carrying of the measure involved the passing of three thousand distinct resolutions, and Burke gave the warmest praise to the manner in which Pitt had brought forward a plan for the relief of all engaged in commerce, and for advantage and increase to the revenue. Such was the public confidence inspired, that, before the end of his course as a peace-minister, the funds rose nearly to par from 56, the price at which they stood in 1784.

George, Prince of Wales, now in his twenty-sixth year, was the eldest of the king's seven sons. In accordance with the family tradition, he was closely allied, in politics, with the chiefs of the Opposition. His vices and follies, shared by Sheridan and Fox, were in strong contrast to the solid and homely virtues of the sober and religious sovereign. In 1783, he had taken up his residence at Carlton House, with an annual allowance of over £60,000, but his dissolute and extravagant life soon plunged him deep in debt, and caused him to be viewed, by the body of the nation, with mingled hatred and contempt. He was married to a Roman Catholic lady of high character, named Mrs. Fitzherbert, and by this union he would, according to the Act of Settlement, have forfeited his claim to the throne. The provisions of the Royal Marriages Act made the marriage null and void. The Prince, by a deliberate falsehood, induced Fox to deny, from his place in the House of Commons, the fact of the ceremony having been performed. In November 1788, the king became insane, and people looked forward with dismay to the prospect of a reign socially resembling that of Charles II. Fox contended that the right of regency, without limitations, lay with the Prince of Wales. Pitt maintained that Parliament alone could settle to whom, and to what extent, the royal authority should now be delegated. The violence of Burke, in his support of a disloyal and factious Opposition, excited the disgust of all moderate men, and in March 1789, the king's complete recovery, with his public thanksgiving at St. Paul's, were hailed with an outburst of national delight. London was in a blaze of illumination, and the great minister, still under thirty years of age, was at the height of popularity and power.

The stupendous and far-reaching event known as the French Revolution, not yet, in all a hundred years, exhausted of its marvelous effects, came as a surprise upon the world. A political earthquake, by far the most important in the modern history of mankind, was now to overthrow in France the whole fabric of public and social order, to transform the face of Europe, and to cause the greatest series of wars ever waged. The chief cause of this prodigious outbreak "of disimprisoned anarchy against corrupt, worn-out authority" was long misrule, obstinately maintained in defiance of solemn warnings, and of the visible signs of an approaching retribu-

tion. The government of France, lodged solely in the hands of the monarch, the nobles, and the clergy, had been conducted without the least regard to the welfare of twenty millions of people. The system of taxation, which involved remission for the rich, and stringent exaction from the poor, was grossly oppressive and unjust. During the long reign of Louis XV., affairs were rushing ever down to ruin, and his grandson and successor, Louis XVI., a dull, kindly man, more fitted to be a clockmaker or a locksmith than a ruler of mankind, was left to pay in his own person for the crimes and the follies of the past. The extravagant expense of needless and ignominious warfare had brought the state to a condition of bankruptcy. In 1776, the wise and patriotic Turgot had wished to impose taxes on the clergy and nobles, and had forthwith been driven from power. The petty devices of Necker, and the expedients of Calonne, dismissed in 1787 for daring to propose a land-tax on the privileged classes, had failed to diminish the deficit. Despairing of all other resource, the king, by the advice of Necker, summoned a meeting of the States-General, or national Parliament, which had not been assembled since 1614, in the days of Richelieu. This body met at Versailles on May 5, 1789. The representatives of the people—the Commons, or the Third Estate—outnumbered, in an assembly of nearly 1200 members, the deputies of the nobles and the clergy together. On June 17th, the Estates, sitting as one body, took the name of the National Assembly, and the leadership of the popular element was assumed by a determined, able, and eloquent man of the noble class, Mirabeau. At this crisis, the weak, well-meaning Louis took counsel of his Austrian wife, Marie Antoinette, and of the reactionary party in the court. The royal garrison of Paris was showing sympathy with the people, and an army which included foreign regiments composed of German and Hungarian troops, was gathered at Versailles. The dismissal of Necker, whom the people looked to as a possible “saviour of France,” was followed, on July 14th, by the insurrection in Paris which ended in the capture of the hated fortress-prison, the Bastille. This beginning of armed revolution showed the way to a swift succession of exciting events. A national guard, formed at Paris, hoisted the tricolour, destined to become the flag of a new France. In this famous standard, white, emblem of the French monarchy, was placed between blue and red, the colours of the French capital. On August 4th, the clergy and nobles in the Assembly surrendered all their privileges, but no concessions could now stay the course of events. The people rose throughout the land, hunted away the collectors of taxes, pillaged and burnt many of the country-houses, and drove the first flight of nobles, known in history as the Emigrés, to seek refuge across the frontiers and beyond the Channel. In October, a furious mob brought the king and queen from Versailles, as virtual prisoners, to Paris. In December, the Church domains were confiscated for the benefit of the nation. In

January 1790, the old partition of the land into provinces was changed for a division into departments. In June, all titles of nobility were abolished. The Jacobin Club at Paris, headed by extreme men such as Robespierre and Danton, became the chief power in France, throughout which its democratic principles of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity were propagated and maintained, with every kind of intrigue, violence, and espionage, by more than 1200 branch societies. In April 1791, the death of Mirabeau deprived France of a mediator who might have guided the revolution to moderate and beneficial ends. In June, Louis and Marie Antoinette, brought back to Paris from their "Flight to Varennes," were placed under further restraint. A great impulse had been given to the democratic cause by the king's correspondence with foreign powers, in an attempt to control the domestic affairs of France by armed intervention from abroad. In August 1791, the Emperor of Austria, Leopold II., the king of Prussia, Frederick William II., and some minor German princes, irritated the French people by the Convention of Pilnitz, concluded at a country-house of that name near Dresden. Republican fury in France blazed up more fiercely than ever under the declared intention of "interfering by effectual methods" on behalf of the French king. In October, a new "Legislative Assembly" in France superseded the National or Constituent Assembly, and severe measures, not sanctioned by the king, who was still in secret correspondence with Austria and Prussia, were passed against the emigrés and the nonjuring priests who declined to swear allegiance to the new democratic constitution. In April 1792, France declared war against Austria. In June, the Tuileries palace was invaded by an armed mob, and the king was forced to wear the red cap, the symbol of the advanced republicans. In July, Prussia declared war against France, and the Duke of Brunswick, a relic of the wars of Frederick the Great, was placed in command of the allied Prussian and Austrian armies. He issued a manifesto, threatening the French people with "military execution" if their sovereign were subjected to further personal insult. Then the Sections, or armed bands of Paris, organised by the Jacobin Club, rose in fury on August 10th, stormed the Tuileries, with the slaughter of the Swiss guard, and conveyed the king, queen, and royal family as prisoners to the Temple. The Legislative Assembly came to an end, and on September 21st the National Convention met. Royalty was formally abolished, and the "Year I." of the Republic was proclaimed. The moderate party in the new chamber, styled Girondists or Brissotins, headed by able and eloquent men such as Brissot, Gensonné, Vergniaud, Roland, Pétion, and Condorcet, were overbalanced by the violent members called the Jacobins or Mountain, including Carnot, Marat, Robespierre, Danton, Camille Desmoulins, Saint-Just, Fouché, Tallien, and Couthon. A worse class of extreme revolutionists included Hébert, Fouquier Tinville, Carrier, Lebon, Collot, Billaud, and Barère. In the first week of

September, the foreign invasion of France on the north-east frontier had caused the dreadful massacre of royalist prisoners in Paris, and, on the 20th of the same month, the defeat of the Prussians at Valmy by the French under Dumouriez and Kellermann brought about the retirement of the allies. In November, the Austrians, pursued over the frontier of the Netherlands, were defeated by Dumouriez at Jemappes, and the triumphant Jacobins hurled defiance in the face of monarchies by the execution of Louis on January 21, 1793. On the same day, the terrible Committee of Public Safety assumed the chief power in Paris, and in March the Revolutionary Tribunal, whose judgments were aimed at all moderate republicans, and at opponents or suspected persons of every class, began the Reign of Terror. The Girondists were swept away by the guillotine or other forms of violent death. The queen died on the scaffold in October, and the utmost cruelty was used in crushing all opposition at Nantes, Lyons, Arras, and other provincial towns. The French republic, assailed by monarchs, sought the destruction of monarchy in war against her neighbours, and by every kind of revolutionary agency, and thus banded against herself, in successive or simultaneous effort, nearly all the governments of western Europe. Fourteen armies, numbering over a million of men, organised by the genius of Carnot, strove against foreign and domestic foes. A sanguinary struggle in La Vendée ended in the suppression of a royalist revolt. In June 1794, Jourdan defeated the Austrians at Fleurus. Prussia made peace in 1795, and acknowledged the new power. Holland was overrun by Pichegru, and the Batavian Republic was established. At home, the Revolution, after the execution of Danton and Desmoulins by Robespierre, the extinction on the scaffold of Robespierre, Couthon, and Saint-Just, and the banishment of Collot, Billaud, and Barère, ended its second stage, in October 1795, with the establishment of a Council of Five Hundred, a Senate, and an executive body of five members called the Directory, of whom the chief were Carnot and Barras. Anarchy had come to an end in Paris with the "whiff of grapeshot" fired by the rising artillery-officer, Buonaparte, who was coming before the world as the most striking figure of modern history.

The French Revolution had a vast influence upon both the internal condition and the external policy of the British people. A struggle for our national existence put aside all efforts in the direction of parliamentary reform, and public opinion compelled a great and powerful minister, who had nearly always been the friend of civil and religious freedom, to sacrifice, in some measure, the personal liberty of British citizens to the cause of permanent national welfare. A man who had no liking either for war or for arbitrary rule, and had been animated by friendly feeling towards the French nation, was driven into the most costly and sanguinary contest of modern times, and into harsh and cruel measures of repressive policy at home. Between 1789 and 1793 the public feeling of

England
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Revolution,
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England underwent a change against which Fox, the most eloquent advocate of popular rights, could only make a vain protest. The truth was, that the most sagacious observers of the great Continental event were unable to see the probable career, and to estimate the real strength, of the new-born liberty of France. The fall of the Bastille was regarded with hope and joy by young and ardent minds. Coleridge and Wordsworth shared the sentiments of Fox, who considered the event of the 14th of July as "the greatest and best event that ever happened in the world." Burke soon seceded from his Whig colleagues in opposition, Sheridan and Fox. As early as February 1790, he denounced the French, in a debate on the army estimates, as mere "architects of ruin." Sheridan, in reply, defended the doings of the French Assembly, excused the excesses of the French populace, and styled Burke an "advocate of despotism." A new Parliament met in November 1790, a few weeks after Burke had published his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. This famous work not only produced a great immediate effect upon public opinion, but maintained a permanent influence amongst the generation to whose fears it appealed. Eloquence and argumentative power aroused English hatred against the anarchists of Paris, and stirred up sympathy for a humiliated king, a proscribed nobility, and a plundered Church. On the other side, Thomas Paine, a deistical writer who had strongly supported the American colonists in their revolt, was the advocate of the French people in his *Rights of Man*. A young Scottish writer of vast attainments, James Mackintosh, replied to Burke in the *Vindiciae Gallicae*. In May 1791, Burke finally quitted his party, and formally, in the House of Commons, renounced his personal friendship with Fox, a step which excited to tears the warm-hearted Whig statesman. Two months later, the spirit of hostility aroused by Burke against all who favoured the French Revolution was vented in riots at Birmingham. On July 14th, a furious mob displayed their zeal for "Church and King" by burning two meeting-houses, and destroying the residence of Dr. Joseph Priestley, an Unitarian minister. He was a man of great abilities and attainments, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and is still renowned for his discoveries in chemistry. His books, manuscripts, and philosophical instruments were burnt, because he supported political and religious reform. For three days longer the burning and plundering of the houses of Dissenters were continued in the town and neighbourhood, with great loss of property and some sacrifice of life. Three of the ignorant populace, incited and encouraged by their superiors in station, died upon the scaffold. In September 1791, we find Pitt regarding without alarm the changes which had occurred in France. Burke, who was his guest at dinner, urged the danger threatening England from the contagion of French principles, but the minister replied, "Never fear: depend on it we shall go on as we are till the day of judgment." "Very likely, sir," replied Burke: "it is

the day of no-judgment that I am afraid of." When Parliament opened on January 31, 1792, the royal speech was made to express confidence in the continuance of peace. A week or two later, Pitt, in a Committee of the House, calculated what his Sinking Fund would amount to in 1808, and declared that "there was never a time in the country's history when, from the situation of Europe, we might more reasonably expect fifteen years of peace than we may at the present moment." He enlarged upon the causes of the great increase of revenue, derived from the natural industry and energy of the country, from the improvements of manufacture, and the invention of machinery, and took pride in the union of liberty with law, affording just security to property, and producing the exertion of genius and labour, the extension and solidity of credit, and the circulation and increase of capital. It was at this period that the great minister was seen as the foremost man in all the world, calm amidst the storms which raged abroad, asserting in majestic oratory the grandeur of his country, vindicating the soundest doctrines of public economy and the most noble principles of justice for the oppressed. In April he supported with the highest eloquence a motion of Wilberforce in favour of the abolition of the slave-trade.

In the same session, the important statute known as Fox's Libel Bill was carried. It had passed through the Commons in 1791, when Pitt aided the exertions of Fox and Erskine, but was lost in the Lords through the action of the Chancellor, Lord Thurlow. In 1792 it was again opposed by the Chancellor, supported by the whole body of the judges, but the efforts of Camden and Lord Loughborough, formerly the great advocate, Wedderburn, overcame all resistance. Thurlow was forced to retire, and was soon succeeded on the woolsack by Loughborough. The most brilliant of our forensic orators, Thomas Erskine, had already rendered priceless service to the cause of freedom for the press. His thorough understanding of the principles of the constitution, and his judgment in avoiding all appeals to abstract right or to false philosophy, gave him great power with both judges and juries. It was a favourite doctrine of Lord Mansfield, in which he was upheld by most of his judicial brethren, that, in cases of prosecution for libel, the jury could only deal with the fact of publication, leaving the judge to decide on the libellous character of the matter implicated. This view put the liberty of the press at the mercy of judges appointed by the crown, and was a step towards the introduction of a new Star Chamber. The new statute rendered juries, in criminal trials for libel, judges of the libel itself, as well as of the fact of publication.

In May 1792, Pitt, once an advocate of parliamentary reform, opposed Mr. Grey, afterwards Earl Grey, in a notice of motion upon that subject, and declared that this was no time "to make hazardous experiments." A royal proclamation was issued against the publication and dispersion of seditious

Fox's
Libel Act,
1792.

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growing
change,
1792.

writings. By this time the violent changes made in France were turning all our prosperous classes into ardent Anti-Jacobins. The Whig party was revolting from Fox, and his followers in the Commons sank in numbers from over a hundred and fifty to less than a third. The September massacres in Paris intensified the hatred of all British opponents of the French people, and wrought shame and disgust in all their friends. Romilly wrote of "a republic of tigers," and Fox described the tragedy as "the most heart-breaking event" for the friends of "the true cause." The royal speech at the opening of Parliament in December alluded to designs in England, "pursued in concert with persons in foreign countries," for the "subversion of all order and government," and to the need of augmenting the naval and military forces. Pitt still wished to leave France to arrange her own internal affairs, but the execution of Louis was a decisive event. Lord Gower, the British ambassador in Paris, had been recalled in August 1792, on the virtual deposition of the French king, and English naval preparations caused the National Convention, on February 1, 1793, to issue a declaration of war.

The powers of Pitt were now to be proved in a new sphere of action, in which he conspicuously failed. As an administrator of the great war into which his country was now plunged, he showed an utter lack of capacity. He did not understand the nature of the contest against the old foe of England. The French people, newly freed, were fired with ambition and enthusiasm, and fraught with energy and spirit. Pitt had little of his father's skill in choosing men fit for command, and he so used the vast resources placed by Parliament at his disposal that, after eight years of warfare, the British army could hardly claim a victory in Europe. The British navy showed herself worthy of her old renown, but gross injustice and neglect twice drove our brave seamen into mutiny which might have had fatal issues. The first operations of the war took place in the Netherlands. The king's second son, the Duke of York, was sent over with a few thousand troops, who helped the Austrians under the Prince of Coburg to defeat the French near Valenciennes. The town was taken, after a fierce bombardment, in the last week of July 1793. An attack on Dunkirk failed, and the campaign closed in November. In the south of France, the fleet under Lord Hood forced the surrender of Toulon with many ships of war, and the place was held for a time by the French royalists and some British troops. In December the skill of Colonel Buonaparte, then twenty-four years of age, compelled an evacuation of the works and the town, and the British fleet withdrew, bearing amongst its officers two named Horatio Nelson and Sir Sidney Smith. In the spring of 1794, the French government threatened an invasion of our shores, and some feeble attempts were made in the enrolment of volunteers. Nearly ninety thousand seamen and marines were voted for the year, and the navy

Pitt and
the war,
1793-1801.

was soon at work. On "the glorious first of June," Lord Howe, commanding the Channel fleet of twenty-six sail of the line, attacked the French, who were in equal force, under Villaret Joyeuse. A desperate fight off Ushant ended in the capture of seven French ships of the line and the destruction of another. Nothing more was then heard of French invasion. The Continental coalition against France was now in a rotten state, which Pitt was obliged to strive and patch up with subsidies to Austria and Prussia. In the north-east of France, 40,000 British and Hanoverians, under the Duke of York, helped to win two battles in May, but the campaign ended in disaster. The Duke was driven out of Flanders into Holland, and through Holland into Westphalia. In the spring of 1795, a poor remnant of British troops took ship at Bremen for England. In the retreat, the young colonel of the 33rd regiment of foot displayed much skill and firmness, the faint dawn of coming glory. He was then known as the Hon. Arthur Wellesley, younger son of an Irish peer, Lord Mornington. At the end of 1794, some changes in the ministry somewhat improved the management of the departments concerned in war. Important offices were given to leading Whigs of the section which had followed Burke in quitting Fox. The Duke of Portland became Home Secretary, and Windham was made Secretary at War. Dundas, an old supporter of Pitt, took a newly-formed office as Secretary for War, and Pitt's elder brother, the indolent and incompetent Earl of Chatham, was replaced at the Admiralty by Earl Spencer, the best administrator of the day in England. When Parliament assembled on December 30, 1794, the address was seconded by a young member named George Canning, already noted for his wit and sarcasm. He soon became the most devoted as well as the ablest supporter of Pitt. Canning spoke strongly for the continuance of the war, and a motion of Wilberforce, recommending overtures for peace, was rejected by a large majority. The chief foreign events of 1795 were the withdrawal of Prussia from the coalition, the final failure of the French royalists in La Vendée, the suppression of the anarchists in Paris by Buonaparte, and our seizure of Dutch colonies at the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, Demerara, and elsewhere in the East and West Indies. In 1796 and 1797 the war between Austria and France was waged on a great scale in Germany and Italy. On the Rhine, the Archduke Charles, one of the best commanders of that age of great tacticians and strategists, was successful against Jourdan and Moreau. Beyond the Alps, Napoleon Buonaparte, chief in command of the Army of Italy, gave the first grand proofs of his genius for war. The power of Austria and her allies was completely overthrown. In April the Sardinians were routed and compelled to sue for peace. In May the Austrians were defeated at Lodi, Milan was captured, and the Papal States, Naples, Modena, and Parma were reduced to submission. The conqueror then turned against the Austrians under Wurmser, whom he

defeated at Castiglione in August. In November Alvinzy was defeated at Arcola, and again, in January 1797, at Rivoli. Mantua succumbed to famine, and then Buonaparte crossed the Alps into the Tyrol, defeated the Archduke Charles, and forced the Emperor to terms. In October 1797, by the treaty of Campo Formio, the victorious French Republic acquired the Austrian Netherlands and Lombardy. Savoy and Nice had been ceded by Sardinia, and Avignon by the Pope. The Republic of Venice, after her many centuries of freedom, was given up to Austria as the province called Venetia.

In 1796, Spain joined France in the contest against Britain, and our naval forces were again confronted by the united fleets of three maritime powers, including Holland, now subject to French dominion. An invasion of our shores was planned, and squadrons were assembled at Carthagen, Brest, and at the island of Texel on the Dutch coast. The year 1797 opened with financial trouble. A run upon the northern banks had caused many to suspend payment of their notes in gold, and the pressure soon reached the Bank of England. Pitt's application for a loan in February brought matters to a crisis. The directors of the Bank of England declared that they could no longer meet their engagements in specie, and an Order in Council, followed by an Act, allowed the Bank to refuse to pay cash except for sums under one pound. One-pound and two-pound notes were issued, and bank-paper took the place of gold until 1821. The internal and external trade of the country were rapidly growing, under the extension of our manufactures, and numerous Bills for the enclosure of land and for the construction of canals gave solid proof of the vitality of national industry. The three hostile powers hoped, by the union of their fleets, to form an invincible armada, which should sweep the Channel clear of the ships that maintained the maritime ascendancy of Britain. That union was never effected. In February 1797, Sir John Jervis, with the powerful aid of Commodore Nelson, as his second in command, defeated the Spanish fleet in the battle of St. Vincent. The British ships were but fifteen sail of the line, against twenty-five liners of the foe. The glory of the day rested with the heroic Nelson, whose flag flew on the *Captain*. Trowbridge, in the *Culloden*, and Collingwood, in command of the *Excellent*, helped him to fight seven of the largest Spanish ships, two of which, the *San Nicolas* and the *San Josef*, were taken by boarders led by Nelson himself. Two other ships became prizes, with three thousand prisoners in all, including many troops destined for a landing on our shores. A few weeks later, the national safety was imperilled by a general mutiny, at Spithead, of the sailors on board Lord Bridport's fleet of fifteen sail of the line. The wrongs of the British seaman in that day began with his forced service under the system of impressment. Hurried on board ship by armed gangs of men, he then became subject to small pay, bad provisions, severe and degrading punishment for trivial offences, neglect under suffering from

The
navy,
1797.

sickness and from wounds, and petty fraud at the hands of the purser. The chief return made for the endurance of all these injuries was the contingent receipt of prize-money, distributed with gross disregard to the just claims of the common sailor. The influence of Lord Howe, an admiral whom the men loved and trusted, and the redress, through Parliament, of the worst grievances, with the royal pardon for the mutineers, restored order in the squadron, and the men, who had revolted on April 15th, put to sea on May 17th. Scarcely was this danger over, when a still more formidable outbreak occurred on the fleet at the Nore. Four of the ships which, under Admiral Duncan, were blockading the Dutch fleet at Texel, sailed to join the mutineers, and the mouth of the Thames was stopped. The redress of grievances which had been accorded to the fleet at Spithead applied to the whole British navy, and the government took stern measures with the new revolt. Acts were passed for prompt dealing with mutineers in the navy, and preparations were made for an attack. The hearts of the disaffected failed. Ship after ship fell away from the cause, and on June 15th, the red flag was hauled down. Richard Parker, the leader, was executed after trial, and the public peril ended, after a fall of the three per cents. to 47. In October, British seamen redeemed their fame by the great victory of Camperdown, on the Dutch coast, facing Yarmouth. The enemy, under Admiral de Winter, had started with fifteen sail of the line, to join the French fleet at Brest, with the purpose of invading Ireland. The gallant Duncan, one of the noblest men, in person and character, that the annals of our navy record, attacked the Dutch with fourteen ships. A fierce battle of four hours' duration, in which the enemy displayed all their olden skill and valour, ended in the capture of eight ships of the line, and four smaller vessels. De Winter, in all points a worthy foe of Duncan, struck his flag to the British admiral, but not till all his masts were gone, and half his crew were killed and wounded. Addington, the Speaker, went on board Duncan's flagship, the *Venerable*, and visited the wounded as they lay in their hammocks. "We hope, sir," cried some of the men, "we have now made atonement for our late offence." The French government had lately, after long negotiations, declined to make terms of peace with Great Britain, and when Buonaparte returned in triumph from Italy with the treaty of Campo Formio, they urged him to invade England. Early in 1798, he visited the shores of the Channel, saw somewhat and learned more of the preparations to meet attack, and then declined to run the risk. His daring and far-reaching ambition was now turned towards our possessions in the East.

In May 1798, a powerful French fleet, under Admiral Brueys, with 40,000 troops on board the men-of-war and 400 transports, sailed forth from Toulon. Their mark was Egypt, but their first prey was Malta, which was taken from the grandmaster and knights of St. John of Jerusalem, an effete religious body to whom, in the days of their pride,

it had been granted by Charles V. Nelson was in search of his enemy, but they eluded all his efforts, and the French army landed in Egypt. The occupation of Alexandria was followed by the defeat of the Mamlooks, in the famous battle of the Pyramids, the capture of Cairo, and the conquest of Lower Egypt. Nelson the avenger was close at hand, and on August 1st, the French fleet in Aboukir Bay was destroyed in the "conquering" victory of the Nile. Of thirteen sail of the line, nine were taken and two burned, and the French army was imprisoned in Egypt. In pursuit of his designs against India, Buonaparte, in February 1799, took his army into Syria. Master already of the Nile, he aimed next at the Euphrates, and dreamed of a victorious march to the help of our Eastern foes. Gaza soon surrendered, and Jaffa was taken by assault. St. Jean d'Acre, the key of Syria, suffered siege for sixty days. A Turkish army of relief was routed near Mount Tabor, but all efforts against the works of Acre failed before the brave and skilful defence of the Mussulman garrison, and some British seamen and marines, directed by Sir Sidney Smith, and by a former fellow-student of Buonaparte's at Brienne, the royalist Colonel Philippeaux. This first failure of a brilliant career sent Buonaparte back to Egypt, where he routed, in July, a Turkish army which had landed at Aboukir, and then bethought him of return to France.

Grave events had followed the treaty of Campo Formio. In 1798, Rome was taken by the French under Berthier and Masséna. The Pope, Pius VI., went as a prisoner to France, and the palaces, churches, and convents were stripped of their works of art. A Roman Republic was now added to the Cisalpine Republic of northern Italy, and the Ligurian Republic established at Genoa. The second coalition against France included England, Russia, Austria, Turkey, Portugal, and Naples. The sovereign of southern Italy was soon driven to Palermo, and his dominions on the mainland became the Parthenopean Republic. Then came a turn of fortune for the French. In April 1799, Jourdan was driven beyond the Rhine by the Archduke Charles. Moreau, Masséna, and other able generals were defeated in Italy by the Austrians under Melas and the Archduke, and by the Russians under Suwaroff. In three months, royalty was restored at Naples, the Cisalpine Republic came to an end, and the work of Buonaparte was undone. The great man reached Paris on October 16th, and found the Directory, after four years of corrupt government, tottering to its fall. With the help of Talleyrand and Fouché, masters of intrigue and plot, backed by his warlike renown and by a display of military force, Buonaparte, in November, abolished the existing rule, and the French Republic virtually ended with his appointment as First Consul. The two Chambers, a Council of State and a Legislative Body, were the mere instruments of supreme power, and a centralised government, with prefects in every territorial depart-

Buona-
parte in
Egypt
and
Syria,
1798-1799.

Napoleon
supreme
in France,
Decem-
ber 1799.

ment, became the form of rule which has survived all other changes. The adventurer had become an absolute ruler, controlling the resources of a new France, resolved to maintain order, to recruit the national finances, to restore the religious forms, and to guard against reaction, whether of royalists or Jacobins, by a strict censorship of the press and a complete system of political spies.

In 1799, Pitt, eager for the deliverance of Holland from French domination, sent out an expedition under the command of ^{The war,} Sir Ralph Abercromby. The Dutch fleet was captured through ^{1800-1801.} mutiny on board the ships, and Abercromby and Sir John Moore defeated the French and Dutch at Alkmaar, near Amsterdam. The arrival of the brave but incapable Duke of York was the sure warrant of ultimate failure. He brought with him a Russian contingent, and assumed the command of nearly 40,000 men. His first action ended in his retreat, and at the end of November he quitted Holland with his troops, by permission of the French commander. This disgraceful result was consistent with the rest of Pitt's imbecile management of warlike affairs. In slavish dependence upon royal command or parliamentary influence, he organised his armaments upon the old principles of favouritism, and, with able generals at his disposal, sent forth force after force to encounter certain disaster and discredit. His schemes were failures, his predictions were confounded, his coalitions were broken up, the great enemy of Britain rarely met defeat on land, and it was only within the walls of Parliament that the minister was sure of success. In reliance upon national support, Pitt turned a deaf ear to Napoleon's overtures for peace. A note from Talleyrand, the French minister for foreign affairs, was met in a spirit of determined hostility, with a ridiculous and insolent demand for "the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home, and in consideration and respect abroad." This response aroused disgust in the more moderate of Pitt's supporters, Addington, Wilberforce, and Cornwallis, and in a large measure accounts for and excuses Napoleon's constant enmity to Britain. A like contemptuous reply was received from the Austrian emperor, and the great soldier at once resolved to seek revenge on the field of battle. In May 1800, he crossed the Great St. Bernard into Italy with a powerful army, entered Milan, defeated Melas at Marengo, and was again master of Piedmont. December saw Moreau, in Germany, victorious at Hohenlinden over the Archduke John, and in February 1801, the Peace of Luneville, concluded between the Emperor and Napoleon, made the Rhine the boundary between Germany and France. The second coalition had failed.

In 1793, political passion impelled the alarmists in Great Britain to call for such stringent measures of precaution and coercion as had not been witnessed since the days of the exiled Stuarts. In March, a Traitorous Correspondence Bill, in spite of opposition from Fox, Sheri-

dan, and Erskine, passed the House of Commons, and soon became law.

Home The definition of treasonable acts, as compared with the statute
affairs, of Edward III., was very widely extended, and a man now be-
1793-1801. came a traitor if he bought land in France, or held intercourse
 with that country without special permission under the Great Seal. Men of education and refinement, lawyers, doctors, and ministers of religion, were sentenced to the pillory and to imprisonment for the use of "seditious" words. In Scotland, measures of repression assumed an atrocious form. The old laws against sedition were revived. A young advocate named Muir was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and made the associate of the worst felons at Botany Bay, and an English clergyman named Palmer incurred seven years of the like penalty, for what, in England, at the worst, would have been a misdemeanour. Their offence was really little more than an advocacy of parliamentary reform. A Scottish judge, the Lord Justice-Clerk Braxfield, who seems to have aspired to the fame of a minor Jeffreys, was the man who inflicted this punishment. In May 1794, the seizure of books and papers belonging to certain societies in London, alleged to have revolutionary objects, caused a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. It was declared that "a treacherous and detestable conspiracy had been formed for subverting the existing laws and constitution, and for introducing the system of anarchy and confusion which had lately prevailed in France." By an unscrupulous application of the law of constructive treason, the government charged twelve persons, after five months employed in preparing the case, with "compassing the death of our lord the king." The first person arraigned before the special commission at the Old Bailey was Thomas Hardy. Sir John Scott, the attorney-general, better known as Lord Eldon, opened the prosecution in a speech of nine hours, and occupied five days in the evidence given to establish his statements. Erskine, for the defence, in a speech of seven hours, which was, in the whole compass of forensic eloquence, one of the noblest displays of impressive reasoning, constitutional learning, earnest assertion of the principles of liberty, and fearless exposure of arbitrary measures, procured from the jury a verdict of acquittal. The advisers of the crown desperately strove for success in another case, and John Horne Tooke, a clergyman who had studied for the bar, and had already suffered, under Lord North's administration, fine and imprisonment for "seditious libel" in condemning the American war, was tried, with the same evidence, on the same charge as Hardy. Tooke himself cross-examined the witnesses with great readiness and coolness, but wisely left to Erskine the speech for his defence. The able advocate spoke with even more boldness than before, and the jury, without retiring, gave another verdict of not guilty. A third prisoner, John Thelwall, was then tried and acquitted. The truth was, that only a very small number of Englishmen in that age were anxious for revolutionary change, and they were a party quite devoid of power to effect

their aims. After the three acquittals, the rest of the prisoners were discharged, and the public safety was, for a time, allowed to rest upon the quiescent state of the great body of the nation. The marriage of the Prince of Wales was the chief domestic event of the year 1795. The Prince was eager for the payment of the enormous debts caused by his reckless profligacy, and, with that view, consented to wed his first cousin, the Princess Caroline of Brunswick. The bride was a giddy, coarse, ill-educated woman, and the union ended in trouble and disgrace, due to the vices of the husband and to the imprudence of the wife. The opening of the parliamentary session in October 1795 occurred at a time of excessive dearness of provisions. At a meeting of the London Corresponding Society, bold speeches had been addressed to a great multitude in St. George's Fields, and the king, on his way to the Houses, was assailed with the cries of "Bread! bread! Peace! peace!" One of the windows of the state carriage was broken by a missile. The monarch showed his wonted courage, amidst the groans and hisses of the mob. Pitt brought in and passed Bills against treasonable and seditious practices and meetings, and great restraint was laid upon every public assemblage for the purpose of preparing any petition or remonstrance, or for deliberating upon any grievance in Church or State. Fox expressed the utmost indignation, and Pitt declared that "if he were to resign office, his head would be off in six months." The minister grew yearly stronger within the walls of the House of Commons, and the Whig opposition waned ever more as the century drew towards its close. In December 1798, for the first time in the history of British finance, Pitt proposed and carried an income-tax. The impost began with incomes above £60 a year, and declined from 10 per cent., upon a graduated scale, on incomes between £200 and £60. The tax was estimated to produce annually ten millions, and the necessities of the time caused it to pass both Houses without any division. The last year of the eighteenth century was a time of grievous scarcity, bringing the bulk of the people to the verge of famine. In 1800, deficient harvests raised the price of wheat to 134s. a quarter, and the opening year of this century saw that price enhanced to 156s. Bread riots caused the government again to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act. A good harvest brought the price of bread down to one-half the famine price of nearly 2s. for the quarter loaf, when the poor-rates, with a population of nine millions, had risen to a sum exceeding four millions sterling.

The "Irish question" has long been a battle-ground of British politicians. To William Pitt belongs the honour of being ^{Ireland,} the first English minister that formed a great and com- ^{1793-1801.} prehensive plan for the benefit of that unhappy country. It was not his fault that he was enabled to accomplish but one half of his project, and only to effect a parliamentary union of a nature which deprived the measure of a large part of its healing effects. The Parliament at

College Green which began its brief career in 1782 did not represent at all the great body of the Irish nation. Of its three hundred members, two-thirds were returned by the influence of less than one hundred persons. The exclusion of Catholics both from membership and from the franchise caused much bitterness of feeling, and in the north of the country Protestant "Peep-of-day Boys" were pitted against Catholic "Defenders." "Orange" Lodges were formed for the maintenance of Protestant ascendancy, and religious bigotry produced its natural effects. The French Revolution caused a new stir of political passions, and in July 1790 the "Society of United Irishmen" was founded in Belfast. Its chief promoters were Hamilton Rowan and Wolfe Tone, and their main object was the formation of a union among Irishmen of all religious parties, with a view to a thorough parliamentary reform, including the emancipation of the Irish Catholics, by peaceful and constitutional means. This association was worked chiefly by Irish Protestants. After a severe struggle against corruption and bigotry, they succeeded in effecting, through the Irish Parliament, important measures of reform. In 1792, Catholics were admitted to the legal profession on taking the oath of allegiance, and restrictions on the education of their children and on intermarriage with Protestants were removed. In the following year, Catholic worship, education, and disposition of property were made entirely free, and Catholics were admitted to vote at Parliamentary elections, on taking the oaths of allegiance and of abjuration of Papal supremacy. Many civil and military offices were thrown open to them, and they were permitted to strive for the honours and emoluments of Dublin University. The turning-point in the modern history of Ireland was the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam. That nobleman had joined Pitt's government in 1794, and arrived in Dublin in January 1795, resolved on supporting a full measure of emancipation, which should admit Catholics to seats in the Irish Parliament. He entered upon his functions in the full belief that no restrictions would be imposed upon his work of complete conciliation. His arrival was regarded throughout Ireland as a message of peace. But Pitt, Grattan, and the United Irishmen had not duly measured the character of the king. The weak and diseased mind of the sovereign whose obstinacy had driven the American colonies into successful rebellion, was now fully persuaded that his assent to the removal of Catholic disabilities would be a violation of his coronation oath that would transfer the crown to the House of Savoy. Within less than two months Lord Fitzwilliam was recalled, and, as an Irish correspondent of Burke wrote, Ireland was "on the brink of civil war." The Society of United Irishmen was at once changed from a constitutional to a seditious and secret body. Wolfe Tone's negotiations with France caused his flight to the United States, whence he sailed for France in 1796. In December of that year, a powerful expedition, with the Irish rebel

on board, started from Brest for Ireland. Seventeen sail of the line and thirteen frigates bore an army of 20,000 men, under the command of one of the ablest and purest of the revolutionary generals, Hoche, fresh from the pacification of La Vendée. A great storm dispersed the fleet, and only a portion of the armament entered Bantry Bay. The ship bearing Hoche had been driven off by the weather, and the French admiral then sailed back to Brest. Several ships were taken by our cruisers, and the expedition thus failed. Lord Camden went to Ireland as successor to Fitzwilliam, and the first effect of the new rule was that the smouldering fires of sectarian hatred were blown into full flame. In 1797 the government, by Coercion Acts and the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, had placed the whole country in a state of siege, and martial law, administered by undisciplined troops of yeomanry, headed by ignorant and reckless officers, took the place of civil justice. English rule was made odious by cruel oppression, and the remedies used against disturbance became the stimulants of insurrection. Burke, the zealous advocate of order, denounced the violations of law by which the people of Ireland were being crushed, and the brave Scottish soldier, Abercromby, commander of the army in Ireland, was forced to resign his post for issuing a general order, in which he severely rebuked the "licentiousness which must render the troops formidable to every one but the enemy." In truth, there is nothing more disgraceful in our history than the brutal outrages by which the yeomanry, almost wholly composed of Orangemen, provoked the rebellion of 1798. Lord Moira, in the English House of Peers, declared the administration of Lord Camden to be "the most absurd as well as the most disgusting tyranny that any nation ever groaned under," and the Duke of Bedford, in the same place, moved for the stoppage of "a system of coercion" that was "shocking to humanity." A general insurrection was planned by a Directory, of which the chief member was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, brother of the Duke of Leinster. The plans of the conspirators were disclosed, and in March 1798 some of the leaders were arrested in Dublin. In June, Fitzgerald died of the wounds received by him in resisting capture at a house in the Irish capital, and the rebellion then took the shape of detached risings, accompanied by cruel deeds perpetrated by the rebels, which were revenged with ruthless severity long after resistance had ceased. In the counties of Wexford and Wicklow the rebels gained some successes over the royal troops. The towns of Enniscorthy and Wexford were captured, but the insurgents were repulsed at Arklow and at New Ross, and on June 21st they suffered a final and decisive defeat from General Lake, the successor of Abercromby, in the battle of Vinegar Hill, north-east of Enniscorthy. Lord Camden had been succeeded as Viceroy, in June 1798, by the Marquis Cornwallis, and to him was committed the task of reducing Ireland to perfect submission. One of his chief difficulties lay in the ferocious conduct of

the victors. He writes of the troops as "delighting in murder," and in April 1799, when he was accused, by the Orange faction, of undue leniency, he declared that his business had been to stop "the burning of houses and murder of inhabitants by the yeomanry, or any other person who delighted in that amusement," and to put an end to the system of free-quarters, "which comprehended universal rape and robbery throughout the whole country." A few months later, Cornwallis asserted that, but for his restraining hand, the system of martial law would have become "a more violent and intolerable tyranny than that of Robespierre." "I attempt," he writes, "to moderate that violence and cruelty which have once driven, and which, if tolerated, must again drive, this wretched country into rebellion." The revolt was in no sense a religious rising, except in so far as it was provoked by the withholding of Catholic emancipation. In origin and organisation, the movement was essentially Protestant, and, though the rebel forces were mainly composed of the Catholic peasantry, the rising was one against tyranny, without reference to the religion of those who had been doing the work of tyrants. In August, when the rebellion was entirely suppressed, a French force arrived off the west coast of Ireland. Eleven hundred men, under General Humbert, landed in Killala Bay, and a large body of the royal volunteers and militia, brave only against the helpless, fled from the invaders without firing a shot. In September, after some fighting, the French surrendered to General Lake, and in October a French squadron was thoroughly defeated by the fleet under Sir John Warren. Wolfe Tone was captured on board one of the enemy's frigates, and his suicide in prison at Dublin, after sentence of death by court-martial, was the last event in the '98. It is estimated that 70,000 persons, of whom five-sevenths were insurgents, perished in the field, or by popular vengeance, or by military execution, in the course of this unhappy conflict.

The way was now clear for Pitt's scheme of the amalgamation of the two Parliaments. Ireland was once more "pacified," and quiet with the quietude of desolation, helplessness, and despair. In January 1799, the measure was first announced to the Houses at Westminster and Dublin. After the lapse of nearly a century, the political transaction called the Union comes up for judgment at the bar of history, and it may be confidently pronounced, on an impartial view of the event and its authors, that the methods by which the Union was carried, against the wishes of the great body of the Irish people, constitute a political crime of the deepest turpitude. An overwhelming military force maintained a reign of terror, under which the free expression of public opinion was stifled, and public meetings, summoned to protest against the measure, were dispersed at the point of the bayonet. The consent of the Irish Parliament was procured by the most gross corruption. The borough-mongers who

The
Union,
1800.

returned a large number of members in the House of Commons, were bought off at the cost of about £1,250,000 sterling, and the support of the Irish nobles and gentry was purchased by a free bestowal of peerages. The press was bribed with bank-notes, and all placemen under the crown who refused to vote for the Union were dismissed from office. Pitt's resolutions were carried at Westminster in April 1799, and in February 1800 the Irish House of Commons, after a strong protest from the lips of Grattan, decided in favour of the Union by a majority of forty-three. On January 1, 1801, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland came into official existence, with twenty-eight temporal peers for Ireland, elected for life by the Irish peerage, and four spiritual lords, taking their places in rotation. The number of Irish members for the House of Commons was fixed at one hundred, the Churches were united, the trade between the two countries was further freed from restrictions. The king, when he closed the session in July 1800, considered "this great measure as the happiest event of my reign." Cornwallis saw the danger of governing Ireland upon the principles which excluded Catholics from sitting in Parliament, and declared that British statesmen must not take it for granted that the Union would save the country.

Early in 1801 Pitt resigned office, after vain attempts to induce the king's assent to the repeal of the laws excluding Catholics from Parliament and from public employments. In March, Addington, the Speaker, became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Eldon succeeded Loughborough on the woolsack, and Lord Hawkesbury replaced Lord Grenville as Foreign Secretary. The new prime minister had been an admirable president in the Commons, but his powers were not equal to the discharge of his duties as leader of the House against keen and vigorous opponents. The contest with France again drew a British army to Egypt. Pitt, before his resignation, had resolved on the expulsion of the French armies left there by Napoleon. In March 1801, Abercromby forced a landing at Aboukir, in the face of a tremendous fire, and, a few days later, defeated the enemy, under Ménou, in the battle of Alexandria. The victor received a fatal wound, but the British army had again, under fit leading, proved its old superiority, and General Hutchinson, after capturing Cairo and Rosetta, received in August the surrender of Ménou at Alexandria. The whole of the French troops were sent back to their own country, and Egypt was restored to the rule of the Turkish sultan. Early in the same year, a new danger in the north of Europe menaced our maritime supremacy. In 1780, an "armed neutrality," composed of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, had sought to interfere with the British "right of search," by which we claimed to stop neutral vessels, and detain warlike stores in course of conveyance to our foes. The navies of France had now been swept from the seas, and she could

Addington's
Ministry,
March
1801, to
April 1804.
The war,
1801-1802.

only obtain articles which were "contraband of war" through the ships of the northern Powers and of other maritime neutrals. The Emperor Paul of Russia now revived the combination, on the principle that neutral flags protect cargoes. British vessels and their crews were seized in Russian ports, and in March 1801 a fleet of eighteen sail of the line, with a number of smaller vessels, left Yarmouth Roads for the Baltic, under Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as the second in command. On April 2nd, the desperate battle of Copenhagen, fought by Nelson with his usual heroism against a superior force, and followed by some skilful diplomacy which concealed the difficulties of the English position, brought the Danish government to terms. The assassination of the Russian emperor, a few days before this event, by some of the nobles who lived in danger from an insane tyrant, put an end to the new "armed neutrality." His son and successor, Alexander, at once made peace, and a general convention adjusted the dispute concerning the rights of neutrals. After renewed threats of French invasion, backed by the assemblage of 100,000 men and a great flotilla of gunvessels at Boulogne, and the failure of an attack by Nelson, preliminary terms of peace were signed at London in October. The British people were weary of the war, and great rejoicing followed the conclusion of the Peace of Amiens in March 1802. The arrangement proved to be nothing but an armistice. Matters had been so adjusted as to leave openings for a fresh quarrel, and the unwise concessions made to France were such as could only encourage the haughty spirit and the ambition of her ruler. Britain surrendered all her conquests save Ceylon and Trinidad, and France retained a large part of her acquisitions, extending her frontier to the Rhine. In August 1802, Napoleon was proclaimed, by his obsequious senate, confirmed by a popular vote, Consul for life, and his demeanour towards the British government took its tone from this open recognition of his supreme power in a permanent form.

BOOK XV.

THE GREAT WAR FOR BRITISH COMMERCE AND FOR EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVIVAL OF THE STRIFE.

Pitt's return to power. Britain in danger of invasion. Trafalgar. Austerlitz. Death of Pitt. Changes of ministry. Fox, Wilberforce, and the slave-trade. Napoleon supreme on the Continent. His paper-attacks on British commerce. Canning's vigour in foreign affairs.

WITHIN a short time of the signature of the Peace of Amiens, Buonaparte was demanding from the British government the **Renewal of the war, May 1803.** stoppage of offensive publications, and the expulsion from our soil of Bourbon princes and certain other French emigrants. The Foreign Secretary, Lord Hawkesbury, declined to violate British liberties, and a sore feeling thus arose. The First Consul then dealt in an arbitrary and aggressive fashion with some of the minor foreign states. An armed "mediation" was made in Swiss affairs, Piedmont was annexed to France, and French troops were kept in Holland, contrary to the late treaty. The French official paper, the *Moniteur*, in January 1803, hinted at a fresh conquest of Egypt and at the seizure of the Ionian Isles, now an independent republic. The British garrison was not withdrawn from Malta, as the treaty had arranged, and this became a fair ground of quarrel for France. In February 1803, Buonaparte, at the Tuileries palace, delivered a long harangue of complaint to the British envoy, Lord Whitworth. A few days later, a royal message to Parliament announced the calling out of the militia, "in consequence of the preparations carrying on in the ports of France and Holland." This was promptly followed by an outrageous scene at the Tuileries, where Buonaparte, in the presence of the foreign ministers, and of a large number of his own officials, assailed Lord Whitworth with insolent vehemence of reproach, as the representative of a country which "respected not treaties." On May 18th, the British ministry laid on the tables of both Houses a declaration of war against France.

The contest upon which Great Britain was now embarking was to be the most momentous in our history. It was a struggle for the national independence and existence, waged against a foe possessed of more than the might and the resources of Louis XIV., directed by supreme energy and skill. Buonaparte hated this country with a deadly hatred, and was resolved to do his utmost for the ruin of her maritime power, and so to clear the way for his mastery of Europe and of our great colonial empire. His first step was the seizure of about 10,000 English travellers in France, where they were detained in captivity for more than ten years. The war at once became universally popular in this country, and all else was forgotten in the one impulse for the defence of British interests at home and abroad. Old quarrels were quelled in the face of the national peril. The passions aroused by the French Revolution had by this time lost their force, and the favourers and the foes of Jacobinism met on the common ground of a patriotic regard for the safety and for the honour of the realm. Disputes as to the best methods of rule for the citizens of the British empire were swept aside by the grand question of the preservation of British freedom against the most formidable of foes. The French ruler was gathering a great army at Boulogne, and on every French and Flemish river, from the Gironde to the Rhine, flat-bottomed boats were building for the transport of an invading host across the narrow sea that beats upon our southern shores. Before the end of 1803, nearly 400,000 volunteers, recruited from all ranks, had been enrolled for the defence of our soil. An universal enthusiasm was abroad. The king, on the terrace at Windsor, bade the band to play "Britons, strike home." The ploughman at his furrow whistled "Rule Britannia." The weaver at Dumfries sang at his loom the stirring song of Burns addressed to the descendants of Wallace. The crisis seemed to call for a change of government. Early in 1804, Addington grew weary of the combined attacks of Pitt and Fox, and was sighing for repose. The feeling of the nation, in spite of his previous ill-success as a war minister, summoned Pitt again to power, as the only man deemed fit to cope with Buonaparte. It was the wish of Pitt to form a ministry composed of all the leading men, but the king would not consent to have anything to do with Fox. The new ministry was therefore composed mainly of the remnants of Addington's administration, with the valuable aid of Pitt's admirer and political pupil, Canning. The minister's great friend, Dundas, who had been created Viscount Melville, was soon forced to retire in disgrace for misuse of public money. In the same month of May 1804 that Pitt resumed office, Buonaparte became Napoleon, Emperor of France. In January 1805, he addressed a letter to George, declaring his desire for peace, but no one was deceived, and our government despatched an evasive reply. Spain now declared war against England, and Pitt formed, with Austria and Russia, the third coalition against France and her allies. In the

summer and autumn of 1805, the peril of invasion reached its height. The whole fleets of Spain and Holland were at Napoleon's disposal, and an armada of seventy sail of the line was to force the passage of the Channel. The army of attack was organised in six corps, with Ney, Soult, and Davoust, three of the ablest of the famous band of marshals, among the leaders of the host. In July 1804, Napoleon had gone to his forces at Boulogne, and written to Latouche Trévillé, his admiral at Toulon, who alone knew all his plans, "Let us be masters of the Channel for six hours, and we are masters of the world." A month later, the death of Trévillé caused a serious delay, and Napoleon then committed a fatal and, for him, a rare mistake in the choice of a fresh man for command. His plans were brought to ruin by the weakness of Villeneuve. In the spring of 1805, renewed preparations were making at Boulogne. On March 30th, Villeneuve sailed from Toulon for the West Indies, as if to attack our possessions there, tempted Nelson across the Atlantic in pursuit, obtained a start of thirty days, and then doubled back for Europe. He steered for Ferrol, there to join the Spanish fleet. Nelson, meanwhile, had sent off swift ships to England, with tidings of his having missed the French in the West Indies, and Sir Robert Calder, in July, was cruising off France and Spain. An indecisive action, west of Cape Finisterre, sent Villeneuve's fleet, now composed of French and Spanish ships, to Corunna and Ferrol. The French leader found pressing orders from Napoleon to hasten to Brest, and then to the Channel, but his heart failed him at the prospect of falling in with Nelson, and he sailed for Cadiz, which he reached on the very day that Napoleon looked for his arrival at Brest. Every man at Boulogne was ready to embark, and Nelson was at Gibraltar. Day by day Napoleon took his stand upon the cliffs, watching for Villeneuve's ships. The French admiral was blockaded at Cadiz by Collingwood, and the whole enterprise of invasion was wrecked. On September 2nd Napoleon quitted Boulogne, and, by one of his most brilliant strokes of strategic genius, hurled his forces at the Continental coalition. While he was leading them to the great campaign which included his triumph over the Austrians at Ulm, his entry as a conqueror into Vienna, and his crowning and crushing victory over two rival emperors at Austerlitz, Nelson's last and greatest battle, off Cape Trafalgar, had finally secured, against the very thought of French invasion, the country which he loved with the deepest love of a patriot and a hero. The health of the great British minister had long been failing, and his death was now at hand. The news of the calamity at Ulm was a shock from which he was revived for a brief space by the tidings of Trafalgar. His last public words, in which, at the Guildhall banquet, he expressed, in his stately fashion, the hope "that England, having saved herself by her energy, may save Europe by her example," were soon followed by the death-blow of Austerlitz. On January 23, 1806, he ended his career, after holding supreme power during nearly

nineteen years, a period for which none of our statesmen had ever been Prime Minister. His bones lie in the Abbey, near to those of his great sire, Chatham, and his noble-minded rival, Fox.

The ministry of "All the Talents" included Erskine as Lord Chancellor, Lord Grenville as head of the Treasury, Fox as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Windham as Minister for War and the Colonies, Lord Howick, afterwards Earl Grey, at the Admiralty, and Lord Henry Petty, afterwards Marquis of Lansdowne, at the Exchequer. The king soon overcame his dislike for Fox, whose spirit and demeanour exercised a potent charm over all who were brought into close connection with him. The great orator and champion of freedom did not long survive his accession to a large portion of the power wielded by his deceased rival. The two objects which lay closest to his heart were the restoration of peace and the abolition of the slave-trade. The close of the war was in a distant future. The death of Fox, on September 13, 1806, was not too early for a glimpse of the success, in the other enterprise, which was reserved, in its full and final measure, for the efforts of his colleagues.

The Quakers were the first people who denounced the iniquity of the slave-trade. In 1751 they resolved, at their annual meeting, to dismiss from the Society of Friends any member who should be concerned in "the unchristian traffic in negroes." In 1767, Granville Sharp, a London merchant, took up the cause, and in the famous case of James Somerset, a negro slave brought to England, he procured from Lord Mansfield, in 1772, the memorable decision that a slave becomes free at the moment of his setting foot on British soil. A few enthusiasts maintained the battle against the influence of the great merchants of Bristol and Liverpool, whose ships yearly carried 50,000 captive negroes from the African coast to the West Indies. Their minds were blinded to the enormity of the evil by the magnitude of the profits, and for many years they succeeded in thwarting all efforts at legislation. Thomas Clarkson, a Cambridge graduate, author of a Latin prize-poem on slavery, devoted himself to the work of abolition, and caused a great stir of public feeling by his publications on the subject. Pitt, Fox, and Wilberforce were all secured in the interest of the slave, and Zachary Macaulay, father of the great historian, gave effective and unselfish aid. In 1792, after the delivery of a splendid oration by Pitt, the House of Commons, by a large majority, decided for a gradual abolition of the slave-traffic, but Bills carried through the Commons were always thrown out in the Lords. The question was kept before the Commons by Wilberforce, assisted in the country by the press, the platform, and the Evangelical party in the Church, and in 1806 Grenville carried through the House of Lords a Bill prohibiting British subjects from supplying the colonies with slaves. This stroke was speedily followed by a successful motion of Fox in the

The Fox and Grenville ministry, February 1806 to March 1807.

Abolition of the slave-trade, 1807.

Commons, and, after his death, a Bill abolishing the trade throughout the British empire received the royal assent in March 1807.

Napoleon was still pursuing a course of Continental victory. Soon after Austerlitz, his brother Joseph became king of Naples, The war, 1806-1807. and his brother Louis had a throne in Holland on the extinction of the Batavian Republic. The dissolution of the German Empire was followed by the establishment of the Confederation of the Rhine, and the rulers of Bavaria, Saxony, and Wurtemberg became kings instead of electors. In October 1806, the Prussian monarchy was overwhelmed by the victories of Jena and Auerstadt, and from part of his German spoils the conqueror made a kingdom of Westphalia for his youngest brother, Jerome Buonaparte. The fourth coalition against France, including Britain, Prussia, and Russia, came to an end in 1807, with the virtual conquest of Prussia and the defeat of the Russian army at Friedland. In November 1806, Napoleon had aimed at our commerce the haughty and spiteful Berlin Decrees, forbidding all intercourse with England, and all use of our manufactures or colonial imports. The British government retorted by Orders in Council, declaring the whole French coast, and all Continental ports occupied by French troops, to be in a state of blockade. A Milan Decree, issued by Napoleon in December 1807, declared all vessels of any nation, submitting to our Orders in Council, to be lawful prize of war. Both Orders and Decrees were evaded by a vast system of smuggling. The British share in the great contest at this stage mainly consisted of isolated and useless efforts. In July 1806, Sir John Stuart, at the battle of Maida, in Calabria, brilliantly defeated the French, under Regnier, but the retirement of our troops to Sicily left southern Italy once more to French occupation. In the same year, a better enterprise, under Sir David Baird and General Beresford, finally won Cape Colony from the Dutch. An expedition to Spanish America, in 1806, ended in the surrender of our troops at Buenos Ayres. In 1807, a repulse, disgraceful to the incompetent leader, General Whitelock, occurred at the same town, and was followed by our withdrawal from the scene of action on terms granted by the enemy.

The death of Fox left the ministry of Grenville in a state of parliamentary weakness. A new House of Commons, in December 1806, gave them a good majority, and enabled them to abolish The Portland Ministry, March 1807 to October 1809. The war. the slave-trade, but the government came to a sudden end through the action of the king. A motion in favour of Catholic relief caused George to require from the Cabinet a written and positive engagement "never, under any circumstances, to propose any measure of concession to the Catholics, or even connected with the question." As the public servants of an English king and a free people, and not the slaves of an Oriental despot, they gave a prompt refusal to this insolent demand, and were turned out of office. The Parliament was dissolved at the end of its first session by

the new ministers, who placed great reliance on the old popular cry of "No Popery," and went to the country in the name of "King and Constitution." The Duke of Portland was the nominal head of the new government, but the real leader was Mr. Perceval, a keen debater, who, after serving as attorney-general, now became Chancellor of the Exchequer. Eldon was the Chancellor, Canning took the great post of Foreign Secretary, Lord Castlereagh was Secretary for War and the Colonies, Lord Hawkesbury went to the Home Office, and the Duke of Richmond to Ireland, with the rising soldier Sir Arthur Wellesley, known to fame on Indian fields, as Chief Secretary. A young Irish peer, Palmerston, was one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Canning was soon called to face a new combination formed by Britain's restless enemy. The Treaty of Tilsit, in July 1807, engaged Russia to close her ports against our commerce, and enlisted her power on the side of France in an attempt to divide the mastery of Europe between Alexander and Napoleon. Secret articles of the treaty agreed that Sweden, Denmark, and Portugal should be required to renounce trade with Britain, and the fleets of the northern nations were to be placed at the disposal of France in a new effort to wrest from us the empire of the seas. Early in the year our arms had been discredited by a shameful failure of Sir John Duckworth to counteract French influence at Constantinople by a display of naval force in the Sea of Marmora. Our ships, in retiring, had to run the gauntlet of Turkish fire for thirty miles through the Dardanelles, from which they emerged with heavy loss in men and severe damage to the vessels. An expedition sent to Egypt under General Frazer had also ended in an ignominious evacuation of the country. Canning had obtained knowledge, by means which he would never disclose, of the secret articles of Tilsit, and with a promptitude of resolution that was in honourable contrast to past feebleness in warlike affairs, he determined to forestall Napoleon by the seizure of the Danish fleet. It was a high-handed measure, to be justified only by the stern demands of national safety. The blow was speedy and effective. A fleet of twenty-seven sail of the line, under Lord Gambier, with transports bearing nearly 30,000 troops, under Lord Cathcart and Sir Arthur Wellesley, appeared in the Sound in the second week of August. The refusal of our demand for the surrender of the Danish fleet was followed by the investment and bombardment of Copenhagen, in which the terrible Congreve rockets were for the first time employed. The Danish navy and arsenal were surrendered on September 8th, and the ships and stores were brought to England for restoration at the close of the war. The island of Heligoland was then seized, and became a place of storage for our merchandise, to be smuggled over to the Continent in defiance of the Berlin Decree. The contest with our powerful enemy was about to enter on a new phase, in which the valour of British troops, directed with consummate skill, was to raise the fame of our arms to a height unsurpassed in the whole annals of war.

CHAPTER II.

WELLINGTON AND THE PENINSULAR WAR.

Britain finds a general. Wellesley lands in Portugal. Sir John Moore's glorious end. Cochrane in the Aix Roads. Wellesley at Talavera. The Walcheren failure. Torres Vedras blocks the way. The Regency. Home troubles. Wellington's career in Spain. Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajoz, Salamanca.

THE year 1808 opened with gloomy prospects for Great Britain. Napoleon was supreme on the Continent of Europe. His dominions extended from the mouths of the Rhine to Naples. He had secured at last the isolation of his rival, and France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia were combined against us. Portugal and Sweden had alone refused compliance with the orders of the master. An army under Junot had occupied Lisbon, and the Portuguese fleet was only saved from the grasp of Napoleon by its employment to convey the hopes and fortunes of the House of Braganza to a haven of safety in Brazil. The universal conqueror and tyrant little deemed that his attack on Britain's ancient ally was a measure fraught with his future ruin, by its provocation of a contest that was to sap his military strength. From Portugal, Napoleon turned against Spain. Her weak sovereign, Charles IV., always led and now betrayed by the infamous favourite, Godoy, was entrapped to Bayonne with Ferdinand, his son and heir. Charles had been already forced to abdicate, in March 1808, in favour of his son, and both now became victims of the grossest perfidy. Napoleon transferred his brother Joseph from Naples to the throne of Spain, and the famous cavalry general, Murat, succeeded him in southern Italy. An insurrection in Madrid was suppressed by the French troops, but the provinces were soon in arms. Ferdinand was proclaimed king by the supreme Junta of Seville, and war was declared against France. The cause of Spain at once aroused the deep sympathy of the British nation. On June 15th, Sheridan, in the House of Commons, delivered a speech which electrified the country. He called for a bold stroke for the rescue of the world, and predicted disaster for the man who had "hitherto run a most victorious race, contending against princes without dignity, and ministers without wisdom. He had fought against countries in which the people had been indifferent as to his success. He had yet to learn what it was to fight against a country in which the people were animated with one spirit to resist him." Canning had at once resolved on active support for Spain. An Order in Council ended the existing condition of hostilities, and on June 14th Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed to command. The Spaniards soon showed their power to help themselves, and Europe rang with

The
Penin-
sular
War,
1808-1814.

the story of the heroic and successful defence of Saragossa. A French army under Dupont was forced to surrender at Baylen, and Joseph wrote from Madrid to his brother, "Your glory will be shipwrecked in Spain."

On August 1st, Wellesley, with a force of about 10,000 men, landed in Mondego Bay on the Portuguese coast. Sir John Moore, with a larger army, was to co-operate in the north, and, through a pedantic regard to seniority of rank, two officers of proved skill were to be subject to control from men unknown to military fame, Sir Hew Dalrymple and Sir Harry Burrard. Before they arrived upon the field, Wellesley dealt two effective blows. On August 17th, in a sharp action, he defeated the French, under Laborde, at Roliça. Four days later, Junot was soundly beaten at Vimiera, with the loss of many prisoners and fourteen guns. Pursuit was suspended by Burrard, who landed during the engagement, and Wellesley was thwarted in his plans for an advance which must have ended in the capture of Lisbon. The campaign in this quarter was closed by the discreditable Convention of Cintra, concluded by Sir Hew Dalrymple. The French troops in Portugal, numbering nearly 30,000 men, who might have been forced to surrender at discretion, were permitted to leave with all their arms and stores, and were conveyed back to France on British ships. Early in October, Wellesley was in London, leaving Moore in command at Lisbon. Public indignation caused an inquiry which ended in a censure for Dalrymple, and Sir Arthur was at last relieved of many wrongful imputations. Early in November, Moore took the field in the north-west of Spain, but found that the native armies had been dispersed by the French, and that Napoleon in person was advancing with an overwhelming force. The Emperor was soon recalled to France by tidings of hostility from Austria, and the retreating British were followed up by Soult. The troops suffered much in the snow-clad mountains of Galicia, and discipline was deplorably relaxed. On January 16, 1809, the battle of Corunna, in which 14,000 British smartly defeated 20,000 French, saved the honour of the army, and secured their embarkation for England. The brave and skilful leader, whose merits were admitted by Napoleon and Soult, lay buried on the ramparts of the town.

The Convention of Cintra and the retreat to Corunna for a time caused gloom and despondency to replace the sanguine hopes which had hailed the first great national resistance to Napoleon. The public confidence in the military administration was severely shaken by the result of an inquiry into the conduct of the king's second son, the Duke of York, commander-in-chief. It was clearly proved that his mistress, Mrs. Mary Ann Clarke, the wife of a small builder, had been allowed to interfere in military promotions; that he had given commissions at her recommendation; and that she had taken money from officers thus appointed. It was not clear, except

from her evidence, after she had quarrelled with the Duke, that he knew of her receipt of money, and the House of Commons, after a long inquiry, relieved him, by a good majority, of the charge of personal corruption. The minority of nearly two hundred included such men as Romilly and Wilberforce, and the Duke felt compelled to resign his office. He had been assiduous in the discharge of his duties, and had done much to improve the condition of the rank and file. In April, the news of a great naval success assured the nation that she still held the empire of the sea. Lord Cochrane, afterwards the Earl of Dundonald, a man whose naval genius and daring rank him next to Nelson in renown, attacked the squadron blockaded in Aix Roads, on the south-west coast of France. Ten line-of-battle ships and four frigates were moored behind a boom, half a mile in length, in a deep channel. Their flanks were covered by a shoal on one side, and by batteries on the other. In the face of these obstacles, Cochrane took in a flotilla of fire-ships and frigates. An explosion-vessel broke the boom, and scattered terror and destruction among the foe. Four French liners were taken at their anchorage and blown up. The remainder slipped their cables and ran ashore. A fifth coalition against France included Britain, Austria, Portugal, and Spain. Napoleon encountered his Continental foes with a renewal, in the end, of his previous success. The Archduke Charles was defeated at Eckmühl in April, and the victor entered Vienna on May 13th. The Archduke, with great ability and energy, reorganised the forces of his country, marched on the capital, inflicted virtual defeats upon Napoleon at Aspern and at Essling, and drove him for refuge to an island on the Danube. In July, the Austrians were beaten at the great battle of Wagram, and in October Napoleon dictated terms of peace at Schönbrunn. The cession of territory by Austria was soon followed by Napoleon's divorce of the childless Josephine, and by his marriage with the Archduchess Maria Louisa, daughter of the Austrian emperor. The renewal of the war in the Peninsula again brought forward the cool, sagacious, daring, far-sighted man who, beyond any other, contributed to the downfall of the overweening power of Napoleon. The moral and mental resources of our greatest soldier, one of the chief masters of the art of war in all history, were specially adapted for the mighty task which he undertook when, on April 22, 1809, he went ashore at Lisbon. His firm spirit and stern discipline gave him the mastery of all who served under him, and enabled him to forge the raw material of a British army into a weapon of irresistible temper and strength. His cautious and unerring judgment saved him, in a struggle of five years' duration, from any rash step which, in presence of Napoleon's able marshals, might have led to the ruin of our cause. It was his gift to know, on great occasions, precisely what his forces could effect, and the audacity of his swift, successful blows was matched by the skill and resolution with which, before an overwhelming force, he

would conduct the movements of retreating columns. If Wellesley could not claim the sweetness and unruffled calm of temper that belonged to his illustrious predecessor under Anne, his admirers justly boast of the noble patience and perseverance, the devotion to duty, the disregard of clamour and criticism from factious, timid, and ignorant assailants, which enabled him to triumph over every obstacle, and to force his way, against immense odds, from the Tagus to Toulouse. After the battle of Corunna, Soult invaded Portugal from the north, and in the last days of March was in possession of Oporto. On May 9th, Wellesley, with 16,000 men, moved from Coimbra. On the 12th, in the face of 10,000 French veterans, he crossed the swift, deep Douro, more than 300 yards in width, and drove Soult in retreat across the mountains into Spain. He then marched south-eastwards, and on July 20th made a junction with the Spanish army, under Cuesta, at Oropesa. On the 27th and 28th the fierce battle of Talavera ended in the defeat of 30,000 French, under Victor, by a British force which did not exceed 16,000 bayonets, hampered rather than assisted by the Spaniards. The moral effect of this severe repulse was very great. In Wellesley's own words, it had "convinced the French that their title to be called the first military nation in Europe will be disputed, not unsuccessfully." The fame of our infantry rose at once to the height which it had reached under Marlborough. The successful force was driven to retreat by the advance of 50,000 Frenchmen under Soult, and Wellesley had his first experience of the worthless allies who would not help to feed the army which could alone defend their land against Napoleon, and of the incompetence of British war-administration, which, happily for the army, compelled their leader to trust to himself and to his own masterly powers of organisation. His efforts in the field were now rewarded by accession to the peerage as Viscount Wellington, of Wellington in Somerset, a name which was henceforth to live for ever in our annals. The operations of the year in other quarters included the disaster and disgrace of utter failure in the expedition sent to Walcheren. The greatest armament that ever left our shores, composed of thirty-five ships of the line and near 200 smaller vessels of war, with 40,000 troops, was despatched against Napoleon's naval forces and establishments in the Scheldt. The Earl of Chatham, a most incompetent commander, selected, as it seems, for no other reason than his being the elder brother of the lamented William Pitt, had charge of the military forces. The navy was intrusted to Sir Richard Strachan. Nothing more splendid in display was ever seen than the gathering of this armada in the Downs, where, with transports and store-ships, a thousand sail rolled at anchor off Deal. The finest weather of a fine summer smiled upon the scene, and the sound of bands and bugles filled the air that was made bright by the hues of countless pennons. The earliest doings of this mighty force promised well. Middelburg, the capital of Walcheren, surrendered, and the port of Flushing, after

a severe bombardment, was made a prize. A swift advance, by either land or river, would have ended in the capture of Antwerp, a vital point for Napoleon's naval schemes, but neither Chatham nor Strachan made a move. The occupation of Flushing cost the country twenty millions. Bernadotte, with a large army, arrived to secure Antwerp from attack, and the great expedition returned to England, leaving thousands of men dead of fever in the swamps of Walcheren, and bringing thousands more with frames enfeebled for life by malaria. At that very time, the lack of strong reinforcements was compelling Wellington's withdrawal into Portugal.

In September 1809, intrigues and dissensions now obscure caused a duel between two members of the Cabinet. Castlereagh and Canning met at Wimbledon, and the Foreign Secretary was slightly wounded by his colleague's bullet. The ministry was verging to its fall. The two antagonists quitted office, and the resignation of the Duke of Portland, long broken in health, was followed by his death in October. Perceval was the new Premier; the Marquis Wellesley, elder brother of Wellington, and ambassador in Spain, was recalled to take the control of foreign affairs; Lord Liverpool succeeded Castlereagh as Secretary for War and the Colonies, and Palmerston, as Secretary at War, gave the first proof of his admirable talents for the business of that onerous department. On October 25th, the fiftieth anniversary of his accession, the jubilee of the king, now nearly blind, was celebrated with enthusiastic and sincere rejoicing. The body of the nation pitied his growing infirmities, sympathised with his sturdy hatred to "the Corsican ogre," and dreaded, with the Prince of Wales before their eyes, the day when the reign must have an end.

Ill-supported both in Spain and from home, the British leader had resolved, at the least, to maintain a firm foothold in Portugal, and had conceived the grand project of famous and effective engineering known as the Lines of Torres Védras. A British army should no more be forced to embarkation. A stronghold should be made, whence the leader and his men might emerge to do battle with the armies of the foe, and to which they might retire in scorn of all efforts to dislodge them. During the winter of 1809 and the ensuing spring, many thousands of men were at work in forming a double line of entrenchments and redoubts over thirty miles of ground from the Tagus to the sea. More than 600 cannon were mounted on nearly 100 forts, and the hills and the streams were skilfully compelled to contribute to the unassailable strength of the whole position. Regardless of the murmurs and the tremors of both the ministers and their opponents, the man of prudence and resource felt his safety, and was ready for the worst that might occur. His published Despatches were to show hereafter how profound were his views and how accurate his calculations as to the nature and the issues of the gigantic struggle to

Home
affairs.
The
Perceval
Ministry,
October
1809-May
1812.

Wellington's
campaign
of 1810.

which he was committed. The great French historian himself admits that, with a rare penetration, Wellington had formed a judgment upon the march of affairs in the Peninsula and in Europe which was truer than the conceptions of Napoleon. He had appreciated the force of resistance opposed to the French by climate, by distance, and by national hatred. He had bethought him of the draining of their forces when they arrived in the heart of the country, and of the want of unity which must attend their operations under various generals, subject to jealousies of feeling and to diversities of plan. He was convinced that the imposing edifice of empire erected by the genius of Napoleon was being undermined, and that, if Britain could continue to excite and to maintain by her succour the resistance of Portugal and Spain, the nations of central Europe would, sooner or later, throw off the yoke of their subduer. This opinion, one which does the highest honour to the military and political judgment of its author, became with him a fixed idea, destined to a perfect realisation. On the approach of summer in 1810, Masséna took command of "the army of Portugal," numbering about 80,000 men, charged by Napoleon with the task of "driving the English into the sea." To face this formidable force, Wellington could bring over 50,000 British and Portuguese. The troops of our ally had been well trained and organised by Marshal Beresford, and, under able leadership, rendered good service to the common cause. The French captured the important fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, and the fall of Almeida, due to an unlucky explosion, caused Wellington's retirement on his lines. On September 27th, he inflicted a severe repulse on Masséna at the Serra de Busaco, a mountain ridge near Coimbra, and then retreated, carrying off the people and wasting the country, by arrangement with the Portuguese government, in order to starve out the enemy. On October 10th, Wellington's whole force was within the Torres Védras lines. Masséna, after the most careful observation, could find no point of possible attack, and in the middle of November, after great losses by sickness and privation, his forces were withdrawn to winter-quarters at Santarem.

In November 1810, the king became permanently insane, and, by a statute passed in February 1811, the Prince of Wales was made Regent. He assumed the royal functions at the time when the power of Napoleon reached its greatest height. Tuscany and the Papal States, Holland, on the resignation of his brother Louis, and the wealthy Hanseatic towns, Lubeck, Hamburg, and Bremen, had now all been annexed to the French Empire. A son, born in March 1811, was saluted as "king of Rome," and the great conqueror appeared to have founded a dynasty. He ruled with absolute sway over forty millions of people, and in Italy and Germany many millions more, with a train of minor kings, were subject to his will. Marshal Bernadotte had been elected by the States of Sweden heir to the throne, and nothing but the quiet possession of Spain and

The Re-
gency.
1811-1820.
The war,
1811.

Portugal was wanting to Napoleon's undisputed mastery of continental and south-western Europe. Prussia was at his mercy, Austria his creature by victory and by family ties, the Czar of Russia his sworn friend. The freedom of the nations was driven to a last asylum within the lines of Torres Védras, where a hero of the noblest type, biding his time, possessing his soul in patience, strong in his resolve to risk nothing rashly, but wisely to dare all, defied the utmost efforts of Britain's ruthless foe. The retreat of Masséna was, to the few who could rightly read the signs of coming doom, an epoch in European annals. Within a fortnight of the commencement of the Regency, Lord Liverpool, the Secretary for War, was informing our commander in Portugal that, on the ground of expense, the contest in the Peninsula could not be long maintained. In the statesmanlike reply which issued from his strong mind, the British general left the home government to a choice between the Peninsular War, and another sure attempt at invasion of our own territory. In the spring of 1811, Masséna, from sheer lack of food, retreated into Spain, pursued by Wellington with 60,000 men. The allies, after some minor successes, blockaded Almeida, and Masséna's advance to its relief caused, on May 5th, the fierce drawn battle of Fuentes d'Onoro, followed by Masséna's retirement to Salamanca, and the French evacuation of Almeida. The terrible battle of Albuera, in which Beresford, with the utmost difficulty, repelled the attacks of Soult, was caused by that able marshal's attempt to raise our siege of Badajoz. Masséna was now replaced by Marmont, and strong reinforcements for the French, with the junction of Marmont and Soult, caused Wellington's withdrawal to the Coa, and the close of the campaign.

In February 1812, the Marquis Wellesley resigned office as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and was succeeded by Lord Castlereagh. Change
of Minis-
try,
May 1812.
The Regent was a man of luxurious indolence in his life, quite
averse from the incessant and laborious interference which
his father had exerted in affairs of state. The pomp of power was his amusement, and his own personal interest and ease were his chief aims. He was surrounded by favourites and creatures of a base type. Some political overtures were made to the friends of his youth, the Whigs, now headed by Lord Grenville and Lord Grey, but they declined to take any part in the work of government, on the ground of their differences of opinion with the present advisers of the Crown. In Ireland, above all, they required the immediate repeal of the civil disabilities based on religious views. A tragical event, on May 11th, brought about a change of ministry. Mr. Perceval was shot dead, in the lobby of the House of Commons, by a bankrupt Liverpool merchant, John Bellingham, who deemed, as it appears, that he had been wronged by the government. It is probable that he was insane, but, with the indecent haste of private vengeance, rather than with the dignity of outraged law, no inquiry as to the state of the murderer's mind was

permitted, and, after trial at the Old Bailey, he was hanged within a week of the crime. The Cabinet resigned office, and after a vain attempt of Lord Wellesley to form a government including Grey and Grenville, a Tory ministry was again in power, headed by the Earl of Liverpool. He was prime minister for the space of nearly fifteen years. Castlereagh was again Foreign Secretary, Lord Sidmouth went to the Home Office, Lord Bathurst directed War and the Colonies, Eldon resumed his place as Chancellor, Mr. Vansittart was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Palmerston continued in his post as Under-Secretary for War, and a young man, Mr. Robert Peel, destined to reach the highest position, was appointed to the arduous office of Irish Secretary. Manufacturing England was in a disturbed state from the violence of ignorant artisans who, in Lancashire, Western Yorkshire, and at Nottingham, were making war upon machinery as the enemy of manual toil. Severe measures were adopted against the rioters, named Luddites from a former insane foe of stocking-frames, and sixteen were sent to the gallows, under a new Act, by a special Commission sitting at York. The Berlin and Milan decrees, along with our Orders in Council, had greatly depressed British commerce, by the destruction of neutral trade. The United States, a large purchaser of our commodities, made serious complaints, and in April 1809, a new Order in Council confined the blockade to ports within the limits of the existing French Empire. The American government had a strong ground of quarrel in our asserted right of search, constantly put in practice, for British sailors serving on their ships of war. Lord Lansdowne, in the Lords, and the eloquent advocate, Mr. Brougham, in the Commons, in vain strove to procure the entire removal of the Orders in Council, and, after vain attempts at agreement, the object of Napoleon was attained, and on June 18, 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain.

The emperor of France, in 1812, challenged fortune by a quarrel with Russia. That Power was weary of the losses sustained through the blockade of her ports against British trade, and the Czar had to choose between a rupture with his ally and a dangerous breach with his own subjects. Napoleon assumed a dictatorial tone, which Alexander warmly resented, and in June 1812, the French monarch crossed the Niemen with half a million of men. We turn from this momentous event to the gallant efforts of Wellington in Spain. The British commander has hitherto been seen mainly in a defensive attitude. He is now to show his powers as an assailant of fortresses and armies, defended and commanded by men of proved courage and skill. In the depth of winter, January 1812, Wellington led his army from their cantonments in Portugal. Sixty thousand French troops had been withdrawn from Spain for Napoleon's contemplated war with Russia, and the French marshals, with separate commands, and each jealous of the other's fame, had no combined plan of action. The emperor, striving to direct the war from Paris, harassed his generals with

The European war, 1812.

peremptory orders, based upon circumstances which had wholly changed when his couriers arrived upon the scene of action. The communications of Soult and Marmont with King Joseph at Madrid, with each other, and with the generals of their own divisions, scattered for the sake of supplies, were intercepted by bands of guerillas, and sometimes stopped for successive weeks. The Spanish armies in the field had scarcely ever met the French except to submit to utter and ignominious defeat, but the patriotic peasantry, by irregular warfare, rendered real service to their country's cause and to the operations of the British leader. The first stroke in the great campaign of 1812 fell upon the foe like lightning from a clear sky. Marmont did not dream of hostile movements in a country covered with snow. On January 8th, the powerful fortress of Ciudad Rodrigo, a great warder of the Spanish frontier midway between the Douro and the Tagus, was invested by the British and Portuguese troops. On the 13th and 14th two convents outside the walls were surprised and carried by assault. By the 19th, two breaches had been made by our cannon, and as Marmont was known to be advancing from Valladolid to relieve the place, orders for the storming were issued. Three columns under the gallant Picton, and a fourth under Craufurd, marched to the assault. A Portuguese brigade, under General Pack, assailed another quarter, beyond the river Agueda. Picton, after two repulses at the chief breach, made his way into the town on the north. Craufurd was successful at the smaller breach, but received a mortal wound. General Mackinnon was blown up by the explosion of a magazine on the ramparts. In less than half-an-hour from the time of the attack, Ciudad Rodrigo was won. Six weeks later, the allied army was marching southward for the Guadiana. The roads were bad, and Portuguese apathy and neglect made transport very difficult. On March 16th, the fortress of Badajoz, defended by a strong garrison under the skilful and resolute Philippon, was invested. On April 6th, amid circumstances of the utmost horror—the loss of three thousand men in the assaults, and the outrages committed afterwards by our infuriated troops—the place was captured, and the French were thus deprived of the key to south-west Portugal. During the whole of his arduous and anxious labours, the British leader had to suffer actual want of funds to feed the troops, from the disgraceful indecision and neglect of the government at home. For his recent achievements he had become Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo in the Spanish peerage, and an Earl among British lords, but his applications for money were disregarded, and, after the great losses incurred in the capture of the two fortresses, not a man was sent to reinforce him from the sixty-five thousand regulars then quartered in the British Isles. Nothing, however, could stay the course of the firm and resourceful man. His fortitude was equal to the utmost strain, and his military movements were marked by the happiest union of audacity and caution. In the middle of June, he advanced towards the north

of Spain, seeking to encounter Marmont. His way was cleared by a brilliant exploit of his ablest subordinate, Sir Rowland Hill, who stormed the works at Almaraz, on the Tagus, west of Toledo, thus securing a great French depôt of military stores, and the bridge of boats which formed the sole communication over the river between Marmont, to the north, and Soult, to the south. On June 17th Wellington was at Salamanca, and, a few days later, the forts defending the town were taken. For the first fortnight of July, his army, on the southern bank of the Douro, was facing, on the northern side, that of Marmont, a man reputed to be the ablest general, next to Napoleon, in the manœuvring of troops, and one who had gained renown at Marengo and Wagram.

After a series of skilful movements on both sides, during which the French forces crossed the Douro, and established communications with King Joseph and the army of the centre, which was advancing from Madrid, both armies crossed the Tormes on July 21st, and came face to face on the hills near Salamanca. Wellington kept a close watch on every movement of his adversary, who was striving to cut off the allies from a line of retreat towards Ciudad Rodrigo. About two o'clock in the afternoon of July 22nd, the French general, in his eagerness, moved his left wing flankwise in such a manner as to leave an ever-widening gap between his centre and his left. The fault was flagrant, and the moment had arrived. A few words from the British commander sent Pakenham's division, with some guns and horse, against the French left, while four other divisions went straight at their front. Marmont, hurrying to the spot from his hill of observation, was struck down by a round shot and carried off the field. In a few minutes three thousand prisoners and five guns were taken, and a French division was all but destroyed. In forty minutes from the first attack, a fine army of 40,000 men was placed beyond reach of victory. Clausel, the able successor of Marmont in command, made a noble effort to retrieve the day. It was impossible to succeed against such a man as Wellington. He brought up his strong second line, drove back the French centre and right, and forced the enemy from the ground in two separate lines of retreat, to north-east and south-east. The French headquarters, on the following night, were forty miles from Salamanca, and, when night stayed pursuit, their army had been weakened by the loss of 14,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners, with the capture of two eagles and eleven guns. A stroke of genius had won the greatest victory yet obtained over any of the armies of Napoleon. The historian of the war gives us, as an eye-witness, a striking picture of the man in the hour of his triumph. "Late in the evening of this great day," says Napier, "I saw him behind my regiment then marching towards the ford. He was alone. The flush of victory was on his brow, his eyes were eager and watchful; but his voice was calm and even gentle." The moral effect

Battle
of Sala-
manca,
July 22,
1812.

of Salamanca was immense. The sound of the cannon reverberated through all lands from the Tagus to the Niemen. The tidings roused the fallen nations of continental Europe. Prussia, long planning vengeance for the past, felt that the day of her deliverance had dawned. Russia resolved to make no terms with her advancing foe. Napoleon, well on his march to Moscow, heard of the defeat with bitter and unjust wrath against Marmont, and took it as an evil omen for events to come. Honours were showered on the head of the victor, who entered Madrid in triumph on August 12th, amid a scene of the wildest joy, and was created by the Spanish government a Knight of the Golden Fleece and commander-in-chief of all their forces. Another step in the British peirage made him Marquis of Wellington, but he was still left by the government without money or reinforcements, and the superior armies of the French, under Joseph, Soult, and Suchet, forced him to retreat. After an unsuccessful siege of Burgos, Wellington, towards the close of October, retired to Ciudad Rodrigo. The army suffered much from want of supplies, and discipline was greatly relaxed, during a pursuit by French forces vastly stronger in numbers, and especially in cavalry and guns. The campaign ended with our headquarters at Ciudad Rodrigo, and the bulk of the troops again cantoned within the frontiers of Portugal.

CHAPTER III.

WELLINGTON'S INVASION OF FRANCE.

The British triumph at Vittoria. Napoleon in conflict with Europe. The first abdication. Britain at war with United States. The *Shannon* and the *Chesapeake*. Napoleon's return from Elba. The Waterloo campaign. Peace at last. The Holy Alliance. Lord Exmouth at Algiers.

WHILE Wellington, after a campaign of solid success, was withdrawing to prepare his armies for another, and, as it proved, a last advance into Spain, Napoleon, in Russia, was enduring one of the greatest military disasters recorded in history. The retreat from Moscow, with the previous battles, reduced his hosts to but 20,000 men who returned to the Vistula, and on the night of December 18th, after a swift and secret journey across Europe, the French ruler reached Paris. The Sixth Coalition of nations was formed against France, and Britain, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, and some minor German states were all in arms against her. The old spirit of Germany, the spirit of Arminius, which had, nearly eighteen centuries before, driven the Roman legions beyond the Rhine, was awakened. Napoleon, with wonderful energy, had raised a new force in France of 200,000 men, and in all he could command nearly twice the number. In

the middle of April he took the field. On May 2nd, at Lützen, he defeated a combined army of Russians and Prussians. On the 20th and 21st, against the same foes, he won the Pyrrhine victory of Bautzen. After an armistice of six weeks, and vain negotiations, the struggle was renewed in August. On the 24th, 25th, and 27th there was desperate fighting round Dresden, ending in victory for Napoleon. On the 26th, Blücher, the bold Prussian leader, routed Marshal Macdonald at the battle of the Katzbach. On the 30th, Vandamme was utterly defeated, and other generals of Napoleon lost battle after battle. On October 18th and 19th, the struggle in Germany virtually closed with the great two-days' battle of Leipzig, in which the united forces of the allies, over 300,000 strong, entirely defeated the French emperor, commanding about two-thirds of that number. On November 22nd, he recrossed the Rhine, driven at last to an attitude of precarious defence against enraged and victorious foes. During these momentous events, the career of Wellington had been one continued success. Soult and large French forces had been recalled to help Napoleon, and in May the British leader, with his troops thoroughly refreshed and reorganised, well equipped and "ready to go anywhere and do anything," crossed the frontier of Spain at the head of 70,000 men. His advance was conducted with extraordinary skill, as, moving by way of Valladolid, he drove and edged away, out-flanked and out-marched, and, with little fighting, thoroughly out-generalled the foe, until they were brought to bay at Vittoria. There, on June 21, 1813, the army of King Joseph, commanded by Marshal Jourdan, and numbering about 80,000 men, received a complete discomfiture. Driven from every one of their strong positions around the town, with the loss of 150 guns, and all their baggage, stores, and treasure, the French soldiers streamed away in headlong flight to the Pyrenees. Soult was despatched to the rescue, and showed great energy and skill in remodelling the army, and in his efforts to prevent the British from invading the French soil. Nothing could stay the progress of the victors. On August 31st, with great loss, after a long siege, the strong fortress of San Sebastian was stormed. Pamplona was blockaded, and a series of fierce actions, known as the Battles of the Pyrenees, ended early in October with the descent of Wellington into France by the passage of the Bidassoa. In November, Soult was beaten at the Nivelle, and again, in December, at the Nive, and at St. Pierre. In February 1814, he was defeated at the fierce battle of Orthes, and the conflict in this quarter ended, on April 10th, with Wellington's victory over the same able adversary at Toulouse. When that battle was fought, there had, unknown to the combatants, ceased to be an emperor of France. The total defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig had been soon followed by the invasion of French territory on the east. In the last days of December 1813, the Austrians, under Prince Schwarzenberg, crossed the Rhine at Basle, and the Prussians, under the command of the stubborn Blücher,

entered France in great force. After a wonderful display of energy and skill, while Napoleon fought his numerous foes with a strategy that has never been surpassed, and some vain negotiations in a Congress at Chatillon, Paris was surrendered on March 31, 1814, and the French ruler's abdication followed. On April 20th, Napoleon set out for Elba, an exile with a mock title, a petty domain, and a large pension, and the Count de Provence, brother of Louis XVI., came to the throne of France as Louis XVIII., entering his capital on May 3rd. A Congress was to be held at Vienna to confirm the terms of the Peace of Paris concluded on May 30th, and to reorganise the limits of European territories. The allied sovereigns were received in England with great enthusiasm, and on June 28th, Wellington, now a duke, landed at Dover, borne to his hostelry, like a conqueror uplifted on his shield, upon the shoulders of the men of Kent. On July 1st, he attended the House of Commons to express, in person, his recognition of the address of thanks and congratulation in which the Speaker, in the name of the British nation, accorded a due meed of praise to the chief instrument of Napoleon's downfall, and celebrated the triumphs of skill and valour won by British arms on the Douro and the Tagus, the Ebro and the Garonne.

In the year 1812, the Federal Republic in North America comprised eighteen States. Before 1790, Vermont had been added to the original Federation of thirteen, and Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio, founded by those who had penetrated the wilds of the west and south-west, had been added to the Union by 1803. Louisiana, purchased from France in that year, became a member of the Federation in 1812. The population numbered about eight millions, and there were also about a million and a quarter of negro slaves. The war which was declared against Great Britain in June 1812 was due to the great Democratic party now, under President Madison, supreme in the government of the country. Feeling was embittered by a licentious press, whose writers declared that the States would soon dispose of the maritime ascendancy of Great Britain, and conquer all her American possessions. These arrogant prophecies were not destined to fulfilment, but the struggle, which ought never to have been begun, involved some discredit, in the hour both of victory and of defeat, to the more powerful of the combatants. In August, an invasion of Canada, under the American general Hull, ended in his surrender to a far smaller force under General Brock. Another attempt failed in the same ignominious fashion. The Americans, at first, had more success upon the sea. Their whole naval force, in 1812, consisted of but four frigates and eight sloops, but the so-called frigates were really line-of-battle ships cut down, and these converted vessels were sent to encounter British frigates, far inferior in strength of build, number of crew, and weight of broadside. Five British ships of war were forced, under these conditions, to strike their flags to the

The war
with the
United
States,
1812-1815.

enemy, and the result of these successive encounters excited great astonishment and disgust in this country. The tables were soon turned when ships of equal force were engaged, and the credit of our navy was redeemed by the brilliant exploit of Captain Broke, commander of a frigate named the *Shannon*. That gallant and skilful officer, having trained his crew into the highest state of efficiency, sent a formal challenge to Captain Lawrence, of the *Chesapeake*, a frigate of nearly equal strength in weight of metal and number of men, then lying in Boston harbour. The encounter took place on June 1, 1813, within sight of the people of Boston, who expected a speedy victory for the "stars and stripes," and prepared a dinner to welcome the officers of both ships. Within fifteen minutes from the firing of the first shot, the Union Jack was floating above the American vessel, which had fallen foul of the *Shannon*, and been promptly captured by the British boarders. Broke sailed off with his prize to Halifax, where the brave American commander died of his wounds. In 1813, the Americans had some advantages in Canada, where York, now Toronto, was captured, and the public buildings were burnt. Other encounters resulted in divided success, and our flotilla on Lake Erie was destroyed, but this campaign ended with the general defeat of the enemy, and their retreat across the St. Lawrence. In 1814, our government proclaimed a blockade of the whole Atlantic coast of the States, and the Americans were suffering severe financial losses from their own and from hostile restrictions on their trade with neutrals. In June 1814, our forces in America were strengthened by the addition of some Peninsular veterans, and in August, under General Ross, an advance was made upon Washington. After the defeat of an American army, the seat of government was taken, and, by a disgraceful act of retaliation, the Capitol, including the Senate House and House of Representatives, the Treasury, and the President's palace, with other public buildings, were destroyed by fire. This outrage excited shame at home and indignation in America, and the enemy's troops, now largely augmented in numbers, fought with renewed vigour. General Ross was killed, in September, in an unsuccessful raid against Baltimore, and our Canadian army, under Sir George Prevost, including nearly ten thousand of the Peninsular soldiers, was only partially successful. The useless and fratricidal contest formally ended with the Treaty of Ghent, signed in December 1814, leaving open the original matter of dispute concerning our right of search. While this settlement was yet unknown beyond the Atlantic, our troops suffered a severe defeat, in January 1815, before New Orleans. An army under General Pakenham, who had fought at Salamanca, was repulsed from the works, formed of earth and bags of cotton, with a mortal wound to the commander, and a loss of 2000 men.

The diplomatists at Vienna were rudely interrupted, in March 1815, by the astounding news of Napoleon's landing in France from Elba.

On the first day of the month, with about 800 men, he arrived in the Gulf of St Juan, between Cannes and Antibes. The famous *Waterloo*, period, *The Hundred Days*, commences with March 13th, ^{June 18,} when the returned exile again assumed the government of ^{1815.} France. In spite of all the suffering and loss caused by the long war, the French people were not yet wearied of the name of Napoleon, and the support of his old soldiers made the advance to Paris one of ever-growing strength. The Allied Powers at once declared him to be "without the pale of civil and social relations," "an enemy and a disturber of the tranquillity of the world," and "liable to public vengeance." On March 14th, Marshal Ney, who, on the 7th, had taken leave of Louis with the assurance that he would bring back Buonaparte in an iron cage, went over to his old master. On the 25th, Louis was in exile at Ghent. Four days previously, Napoleon slept in the Tuileries Palace. On April 4th, Wellington arrived in Brussels to devise measures for the defence of the Netherlands. Napoleon, with immense energy, was gathering forces for the struggle. His letters to the chief European sovereigns, professing his moderate and peaceful intentions, were left without reply, and the matter could be only settled by the stern arbitrament of the sword. The Waterloo campaign was sharp, short, and decisive. On June 11th, with about 130,000 men and 300 guns, Napoleon left Paris for the Belgian frontier. On the 15th, he crossed the Sambre, and arrived at Charleroi. The armies of Austria and Russia were still far from the scene of action, and the great strategist hoped to overwhelm in turns Wellington, who headed about 80,000 men, of whom not one third were British, and Blücher, who commanded 100,000 Prussians. On June 16th, Napoleon attacked and defeated the Prussians at Ligny. Blücher, after the loss of 15,000 men, retired in good order upon Wavre. At the same time, Ney was repulsed at Quatre Bras by Wellington, who retired, on the 17th, seven miles to Waterloo, and took up his position on the ground where he had already resolved to fight a battle for the defence of Brussels. It had been arranged that Blücher should join him there with at least one Prussian corps. On the morning of the 18th, which was Sunday, Napoleon's army was arrayed on the ridge facing the motley host of the allies, composed of British, Hanoverians, Netherlanders, and troops from some minor German states. The duke's position on the ridge about a mile and a half in advance of the village of Waterloo had two advance-posts. These were the country-house called Hougoumont, with a wood, walled orchard, and large courtyard, in front of his right centre, and a farmhouse, La Haye Sainte, in front of his left centre. The plain was covered with crops of grain, clover, and potatoes, and the ground was heavy from the fall of abundant rain. Each army numbered about 70,000 men, but Napoleon was superior in cavalry, and far stronger in guns. His army was composed, in great part, of veteran troops, and he could rely on unity of action from every man of the devoted and

enthusiastic host under his orders. The duke's British troops included many new recruits, and there were thousands of the foreign element who were disaffected to the cause. The battle of Waterloo was one of the simplest, as it was one of the best-fought, and the most momentous, contests in modern history. Direct attacks, made with the utmost bravery and skill by the French, were encountered, by the best troops among the allies, with heroic resolution, from eleven in the morning until sunset. All efforts, made with prodigious loss, failed to drive the British from Hougoumont, though the house was burnt by shell-fire, and the wood was carried by the French. About one o'clock, a great infantry attack, in four columns numbering 18,000 men, was led by Ney against our centre and left wing. The fifth division, under Picton, who was killed in the encounter, and the British heavy cavalry, defeated all attempts of the enemy, and many of the French cuirassiers, under Kellermann, were ridden down by the Household cavalry, led by the Earl of Uxbridge. The Prussians were hourly drawing nearer to the field, and, about half-past three, Napoleon strove to force the British position by repeated charges of his heavy cavalry. Our infantry, formed in squares, held their ground, with great loss from the French artillery, against all attacks. Between six and seven o'clock the French infantry captured La Haye Sainte, and Napoleon then prepared a new attack upon our centre. Two hours before this, the Prussians, in great force, had come upon the French right rear, at Planchenoit, and the Young Guard, with other troops, were fighting hard to check their progress. Between seven and eight, determined attacks were made upon our centre by the French troops in line near La Haye Sainte, and by two separate columns of the Old Guard. The repulse of all these attacks, and the near approach of the Prussians to our left, enabled Wellington, soon after eight o'clock, to assume the offensive. His infantry were all formed into a four-deep line covering a mile and a half of ground, and they sprang forward on the broken foe at the moment when the setting sun, after a day of gloom, shone through the clouds, and glittered on their levelled steel. The enemy were soon driven off in utter rout. Most of the guns were taken, and a merciless pursuit, conducted by the Prussians, by the light of a young moon, added to the losses of a terrible and ruinous day. The battle which gave peace to Europe cost Wellington's army a loss of over 15,000 men, and the Prussians were weakened by nearly half the number. The French army, in its utter discomfiture, endured losses never exactly estimated, but probably exceeding 30,000 men. This "king-making victory" was followed by the second abdication of Napoleon, the restoration of Louis, the capture of the fallen monarch by the *Bellerophon*, his departure into exile at St. Helena, and yet another peace of Paris, signed in November between the five great Powers, Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, and Russia.

The map of Europe was now rearranged. France was reduced to the limits of 1792. A new German Confederation, with the Emperor

of Austria as president, included the German sovereigns, and the free cities of Hamburg, Lübeck, Bremen, and Frankfort-on-the-Main, which became the federal capital and meeting-place of the Diet of representatives. Austria recovered Lombardy and Venetia, with the Tyrol and other territory in the south-west. Prussia received Swedish Pomerania, and a large part of Saxony, and recovered Posen, Westphalia, and the Rhenish territory. Bavaria, Würtemberg, and Saxony, with her territory diminished, as a punishment for adherence to Napoleon, remained as kingdoms. Holland and Belgium were united into the kingdom of the Netherlands, under the Prince of Orange, as William I. Sweden and Norway became one realm, and Switzerland was made the confederation of twenty-two cantons or states. The territory of Naples and Sicily was restored to the former king, and the Pope regained the States of the Church. Sardinia recovered Piedmont and Savoy, and received the addition of Genoa. The duchies of Tuscany, Lucca, Parma, and Modena were set up in dependence on Austria. Hanover was now restored, as a kingdom instead of an electorate, to the ruler of Great Britain.

The remarkable league called the Holy Alliance had its formal announcement in a manifesto dated from St. Petersburg, on Christmas Day, 1815, by the Emperor Alexander I. He there-
Congress of Vienna, 1815.
The Holy Alliance, 1815.
 by made known that a convention had been concluded between himself, the emperor of Austria, and the king of Prussia, by which they bound themselves to govern their own peoples, and to deal with foreign states, by "taking for their sole guide the precepts of the holy religion of our Saviour, namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity, and peace." This unctuous declaration did not satisfy the practical sense of the Duke of Wellington, who, when he was asked to sign it, dryly remarked that the English Parliament would require something more precise. It was commonly held, in Great Britain, to be a cloak for concealing the desires of the three monarchs for territorial aggrandisement, and their violation of pledges made to their own subjects. All the European sovereigns, except the Pope, became members of the league, one of the articles of which declared members of the Buonaparte family to be incapable of filling any European throne. This political scheme for maintaining the power and influence of existing dynasties, and for repressing aspirations after freedom and reform, was greatly weakened by the death of the Czar in 1825, and by the second French Revolution, and it finally disappeared with the events of 1848. In retiring from the great contest which Britain, often single-handed, had waged against a colossal tyranny, our government, in one point, nobly upheld the moral supremacy of this country. In the Treaty of Paris, we wrested from the restored Bourbon ruler of France an immediate suppression of the slave trade, and pledged the other Powers to concert measures for the "entire and definitive abolition of a commerce so odious." Spain and Portugal alone, saved from ruin by British arms, persisted in maintaining the traffic.

At the Congress of Vienna, it was proposed that a general European crusade should be undertaken against the infidel corsairs of the Barbary states, who, for three hundred years, had warred against every flag in the Mediterranean, and carried off as slaves Christians from every shore. It was time that this scandal should cease, and the work was undertaken by Britain. In the spring of 1816, Lord Exmouth, with a squadron, sailed to Algiers, Tripoli, and Tunis, and effected the release of nearly eighteen hundred Christian slaves. Tunis and Tripoli undertook to cease from the evil work, but the Dey of Algiers was allowed three months in which to obtain from his suzerain, the Turkish Sultan, permission to abolish slavery. The ships under Exmouth had not quitted the Mediterranean when a gross outrage was perpetrated at Bona, a town occupied by us for the protection of the coral fishery. The fishers who had landed were massacred by a body of Algerine troops; the British flag was torn down and trampled under foot, and the house of our vice-consul was pillaged. Exmouth, unaware of these events, had returned to England, and his crews had been paid off. An expedition to Algiers was instantly resolved on, and a formidable fleet, largely manned by volunteers, sailed from Portsmouth on July 28th. At Gibraltar, we were joined by a small Dutch squadron of frigates, under Admiral Van Cappellan, and, after long delay from adverse winds, the fleet arrived, on August 27th, before Algiers. The British Consul had been put in chains, and a severe example was required. All our just demands, including the entire abolition of Christian slavery, and the immediate liberation of the British consul and of two boats' crews, were treated with contempt, and Exmouth prepared for action. In the history of naval warfare there is nothing more terrific recorded than the effect of the first broadside fired at Algiers. Our flag-ship, the *Queen Charlotte*, took up her position within 100 yards of the Mole Head batteries. The first fire from her guns swept away about 500 Algerines. Thus began a conflict of unparalleled severity between "wooden walls" and forts of stone. From a quarter before three till nine of that summer's day the most tremendous firing on both sides continued without intermission. The allied fleet used nearly 120 tons of powder, and poured upon the hostile works 500 tons of shot and shell. Nearly 1000 officers and men were struck on board the ships, and an anxious time came after the fall of night. The Algerine batteries on the sea-front were ruined, but a fort in the upper town, which our guns could not reach, kept up its fire. Our ammunition was expended, and the fleet was becalmed. A light land-breeze then arose, and helped the sailors to tow and warp off the ships beyond the reach of hostile shells. Nine Algerine frigates and a number of gunboats were burning in the bay, the storehouses were all in flames, and the Dey was now brought to terms. Apologies were duly made, and, three days later, nearly eleven hundred Christian slaves were handed over to the victor.

Great
Britain
and
Algiers,
1816.

BOOK XVI.

AFTER THE STRUGGLE. PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY MOVEMENTS TOWARDS REFORM.

Home affairs after the great war. The corn-law and dear bread. Lord Eldon and his school. State of the representation. Cobbett, Burdett, and the Radicals. The trial and acquittal of Hone. Lord Sidmouth's repressive policy. The tragedy at Manchester. Events in the royal family. Birth of Queen Victoria. Literature, science, engineering, art.

The cheers of exultation for our triumph in the war had not ceased to sound when sober minds were viewing with dismay the condition of our home affairs, in great part resulting from the struggle which had just closed. The burden of taxation was enormous, and the public mind, already moved, early in 1816, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's declared intention of continuing the Property or Income Tax, on the modified scale of five per cent., was greatly irritated by an expression used by Lord Castlereagh. In a debate in Committee of Supply, he spoke of "an ignorant impatience to be relieved from the pressure of taxation." From town and country petitions poured in against the income-tax, and the Opposition, led by Brougham, an impetuous and eloquent Whig, were enabled, with Tory aid, to beat the Government by nearly forty votes, and to bring the impost to an end. The marriage of the Princess Charlotte, only child of the Regent, with Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, afterwards king of the Belgians, was an union of pure affection, which gave the nation hopes, destined soon to fade, concerning the future rule of a patriot queen whose domestic life should be in marked contrast to that of the man who was now in all but name a king. The Ministry had already taken thought for the relief of "agricultural distress," an expression which then meant nothing but the pockets of the land-owners and the tenant-farmers. In 1815, the famous Corn Law was hurried through Parliament. In imitation of a statute passed in 1670, the ports were closed against foreign wheat until the price, in our markets, had reached eighty shillings a quarter. Petitions from the commercial and the manufacturing classes were treated with contempt, and the new Act was followed by riots in London, and by incendiary fires in the country,

where an ignorant and starving peasantry met "protective" legislation, devised for the benefit of the corn-grower, by kindling the ricks in the farmer's stack-yard. The "landed interest" was now almost the sole power in the House of Commons. The strength either of the Ministry or of the Opposition depended on the numerical force of the country gentlemen. The commercial and manufacturing interests were but feebly represented. Official power was in the hands of the landed aristocracy, and the admission of a merchant to the councils of the sovereign would have been deemed a monstrous innovation. The mill-owners of the Midlands and the north had, by their earnings, carried the country through the war, but, as a political body, they were almost devoid of influence. Commerce and manufactures were not really, as the Ministry, through the Prince Regent, declared in 1816, "in a flourishing condition." The exhaustion of the continental nations, caused by a prolonged and devastating war, deprived them of the power to purchase our goods or colonial produce at remunerative rates, and a partial paralysis fell upon the national industry. A surplus of labour in every department was filling town and country alike with pauperism. At the end of 1816, a bad season, with the Corn Law, raised the price of wheat to 103 shillings per quarter, and, while mobs of starving peasants were bearing flags with the motto "Bread or Blood," the Luddites were again in arms against the owners of machinery. The Poor Laws were at this time in a very inefficient state. A large proportion of the money raised for the relief of the poor was expended, under the provisions of an absurd Law of Settlement, in shifting the burden from one parish to another, by despatching paupers to the place where they had a legal right to assistance. Feudal protection had passed away with feudal servitude, and an evil system, which fostered pauperism through parish "allowances" in aid of wages, had produced new degradation and misery, in drying up the sources of industry and skill, and paying the alms of indigence instead of the wages of contented toil. Reformers like Mr Whitbread had in vain called for efforts to raise the character of the labouring classes by a scheme for national education, and, in 1816, a Committee of the Commons, appointed through the efforts of Mr. Brougham, proved that in the metropolis alone there were 120,000 children without any means of gaining elementary knowledge. Not for many years to come were the British nation and Parliament to awake to a due sense of the importance of general education. Sir Samuel Romilly, who had been Solicitor-General under Fox and Grenville, strove almost in vain to ameliorate the criminal code, then the most barbarous in Europe. The horrors of the French Revolution had given root to the idea that to innovate was to destroy, and that to reform was to loosen the foundations of social order. The advocates of changes which experience has proved to be highly beneficial were denounced as "levellers," "visionaries," and "enthusiasts." Lord Chancellor Eldon was a type

of the class who resisted every approach to improvement. His thought by day, his dream by night, was to uphold what he called the Constitution, that indefinable compound of principles and expedients, as sacred in his eyes as express Divine commands. To strive for the extirpation of an abuse was, for Eldon and his school, to assail the institution within which the abuse had arisen. To attempt the removal of a cruel statute, a religious disability, or a commercial restriction, to propose the disfranchisement of a corrupt borough, was to become the enemy of Eldon and the State, of law and order, of Church and Throne. In 1808, Romilly had carried his Bill for abolishing the punishment of death for picking pockets to the value of five shillings. In 1810 his three like Bills were lost, for repealing Acts which awarded death to other forms of petty larceny. In 1816, at a time when dozens of young thieves were annually executed for pilfering from shops, and a child under ten years lay in Newgate awaiting death at the hangman's hands, Romilly's Bill for repealing the atrocious statutes which sanctioned these punishments was thrown out by the House of Lords. At this period, the system of police in London was in the worst condition of imbecile wickedness, when there was no unity of action amongst a number of petty jurisdictions, and no attempt to prevent crime. The "thief-taker," under a system of "payment by results," with a regular tariff of rewards in "blood-money" for the conviction of criminals in every class of capital offence, was the direct fosterer of law-breaking. The chief earnings of his occupation would have vanished with the suppression of crime, and it was alike his interest and his practice to encourage rogues in an advance from small offences to great ones, in which arrest and conviction could be made profitable. In 1816, the lighting of the streets by gas had for some years been doing more for the prevention of crime than governments had effected since the days of King Alfred. Such were some of the political and social conditions under which the early "Radicals" strove for Parliamentary reform. The rulers and the ruled were at constant feud, and a great gulf of ill-feeling divided the rich and the poor. The great mass of the nation had no voice in governing the country. The Parliamentary system, afterwards declared by the Duke of Wellington to be "the perfection of human wisdom," enabled about one hundred and fifty persons, including a large number of peers, to return, by their influence in the rotten boroughs, an absolute majority of the House of Commons. Great towns such as Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, and Birmingham, returned no members, while men were sitting as representatives of "boroughs" containing fifty houses, ten houses, one house, and, in the case of Old Sarum, no house at all, but consisting of the site of a long-vanished city on Salisbury Plain. Large sections of the people were deprived of some of the rights of citizenship on account of their religious opinions. The financial system not only taxed food, but laid an impost, in the window-tax, upon the very light of heaven; upon

cleanliness, in the soap-tax, and upon knowledge, in the taxes on newspapers and advertisements. A large part of the history of Great Britain during the nineteenth century consists in a record of the earnest efforts which, in the end, sapped the citadels of privilege and corruption, and have striven to secure, in legislation, the "greatest happiness of the greatest number."

The time had not yet arrived for the success of any large scheme of **Attempts at Reform.** Parliamentary reform, and the cause was only injured by the conduct of some of its supporters. A man named William Cobbett, founder of a political paper styled the *Weekly Register*, was acquiring by his writings much influence among the artisans and country-labourers. The mass of the working population were at this time in a very low state of ignorance, and were thus ready to accept the crude and violent opinions which a few men of their own class, inspired by the words of Cobbett, delivered at the weekly readings and discussions of the societies known as "Hampden Clubs." Cobbett himself was no advocate of sedition, and his influence did much to repress riot and outrage, but some social danger was arising from his efforts to suddenly turn the great masses of agricultural workers and mechanics into active politicians. The existing holders of political power denounced him as a man who was "sowing the seeds of rebellion." His real work was that of exciting large bodies of men, without property or education, and without leaders of any weight or responsibility, to demand the supreme legislative power in universal suffrage. Sir Francis Burdett was the chairman of the Hampden Club of London, where, early in 1816, a great meeting of Reform delegates included Lord Cochrane, Major Cartwright, a calm enthusiast, the shrewd and self-possessed Cobbett, and a blustering demagogue known as "Orator Hunt." In December, a meeting of Reformers was held in Spafields, in London, and, after violent addresses, some of the mob, with arms in their hands, made a rush for the Tower. A gunsmith's shop was plundered on the way, but the firmness of the Lord Mayor soon quelled this petty insurrection. The spirit of reform, thus degraded into disaffection and disorder, was met by the Government with severe repressive legislation. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and new laws were passed for the prevention of seditious meetings. The manufacturing districts of the Midlands and the north were seething with disorder. The stoppage of public meetings left no safety-valve for the fears and passions of those who, with right and reason on their side, were eager for moderate reform, and avowed leaders of the popular cause were either arrested in their homes, or driven forth as wanderers in dread of imprisonment without trial. In June 1817, a mad attempt at insurrection in Derbyshire was followed by the execution of three of the rioters, who, armed with pikes, had been marching to attack Nottingham, and by the transportation or imprisonment of twenty others. The Home Secretary, Lord Sidmouth,

was active against "seditious libels," and invaded public freedom, in March 1817, by addressing a circular letter to the Lords-Lieutenants, instructing them that justices of the peace might issue warrants for the apprehension of persons charged upon oath with the publication of such libels. Lord Grey in vain showed that this was to sweep away the securities afforded by the Libel Act of Fox. In December, a man named William Hone was thrice tried at Guildhall for the publication of libels in the form of political parodies on the Catechism, the Litany, and the Athanasian Creed. The object of these writings was, beyond doubt, to excite hatred and contempt against the Ministry and the lower class of their supporters who, as jobbers and sinecurists, grew fat upon the public revenue. Three separate informations were laid, charging Hone with sedition and blasphemy. The proceedings in the case proved to be amongst the most remarkable in our constitutional history, and the Government received therein a most severe and humiliating check. The accused man, middle-aged, dressed in threadbare black, who vended his literary wares in a little shop of the Old Bailey, pleaded in his own case with marvellous skill and courage. He proved to the satisfaction of three special juries, on three succeeding days, directed, in the first trial, by Mr. Justice Abbott, and, in the other two, by Lord Chief-Justice Ellenborough, that parodies on religious documents, published for political ends, and not aimed at religion itself, were not, according to our law, subjects of prosecution; that his parodies belonged solely to that class; and that men of high position, including Martin Luther, Bishop Latimer, and Mr. Canning, a present member of the Ministry, had all put forth parodies of like character with the matter now charged. On the third trial, the boldness of the defendant, exhausted though he was by the arduous exertions of two preceding days, rose to a height that stirred great shouts of applause. He declared that "certain very grave members of the Cabinet (my Lord Sidmouth and my Lord Liverpool) were hoping that he would sink under his fatigues and want of physical power." "He can't stand the third trial," said these humane and Christian Ministers; "we shall have him now, he must be crushed." "Oh, no, no," cried Hone, "he must not be crushed; you cannot crush him. I have a spark of liberty in my mind, that will glow and burn brighter, and blaze more fiercely, as my mortal remains are passing to decay. There is nothing can crush me, but my own sense of doing wrong; the moment I feel it, I fall down in self-abasement before my accusers; but when I have done no wrong, when I know I am right, I am as an armed man; and in this spirit I wage battle with the Attorney-General, taking a tilt with him here on the floor of this Court." Three acquittals, given by the juries after brief deliberation, proved to this and to succeeding Governments the unwisdom of attacks upon the freedom of the press in matters which can be safely left to the progressive enlightenment and purity of public taste and public opinion.

Lord Ellenborough, in failing health, and broken down by his two defeats in cases where he had vaunted the certainty of obtaining a conviction, resigned office and died in the following year. The special effect of the political unrest that existed in the first years after the conclusion of the foreign war was a retrogression of public opinion on the question of Parliamentary reform. The middle classes, though almost devoid themselves of any share in the government of the country, shrank timidly from any change, as likely to endanger public peace and private property. The Government were thus encouraged to deal severely with further political agitation. In 1818, Sir Francis Burdett, seconded by Lord Cochrane, moved resolutions in the Commons for universal male suffrage, equal electoral districts, vote by ballot, and annual parliaments. The mover and the seconder were alone in the lobby as supporters of these extreme proposals. A new Parliament in that year gave some accession of strength to the Whigs, and Sir James Mackintosh, the successor of Romilly as an advocate for amendments in the criminal law, beat the Government in 1819, on a motion for a Select Committee to consider the subject of capital punishments. The same session was remarkable for the first appearance of Lord John Russell as a reformer. This younger son of the Duke of Bedford, bearer of a name illustrious in the history of British freedom, had entered the House of Commons in 1813. He now agreed in the propriety of disfranchising boroughs which were notoriously corrupt, and, two years later, he succeeded in depriving Grampound, in Cornwall, of its two members, who were transferred to the county of York. In May 1819, the voice of Mr. Grattan was uplifted for the last time, a few days before his death, in support of Catholic Emancipation. His motion, in a House of nearly five hundred members, was defeated by but two votes. The cause of Reform led, in the same year, to a grievous event at Manchester. Disaffection was again rife in some of the manufacturing districts. Trade, after a brief revival, had again begun to languish. Wages were low, and the price of food had risen. Violent speeches were uttered at meetings of the distressed operatives, and a spirit of sedition was abroad. In June, a baronet named Sir Charles Wolseley told a great meeting at Stockport that he had been one of the assailants of the French Bastille, and would never shrink from attacking the Bastilles of his own country. His arrest for sedition was soon followed by the assemblage of a great meeting at St. Peter's Field, in Manchester, on the ground now partly covered by the Free Trade Hall. At this gathering, on August 16th, "Orator Hunt" took the chair. The object of the meeting was to petition for Parliamentary reform. Eighty thousand persons, from Manchester and adjacent towns, were packed together on a space of about three acres. A troop of Manchester Yeomanry, consisting of about forty members, chiefly master-manufacturers, were sent by the magistrates to force their way through

the crowd, and enable the constables to arrest Mr. Hunt. The Yeomanry are accused of the cruel use of the sabre-edge on defenceless heads and hands. In the midst of the confusion, when the Yeomanry, singly, or in small groups, were hemmed in amongst the crowd, unable either to advance or to retire, a panic-stricken magistrate ordered a charge by four troops of the 15th Hussars. The men made little use of their swords, but great mischief was caused by the trampling and the crushing of a huge mingled mass of people in their efforts to escape. The scene of action became known as "Peterloo," and the "Manchester Massacre" ended with the death of six persons, and the severe injury of above a hundred. The special thanks of the Prince Regent for "prompt, decisive, and efficient measures for the preservation of the public tranquillity" only threw into stronger relief the fervid expressions of a widespread indignation, both against magistrates and troops, adopted in public meetings of boroughs, cities, and counties. An assemblage of 20,000 met at York, after a summons by the high-sheriff on the requisition of many freeholders. Among these was Earl Fitzwilliam, who, for this offence, was dismissed from his office of Lord-Lieutenant for the West Riding. Chancellor Eldon, in terror of the people, and insisting on the need of fresh legislation, in order to avoid "a shocking choice between military government and anarchy," now induced the Ministry to make a new assault upon the Constitution. Parliament, in a special session of December 1819, passed the famous Sidmouth Code, known as the Six Acts. These measures, aimed against seditious writings, words, and actions, attacked the old English freedom in forbidding public meetings to be held without the licence of a magistrate; in enabling private houses to be searched for arms; and in assigning transportation, on a second conviction, for the publication of a libel. The body politic of Britain had not, since the Revolution, been in a more fevered state than in this last complete year of a long and memorable reign.

The chief event in the domestic history of 1817 was the death of the Princess Charlotte, on November 6th, along with her infant child. The whole nation was plunged into deep and universal grief by the loss of an illustrious lady regarded as a coming ruler who would combine a love of just government with purity of private character. Her father, the Prince Regent, made her decease a reason for urging on his ministers the delicate and difficult question of obtaining a divorce from the Princess of Wales, with whom he had long been on terms of the most bitter enmity. In 1818, three sons of the old king were married to German ladies. The Duke of Clarence took to wife the Princess Adelaide of Saxe-Meiningen, the Princess Augusta of Hesse was wedded to the Duke of Cambridge, and the fourth son, the Duke of Kent, married the daughter of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg, her Serene Highness Louisa Victoria. She was the sister of Prince Leopold, the mourning widower of Princess Charlotte.

The
Royal
Family.

The offspring of this last union, born on May 24, 1819, was the Princess Victoria, now for over fifty years Queen of Great Britain. Queen Charlotte passed away, at the age of seventy-five, in November 1818, and the formal charge of the old king's person was now given, for a brief season, to the Duke of York. On January 29, 1820, George III. died at Windsor, preceded to the tomb, by six days, by the Duke of Kent. The little Victoria, now eight months old, was henceforth regarded with much public interest as one who might yet become wearer of the crown.

The great struggle for our national existence produced a real heroic time for Britain, and stirred up depths of thought which had been stagnant during a time of tranquillity, or of mere party agitation, or of contests in the East and the West which did not touch the core of the nation's welfare. Before the outbreak of the French Revolution, a new power and a wider truth had begun to mark the poetry of the time. A burst of song, unequalled since the days of Elizabeth, hailed the approach, and welcomed the dawn, of the new political era for Europe created by that vast upheaval. Two years before the death of Johnson, when that great and eccentric scholar had shown forth his best critical power, and the natural force of his later style, in the *Lives of the Poets*, there emerged from a provincial life of sickness and seclusion, after having passed his fiftieth year, a writer destined to become the precursor of a new school of poetry. In 1782, William Cowper gave the world his first volume of didactic poems, or satires, on *Truth, The Progress of Error*, and kindred topics. Three years later, *The Task*, and other poems, with their strong sense, high morality, earnest piety, love of nature, and deep spirit of the home affections, threw aside affectations and conventionality for a new power of earnestness and simplicity. The evil manners of the time were denounced with stern severity. George Crabbe, the Suffolk poet, a writer of rare pathos and original power as a painter of manners, did his best work, in *The Borough*, early in the present century. In 1786, a new star arose in Scotland, when Robert Burns, in a volume of poems published at Kilmarnock, first made the Scottish dialect the mode of utterance for lyrical genius of the highest order. Humour, passion, satire, pathos, truth to nature in scenery and character, received a new charm from simplicity and strength of language. When William Gifford, in the *Baviad* and the *Maeviad*, had slain the mawkish affectations of the Della Cruscan school, the road was made clear for poets of another order. The "Lake School," much derided in their day, but living still, and destined to live, in the best work of Wordsworth and Coleridge, was founded by those two great writers and by Robert Southey, the poet of forgotten epics, immortal in his *Life of Nelson*. A poet who will last as long as the English language came before the world in 1809, in the *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*. This powerful satire, in which Byron retorted on the assailant of his

Hours of Idleness, was followed, three years later, by the first two cantos of *Childe Harold*, which raised their author to the height of fame, looking down on the well-won repute of Walter Scott, whose *Lay* had appeared in 1805, and *Marmion* in 1809. This new style of narrative poetry, susceptible of the most refined and subtle revelations of poetical feeling, was destined to supersede the didactic and descriptive verse. The second decade of the present century was ennobled, in the world of poetry, by the magnificent imagery of Shelley, the subtle art and sensuous charm of Keats, and by the satirical wit and gorgeous fancy of Thomas Moore, whose *Lalla Rookh* appeared in 1817. The fine lyrics of Campbell belong to the period of the great war. The glories of the stage in this era are found not in the writers, but in the impersonators who trod the boards. Apart from David Garrick, who died in 1779, the histrionic art of Britain has furnished nothing greater than Mrs. Siddons, John Kemble, and Edmund Kean. The novel, under George III., is most ably represented by Fanny Burney, with *Evelina* and *Cecilia*; by the exquisite art of Jane Austen in *Sense and Sensibility*, *Pride and Prejudice*, and *Mansfield Park*; by the Irish pictures of Maria Edgeworth; and by the great inventor and master of historical romance, the author of *Waverley*. In divinity and philosophy, William Paley best upheld the intellectual reputation of the English Church. Thomas Chalmers, one of the greatest of Scottish preachers, philosophers, and divines, won high fame, in 1816, by his *Astronomical Discourses*, delivered in the Tron Church at Glasgow. Robert Hall, a Baptist minister, showed that the ranks of Dissent could produce a scholar and a pulpit-orator of the highest order. His sermon called *The Present Crisis*, delivered at Bristol in October 1803, amidst the threats of French invasion, was held, by William Pitt, to equal, in its peroration, any passage of the same length from ancient or modern oratory. His discourses on *Modern Infidelity*, and on the death of the Princess Charlotte, are noble specimens of the same class of intellectual effort. A higher school of literary criticism began with the first publication, in 1802, of the *Edinburgh Review*. Political and social questions were also discussed therein with great ability and ultimate advantage to the cause of improvement, by the band of writers—Brougham and Sydney Smith, Horner and Mackintosh—who were associated with the keen editor, Francis Jeffrey. This famous organ of Whig views was followed, in 1809, by the Tory antidote, the *Quarterly Review*, edited by William Gifford, who was assisted in his work by Canning, Southey, Scott, Croker, and other opponents of reform. From year to year the fierce battle waged in the pages of the great Reviews was advancing the cause of truth and justice, and the best political and social ends were reached in a happy compromise between the extreme opinions of ardent champions. The Tory politics of Scotland were represented by a new magazine, the famous *Blackwood*, wherein John Wilson, better known as "Christopher North," poured forth by turns his political hatreds and his love of nature

in torrents of impassioned and poetical prose. The foremost essayists of the time were the quaint and original Charles Lamb, the shrewd, fertile, and tasteful William Hazlitt, the charming and graceful Leigh Hunt, the profound John Foster, and the brilliant Thomas de Quincey. In political economy, James Mill, Malthus, Ricardo, and the illustrious Bentham, were worthy successors of Adam Smith. In metaphysics and moral philosophy, a great name is that of Dugald Stewart, the Scottish professor, who for a quarter of a century, from 1785 to 1810, spread a fine intellectual and moral influence in the lectures which he delivered at Edinburgh.

In astronomy, Sir William Herschel, discoverer of the planet Uranus **Science and Art.** in 1781, made vast additions, through his great telescope at Slough, to the facts on which our knowledge of the solar system is based. In chemistry, the earlier part of the reign of George III. was distinguished by the discoveries of Black, Cavendish, and Priestley, who were followed, in the present century, by the original inquirer and popular teacher, Sir Humphrey Davy. His lectures at the Royal Institution diffused a love of science, and introduced, as an assistant in his experiments, his great successor, Michael Faraday. The Safety-Lamp, invented by Davy in 1815, was a great boon to the toilers amidst the inflammable gases of the coal-mines. In 1808, John Dalton became famous by his atomic theory of chemical action, and, at a later date, the experiments of Wollaston became the bases of great progress in the industrial arts. In the last years of the eighteenth century, Edward Jenner, a Gloucestershire physician, who had studied anatomy in London under the famous John Hunter, introduced vaccination, and put an end to the horror inspired by a loathsome disease, which had long been slaying nearly a tenth of the population. The first rude attempts to employ steam for navigation were made in 1788. A paddle-wheel steamer, with engines devised by William Symington, attained a speed of five miles an hour on Dalswinton Loch, near Dumfries. In 1802, a steamboat, constructed by Symington, was running on the Forth and Clyde Canal, and it was the sight of this vessel that caused Robert Fulton, an American engineer, to obtain, from the English firm of Boulton & Watt, the engine which drove the first steamer on the Hudson River. In 1812, the *Comet*, designed by Henry Bell, ran on the Clyde, and was the first passenger steamer employed in Great Britain. In 1819, the *Savannah*, with her sails aided by steam power, made the voyage from Liverpool to America in twenty-six days. Three years later, the first steamship in the British navy, also bearing the name of *Comet*, was launched from Woolwich Dockyard. An epoch in the history of printing was the use, in 1814, of steam for the machines producing the *Times* newspaper. Koenig, a native of Saxony, was the maker of that swift printing-press, the precursor of improved machines that were to effect a revolution in the powers of journalism, and, with the concurrent invention of the paper-machine, were to have a

marvellous effect upon society in the reduction of the price of books. The architecture of the period has left little indeed worthy of praise amid its base and mechanical reproductions of Greek art, and the feeble imitations of Gothic in which James Wyatt ruined, by his "restorations," beautiful features of the colleges at Oxford and of several of our noblest cathedrals. Sir John Soane, our ablest architect in that age, is best known by the Bank of England, where the north-west angle is a happy conception of a man rich in scenic ingenuity, but wholly unequal to great work. Sir Robert Smirke, at a later day, designed the General Post-Office and the British Museum. Nash, the favourite architect of the Prince Regent, improved street architecture in his design and execution of Regent Street. It is a relief to turn to the makers of bridges, roads, and canals. The great Scottish engineer, Thomas Telford, dealt with works of enormous extent, and left behind him titles to fame in the Highland roads and bridges, the Caledonian and other great canals, the harbours of Dundee and Aberdeen, and the admirable suspension bridge which crosses the Menai Straits. Excellent alike in stone and iron, he spanned streams, great and small, with nearly 2000 bridges in the course of his long and useful career. His interment within the walls of Westminster Abbey was a just recognition of merit in a country rising to the chief place of commercial importance and renown. John Rennie, a native of East Lothian, was a civil engineer of the highest order. To his constructive skill are due countless docks, bridges, harbours, and canals. The Crinan Canal, the London Docks, the East and West India Docks, the harbours of Kingstown and Holyhead, the dockyards at Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, and Sheerness, Southwark Bridge, and one of the noblest constructions of modern days, Waterloo Bridge, are noted among his chief works. Plymouth Breakwater was also Rennie's, and the designs for London Bridge were his, though its erection was entrusted to his able sons, George and Sir John Rennie. In sculpture, Sir Francis Chantrey and Sir Richard Westmacott were the most worthy peers and successors of Flaxman. The taste for Greek art in this style was improved by the purchase and public exhibition of three important collections of ancient marbles. The acquirement, in 1805, of the works gathered by Mr. Townley, formed the nucleus of the splendid national collection of ancient sculpture in the British Museum. To these were added, in 1815, by the Prince Regent, the grand series of reliefs from the temple of Apollo near Phigaleia, in Arcadia. That building was due to Ictinus, the contemporary of Pericles and Phidias, and one of the architects of the Parthenon. The Elgin Marbles, purchased by Parliament in 1816, gave this nation the finest existing specimens of Greek sculpture in its perfect style. The Earl of Elgin, ambassador at the Ottoman Porte, was most unjustly reviled for the care which rescued from utter destruction some of the best work on the matchless building which, shattered by the Venetian bombardment in 1687, was daily suffering

mutilation at the hands of Moslem Vandals. The work of Phidias and his scholars was thus, in a maimed condition, delivered to the students of Grecian art within the walls of the National Museum. In painting, Sir Thomas Lawrence became the chief successor of Reynolds, in a lower style of art, and the vigorous Raeburn won fame for Scottish portraiture. David Wilkie showed his skill and genial humour in scenes from domestic life, and the greatest of all landscape painters appeared in Joseph Turner. A succession of great works, destined to spread over fifty years, began in 1790. In 1802 he was elected a Royal Academician, and turned from water-colours to oils. In the best of his early pictures, Turner resembled Wilson and the Poussins; in his second style, he followed and surpassed Claude; in his third and greatest era, competing with nature alone, he reached the highest point of art. In versatility and poetical feeling, in brilliancy and vigour of imagination, in close observation of nature, and in knowledge of effect, this wonderful man displayed a combination of powers never equalled in any one painter. Constable and Collins in landscape, and George Morland, in animal painting, were worthy representatives of the English school. It is from this period that the essentially English art of water-colour dates its rise. The infant art owed its early culture and vigorous growth to the genius of Turner. The germ, at least, of almost every improvement or modification of the water-colour process may be traced in his numerous and admirable sketches and finished works in that style. The rising art was brought to perfection by the skill of Samuel Prout, David Cox, and other able votaries, and in 1805 the foundation of the Society of Painters in Water Colours proved the rapid growth of popularity for the new school, and the confidence of its professors in their own artistic strength and resources. The great demand for illustrated books caused a vast development of skilled engraving in vignettes and small plates. In line-engraving, William Sharp, the two Heaths, and the Findens showed much ability. Lupton and Charles Turner were distinguished in mezzotint. The revival of wood-engraving was due to the rare powers of Thomas Bewick, a native of Newcastle-on-Tyne, whose vigour, delicacy, and skilful expression in representing animals and birds came upon his age with a new charm.

CHAPTER II.

ENGLAND UNDER GEORGE THE FOURTH.

The Cato Street Conspiracy. The King and the Queen. Ministerial changes. Peel, Canning, Huskisson in power. Commercial troubles. Canning as Foreign Minister. Turkey and Greece. Death of Canning. Battle of Navarino. Greek independence won. Lord Brougham as a reformer. O'Connell wins Catholic Emancipation.

THE accession of George IV. was nothing but a change of title. The Regent became King; the Parliament resumed its session; the ministers retained office. The Houses were prorogued with a view to a dissolution, on February 28th, and the Royal Speech then alluded to the detection of a "flagrant and sanguinary conspiracy." The Cato Street Plot, atrocious in its objects, and declared by the ministers to be a vindication of "the justice and expediency" of the Six Acts, had no element of real danger either to persons or to the state. A retired army-officer, named Arthur Thistlewood, who had lived in France during the early stages of the Revolution, took part in the Spafields riot, and was acquitted after trial for treason. He then underwent a year's imprisonment for a foolish challenge sent to Lord Sidmouth, and emerged from gaol with his heart filled with purposes of vengeance either for what he deemed his private wrong, or, as he declared on his trial, for "the murdered innocents" in the unhappy affair at "Peterloo." His plan was for a gang of men to slay all the Cabinet, when they dined with the Earl of Harrowby, Lord President of the Council. The gatherings of the plotters were held in the hay-loft over a stable in Cato Street, an obscure thoroughfare parallel with the Edgware Road. The Home Office, at an early date, had full knowledge from a traitor to the conspiracy, which meant to effect its object by hand-grenades thrown under the table, followed by the use of swords upon any who survived the explosion. February 23rd was the day appointed for the dinner. At seven o'clock on that evening Mr Birnie, a police magistrate, was at Cato Street with a strong party of officers, followed by a detachment of the Guards. Twenty-four plotters were assembled, when the constables mounted the ladder to the loft. Smithers, the leading officer, was stabbed to the heart by Thistlewood, and three of his comrades were wounded, either by dagger or bullet. The lights were put out, and Thistlewood, with fourteen others, made his escape for the time. Nine of the party, with arms and ammunition, were taken by the soldiers, and Thistlewood was captured on the following morning. He and four chief accomplices were hanged for high treason.

The Government, in the new reign, was at once confronted by a matter of painful interest and importance. The Princess of Wales was now Queen Caroline. Long separated from her husband, she had

become, in her life abroad, the subject of rumours which grievously affected her private character. Mr. Brougham, her chief legal adviser, maintained in the House of Commons her readiness to meet any charges. The King was eager for a divorce, but the Cabinet, on February 10th, declared to him that such a measure would seriously prejudice the interests of the monarchy. They proposed a Bill to provide an annuity for the Queen, payable only on condition of her continued residence abroad. The ministers thought that the King would be justified in causing her name to be omitted from the Liturgy, and in refusing to her the honour of coronation. Public feeling was greatly excited. None knew the truth as to the alleged misconduct of the royal consort. Tory partisans and court toadies assumed her guilt, and spoke of her with coarse contempt. All fair-minded men thought that the sovereign was the last man in the realm who had any right to complain of conjugal infidelity. All who regarded the national honour felt the grave indecorum of admitting to the full privileges of an exalted position a lady upon whose moral conduct there rested the stain of serious reproach. For a few months the matter was in abeyance. Political agitation on the subject of reform ended for a time in various terms of imprisonment awarded to Mr. Hunt and his associates for the proceedings at the Manchester meeting, and in a sentence of three months' imprisonment, and a fine of £2000, inflicted on Sir Francis Burdett for seditious libel. In June, the Queen took the decided step of coming to England. Landing at Dover amidst the shouts of the populace, she was received in London with a like fervour of applause. The King and the Cabinet were thus forced into action, and, after the examination of certain papers, concerning the Queen's conduct abroad, by a Secret Committee of the House of Lords, and the failure of all attempts at negotiation, it was resolved to bring in a Bill of Pains and Penalties. The object of this measure was to deprive the Queen of her "title, prerogatives, rights, and privileges," and to dissolve the marriage between her and the King. The Queen's trial, as it was popularly called, began on August 17th, and lasted for nearly three months. The accused lady, who was residing at Brandenburgh House, Hammersmith, received many deputations and addresses, and was hailed, whenever she rode abroad, with enthusiastic shouts from sympathising crowds. The public press was degraded by the violence and ribaldry of venal and prejudiced writers. Theodore Hook, in the weekly columns of *John Bull*, established for the purpose of waging war against all who espoused the cause of the Queen, sent forth sparkling showers of the wittiest and most venomous abuse. The Radicals, on their side, attacked the King and his supporters with libellous invectives. The defence of the Queen was conducted, with the utmost skill and boldness, by Brougham and Denman. The King himself was not spared, and one of his brothers was denounced, to his face, as a slanderer. The general impression produced by the evidence, on a calm perusal in this age, is that the

Queen
Caroline,
1820.

accused lady was one of coarse manners, and of marvellous imprudence and indecorum, whose conduct laid her open to grave suspicion. The second reading of the Bill, in affirmation of her guilt, was carried by the votes of 123 Peers against 95. Some of the Ministry, disappointed by the smallness of the majority, then wished to abandon the clause for a divorce. The Opposition, clearly seeing that they must press for its retention, carried the motion for that end by a large majority. On November 10th, the third reading was carried by a majority of only nine, and the ministers, after this virtual defeat, not venturing to send the measure to the House of Commons, let the matter have an end. In the spring of 1821, an Act was passed awarding to the Queen an annuity of £50,000, and her acceptance of this income, after her protest and declaration that she would take no money till her right was acknowledged, caused a gradual decline of her popularity. At the coronation on July 19, 1821, the unhappy Caroline of Brunswick, through her own lack of dignity and wisdom, was made subject to the humiliation of being refused admission at every door of Westminster Abbey. On August 7th she died, and even then became the cause of tumult. Her body was conveyed to Harwich, for removal on a man-of-war to Germany, with the purpose of interment at Brunswick. Orders had been issued that the mourning cavalcade should avoid the crowded streets, but a lawless mob insisted on its passing through the City. An assault on the Life Guards, at the north side of Hyde Park, ended in the shooting of two rioters, and the procession then went its way through London, headed, on its arrival at Temple Bar, by the Lord Mayor.

In 1822 some important changes came in the Ministry. Lord Sidmouth, at the Home Office, was succeeded by Mr. Peel. The Marquess Wellesley became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. In August, Lord Castlereagh, who had become Marquis of Londonderry, died by his own hand, in a fit of insanity, and was succeeded at the Foreign Office by Canning. Outrages in Ireland, due to agricultural distress, were met by renewal of an Insurrection Act and by suspension of the Habeas Corpus. A measure for Catholic Relief, passed by the Commons, was again rejected in the Lords. In January 1823, the election of Mr. Huskisson, as Canning's colleague in the representation of Liverpool, restored to office a man of great abilities who, from the accident of birth in the middle class, was regarded by the great Whig and Tory families as a political adventurer. He had held office under Pitt, and now brought his great financial and commercial knowledge to bear on his duties as President of the Board of Trade. Two years later, he was admitted to the Cabinet. Under his auspices, a broader system of commercial policy began to replace the old exclusive and protective methods. In 1823 he carried through Parliament a measure imposing and allowing equal duties and drawbacks on all goods, whether imported or exported in British or in

Home
affairs,
1822-1827.

foreign ships. This Reciprocity of Duties Act was justly held, by a keen observer, to portend a time of free trade in agricultural produce. This heavy blow at the navigation laws was followed, in 1824, by the withdrawal of prohibitory duties on foreign manufactured silks, and by a large reduction of the imposts on raw silk. In reply to the clamour and opprobrium vented by supporters of restriction in commercial affairs, Huskisson denounced the "chilling and benumbing effect which is always sure to be felt when no genius is called into action, and when we are rendered indifferent to exertion by the indolent security of a prohibitory system." Canning, in an eloquent speech against those who had taunted his colleague with disregard to the interests of his own countrymen, gave an impressive warning to men who, "resisting indiscriminately all improvement as innovation, may find themselves compelled at last to submit to innovations which are not improvements." The enlightened spirit of the two Tories who represented the great port on the Mersey was thus prophetic of the days of Peel and his pupil Gladstone. About this time, there were animated debates in the House of Commons on the subject of negro slavery in the West Indies. In May 1823, Mr. Thomas Fowell Buxton moved for the gradual abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies. He was met by Canning, in a friendly spirit, with other resolutions which, to the alarm and indignation of the slave proprietors in the West Indies, caused a sharp interference by the Colonial Secretary in favour of the slave. The negroes in Demerara had looked for immediate emancipation, and a rising took place which ended in the execution, under sentences of courts-martial, of nearly fifty slaves, and the severe flogging of a large number. In June, 1824, Brougham strongly denounced the slaveholders, and in the same debate Wilberforce spoke for the last time in Parliament. The efforts of Sir James Mackintosh, who had taken up the work of Romilly, caused a further abolition of capital punishments, and the whole matter was then left in the hands of Peel, the Home-Secretary, who was in favour of some amendments in the cruel existing code. The year 1825 was one of severe commercial trouble. The Royal Speech in January had dwelt in exultant terms on the "thriving condition of all the great interests of the nation," and the Chancellor of the Exchequer took such a sanguine view of commercial prospects that he gained the name of "Prosperity Robinson." In June, the *Quarterly Review* dwelt upon the proofs of growing wealth in town and country, and on the great balances in the hands of bankers. The abundance of capital, and the complaints of a lack of outlets in the way of making interest for money, caused a great and sudden growth of joint-stock companies, some of which drew speculation towards the mines of South America. The days of the South Sea Scheme returned, and a rush of credulous investors—nobles, politicians, lawyers, philosophers, divines, and poets, spinsters, wives, and widows—started a drain of gold to South America, and the wild purchase of all kinds of foreign produce. Then came the

fall of prices, and all the terrors of reaction. In November the "Panic" had almost drained the Bank of England of its specie reserves. A run in London and the provinces caused the failure of seventy-three banks before the close of the year, and a suspension of cash payments was only averted by rapid coinage at the Mint, the prompt issue of new notes, and the re-issue of the old one- and two-pound notes. Early in 1826, the destruction of private credit was causing the failure of many great mercantile firms, and the continuance of this ruin throughout the year brought vast distress to the manufacturing population. Parliament produced an Act which dealt with the exclusive privileges of the Bank of England, in permitting the establishment of joint-stock banks. This important measure, with the establishment of country branches of the Bank of England, and the gradual substitution of a metallic currency for the one- and two-pound notes, helped to place the currency and circulating credit of the country upon a firmer basis. Distress amongst the artisans produced the old result of a war upon machinery, which interested proprietors of land, strong supporters of the Corn Laws, declared to be the source of trouble to the toilers. In the summer of 1826, Parliament was in the seventh session, and a dissolution took place. The coming question was that of Catholic Emancipation. Since 1812, the matter had been left open for members of the Cabinet to form each his own opinion. Lord Liverpool, the premier, was a moderate opponent of the Catholic claims. Lord Eldon always avowed his "firm purpose to support to the last our establishment in Church and State." Canning was a strong advocate of change. Peel, now a member for the University of Oxford, stood, at present, with Eldon. In 1825, a Bill for the repeal of Catholic disabilities passed the House of Commons by a majority of twenty-seven, but was again rejected by a large majority in the Lords. This result was partly owing to the emphatic statement of the Duke of York, that, under all circumstances, he would oppose the Catholic claims. The duke thus became a kind of Protestant hero, of whom, however, his chief admirer, Eldon, wrote in private to a friend—"It is to be regretted that in his highly important and lofty situation he spends so many days with blacklegs, and so many nights at cards." The duke, justly popular for the frankness of his demeanour, and in his character as "the soldier's friend," died in the earliest days of 1827. Within a few weeks, a fit of apoplexy, soon followed by death, removed Lord Liverpool from his long tenure of the highest office in the Ministry. A friendship of forty years, begun at Christ Church, and cherished through all changes, was thus lost to Mr. Canning.

On May 5, 1821, Napoleon Buonaparte died at St. Helena, while a hurricane, such as that which attended the last hours of Cromwell, swept across the lonely isle, shaking houses to their foundation, and tearing up the stateliest trees. On the death of the great man whose name had so long filled the world with

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terror of a felt or threatened tyranny, there were many thoughtful men who doubted whether the cause of freedom had gained much by the overthrow of the oppressor. The sovereigns of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, assembled at Laybach, were then sending a despatch to their ministers at foreign courts. They therein proclaimed the doctrine that "useful or necessary changes in legislation, and in the administration of states, ought only to emanate from those whom God has rendered responsible for power." Despotic rule thus declared open war against constitutional government. The monarchs of Austria and Prussia had already denied to their own subjects the representative government which they had once promised. The autocrat of Russia was aiding them in the suppression of freedom throughout Italy. The influence of Great Britain was flung into the scale against these principles of the "Holy Alliance," when the genius of George Canning assumed the direction of our foreign policy. Under the guidance of this great man, Britain was transferred from the camp of mere dead resistance, and of European "order," to the camp of liberty and progress. In the autumn of 1822, a Congress on European affairs was held at Verona, and the Duke of Wellington attended as the representative of this country. The government of France had gathered an army on the frontiers of Spain, in order to enable her faithless ruler, Ferdinand VII., to suppress the free constitution. The instructions sent by Canning to the duke prevented any open support being given by the other powers to this odious intervention, and when, in the spring of 1823, the French troops crossed the frontier, our new Foreign Secretary strongly disavowed the doctrine of Ferdinand and Louis that the Spanish people were bound to take free institutions as the spontaneous gift of a sovereign invested with absolute rights. He also threatened that, if Portugal were assailed, Britain would come into the field. The revolt of the Spanish colonies in Central and South America had long drawn attention in Europe. In 1811, the famous and heroic Simon Bolivar became the leader of the patriotic party in Venezuela. A long struggle with the Spanish troops ended, in June 1820, with the entry of Bolivar as a conqueror into his native city, Caracas. Venezuela and New Granada became the republic of Colombia in 1821, and the same year saw the successful revolt of the colonists to the north of the Isthmus of Panama. Peru became free in 1825, and a portion of her territory was formed into the republic of Bolivia. In October 1823, Canning plainly stated that, in the event of any foreign interference, by force or menace, in the dispute between Spain and her colonies, Britain would at once recognise their independence. This tone was much resented by the King and by some of Canning's colleagues. In November 1824, Lord Sidmouth left the Cabinet, and George wrote a long official letter to Lord Liverpool, in which he expressed his strong disapproval of the new policy, and denounced "the Jacobins of the world, now calling themselves the

Liberals." He was anxious to bring about the dismissal of Canning, but was forced to yield to the unanimous support now accorded to the Foreign Secretary by his fellow-ministers, and the statesman's success was crowned, in February 1825, by the virtual recognition of the South American republics in the royal speech. One fruit of his policy was an avowal made, in 1823, by the famous ex-President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson. That venerable champion of his country's liberties, who had drawn up the draft of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, and now, in his eightieth year, was the head of the Republican party, threw aside at once the prejudices against Great Britain which had sometimes marked his official career. "Great Britain," he declared, "is the nation that can do us the most harm of any one, or all, on earth; and with her on our side, we need not fear the Old World. With her we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship." Treaties of amity and commerce were concluded with the new states of South America, and Canning, in view of the occupation of Spain by the French troops, referred in memorable words to his abstention from armed interference in that country. "I sought materials of compensation in another hemisphere. I resolved that if France had Spain, it should not be Spain with the Indies. I called the New World into existence to redress the balance of the Old." At the close of 1826, the British minister promptly redeemed his word pledged for the defence of Portugal. On the death of John VI., the throne had passed to his grand-daughter, Maria da Gloria, and the adoption of constitutional rule had provoked Ferdinand of Spain to invasion. On Friday, December 8th, the Portuguese ambassador in London asked assistance from our government. On Saturday, the Cabinet met and came to a decision. On Sunday, that decision received the sanction of the King. On Monday, it was communicated to both Houses; and on Tuesday, cried Canning in the Commons, "At the hour in which I have the honour of addressing you, the troops are on their march for embarkation." His noble speech concluded with the words, "We go to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted, foreign dominion shall not come." In less than a fortnight, the British armament was in the Tagus, and, without the firing of a shot, the Spanish troops re-crossed the frontier. Not less spirited was Canning's intervention in the affairs of Greece. From 1715 till 1821, the Greeks had been under Turkish rule. Then came a rising under a leader named Ypsilanti. He and the heroic patriots Bozzaris and Kanaris, assisted in naval matters by the advice of Lord Cochrane, maintained by sea and land a struggle which soon aroused feeling in Europe. A great British poet joined them in 1823, but soon died at Missolonghi. In 1825, the Turks, under Ibrahim Pasha, had much success against the insurgents, and their prospects were becoming gloomy. In April 1827, the classic sympathies of Canning for the cause of freedom were those of a man who had at last won his way to

the highest post in the service of his country. The retirement of Lord Liverpool left open the position which Canning had fairly earned by his administrative abilities and his unrivalled eloquence. The Catholic question was the chief barrier against his natural claim to be the head of the ministry. His able colleague, the Home Secretary, Peel, was on this point arrayed against him, and the King held the same views. Canning offered to retire, but he was found to be indispensable, and, at the royal command, he succeeded in forming a new Cabinet. He was now as much beloved and trusted by the party of progress as he was feared and hated by their opponents. The Duke of Wellington, Lord Eldon, Peel, and other Tories declined to hold office. In the new ministry, Canning combined the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer with that of First Lord of the Treasury: the Solicitor-General, Sir John Copley, became Chancellor, as Lord Lyndhurst; Lord Goderich was Secretary for War and the Colonies; Huskisson was again President of the Board of Trade; the perennial Palmerston held office as Secretary-at-War; and the King's brother, the Duke of Clarence, was appointed Lord-High-Admiral. In the Commons, Canning had the powerful support of Brougham against a host of mean and factious assailants. In the Peers, Earl Grey, a Whig leader, disgraced himself by "haughty and contemptuous violence" (the words are those of Guizot) in attacking a minister whose liberal opinions claimed support from all who professed similar principles. The man thus assailed was soon to pass beyond the reach of human praise or censure. At the funeral of the Duke of York, on the night of January 20, 1827, he had taken a cold, in standing for two hours on the chilly pavement of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and this ended in an illness from which he never really recovered. On June 18th, he spoke for the last time in the House of Commons, and on July 2nd the session closed. The King was so struck with his worn appearance at an interview a month later, that he sent his own physician to attend him. Canning retired for change of air to the Duke of Devonshire's villa at Chiswick, where he occupied the bedroom in which Charles James Fox had drawn his last breath. Death, on the 8th of August, was followed by a private burial in Westminster Abbey. The minister had left behind him a legacy of vast importance to the interests of Greece. On July 7th a treaty had been signed between Great Britain, France, and Russia. Deliverance for the classic land was to come in what appeared to be the hour of her death-agony. The Turks had just taken Athens when the three Powers intervened. They declared that the fate of Greece no longer concerned exclusively the interests of the Ottoman Porte, and, proposing an armistice, they required an answer within a month, on pain of their interference for that end. During the brief ministry of Lord Goderich, from August 1827 to January 1828, a decisive event occurred in Greek waters. The Greeks had accepted, and the Turkish government had declined, the proposal for a cessation

of hostilities. The Egyptian fleet, under Ibrahim Pasha, had come from Alexandria, and joined the Turkish squadron in the harbour of Navarino. On October 20th, the British squadron, under Sir Edward Codrington, with the French and Russian fleets, anchored near the Turkish and Egyptian ships, and a volley of musketry upon one of our boats led to a general action. After four hours' conflict, one half of the Ottoman fleet, of 120 men-of-war and transports, had been sunk, burnt, or driven ashore, and this event, described as "untoward" in the royal speech of January 1828, was a chief step towards the acknowledgment by Turkey of Greek independence in the following year.

The resignation of Lord Goderich on January 9, 1828, made the Duke of Wellington premier. Peel returned to the Home Office, and Lyndhurst remained Chancellor. The mixed Home affairs, 1828-1830. character of the new administration was a cause of alarm to ultra-Tories. Lord Eldon was much aggrieved by his exclusion, and publicly said, "I don't know why I am not a minister." He and his friends saw with disgust the introduction of some of Canning's former adherents. Huskisson and Charles Grant were in office, and Mr. Lamb, afterwards Lord Melbourne, was appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland. Peel had begun to see that the nation could no longer be governed upon the old exclusive principles, and that, as he wrote to a friend, a ministry must have support beyond that of "country-gentlemen and fox-hunters." The keynote of coming changes was struck by Brougham when, in the House of Commons, he delivered a speech of marvellous power against the appointment of a military premier. He had called that appointment "unconstitutional," but he was not afraid of any attack on the liberties of the people. "These were not the times for such an attempt. There had been periods when the country heard with dismay that the soldier was abroad. That was not the case now. Let the soldier be ever so much abroad, in the present age he could do nothing. There was another person abroad, whose labours had tended to produce this state of things—the Schoolmaster was abroad." A small but real beginning had been made in the great work of raising by education the moral and intellectual character of the community. Efficient schools in every parish had long been established in Scotland. Early in the eighteenth century, new free schools were started in England for the sons of the mechanics and the labourers, and were making the better students into clever artisans and thriving burgesses, while the old grammar-schools, founded after the Reformation, were training for divines, lawyers, and physicians the sons of the professional classes and the wealthier tradesmen. The number of scholars in the Sunday-schools and the unendowed day-schools had of late so largely increased as to justify the boast of Brougham. In 1826, he brought about the institution of the Useful Knowledge Society, and enterprising publishers

began to issue cheap books. Mechanics' Institutions were founded in London and the great provincial towns, and in 1828 the London University started on its career of encouragement for higher education, independent of religious opinions. King's College, London, incorporated in 1829, provided a training in accordance with the principles of the Established Church. The energies of Brougham were largely used as a reformer of the courts of Common Law, and, in a speech of six hours, heard by the House with unwearied attention, he induced the government to appoint two commissions of inquiry. The work of financial economy, long advocated in the Commons by Joseph Hume, was now undertaken by Peel. In 1829, the Home Secretary's establishment of the new and highly efficient Metropolitan Police, in place of the old watchmen, showed to citizens the "men in blue" still known, in vulgar allusion to the names of their founder, as "Bobbies" and "Peelers." Early in 1828, a great measure of religious freedom was carried in the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Lord John Russell succeeded in carrying a motion for a committee, against Peel, Huskisson, and Palmerston, by a majority of forty-four in a House of more than 400, and a Bill, which substituted a declaration for the sacramental test, became law in May. Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters thus became able to hold office in corporations, and to accept civil and military posts. The Duke of Wellington, at this time, seems to have desired to be rid of the Canningites in his Cabinet, and a misunderstanding with Huskisson led to his withdrawal, followed by that of Grant, Palmerston, and Lamb.

The retirement of Huskisson and his friends had endangered a Cabinet which now appeared to be wholly framed upon the principle of hostility to the Catholic claims. In the House of Commons, with nearly 540 members voting, Sir Francis Burdett carried a resolution in favour of the Catholics by a majority of six. The House of Lords rejected it by a majority of forty-four, but the coming issue was foreshadowed when Lyndhurst and Wellington admitted that the Catholic question was a great difficulty, out of which they at present saw no outlet. They were soon helped to a decision by a man and an event in Ireland. Daniel O'Connell, disqualified by his faith, under the Papists' Disabling Act of 1678, from sitting in Parliament, was elected to the House of Commons as member for the county of Clare. His opponent, Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, was a man of great influence in the county, who had the fairest possible chance of support, for a Protestant, both from landlords and tenants, as one who had constantly advocated in Parliament the removal of Catholic disabilities. The genius of the great Irish tribune, the most eloquent and powerful demagogue that has appeared in our history, had long been given to his country's service. He was born, in 1775, among the wilds of Kerry, where he sprang from a Celtic family that had suffered grievous loss in the confiscations at the Revolution. Religious pro-

Catholic
Emancipa-
tion Act,
1829.

scription made him an outlaw from his birth, and he grew up with a hereditary hatred of the English rule and the English name. His education at the colleges of St. Omer and Douay had filled him with Catholic fervour, and imparted a subtle and casuistical tone to his method of reasoning. A near view of the French revolutionists gave him a lifelong aversion to reliance upon physical force in political movements. Trained to the law at Lincoln's Inn, he joined the Irish Bar in 1798, and soon rose to a foremost place as an advocate in conducting cases before juries. After the Union, O'Connell became the acknowledged leader of the Catholics of Ireland in their struggle for freedom. Against obstacles which might have seemed insuperable, his capacity and resource created a strong popular movement in favour of emancipation. The priesthood was by him employed as a most powerful agency to stir up the masses, and untiring toil, and rare skill in eluding the law, enabled him to organise throughout the country Boards, Committees, and Associations for the active promotion of the Catholic claims. A master of all the arts of agitation, and of the oratory of popular appeal, inventive, ingenious, unscrupulous, and daring, he awoke the Irish millions to new political life, and created a national force which he alone could control. In 1823, his efforts culminated in the establishment of the great Catholic Association, which embraced the vast majority of the Irish people, and constituted a force that defied and supplanted that of the state. The executive government was wholly unable to cope with the ubiquitous energies of this perfect organisation, and at the time of the Clare election, the Lord-Lieutenant, the Marquis of Anglesey, wrote to Peel with impressive warnings of a general rebellion. Wellington and Lyndhurst, during the recess of 1828, made vain efforts to obtain the sanction of the King to a settlement of the Catholic question, but he was induced to give way early in 1829. Oxford deprived Peel of his seat for the University, where he was replaced by the firm and decorous Protestant, Sir Robert Inglis. In the first week of March, the Home Secretary took his seat for Westbury, and, in spite of Lord Eldon's pathetic declaration, that "if a Roman Catholic were ever admitted to the Legislature, the sun of Great Britain was set for ever," a Bill for that purpose was introduced and pushed forward. On March 30th, the measure passed the Commons by a majority of 178, and the Duke of Wellington, in the Lords, forced it through by a plain statement that there was no choice between that and civil war. The Catholic Relief Bill became law, by the royal assent, on April 13th, and henceforth Roman Catholics were admitted to seats in Parliament, and to all public offices, except those of Regent, Lord Chancellor of England, and Lord Chancellor and Viceroy of Ireland. Among certain securities and restrictions, a separate Bill increased the freeholder's electoral franchise in Ireland from forty shillings to ten pounds. A few weeks later, the "Liberator," as O'Connell was called by the grateful and

admiring Catholics of Ireland, was re-elected for the county of Clare, with a fame now spread through Europe. The triumph which he had won had evil results, arising from the means by which it was attained. His fierce denunciations of England had stimulated Irish disaffection. The agitation had vastly increased the power of the Catholic Church, had given immense political influence to those who were yet untrained for its exercise, and had created a bitter feud between the landlords and tenants of Ireland. The government of the country had thus been made more difficult than before, and the victory of right and freedom had, for a long period, only augmented discord.

In the spring of 1830, renewed attempts for parliamentary reform were connected with a memorable utterance of the Duke of Newcastle, who had interfered in the elections for the borough of Newark, and had ejected tenants from the property which he held as lessee of crown lands. "May I not do what I will with mine own?" stirred indignation in the hearts of people who believed that property had duties as well as rights. On June 26th, George IV. died at Windsor Castle, leaving behind him a painful impression of perverted powers and of wasted opportunities, severely visited upon the offender in the loss of all domestic happiness, and in his deprivation both of love and respect from the nation over which he was appointed to rule.

Close of
the reign,
1830.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST REFORM ACT.

William IV. as king. Revolution in France. Rise of Belgium. The beginning of railways. The Reform Bill. Rival parties. The Commons and the Lords. Grey, Stanley, Brougham, Macaulay, Croker, Althorp, Wellington, Sydney Smith. The Bristol riots. The Reform Bill carried. Freedom for the slave. Home and foreign affairs.

THE Duke of Clarence, third son of George III., who now became king in succession to his childless brother, was devoid of the graceful person and dignity of demeanour which had marked the "first gentleman in Europe," but he was welcomed by the nation as being, in other points, a contrast to the late sovereign. He was a well-disposed man, of fair abilities and sense, with the frank and homely manners of the British navy in which he had served. As a constitutional ruler he was far in advance of his two predecessors, and fairly understood and accepted the principle that the personal predilections and prejudices of the sovereign must sometimes give way to the public interest. Under him disappeared the last vestige of personal rule. Like his father, he dismissed from office ministers at his own will, but he did not follow his example in keeping favourite

William
IV., 1830-
1837.

ministers against repeated votes of the Commons. His wife, Queen Adelaide, was a good woman, much beloved and esteemed by the nation. Their only children, two daughters, had died at an early age. The new king was in his sixty-fifth year, and the Princess Victoria, now eleven years old, came in full view of succession to the throne. One of the first measures of the new Parliament was the appointment of her mother, the Duchess of Kent, as Regent, in case of a vacancy of the throne before the Princess should have attained the age of eighteen.

On July 23rd, the King prorogued Parliament one day in advance of a dissolution. The royal speech congratulated the Houses upon "the general tranquillity of Europe." Within three days, a storm of revolt had burst forth in Paris. Louis XVIII., dying in 1824, was succeeded, as Charles X., by his brother the Count d'Artois, who had always headed the party of despotism. France, under a royal charter, had a sort of constitutional government, which the new monarch undertook to maintain and develop. He was a weak man, enslaved to the Jesuits and to the ultra-royalist faction, and soon swerved from his early promises. For five years, under M. de Villèle and M. de Martignac as chief ministers, peace was maintained between the parties of progress and repression. An ominous change came in August 1829. A royal ordinance removed the ministry, and appointed Prince de Polignac, late ambassador in London, to the Presidency of the Council. Thus, in the words of Guizot, "Charles X. had hoisted upon the Tuileries the flag of the counter-revolution." The Chambers were opened in March 1830, and a majority of the Deputies or Commons carried an address hostile to the new government. A dissolution followed in May, and the new Chamber of Deputies had a still larger majority against Polignac and the King. Then Charles, in reliance upon the 14th Article of the Constitution, which declared the King to be "supreme head of the state," rushed blindly to his ruin. Three ordinances or decrees were issued, annulling the freedom of the press, changing the law as to elections of representatives, and dissolving the new Chamber of Deputies. On July 27th, the people of Paris rose in arms. The National Guard, which had been disbanded in 1827, embraced the cause of freedom, resumed their uniforms and weapons, and, in three days' fighting, assisted the populace in a thorough defeat of the troops, commanded by Wellington's old antagonist, Marshal Marmont. Some of the regiments joined the Revolution, and the matter ended with the establishment of Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans, as a constitutional sovereign, while "the roof of a British palace (Holyrood) afforded an ignominious shelter to the exiled heir of forty kings." The second Revolution in France was in marked contrast to the first outbreak, and amply vindicated the cause of knowledge and freedom, in displaying the humanising effect of the spread of thought and

The
French
Revolution
of
July 1830.

information, and of improved political institutions. The triumph of the people, after a fairly-fought battle with the royal troops, was followed by no confiscation, no executions, but by immediate submission to the authority of law, which royal license alone had defied. The rallying cry of the insurgents had been "*Vive la Charte*," and the conduct of the victors afforded a signal proof of the beneficent effects of political freedom upon the moral character of mankind. The majority of the British people, now with no cause to dread levelling or destructive doctrines, warmly sympathised with the men of progress in France, and the new government there was readily recognised by the ministry of Wellington. A revolution in Belgium quickly followed the movement in France. The union of the Austrian Netherlands with Holland by the Congress of Vienna had proved to be a mistaken policy. The southern Netherlands were an agricultural and manufacturing country, with a population mostly adhering to the Church of Rome. Holland was commercial and maritime, and the people were chiefly of the Lutheran faith. At least three different languages, Dutch, Flemish, and French, were spoken in the Parliament, and the members could not readily follow each other in debate. A divergence of material and religious interests, combined with administrative difficulties, pointed to the separation which was strongly desired by the natives of the southern provinces. In August 1830, there was a rising of the populace in Brussels, and a second insurrection, in September, drove out the Dutch troops. The volunteers of Liège, Mons, and Tournay were saluted by the Flemish insurgents as "Belgians," according to the name of Cæsar's day, and this was assumed as the patriotic designation of the revolted people. A French force under Marshal Gérard, a hero of Austerlitz, captured the citadel of Antwerp, and in November the five Powers recognised the independence of Belgium, as a new kingdom ruled by Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, formerly husband of our Princess Charlotte. He reigned, as a warm friend of Britain, during thirty-four years of prosperity and progress.

The autumn of 1830 witnessed in England the most remarkable contrast between the triumphs of intellect and the disgraces of ignorance. On September 15th the first railway for the conveyance of passengers was opened, with carriages drawn by a locomotive-engine at the speed of a racehorse. In the southern counties, a war of the labourer against the farmer renewed the old Luddite havoc and alarm in the burning of stacks and barns, and the destruction of agricultural machines. The peaceful social and commercial revolution inaugurated by the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway had its chief hero in the person of George Stephenson. Against every kind of obstacle from people who denounced him as a visionary, that great man, beginning his career as a boy in a colliery, teaching himself to read and write, and studying mechanics at his own cost, vastly improved the locomotive, constructed the line from the

Rise of
railways,
1830.

great cotton-town to the great port on the Mersey, and made his engine, the famous *Rocket*, run at nearly thirty miles an hour. The enormous results of his success are commensurate with the bounds of the civilised world, and the scream of the rushing engine, as it enters tunnels pierced through miles of rock, or crosses mighty bridges flung over arms of the sea, or swiftly passes, by one unbroken iron road, from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, is one perpetual pæan of his praise. The day that witnessed the triumph of Stephenson was saddened by the violent death of Huskisson. He had been again returned in the new Parliament as a representative for Liverpool, and, in spite of feeble health, he attended the ceremony of opening the new railway. He took his seat, along with the Duke of Wellington, in the first of the eight carriages which, with eight locomotive-engines, were to move in a double procession to Manchester. At a certain point he had alighted with others, for inspection of the works, and was standing in the four-foot way between the lines, when a cry was heard announcing the approach of the *Rocket*, at full speed, on the other line. In his attempt to escape, Huskisson fell across the rails, and the crushing of his right leg caused his death in a few hours.

At the opening of the new Parliament, by the King in person, on November 2, 1830, the royal speech plainly intimated that parliamentary reform, for the necessity of which public opinion had been loudly expressed in the late elections, would have no sanction from the ministry. The declaration of Wellington in the Lords that the present system of representation possessed the full confidence of the country, and that he would always resist any measure for its reform, was a challenge at once accepted in the Commons by Brougham, lately made a still more prominent leader by election for the county of Yorkshire. He declared his intention of bringing the question forward on that day fortnight. When that day arrived, the government of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel was at an end. They had felt compelled to resign by the altered tone of some of their own supporters, and by the storm of feeling aroused in the country by the Duke's frank statement against reform. On November 15th, in a division on the Civil List, the ministry were beaten in a full House of Commons by a majority of twenty-nine, and they took the opportunity of resigning office in order to avoid a certain and a greater defeat on the coming motion of Brougham. A new government was formed by the Whig leader, Earl Grey: Brougham became Lord Chancellor; the Marquis of Lansdowne, second son of the first Marquis, better known as Lord Shelburne, was President of the Council, and Lord Althorp was Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sir James Graham headed the Admiralty, Lord Melbourne took the Home Office, Palmerston began his great career as Secretary for Foreign Affairs, and Lord Goderich went to the Colonial Office. Outside the Cabinet, a hero of parliamentary reform and future premier, Lord John Russell, was Paymaster of the

The
Reform
Act of
1832.

Forces, a post once held by Burke. Sir Thomas Denman, who had been counsel for Queen Caroline, and was to become Lord Chief-Justice, was Attorney-General. The Marquis of Anglesey was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and a rising young politician, Mr. E. G. Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby and thrice premier, took the important office of Chief Secretary, in which he was called to confront the formidable O'Connell. The Cabinet, which included the amiable Lord Holland, was almost wholly of Whig complexion, and composed of men pledged to parliamentary reform. The Prime Minister, in the House of Lords, combined that foremost work with economy, retrenchment, and peace abroad, in a declaration of his policy. On March 1, 1831, Lord John Russell submitted to the House of Commons the measure of reform which Lord Grey had assured the peers would be effective, "without exceeding the bounds of a just and well-advised moderation." The Tories were aghast, as Lord John, in a lucid speech, without ornament, unfolded the details of the sweeping change proposed by the ministry. Sixty boroughs were to be wholly disfranchised, as having each less than two thousand inhabitants; forty-seven boroughs, with less than four thousand, were to return one member instead of two, and many towns, now without members, were to have each one or two representatives. The reading of the list of boroughs to be wholly or in part disfranchised was attended with shouts of laughter and discordant cries, and Sir Robert Peel, in presence of what he deemed to be pure revolution, sat with rigid form, furrowed brow, and working face. His supporters predicted a speedy downfall of the ministry, but the Duke of Wellington, at a fashionable party held that evening, replied to a burst of merriment which greeted the news of the ministerial proposals, "It is no joke; you will find it no laughing matter." The introduction of the Bill caused seven nights of debate, during which Sir Robert Inglis predicted the speedy destruction of the monarchy and the House of Lords, and Mr. Macaulay, member for Calne, created a new oratorical reputation by a speech of superb and classic eloquence, in favour of the Bill, which raised the hearers to the highest pitch of excitement and admiration. A noble harangue was delivered on the same night, also in support of the government, by Mr. Stanley. Leave to bring in the Bill was granted without a division, but the second reading, a few days later, was carried by a majority of only one in a House of 608, probably the greatest number which up to that time had ever been assembled at a division. The Bill proposed to reduce the House of Commons from 658 to 596 members, but on April 19th General Gascoigne carried an amendment in committee, forbidding any diminution. by a majority of eight. Three days later, the ministers were again defeated, on a question of adjournment, by a majority of twenty-two. They and their Bill were now in a critical position. On that evening, Lord Wharncliffe, in the Lords, had given notice for an address to the crown against a dissolu-

tion of Parliament. That motion was certain to be carried, and to be followed by a like address from the Commons. The royal prerogative of dissolution could then have only been exercised with great danger and difficulty. The ministry believed that the large majority of the voters were in favour of the Bill, though the present House of Commons, elected to support reform, was startled by the wide extent of the proposed change. The boldness of Lord Grey and Lord Brougham now led to an incident without parallel in our history. Resolved, if possible, to force a dissolution, they waited on the King on April 22nd, and Brougham's declaration that the further existence of the present House of Commons was incompatible with the peace and safety of the kingdom, had great weight with William. He objected, however, that "nothing was arranged: the great officers of state were not summoned, the robes and crown were not prepared, the Guards had no orders, and could not be ready in time." The Chancellor replied that the officers of state had been warned, and that the crown and robes would be ready. The orders for the attendance of the troops on such occasions always emanate from the sovereign, and, to the amazement of the King, Brougham met this last objection by the words, "Pardon me, sir, I have given orders, and the troops are ready." William then burst out, "You, my Lord Chancellor, ought to know that such an act is treason, high treason, my Lord." Brougham then humbly acknowledged that he did know it, and that nothing but his own solemn belief that the safety of the realm depended upon that day's proceedings could have emboldened him to venture on the step. The King cooled down; the speech to be read was in the Chancellor's pocket, and the ministers were dismissed with a kind of menace and a joke upon the audacity of their proceedings. An hour later, as Lord Wharncliffe rose to make his motion, the Lord Chancellor entered the House, and exclaimed with vehemence, "I never yet heard that the crown ought not to dissolve Parliament whenever it thought fit." Amidst great disorder the King's approach was announced, and Brougham, clutching up the seals, rushed out to meet him. The King then entered, and, on the arrival of the Speaker with some members of the Commons, began his speech with the decisive words that he had come for the purpose of proroguing the Parliament, with a view to its immediate dissolution. A scene of great confusion had just been passing in the House of Commons, where the advanced reformers, to the disgust of their opponents, had been loudly cheering the sound of the Park guns which announced the King's approach. The dissolution of the Houses was greeted with an illumination in London, sanctioned by the Lord Mayor, Mr. John Key, a strong reformer. The ministers had now to fear the ill-effects on public opinion arising from the violence of the lowest class of their supporters. The windows at Apsley House, the residence of the Duke of Wellington, and at the town-houses of other anti-reformers, were broken by the mob, and much rioting occurred during the borough

elections. The moderate but determined advocates of change spread through the country the famous cry of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," and provided for each candidate the simple test at the hustings, "Would he support the Bill?" The new Parliament was opened on June 21st, and, three days later, Lord John Russell again brought in the Reform Bill, with a few alterations. The measure was confined to England, but separate Bills for Scotland and Ireland were brought in by the Lord Advocate, Mr. Jeffrey, and by Mr. Stanley. Another great speech by Macaulay was delivered on the second of the three nights of debate, and then the second reading was carried by a majority of 136 in a House of nearly 600. It was not till September 6th, that, after thirty-nine sittings, the Bill emerged from committee. The battle on the details had been fought for the Tories with great skill and resolution by Mr. John Wilson Croker, who was met, on the Whig benches, by what Jeffrey has described as the "calm, clumsy, courageous, immutable probity and well-meaning" of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Althorp. An important amendment, known as the Chandos clause, had been carried by the Marquis of Chandos, giving a vote for the county to tenants paying £50 a year in rental. The Bill left the House of Commons on September 21st, with a majority of 109 on the third reading. A historical painting has preserved the scene presented, on the following day, in the House of Lords. The chamber was thronged with peers, peeresses, and strangers. Brougham was on the woolsack, and played his part on that great occasion with unusual solemnity of tone and manner. Black Rod announced "A message from the Commons;" the doors were thrown open, and Lord Althorp and Lord John Russell, bearing the Reform Bill, appeared at the head of a hundred members of their House. Lord John Russell, delivering the Bill to the Chancellor at the bar, said in a firm and clear voice, "My Lords, the House of Commons have passed an Act to amend the representation of England and Wales, to which they desire your Lordships' concurrence." Thus ended the first stage of this great peaceful revolution. Five nights of debate followed in the Lords, during which speeches of the highest eloquence put that great assembly before the nation and the world as one that fitly represented the most powerful, wealthy, highly educated, and grandly historical nobility in Europe. Earl Grey's vindication of his bold and decisive measure was followed by Wellington's denunciation of the proposed "democratic assembly" as one that would declare war against property, against the payment of the public debt, and against all the principles of conservation secured by the existing constitution. Lord Dudley's support of the nomination boroughs, as one of the so-called "abuses" which gave the crown and the House of Lords a due and beneficial influence over the Commons, formed part of an oration which Brougham described as "an essay of the highest merit, on change, on democracies, on republicanism, but not on this Bill." On the fifth night, the moans of

Lord Eldon were succeeded by a splendid declamation from Brougham, in which he used with great effect the classical illustration of the Sibylline volumes offered for sale. He warned the Lords, in his last words, against the policy of "sowing injustice and reaping rebellion." The Lords then, in a House of more than 350 members, including about 80 proxies, threw out the Bill by a majority of 41. The creation of peers in the last two reigns had been almost confined to the Tory party, and twenty-one bishops also voted against the measure. The House of Commons at once, by a majority of over 130, passed a resolution of "firm adherence to the principle and leading provisions" of the Bill, and of "unabated confidence in the integrity, perseverance, and ability of those ministers who had so well consulted the best interests of the country." The wit of Sydney Smith compared the action of the Lords, in striving to prevent reform, with the conduct, during a great storm at Sidmouth, in 1824, of a certain worthy Mrs. Partington, who was seen at her house-door near the beach, endeavouring, with her mop, to keep out the advancing waters of the Atlantic Ocean. The Atlantic was roused, and, though the dame's spirit was up, the ocean won the day. This humorous illustration, employed in a speech delivered at Taunton, was used with the serious and patriotic purpose of rendering the disappointed friends of the Bill quiet and steady in demeanour. The King and the ministry both stood firm, and the royal speech, when the Houses were prorogued on October 20th, declared that, at the opening of the ensuing session, their attention must be called to "the important question of a constitutional reform in the Commons House of Parliament."

The moral of the story about the woman who "was excellent at a slop or a puddle, but should not have meddled with a ^{Serious} tempest," did not, unhappily, reach the minds and hearts of ^{riots.} all the baffled supporters of reform. A crisis of unexampled ^{The} danger arose, and all lovers of law and order were shocked by outbreaks of popular ignorance and violence. The labourers in husbandry were again at work in burning ricks and breaking machines. The dregs of the people broke open the gaol at Derby and set the prisoners free, and burnt down Nottingham Castle, a new and stately residence of the obnoxious Duke of Newcastle. The worst, and, to all concerned, authorities and mob alike, the most disgraceful outrage, was that which occurred at Bristol. A dirty, ignorant, and drunken horde of labourers of the lowest class, with a mob of mere thieves and outcasts, held, for two days, the lives and property of the inhabitants of a great and historical city at the mercy of their reckless brutality. Sir Charles Wetherell, Recorder of Bristol, had been, in the House of Commons, one of the most determined opponents of the Reform Bill. On Saturday, October 29th, he made an official entry, with a great cavalcade around the sheriff's carriage, and rode to the Guildhall, to open the city sessions. His procession was greeted with hisses and a few stones,

and, after opening the commission, he retired to the Mansion-House, in Queen's Square. A mob gathered round the building, and grew larger and more daring as darkness came on. The windows were shattered and the doors forced. Sir Charles effected his escape, and then an attempt to set the Mansion-House on fire was only prevented by the arrival of cavalry under Colonel Brereton, the commander of the district. That officer exhorted the mob to peace, but neglected his duty of clearing the streets and daunting the turbulent populace. On Sunday morning, as all seemed quiet, and the usual worshippers had resorted to the churches and chapels, the troops retired to their quarters. The mob again attacked the Mansion-House, flung out the furniture, reached the wine-cellars, and were soon lying by scores upon the pavements, helpless from huge draughts of the Corporation's choice port. The troops again appeared, and the rioters now assailed with brickbats the 14th Light Dragoons, who replied with a few shots, and were then withdrawn from the city, leaving the place to rapine and destruction. The Bridewell was broken open, the prisoners set free, and the building fired. The same evil work was done at the new borough gaol and at the Gloucester county gaol. The Mansion-House was next in flames. The Bishop's palace was reduced to ashes, and the Custom-House had the same fate. By three o'clock on Monday morning forty-two dwelling-houses and warehouses were burning, and two sides of Queen's Square were almost destroyed. A mob of drunken ruffians paraded the streets, demanding "drink or blood" from the dealers in liquor, and the scene of outrage ended rather from the helpless intoxication of the perpetrators than from the fire and charges of the soldiers who were at last usefully employed. Colonel Brereton, brought to trial by court-martial for neglect of duty, shot himself during the inquiry. The respectable citizens, who had in vain, on Saturday, implored the magistrates to swear them in as special constables, were for many years mulcted in an annual rate of £10,000 for the compensation of the losers of property. The lesson thus given was not one against political freedom, but against the danger of permitting any class of the population to grow up in the densest ignorance amidst enlightenment, and in the foulest vice amidst the national recognition of virtue and religion. The troubles of the time were heightened by the coming to our shores of a new and terrible disease called Asiatic cholera, which made most of its victims amidst the fetid squalor of the towns. Little heed was then paid to sanitary science, and medical knowledge was at first incapable of coping with the new disorder. The Boards of Health Act was passed to provide inspectors of households for precautionary and remedial purposes, and the visitation, after slaying many thousands, disappeared in the autumn of 1832.

On December 12, 1831, Lord John Russell introduced a new measure. The results of the census caused many changes in the boroughs of Schedule A, or the list of fifty-six towns where total disfranchisement was

still proposed. Schedule B, of boroughs to return only one member, was now reduced from forty-one to thirty, and some of the towns formerly in that list were to have two members. The House of Commons was to retain its old number of 658. After two nights' debate, the second reading was carried by a majority of 162. In January 1832, new Scottish and Irish Bills were introduced, and on March 19th, after passing through committee, the third reading of the chief measure, for England, was carried by a majority of 116. In anticipation of a fresh rejection by the Lords, the opinion of reformers was now being uttered in tones of alarming violence, through the press, at public meetings, and in political clubs. A large creation of peers was demanded, and open threats of armed force, if the voice of reason were not heard, were freely employed. On April 14th, the second reading passed the Lords by a majority of nine. Lord Grey's reply to Lyndhurst was not finished until nearly seven in the morning, as the sun shone in upon the blazing candles, producing a weird effect on the red draperies and dusky tapestries, while nearly 300 members of the Commons stood below the bar, or clustered in the space around the throne. After three weeks of agitation in the country, far more formidable than past riot and destruction, the Lords went into committee. Fresh trouble came when Lord Lyndhurst, by a majority of thirty-five, carried against the ministers the postponement of the first and second clauses, which concerned the disfranchisement of boroughs. Lord Grey asked the King to make a large creation of peers, and was met by a prompt refusal. The resignation of the Cabinet was tendered and accepted. The Commons, by a majority of eighty, carried an address to the King, regretting the resignation, and imploring him to summon to his councils such men only as would carry their Bill unimpaired in all its chief provisions. From every town came petitions for the Commons to vote no supplies until the passing of the Bill. The Birmingham Reform Union declared that 200,000 men should go forth from their shops and forges to encamp on Hampstead Heath, and there become the arbiters of the nation's destiny. The Duke of Wellington strove in vain to gather a reforming Cabinet, and Lord Grey returned to power, after wringing from the King a promise to create peers, in case of need. The sovereign then used his personal influence with members of the Lords to cause them to cease from opposition to the Bill. This was an unconstitutional proceeding, needed to overcome the difficulties of the political position. The Duke of Wellington, with many other peers, remained absent from the House, and allowed the Bill to pass on June 4th. Three days later, the King's assent made the measure law, followed in July by Acts for Scotland and Ireland. A great authority has pronounced this measure to be "at once bold, comprehensive, moderate, and constitutional; popular but not democratic, extending liberty without hazarding revolution; a masterly settlement of a perilous question."

The Reform Bill passes, 1832.

The effect of the Reform Act was to enfranchise the middle classes, and to throw a very large share of political power into the hands of manufacturers, merchants, and shopkeepers. The grant of the franchise in boroughs to all householders paying an annual rental of ten pounds and upwards, created more than half a million of new voters. Wealthy peers and other capitalists could no longer buy seats in Parliament in the shape of boroughs to be filled with their own subservient nominees. Close municipal bodies could no more hold the usurped rights of freemen, and return members for their towns. Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Leeds had now a voice in governing the realm. London had eight more members in the four new boroughs of Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth. Other great hives of manufacturing industry and wealth, in the north and centre of England, and thriving ports of recent growth, could now make their will felt by speech and vote within the Commons. The cotton towns of South Lancashire, the woollen trades of West Yorkshire, the iron of South Staffordshire and bordering districts, the colliers on the banks of the Tyne, the shipping of the Tyne and Wear, became a power in the land. The change brought to pass in Scotland was even more startling and decisive. The state of the representation had hitherto been a mere mockery and insult to the Scottish people. The county voters numbered much under 3000: the sixty-six boroughs had an aggregate of about 1400 voters. Thirty-three persons returned the member for Edinburgh; the same number of electors chose the representative for Glasgow. The members for Scotland were, in fact, in the hands of the minister who distributed patronage for the government, and a Scottish county member said that "his invariable rule was never to be present at a debate or absent at a division; that he had only once in his long political life voted according to his conscience, and found on that occasion that he had voted wrong." The system of election in Ireland was much less modified than that in Great Britain. The influence of great patrons ceased to work through close corporations, and was transferred to ten-pound householders. No place was disfranchised, and the number of members was increased from 100 to 105. The new House of Commons which assembled in January 1833, contained more than 500 ministerialists and reformers, and this vast majority quickly made their presence felt in progressive legislation. The Tories were all in terror for the cause of property, and the land-owners, Whig and Tory, shivered for the corn-laws. Projects of reform were floated, which were then denounced as "mad and infamous," but, within the next thirty years, were placed, with almost general assent, upon the statute-book of Britain. The affairs of Ireland brought O'Connell, who appeared in the House with three sons and two sons-in-law among his supporters, into fierce collision with the Secretary, Mr. Stanley. The great Irish leader had declared for repeal

of the Union, and had set in motion for that end the machinery of agitation which was ready to his hand. A movement against tithes and the Established Church was followed by an outbreak of agrarian disturbance and crime, and the royal speech called for measures of coercion. O'Connell uttered the coarsest language of abuse, and Stanley told him that Repeal should be "resisted to the death." In April, a strong Act gave the Lord-Lieutenant power to forbid public meetings, and to establish martial law in disturbed districts. Parliament then dealt with matters of great interest. In 1823, Canning's resolution had been intended to prepare the slaves of our Colonies for a share in civil rights and liberties, by the bettering of their social condition. The Colonial Legislatures had paid little heed to this friendly warning, and in 1832 Mr. T. Fowell Buxton moved for a select committee to prepare for the extinction of slavery in the British dominions at the earliest possible moment. Lord Althorp then carried an amendment for delay, on the ground of the present unfitness of the slaves for freedom. Now, in the reformed Parliament, the government proposed a comprehensive and final measure. A Bill, carried through the House of Commons by Mr. Stanley, emancipated all the negroes in our Colonies, after a short term of apprenticeship for adults, and awarded the sum of £20,000,000, the interest of which was met by an additional tax on sugar, as compensation to the owners. On August 1, 1834, slavery thus ceased to exist in every part of our dominions. William Wilberforce died a few days before the measure was read a third time in the Commons, thanking God that he had lived to witness the coming of freedom for the slave. Dr. Channing and other Abolitionists in the United States were greatly cheered by this unselfish act of British devotion to the claims of wronged and suffering humanity, which was to bear fruit, in another generation, within the range of their own polity. It is painful to have to record that the immediate effect of the Emancipation Act upon the fortunes of our West Indian possessions was to a high degree disastrous. Seven hundred thousand slaves became free labourers, and, especially in the largest and most fertile of our islands, Jamaica, this freedom was followed by the ruin of the towns, the desolation of the cane-fields, and the bankruptcy of the sugar-growers. The country abounded in the means of support from unoccupied land; the rivers teemed with fish; the negroes possessed abundance of swine and poultry. The blacks declined to work for the cane-growers, who combined the business of the cultivator with that of the manufacturer in producing sugar and rum, and had only been enabled profitably to supply the markets by compelling the greatest amount of work at the smallest cost. Whites or men of mixed race could not labour, under a tropical sun, with the physical energy of the black, and families connected with our West Indian interests were reduced from opulence to poverty. In Barbadoes, with no unoccupied land, the negroes were glad to work for wages in the cane-fields and

the mills, and the exportation of sugar from that island was soon doubled. It has been well said that "the discontinuance of a sin is always the commencement of a struggle." The difficulty caused by Emancipation was afterwards largely met by the importation of coolie labour, and by the growth of other products than the sugar-cane, and the West Indian colonies have now recovered much of their old prosperity. The condition of children in the factories at home had long been one of neglected education and excessive labour, producing the miserable effect of stunted minds and diseased bodies. The cruelties practised upon the young and helpless were indeed of an atrocious character. The evidence taken by committees of both Houses in 1816 and 1819 proved that children were forced to labour for more than fourteen hours a day, and were often beaten to keep them awake and drive them on. Under six years of age, some began to work in the mills, and instances were known where these young toilers, in a press of business, worked for three weeks together from five in the morning till nine at night, with but one hour of respite for meals. In the face of these facts, Parliament had done nothing for the victims of white slavery. In 1833, Lord Ashley, better known to fame as "the good Earl of Shaftesbury," took up the cause of the oppressed, and his exertions in the Commons led to the passing of a Factory Act prohibiting the labour of children under ten years of age, limiting the working-day to eight hours, under the age of fourteen, providing for school attendance and for medical care, and appointing commissioners and inspectors to watch the operation of the statute. In 1834, a new Poor Law was the main parliamentary achievement. The evils to be dealt with were of a striking character. The population of England and Wales was now about fourteen millions. The poor-rate had reached the monstrous annual amount of over eight and a half millions: it had become quadrupled, in the space of half a century, while the population was far less than doubled. The allowance system in aid of wages, and a reckless extension of outdoor relief to the able-bodied poor, were at the root of the mischief, which was threatening to absorb in pauperism the whole rental of the country. Indolence, vice, and improvidence were encouraged, and experience had proved that it was necessary to make the workhouse a test of destitution. A Bill introduced by Lord Althorp, and carried after strong opposition, appointed a Central Board of Commissioners to carry out the new system of awarding relief only to actual want. A motion of O'Connell's, aiming at the repeal of the Union, was defeated in April by an enormous majority, and then a change of ministry was caused by a proposal to interfere with the revenues of the Irish Church. Mr. Stanley, Sir James Graham, and two other ministers resigned office, from disagreement with their colleagues on this question. Lord Grey and his supporters wished for a commission of inquiry, which was denounced in the Lords as "an illegal and sacrilegious measure of prospective

spoliation." The retirement of Lord Althorp then so weakened the ministry that Lord Grey tendered his own resignation, and a Cabinet, headed by Lord Melbourne, was in office from July to November. On October 16th the Houses of Parliament were destroyed by fire. The massive and beautiful Chapel of St. Stephen, which had been famous as the seat of English legislation since the days of Edward VI., perished in the flames, and, amidst the universal cry of "Save the Hall!" from the crowd in Palace Yard, the destruction of Westminster Hall, associated with so many grand historical scenes, appeared at one time inevitable.

The sudden dismissal of Lord Melbourne by the King was a strange use of the prerogative. Sir Robert Peel, having not the least anticipation of a change of ministry, was staying in Rome when he received the King's letter of summons to form an administration. The ostensible ground of the royal action was the weakening of the Melbourne ministry, in the House of Commons, by the removal of Lord Althorp to the peers on the death of his father, Lord Spencer. The King's decision appeared very sudden to the main body of the nation, and was deemed unconstitutional by the thoughtful and well-informed. Up to the last day of the session the ministry had retained the confidence of Parliament, and they had given to the sovereign no conceivable cause of offence. A kind of dictatorship existed from November 15th to December 9th, the Duke of Wellington acting as First Lord of the Treasury and sole Secretary of State, with a single colleague, Lord Lyndhurst, holding the great seal. Sir Robert, on his arrival, became first Lord and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lyndhurst was Lord Chancellor, and Wellington took the Foreign Office. A general election much increased, in the Commons, the strength of the Conservatives, as the Tories were now styled, but the Liberals were still in the ascendant, and the ministry had but a brief tenure of office. An amendment to the Address was carried against them in February 1835 by a majority of seven, in spite of the eloquence of Peel, who pleaded powerfully for a fair trial of himself and his colleagues in a trust which they had not sought, and could not decline. Party spirit ran high, and in March the government were again beaten, by more than a hundred, on a motion which concerned the grant of a royal charter to the University of London. Mr. Goulburn, member for Cambridge University, and Sir Robert Inglis, the champion of Oxford Tories, supported Peel against the concession of powers for conferring degrees in Arts and Law to an institution deemed hostile to the Established Church. The final blow came on April 7th, when Lord John Russell, by a majority of twenty-seven, carried a resolution for the appropriation of surplus revenues of the Church of Ireland to the general education of all classes of the Irish people without religious distinction. The ministry at once resigned, after a memorable declaration from Peel, received

Peel in
office.
Dec. 1834
to April
1835.

with enthusiastic cheers, that the crown had its "chief source of moral strength in a strict adherence to the practice, to the principles, to the spirit, to the letter of the Constitution," and that "a government ought not to persist in carrying on public affairs in opposition to the decided opinion of a majority of the House of Commons." The conduct of Sir Robert Peel, during his brief period of government, had greatly raised him in public estimation. His temper, honesty of purpose, and regard to constitutional obligations had been admirably shown, and, as his illustrious French biographer, Guizot, declares, "after a conflict of four months the vanquished had grown far greater than his conquerors."

In May, Lord Melbourne was at the head of a new Cabinet. The great seal was at first in commission, but Lord Cottenham became Chancellor in 1836. Lord John Russell took the Home Office, Palmerston was Foreign Secretary, and other offices, in and out of the Cabinet, were intrusted to the inevitable Whig nobles, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Minto, Lord Holland, and the Duke of Argyle. The great surprise to the public lay in the exclusion, never explained to this day, of the restless, versatile, and energetic Brougham. It is believed that the other Whig leaders were in dread of his fierce temper and outbursts of indiscretion. The great promoter of education and law-reform was still to show that a long and useful career of unofficial labours was reserved for an ex-Chancellor. He now became, in a vengeful spirit, a most formidable assailant of the government. Lord Melbourne was by no means a striking man for the post of premier. Of kindly and indolent nature, he had little zeal in the cause of progress, and his great motto in statecraft was that matters should be left alone. His demeanour was that of a man who seemed to covet the reputation of utter levity and carelessness. With a fair understanding, and moderate power in debate, he had no pretensions to the name of a statesman, or even of a high-class official. The strong men in the ministry, which was destined to remain in office, apart from power, for more than six years, were Palmerston and Russell. In the Commons, the government now found a strong ally in O'Connell, who abandoned the cry for Repeal, and was rewarded by a great unofficial share of the Irish patronage, and, more honourably for himself, with large concessions to the Catholic Ireland of which he was the recognised champion. The best part of his career was seen from 1835 to 1840, during which years, while he ever strove for "justice to Ireland," he really endeavoured to pacify the distracted country, and displayed a worthy spirit of compromise and moderation. The new ministry was soon at work on a great measure of reform, which was to restore to the inhabitants of the corporate towns rights of which they had been deprived for centuries. Most of the existing charters had been granted between the reigns of Henry VIII. and William III., and those documents

The Mel-
bourne
Ministry:
(1.) 1835-
1837.

had, in general, removed any control of the governing body from the majority of their townsmen. Almost all the town-councils were the subjects of self-election, and the charters granted since the Revolution involved no plan for the improvement of municipal policy in accordance with the progress of society. Local Acts of Parliament had given the control of lighting, police, cleansing, paving, and water-supply, not to municipal officers, but to commissioners or trustees, who were empowered to levy the necessary rates. The corporation funds were mainly used for the benefit of the close body, and robbery and jobbery were rife. The chief criminal jurisdiction of the boroughs was intrusted to a recorder appointed by the corporation on some principle of local favouritism. The Municipal Reform Bill, after a fierce conflict with vested rights, supported by Lord Eldon, and a serious quarrel between the two Houses, appeased by Russell and Peel, became law in September. The old system of corruption, with a chief exception in the City of London, was swept away in nearly all the 246 corporations of England and Wales, and the municipal boroughs were henceforth governed, for local purposes, by councils chosen by the ratepayers. In 1836, much heat was engendered by the rejection, in the House of Lords, of a measure, which had passed the Commons, for the reform of Irish corporations. The chief opponent of the government, in the Peers, was the bold, acute, and able Lyndhurst, whose bitter invective on one occasion provoked even the mild Melbourne to a quotation of words applied, under Charles I., by Lord Bristol to Lord Strafford—"The malignity of his practices was hugely aggravated by his vast talents, whereof God had given him the use, but the Devil the application." Liberals were incensed by the obstructive policy of the Lords, and even Sir Robert Peel, referring to the authority of the peers "in our mixed and balanced Constitution," plainly declared that "those powers must not be strained." Several measures of reform were, however, passed during that session. The Tithe Commutation Act, which satisfied the landowners, the farmers, and the clergy, changed the payment of tithes into a corn and rent charge, payable in money, and estimated on the average price of a bushel of corn for the previous seven years. Another Act allowed prisoners the benefit of counsel's address to a jury in their defence. Even Judge Jeffreys had once told a jury that he thought the case a hard one. Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Lushington, and Denman had been strong supporters of this merciful reform, which, with the powerful aid of Lyndhurst, passed the Lords without a division. Another salutary statute had, in 1835, regulated the management of prisons and appointed inspectors. Acts for the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, and for the marriage of Dissenters in their own chapels or before a registrar, now provided for a more complete system of national statistics and religious freedom. In the same session, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, reduced the newspaper

stamp-duty from fourpence to one penny, and favoured the cause of cheap literature by lowering the tax on paper to three halfpence per pound.

During the reign of William IV., the chief exception to the general tranquillity of Europe, after the French Revolution and the settlement of the new monarchy of Belgium, arose from the affairs of Spain. King Ferdinand VII., the perfidious and the cruel, restored to absolute power by the help of the French army, abolished the Salic law in 1830. At his death, three years later, the crown thus passed, by his will, away from his brother, Don Carlos, to his infant daughter Isabella. The queen-mother, Maria Christina, a Bourbon of Naples, was appointed Regent, and was at once compelled to meet in civil war Don Carlos and his partisans. The succession of Isabella was acknowledged by the five Powers, and her cause was maintained in arms by the central and southern provinces, with many French and English volunteers, against the people of the north, especially of the Basque territory. A "British Legion," under General Sir De Lacy Evans, fought brilliantly against the Carlists, who were finally suppressed in 1840. In France, Louis Philippe had to contend against the license of the press and hostility in the Chambers, and he thrice narrowly escaped from attempts at assassination. The Buonapartists were beginning to raise their heads again in hope. Napoleon's son, the Duc de Reichstadt, had died in 1832, but the cause was then taken up by his cousin, Charles Louis Napoleon, youngest son of Louis Buonaparte, King of Holland, and of Hortense Eugénie, daughter of the Empress Josephine by her first husband, Vicomte Beauharnais. This adventurer of twenty-five, relying upon his name, his talents, his daring, and his "star," attempted to overthrow the government of a man whom he deemed to be a usurper. A decree of the great Napoleon, in 1804, had named him heir to the throne, next to any heirs of Napoleon's own issue. He had been residing in Switzerland, devoted to the study of politics and of military science, and had acquired some fame as a writer of research and ability. At the end of October 1836 Louis Napoleon appeared at an artillery barrack in Strasbourg, and was received with shouts of *Vive l'Empereur*. He and his followers were soon arrested, without bloodshed, by the officers of an infantry regiment. The young Prince was banished, without trial, to the United States, with a supply of cash from Louis Philippe, and more than a year later he became a resident in England, where he was long regarded simply as a man of pleasure, without any force of character, subject to vain dreams regarding his political destiny. We shall meet him again before the lapse of many years.

No important measures were passed during the session of 1837. The reign of a sovereign who had, in a few years, gained the affection of his people, was drawing to a close. A disease of the lungs ended the life of William early on June 20th, at Windsor Castle. High testimony

BOOK XVII.

VICTORIAN AGE OF PROGRESS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY DAYS OF VICTORIA'S REIGN.

Character of the reign. State of the country in 1837. Rise of the Chartists. The Welsh insurrection. Cheap postage. Prince Albert's character. Troubles in the Turkish empire. Louis Napoleon's adventure at Boulogne. The first China war. End of the Whig ministry.

THERE can be little doubt that our posterity will look back upon the **Victoria**, Victorian age as one of the richest in our history. It is not, indeed, so bright as some with military glories, but its sky is adorned with a most significant and expanding rainbow of popular and reforming legislation; it is splendid with the triumph of all the arts of peace, and it can fairly boast in literature not only an unexampled abundance of ability, but some things worthy of the best days of our genius for letters. This period, above all, has seen the complete establishment of our constitutional system. For more than half a century, the subjects of the British Empire at home have lived under a sovereign who has never, in the smallest degree, sought to interfere with the principle of self-government involved in parliamentary rule. Her Prime Ministers have been chosen and retained in office in subjection to the will of a majority of the House of Commons, and our system of party government has thus brought to the head of affairs the men who were in succession indicated by the votes of the people.

The accession of the Queen saw the country in an excited political condition. Class was fiercely arrayed against class. The landed aristocracy and their supporters were at angry issue with the mass of the nation and the Liberal party. Sir Robert Peel had lately assured his constituents at Tamworth that he would rescue the Constitution from being made the "victim of false friends," and the country from being "trampled under the hoof of a ruthless democracy." The Radical Lord Durham, in an address to the electors of Sunderland, had used words which seemed to imply that he was ready to resort to arms for the purpose of rescuing freedom from the violence of Tories, enraged at the success and the results of the recent political revolution. Much of

The Melbourne Ministry: (2.) 1837-1841. State of the country.

this was, of course, mere metaphor and rhetorical passion, but such language from leaders of high station could not but embitter party feeling. The Tories were jealous of the favour enjoyed with the young Queen by the Whig Premier, Lord Melbourne, who was really open to no other charge than that of being a most judicious and kindly adviser to the new sovereign, whom he counselled to display a friendly spirit towards his opponents. The social state of the realm was at this time such as to present a vast field of labour for the efforts of reformers. The population of Great Britain numbered about 18,000,000, from an increase mainly due to the growth of manufacturing towns. Steam, both by sea and land, was doing much to equalise prices and to cheapen food, but the conveyance of news was still so imperfect that England and Wales contained only 3000 post-offices for 11,000 parishes, and a fourth of the population were destitute of postal accommodation. The lack of sanitary measures was grievous. Many parts of the large towns were mere hot-beds of fever, devoid of drainage and wholesome air, nurseries and asylums of vice. The lower class of lodging-houses were dens of depravity and dirt; the workshops of tailors and milliners were Black Holes in ventilation; large numbers of people, in the great towns, ate and slept in damp cellars; ignorance and neglect of the laws of health were universal. The supply of water in the poorer districts was far below the demands of cleanliness and health. Public baths and laundries were unknown. The burying of the dead within the precincts of large towns poisoned the air and the soil for the living. Public walks and parks, save in London, for the comfort and recreation of the people, were rare luxuries in the early years of the reign of Victoria. The labour of women and children in the coal-mines presented scenes of cruel and excessive toil, attended by physical and moral effects of an appalling character. The tillers of the soil were little better than serfs, starving upon wages that averaged about 9s. a week, with wheat, under the corn-law, varying from 6os. to 7os. per quarter. In a controversy that arose in Parliament concerning the condition of the Dorsetshire labourers, it was proved that in most cases they received only 7s. Throughout the country, children of both sexes were withdrawn from school to field-labour before they had acquired the mere rudiments of knowledge. The counties possessed no efficient force of constabulary, and the very labourers cried out against constant depredators of their gardens and allotments. There was a fearful amount of juvenile crime, and the capital was estimated to contain 30,000 thieves and beggars under sixteen years of age. The training of young pickpockets was a common trade of hardened criminals, and not a Ragged or Industrial School existed in London, Birmingham, Manchester, or Liverpool. The grand want of the time was a system of popular education. In 1834 and the three following years, about £80,000 in all was voted by Parliament, and double that amount was supplied from private sources, for the

erection of schools. The sums furnished by the Commons were placed by the Treasury in the hands of the National Society and of the British and Foreign School Society, as the first slight recognition of the nation's duty towards the children. In 1839, the annual grant from Parliament was raised to £30,000, and the government first established a Board of Education, consisting of five Privy Councillors and headed by the Lord President. The money was now kept under state control; inspectors were appointed for the schools assisted by the grant; infant schools were established, and teachers were trained at a model school: the system throughout was wholly unsectarian. These measures were stoutly opposed, on religious grounds, by supporters of the State Church, including Sir Robert Peel, Lord (late Mr.) Stanley, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli. They inveighed against the recognition of "Popery" and other "heresy," and Lord John Russell's motion for the grant was only carried by a majority of two. It was time, indeed, that the state should deal with the popular ignorance. A careful estimate reveals that, in the year of the Queen's accession, less than one-half of the adult population of England could write, and not three-fourths could read.

The accession of a female sovereign brought with it a real blessing in the loss of Hanover, where a lady could only reign in default of heirs-male. The crown now devolved upon the Duke of Cumberland, fifth son of George III., and Great Britain was well rid of a petty German state that had, for nearly a century and a quarter, brought her nothing but peril and trouble, with a vast expenditure for war. The most hated and the most dangerous man in the British Islands, Ernest Augustus, now king of Hanover, was thus removed from this realm, to exhibit in his own a despotic procedure most repugnant to the spirit of the age. The representative constitution was at once abolished, and some of the ablest professors at the University of Göttingen were deprived of office and banished for the crime of advocating freedom. The young Queen was received with the utmost enthusiasm when she met her Parliament in July, in order to a dissolution. The new Houses assembled in November, and, after dealing with affairs in Canada, and settling the Civil List on a new and improved basis, they passed, in 1838, the important Pluralities Act. This measure forbade the Church clergy, save in certain cases, and with episcopal approval, to hold more than one benefice, and compelled them to reside in their parishes, instead of drawing the revenues and leaving the charge of the people to hard-working and ill-paid curates. The coronation took place on June 28th. In the stately cavalcade that passed from Buckingham Palace to the Abbey, the persons most acclaimed, next to the sovereign, were the Duke of Wellington and his former able opponent, Marshal Soult, who was sent, with a rare propriety and tact, as special ambassador from France. The old warrior was surprised and charmed by the

enthusiasm that on all occasions greeted his public appearance, and the incident was of real service towards reconciling the great nations whose soldiers had met, more than twenty years before, on the field of Waterloo. Lord Brougham, in an eloquent speech on the Civil List, summed up the public feeling towards the youthful sovereign in words which have now, after the lapse of more than half a century, proved to be prophetic, and which constitute a truthful exposition of the constitutional and social effects of cautious and moderate reform. "The reigning monarch's subjects," he declared "have generously let expectation usurp the place of gratitude. They have taken counsel with hope rather than with experience. As fervent a devotion has been kindled towards the yet untried ruler as could have glowed in her people's bosom after the longest and most glorious reign, in which she should have only lived and only governed for the country's good. I heartily rejoice in this enthusiasm, and I do not complain of it as premature. I rejoice because I know that it will stimulate the Queen to live for her country, in order to earn the affections which have already been bestowed, and justify the opinion which has been formed. But most chiefly do I rejoice because it extinguishes for ever all apprehensions of the English people's loyalty; puts to shame all who would represent them as disaffected towards monarchical institutions; demonstrates the safety of intrusting them with an ample measure of political rights, and teaches to statesmen this great practical lesson, that the more we extirpate abuse from our system, the more searching we make our reforms, the more we endear the Constitution to the people by making them feel its benefits, the safer will be the just rights of the monarch who is its head, and the stronger will be the allegiance of the subject who cheerfully obeys."

The political and social fever known as Chartism endured for about ten years. Its leaders included some men of high character ^{Chartism,} and real intelligence, who sought redress for social wrongs in ^{1839-1842.} further parliamentary reform. The lawless doings of the "physical force" Chartists were due to want of bread, to hatred of the new Poor Law, to pure ignorance, and to the inflammatory words of demagogues. Sir Robert Peel himself, in his intercourse with Guizot, spoke of the "suffering" and "perplexity" that existed in the condition of the working classes, and described that fact as "a disgrace and danger to our civilisation." The main evil in the state, as Peel may have already seen, was the operation of the corn-law. In the first two years of the reign, the distress of the poor was deepened by bad harvests and slack trade, and the sight of starving wives and children drove many peaceful and loyal citizens to the recklessness born of despair. The political grievance of the Chartist agitators lay in the practical exclusion of most artisans from the suffrage. The Reform Act which had bestowed power on the middle classes had left the workmen out in the cold, and the Liberal leaders in Parliament opposed

any further measure of franchise reform. In the first session of the new Parliament, Mr. Wakley, Radical member for Finsbury, supported by Sir William Molesworth, Joseph Hume, the famous economist, and Mr. George Grote, afterwards the illustrious historian of Ancient Greece, obtained but twenty votes in favour of an extended franchise. Lord John Russell protested against all such attempts to re-open the question of elective reform. Then the advanced Liberals resorted to a conference with some working-class leaders, and in 1838 the document called "The People's Charter" was embodied in a Bill. The six points of proposed reform were universal male suffrage; equal electoral districts; vote by ballot; annual parliaments; abolition of the property qualification for members of the House of Commons; and payment of members for their legislative services. Such were the demands of men then denounced as ferocious and selfish Communists, since proved to be simply in advance of their age. Of the six points of the Charter, the first has been approached; the second, third, and fifth have been expressly or virtually conceded; the fourth is absurd, and the sixth is perchance not far distant. Immense gatherings were held throughout the country, and popular excitement rose to a high pitch. A "National Convention" was formed at Birmingham in May 1839, and a great petition was drawn up and signed in favour of the Chartist programme. When the House of Commons declined to consider this appeal, some seditious and disaffected Chartists were tempted to overt action. Some of their meetings had been attended, after sunset, by men armed with guns and pikes, and serious trouble began at Birmingham in July. The police and the military were there engaged for ten days with a mob that broke windows, pillaged warehouses, and burnt down dwelling-houses. Another outbreak in November occurred at Newport, in Monmouthshire. A magistrate of the borough, named John Frost, organised an insurrection among the mining population of the district, and marched into the town at the head of a rabble numbering 5000 or 6000, armed with guns, bludgeons, pikes, and pick-axes. The Mayor, with some special constables and about thirty soldiers, garrisoned an inn standing in the market-place. A summons for surrender was followed by a volley from the rioters, and the bursting of the house-door. A discharge of musketry from the soldiers then put the first assailants to flight, and a further fire from the windows, followed by a bold sortie, completed the defeat of the insurgents. Frost and two other leaders, found guilty of high treason, were sentenced to death, but this doom was commuted to transportation for life. In the two following years some hundreds of Chartists were imprisoned, and in 1842 riots took place in the northern and midland districts. The peaceful agitation for the repeal of the corn-law then replaced the open violence and seditious language of the more ignorant and lawless workers, and Chartism, in a few years, with the dawn of better times, declined, and, after a final spasmodic effort, died away.

In 1839, the planters of Jamaica were in a state of stubborn discontent with the altered relations between themselves and the negroes, and the local Legislature provoked Lord Melbourne and his colleagues into a proposal to suspend the colonial constitution for five years. A majority of only five for ministers, in a full House of Commons, caused a resignation in May, and Sir Robert Peel was requested to form a government. He and his political friends required, as a condition of their taking office, that the Queen should remove two Ladies of the Bedchamber, one the wife of Lord Normanby, the other a sister of Lord Morpeth. These noblemen, under Melbourne, were Lord-Lieutenant and Chief Secretary of Ireland, and the Tory leader, wholly disapproving the late policy of conciliation in that country, objected to the close attendance on the sovereign of the great Whig ladies. The Queen declined to adopt the proposed course, as being one "contrary to usage and repugnant to her feelings." Sir Robert Peel then withdrew from his attempt to make a new ministry, and the Whigs, within a week, returned to their old position.

The
"Bed-
cham-
ber"
dispute,
1839.

On the morning of January 10, 1840, the people of the United Kingdom rose in the possession of a new power. They could send by post a letter not exceeding half an ounce, by prepayment of one penny, without regard to any distance within the limits of the British Isles. The authorship of this project has been assigned to a Mr. Chalmers of Dundee, but the success of it was mainly due to the efforts of Mr. Rowland Hill, who became, in due time, chief secretary to the Post-Office, and was also rewarded by a grant of £20,000, with a Knighthood of the Bath. A pamphlet from his pen in 1837 caused the appointment of a committee of the Commons, who, after a long inquiry, were in favour of the trial of "a cheap and uniform postage." Hill fought a resolute battle against the government officials, some of the leading Whigs, and Wellington and Peel. Public opinion induced the adoption of the penny rate, which was followed, in a few months, by the introduction of the penny stamp. On February 10th, the Queen was married, in an union of real affection, to her cousin Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. For the twenty-two years of his life in a new and difficult position, requiring the utmost discretion and self-control, the consort of the sovereign proved himself to be a man of the purest morals, of rare accomplishments and tact, of absolute devotion to the duties of his high place and to the welfare of the nation. The pen of the Queen herself has shown much of their domestic life. He sometimes became subject to jealous misconstruction, both of his conduct and his motives, in a course of unobtrusive chivalry which left a stainless memory to his widow, his children, and his adopted people.

Penny
postage,
1840. The
Queen's
marriage.

In 1839, the state of affairs in the Levant caused an intervention of four of the great Powers in behalf of Turkey. For some inscrutable

reason, the statesmen of the leading European nations, with the Foreign affairs, 1839-1842. (1.) Syria. conspicuous exception of one Power, have ever shown great concern for the maintenance of "the integrity and independence of the Ottoman empire," and this was the avowed reason for the concerted action, at this time, of the diplomacy or armed force of Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia. Mehemet Ali, the able and ambitious viceroy of Egypt, was in revolt against his suzerain, Sultan Mahmud. The Egyptian forces, under a brave and skilful leader, Ibrahim Pasha, Mehemet's adopted son, had for some years been masters of Syria, and a great defeat of the Turkish army was followed by the death of Mahmud in July 1839. His successor, Abdul-Medjid, was a youth in his sixteenth year, and a complete triumph seemed open to Mehemet when the Capitan Pasha or High Admiral at Constantinople took his fleet through the Dardanelles, and delivered the Turkish naval power to his master's rebellious viceroy at Alexandria. The strong will and the good fortune of the Egyptian ruler seemed to threaten the dissolution of the Turkish empire. France, having views of her own on the Syrian question, held aloof from the other Powers, whom our Foreign Secretary, Lord Palmerston, bound together by a treaty signed at London in July 1840. The French government, headed by Thiers, as President of the Council, encouraged the hostile tone towards England now adopted by the Parisians, who professed to see insult to France in her exclusion from the concert of the Powers. There was, for a few months, a loud cry for war with England, but it died away in presence of the firm attitude of Palmerston. In the first week of August 1840, an incident occurred which was then described as "a wild attempt to excite civil war, made by a maniac of the Buonaparte family." A French frigate had lately sailed for the purpose of receiving at St. Helena, with the consent of our government, the remains of Napoleon, which were then transported to France and buried at Paris under the dome of the Invalides. Louis Napoleon, now residing at Carlton Gardens, in London, resolved at this juncture to make another attempt in France. On August 4th, accompanied by Count Montholon, a party of officers and attendants, with some military stores, a large sum in French gold, and a tame eagle to represent the standard of the Empire, he started by steamship from London to Boulogne. On the morning of the 6th, the adventurers landed at Wimereux, to the north of the town, within sight of the column raised to the memory of the great Emperor. Their attempts to seduce the troops of the garrison and to raise revolt among the citizens utterly failed, and the matter ended in a hasty retreat, a pursuit by the National Guards and gendarmerie, and the surrender of Louis Napoleon after a vain attempt to escape by swimming to a little boat near the shore. He was tried before the Chamber of Peers, where he made a speech declaring that he represented "a principle, a cause, a defeat; the principle, it is

the sovereignty of the people; the cause, that of the Empire; the defeat, Waterloo. The principle, you have recognised; the cause, you have served; the defeat, you desire to avenge." This showy epigrammatic style of defence did not save him from a sentence to imprisonment for life in the fortress of Ham, on the Somme. In 1846, after some years of seclusion and study, the Prince escaped in the dress of a workman, and again found a refuge in England. His third visit to France was to have a widely different issue. The Parisian press, in 1840, accused our government, or at least Lord Palmerston, of privity with the adventure of Boulogne, but the Foreign Secretary was able to assure the French representative that neither he nor Lord Melbourne had seen the Prince, or any of his companions, for two years. The prompt action of Palmerston soon settled affairs in Syria. The Mediterranean fleet, under Sir Robert Stopford, with Charles Napier as second in command, blockaded the Egyptian and Syrian ports. Beyrout was bombarded and taken; Napier landed with a force and defeated the army of Ibrahim Pasha. In November, the famous and powerful fortress of St. Jean d'Acre was bombarded by the allied squadrons, the chief part of the work being done by four English steamers, a class of vessels then for the first time employed in war. The town was then occupied by Turkish and Austrian troops, and this decisive stroke soon brought Mehemet Ali to submission. On evacuating Syria, Candia, and other conquests, he was permitted to hold Egypt as an hereditary pashalic under the Sultan. The Turkish fleet was restored, and the Ottoman empire entered upon another lease of power, mischievous to all her subjects and dangerous to the peace of Europe. This speedy and complete success of British diplomacy and arms caused the resignation of Thiers and his ministry, who were succeeded by Sout and Guizot.

Opium, in political discussion, has never proved a sedative to Englishmen. Opium was the direct cause of our first war with China, and to this hour there remains the widest diversity of opinion as to the justice of our dealings. The abolition, in 1833, of the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade caused a great increase of the contraband introduction of the drug into China. The imperial government at Pekin strictly forbade the commerce in this Indian product. The local authorities at Canton in all ways favoured and assisted the smuggling. The British merchants came into collision with the officials under imperial orders, and an affray arose at Canton in 1839 between the Europeans and the Chinese. Captain Elliot, our superintendent of trade, ordered all British vessels carrying opium to leave the river within three days, but the commissioner from Pekin, not satisfied with this concession, forced the surrender and caused the destruction of 20,000 chests of the valuable drug, and this act led to war. The ministry in England had a majority of only nine in a House of above 500 members, after a debate in which Mr.

Macaulay, then Whig Secretary-at-War, made a most eloquent appeal to the patriotic instincts of Englishmen, and Mr. Gladstone, the "rising hope of the Tories," denounced the injustice and disgrace of the contest. Sir Robert Peel supported the government in their resolve to exact reparation from the Chinese. The warlike operations of course presented little difficulty to our superior force and skill. The enemy's coast was blockaded, some forts on the Canton river were stormed, and a fleet of war-junks was destroyed. Negotiations failed early in 1841, and the war was resumed with vigour. General Gough, a Peninsular veteran, commanded the land forces, and the capture of Canton, Amoy, Ning-po, Shang-hai, and other places, by combined naval and military operations, with the threatened fall of Nanking, brought the enemy to terms in August 1842. By the Treaty of Nanking, an indemnity of 21,000,000 dollars was paid within four years; Canton, Amoy, Foochoo, Ning-po, and Shanghai were thrown open to our trade; the island of Hong-Kong was ceded to Great Britain.

When the Chinese war ended, the ministry of Lord Melbourne had long ceased to exist. At the opening of the session of 1841, the Whigs had been in power for more than ten years, and the ministry of Lord Melbourne had made the nation eager for a change of rulers. They had proved themselves to be incompetent in home administration, and they were especially weak in financial affairs. The government at last seemed incapable of anything but a leech-like attachment to office, and a late conversion, or pretended adherence, to the principles of free trade, after Melbourne's long hostility to such reforms, excited nothing but disgust. In May they suffered a defeat on the Budget, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Baring, having a deficit of nearly £2,000,000, proposed, among other measures, to maintain the existing duty on colonial sugar, and to lower the impost on foreign sugar. The duty on colonial timber was to be raised, and that on Baltic wood to be reduced. The landed interest was startled by the spectre of Free Trade, and the majority against the government amounted to thirty-six. Even this condemnation could not force the ministry to resign, but on May 27th Sir Robert Peel carried, by a majority of one, a direct vote of want of confidence. This stroke caused a dissolution in the last week of June.

Fall of
Lord Mel-
bourne,
August
1841.

CHAPTER II.

THE FREE TRADE BATTLE WON.

Sir Robert Peel in power. Cobden, Bright, Villiers, and the League. Gladstone and the freedom of trade. Irish affairs: O'Connell and the failure of "Repeal." The Scottish and English Churches. The Rebecca Riots in Wales. The contest on the corn-laws. The final struggle. Rise of Disraeli. The Irish famine. Fall of Peel. Continental revolution. Literature. Science.

A GREAT statesman was now to show the value of enlightened and progressive Conservatism. The general election, in which the Chartists and many of the advanced Liberals, or Radicals, were hostile to the Whig candidates, gave Peel a majority of ninety-one on an amendment to the Address, and on August 30th the Melbourne ministry resigned. The new Cabinet, with Lyndhurst as Lord Chancellor, included Mr. Goulburn as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir James Graham as Home Secretary, and the Earl of Aberdeen at the Foreign Office. Lord Stanley was Secretary for the Colonies, and the Duke of Wellington held no office. A "coming man," outside the Cabinet, Peel's most devoted adherent, was Vice-President of the Board of Trade. His name was William Ewart Gladstone. The new Parliament introduced to public life, within the House of Commons, Richard Cobden as member for Stockport, followed in 1843 by his friend, John Bright, for Durham. The new premier was assuming office in a time of depressed trade, and of great suffering to the operative classes. The Free Traders alleged that the corn-laws were the chief cause of commercial distress, but Peel and his colleagues maintained a prudent silence as to future policy. On November 9th, the nation heard with joy of the birth of a male heir to the throne, who made his appearance in society about a year later than his sister, the Princess Royal.

The famous Anti-Corn-Law League had for some time been working with great effect on public opinion. The association had its origin in Manchester, in the autumn of 1838, and committees for promoting the principles of free trade were soon established in other great manufacturing and commercial towns. The League combined their scattered efforts, and the movement spread to London, where 300 delegates assembled early in 1839. Inside the House of Commons, Mr. Villiers, member for Wolverhampton, was a warm advocate of trade reform, then supported outside by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. The first of these great men was unsurpassed in clear, persuasive demonstration; the second has had no superior in the power of rhetorical appeal. An able Unitarian minister, Mr. W. J. Fox, and Mr. Milner Gibson, were also most effective supporters of the doctrines of the League. The introduction of rail-

The Peel
Ministry.
August
1841 to
July 1846.

Free
Trade,
1842.

ways and of cheap postage greatly favoured the efforts of reformers. Paid and volunteer lecturers traversed the country, expounding and urging the system of commercial change. Hundreds of local bodies aided the central committee at Manchester, and a thoroughly organised scheme of agitation, by leaflets, tracts, pamphlets, and great public meetings, did its work throughout the land. Every clergyman, every corporation, every poor-law guardian, received a special invitation to join the movement, and a sturdy and intelligent public opinion was directed against every kind of protective duty. The hearts of the working-class were moved by the rude verse, now indignant, now pathetic, of Ebenezer Elliott, the "corn-law Rhymer." This man, in whose person the Muse of Poetry flew to help a pauperised and suffering nation, was a self-taught Yorkshireman. His sturdy sense, expressed in prose, declared that the corn-laws were the enemies of progress, because "so long as the agriculturists can secure a forced price, they will make no effort to improve their art," and the burning of ricks by the starving peasantry, who sent up to the sky in flame the food with which they were not permitted to satisfy their hunger, made Elliott denounce the system of "protection" as the fruitful parent of crime. Famine was, in truth, stalking through the country, and the gaze met at every turn gaunt men, shrivelled women, and emaciated children. The widespread use of food less nourishing than wheat lowered the vitality and stamina of the people, and Cobden declared in 1841 that "there was the most unimpeachable testimony that the condition of the great body of Her Majesty's labouring subjects had deteriorated wofully within the last ten years." On the other side, Wellington avowed that the condition of the labouring people in England was enviable compared with that of any other country in Europe, and that every labouring man, with industry and sobriety, could attain to a competence. At the time when these words were uttered, in 1841, the average wages of the field-labourer were nine shillings weekly, and wheat was sold at sixty-four shillings per quarter. A member of the ministry, Sir E. Knatchbull, in a speech defending the corn-laws, declared that "a tax upon corn was necessary, in order to enable the landed interest to maintain their rank in society;" and Mr. Baillie Cochrane, member for Bridport, held that "if the corn-laws were repealed, the aristocracy would be forced to reduce their rents, and could not live as an aristocracy." The *Times* newspaper, a strong supporter of the repeal of the protective statutes, pointed out that these laws were "nothing but an extension of the pension-list;" and Cobden urged that "an aristocracy cannot maintain its station on wealth moistened with the orphan's and the widow's tears, and taken from the crust of the peasant." Between these two hot fires of controversial rhetoric and reasoning, the Conservative minister was placed to find a way to national safety and prosperity. In February 1842, he brought in a new "sliding-scale" of

corn-duties, reducing the tax and improving the system, but maintaining the principle. The Whigs, by Lord John Russell, proposed a fixed duty of eight shillings per quarter, but this was beaten by more than a hundred majority, and Villiers' and Cobden's motion for total and immediate repeal was rejected by a majority of nearly four hundred. Apart from the tax on corn, Peel took with him a reluctant body of followers in his measures of fiscal reform. The minister had seen that manufactures were hampered, and the comforts of the people restricted, by countless vexatious duties, which brought, for the mischief which they worked, no adequate compensation in the shape of gain to the revenue. The famous Budget of 1842 imposed an income-tax of sevenpence in the pound on incomes of £150 and upwards, for the period of three years. The increased revenue thus obtained allowed the reduction of duties in a revised tariff. The direct taxation of inherited wealth and of yearly earnings came to the relief of manufacturing industry, and a total abolition, or a large reduction, of duties was made on 750 of about 1200 articles subject to custom-house burdens. The elaborate scheme was almost wholly the work of Sir Robert's lieutenant, Mr. Gladstone, who showed for the first time his mastery of detail, his comprehension of the country's commercial interests, his capacity as a practical statesman, and the energy which enabled him to rise and speak, during the session, on far more than a hundred occasions, in expounding his plan and in combating objections, mainly as to the articles of consumption included in or excluded from the scheme. The duty on raw materials now became almost nominal, and, though strenuous opposition in both Houses was made to the revival of the obnoxious war-tax upon income, with all its inquisitorial character, the benefit accruing to the manufactures and trade of the country prevailed over all hostility. The result more than justified the means, and, in the succeeding twenty years, the whole character of British industry was changed, through an impulse given to every employment of capital and labour, exceeding what the most sanguine economists could have contemplated as an immediate and permanent issue of legislation.

The same session saw the passing of Lord Ashley's Bill prohibiting the employment of women and children in coal-mines, and thus put a stop to the cruelty there inflicted on the young, and to the demoralisation which accompanied the working together of men and women stripped to the waist. In foreign affairs, Lord Ashburton concluded with the United States the treaty which settled a long dispute as to the boundary between Canada and the State of Maine. The British commissioner was overreached by American diplomacy in the line adopted, and Lord Palmerston described the matter as a "capitulation." At home, there was still much depression of trade, and riotous unrest among the working-class, requiring firm treatment, and the despatch of troops, from the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham. A great Chartist petition was presented to the Com-

Other
affairs,
1842.

mons by Mr. Thomas Duncombe, and elicited a strong speech from Macaulay against "the essence of the Charter, universal suffrage," which he declared to be "incompatible with all forms of government, and with everything for the sake of which forms of government exist; with property, and therefore with civilisation." The motion of Mr. Duncombe, that the petitioners should be heard at the bar of the House, was rejected by a very large majority.

In 1843, Mr. Gladstone, who had now become President of the Board of Trade, carried a Bill for the abolition of restrictions on the exportation of machinery, which had been injuring our trade to the benefit of that of Belgium. Debate on the corn-laws became very sharp. The supporters of repeal denounced those laws as the one great cause for the stagnation of commerce and the languor of manufacturing industry. Mr. Cobden displayed his strong common sense, and won conviction from a few, and respect from many opponents, by his logical array of facts. He avowed his contempt for the party distinction of Whigs and Tories, and called upon all members to engage in a serious inquiry into the condition of the country. His declaration that he held Peel wholly responsible for the lamentable and dangerous state of internal affairs aroused that sensitive minister, usually so calm and unimpassioned, to a display of unwonted wrath. Early in the year, a Scottish maniac, named MacNaughten, moved by some fancied official wrong, had shot dead Mr. Drummond, one of Peel's private secretaries, in mistake for Sir Robert himself, and Peel now held Cobden's words to be an incentive to assassination. Mr. Cobden's earnest disclaimer of an absurd charge ended the painful scene. Motion after motion against the corn-laws, made by Lord Howick, Mr. Villiers, and others, was rejected by a large majority of "Protectionists," while Cobden avowed that the fate of no motion would have the slightest effect upon the progress of public opinion, and that the League would go on, if there were any force in truth and justice, to an ultimate and not distant triumph. A motion of Mr. Charles Buller's drew attention, in a very able and comprehensive speech, to the accumulation of capital and the increase of population within the same restricted field of employment, and urged colonisation, on Mr. Wakefield's scheme of the sale of colonial land, and the assisted passage of labourers, as one remedy for the depression of industry and the suffering of the people. The motion was withdrawn, when the government opposed it as likely to raise false hopes, but the incident foreshadowed a great future development of colonial empire.

It was on the accession to power of the great Conservative minister O'Connell, that O'Connell fairly "unfurled the banner of Repeal," and 1843-1844. entered the last phase of his career. His open hostility to the Union had been dropped for a time, during his support of the Melbourne government. His hatred of Peel, and his knowledge of Irish feeling, now induced him to revive the question. Seceding from

Parliament in 1842, he employed the means of agitation which had won success for the Catholic claims with such effect as to stir society to its depths in Ireland, and to cause great alarm in England. The priesthood supported the cause, and made Repeal a religious cry, working on the masses in the name of their faith and their country. The chief association in Dublin was aided by "centres" in every district, and all the machinery of sedition was wielded by the great agitator. Lawless tribunals usurped the administration of justice; "Repeal" was advocated in ably-written publications; and enormous meetings, presided over by O'Connell, were held at places famous for their associations with Irish history, and appealing with the utmost force to the patriotic instincts and memories of an enthusiastic peasantry. The Catholic aristocracy were wholly opposed to the cause, and the Irish Protestants were filled with indignation and fear. In 1843, the matter came before Parliament, and Wellington in the Lords, and Peel in the Commons, declared their resolve to maintain unimpaired the legislative Union. O'Connell was drawing, for the support of his agitation, a large amount of money, known as the "Rent," in shilling subscriptions from the impoverished people of Ireland, and he adroitly turned to his own ends the great Temperance movement started and directed by the honest and zealous patriot, Father Mathew. In August, an assemblage of half a million people was gathered at the Hill of Tara, where the ancient kings of Ireland were chosen, and O'Connell made promises of coming days of freedom and plenty. A crisis came when a great meeting, to be held at Clontarf, near Dublin, was announced for October 8th. The Irish Privy Council issued a proclamation forbidding the assembly, and the great demagogue, brought face to face with the law, and with the danger of collision between his followers and armed force, shrank from the contest and forbade the gathering. He was obeyed, but from that hour his influence waned. On October 14th, O'Connell and his chief associates were arrested and held to bail on charges of conspiracy, sedition, and unlawful assembling. The trial, which took place at Dublin in January and February 1844, was in one respect a disgrace to the administration of justice in Ireland. The accused were, after twenty-four days of legal contest, marked by brilliant eloquence, found guilty of conspiracy, but the foremost Catholic of his age had been condemned by a packed jury, composed of twelve hostile Irish Protestants. On his appeal to the House of Lords, the verdict, with its sentence of twelve months' imprisonment and a fine of £2000 for the chief culprit, was righteously reversed by three of the four law Lords to whom the decision was left. Lord Denman declared the trial before such a jury to be "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare," and was supported by Lords Cottenham and Campbell. Lord Brougham was for maintaining the judgment of the court below. The Repeal Association was kept up, but the "monster meetings" were abandoned,

and, after appeals to the Imperial Parliament for the Irish sufferers in 1846, O'Connell, whose health had long been declining, started on a pilgrimage to Rome, but closed his career by death at Genoa in May 1847.

In 1843, the Established or Presbyterian Church of Scotland had for nine years been specially subject to unhappy divisions. The Queen Anne Act of 1712, restoring lay-patronage, was the cause of chronic discontent and schism, through the obtrusion on church-livings of clergymen unwelcome to the people. In 1834, a majority of the General Assembly passed a measure known as the Veto Act, for enabling a majority of the parishioners to exclude an obnoxious presentee. Litigation arose, and the ecclesiastical and civil powers were brought into unseemly conflict. In 1842, a judgment of the House of Lords confirmed a decree of the Court of Session, requiring the presbytery of a Perthshire parish to induct the presentee without regard to the dissent of the parishioners. This decision mainly caused a formal disruption of the Scottish Church. At the meeting of the General Assembly in May 1843, Dr. Welsh, a former Moderator, and 120 ministers and 73 lay-elders, left in a body, and gathered in another place "The General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland." The eloquent and able Dr. Chalmers was chosen as Moderator, and then, by an "Act of Separation and Deed of Demission," the seceders cut themselves off from the benefits as well as the burdens of the Establishment. Nearly 500 ministers and professors earned general sympathy and respect by the sacrifice of their livings and appointments, which made them dependent on the voluntary offerings of the people. In the first year after the disruption, nearly £400,000 were contributed for the erection of new churches, of which over 700 were needed for the Free Church congregations.

In the same year, an important statute was passed for the benefit of the cause of progress in the English Church. This measure increased the means of spiritual instruction in populous parishes by employing a part of the church revenues for the endowment of additional ministers. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners were empowered to borrow £600,000 from the governors of Queen Anne's Bounty for the purpose of forming new districts for spiritual purposes. Each district was to be permanently endowed, and to become a new parish upon a new church being consecrated. The patronage of these livings might be conferred, either in perpetuity or for one or more nominations, upon any person or persons contributing to the endowment of the minister or to the provision of a church. The new ecclesiastical districts became known as "Peel parishes," and this brief but important enactment led to a vast extension of church-building by the voluntary contributions of the laity.

The strange rioters known as "Rebeccaites" were Welshmen devoted

to the removal of turnpike-gates. Some of the people of the Principality had the same rooted objection to tolls as had been displayed in this country when, in 1663, a crowd of drovers, waggons, and pack-horse carriers broke up the gates of the first turnpike, established on the road between London and York. In the counties of Pembroke and Carmarthen there suddenly appeared at nightfall, in the spring of 1843, a body of horsemen under the command of a leader wearing a female dress, attended by a body-guard in like costume. These were "Rebecca and her daughters," deriving their commission from a verse in Genesis, which declares that the "seed of Rebecca" shall "possess the gate of those which hate them." The toll-bars were broken up, the posts sawn off close to the ground, and the toll-houses demolished. The movement extended over southern Wales, and its operations were so successful that, in the autumn of the year, nearly all the roads were practically free from tolls. The local magistrates were powerless, and the rioters, emboldened by impunity, began to wage war against the poor-laws, tithes, and heavy rents. In June, a body of men, some thousands on foot and 300 on horseback, marched into Carmarthen, with intent to pull down the workhouse. In the midst of their labours, they were stopped by a troop of cavalry, who had ridden, without a halt, for thirty miles. The country was fast falling into the condition of the worst parts of Ireland. Threatening letters were rife; landowners, clergymen, and magistrates were kept in terror of "Rebecca," and the law was outraged to the point of murder by a fatal shot at an old woman who kept one of the turnpike-gates. The despatch of a large body of troops, with a detachment of the best detectives from the London police, preceded a Special Commission for the trial of offenders, three of whom suffered transportation. The Turnpike Acts of Wales had been a real grievance, remedied by legislation in the following year.

The Rebecca riots, 1843.

At the opening of the session in 1844, Sir Robert Peel declared that he did not contemplate any change in the corn-laws, as now based upon the system of a sliding-scale. The Repealers attributed the improved condition of the people mainly to the late abundant harvest, and the League steadily pursued its course of opposition to all duties on imported corn. A resolution for the repeal of the corn-laws, proposed by Mr. Villiers, was now rejected by a majority of over 200. An important statute renewed the charter of the Bank of England, and regulated the management of that institution and other banks in a way which Sir Robert's great French biographer and critic describes as "the union of scientific truth with practical efficiency." The Bank of England was divided into two departments, one confined to the issue and circulation of notes, the other to the conduct of banking business; a limit was placed upon the issue of promissory notes, and the Bank was required to furnish a

Parliament and Peel, 1844-1845.

weekly statement of accounts for publication. The want of enlightenment on the subject of education had been shown in 1843 in the strenuous opposition made, alike by Churchmen and Dissenters, to a Bill introduced by the Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, for the regulation of labour in factories. The measure included a comprehensive plan for the education of the children employed in the manufacture of cotton, flax, silk, and wool, but a general outcry from the millowners, with rare exceptions, compelled the withdrawal of the Bill for the session. In 1844, the measure was again brought forward, but without the education clauses, and the earnest efforts of Lord Ashley failed to carry an amendment limiting to ten hours, instead of twelve, the daily work of women and children. In 1844, the government were defeated by twenty, in a full House, on a proposal to reduce the duty upon sugar brought from our West Indian colonies, and upon free-grown foreign sugar. Sir Robert Peel's threat of resignation caused the House to reverse its decision, in a still fuller assembly, by a majority of twenty-two. The occasion was remarkable for an attack made upon the Prime Minister by Mr. Disraeli, a rising "free lance" in the Commons. He said that Peel, who had, two years previously, declared himself against the anti-slavery cry, had now come forward with a detestation of slavery in every place, except in the benches behind him. "The character of his supporters must be sacrificed, it seemed, to secure his ministry." Some progress towards religious freedom was made in an Act carried by the Chancellor, Lord Lyndhurst, securing in the possession of their chapels and endowments any society of Protestant Dissenters which had held possession for twenty-five years, without regard to any exceptions made in the Toleration Act. In 1845, the expiring income-tax was renewed, in order to enable Peel to make further advances in free trade. There was a surplus of nearly three and a half millions, due to the receipts from increased imports, but the minister was anxious to provide for further reductions of indirect taxation. He was emboldened by past success, and, in the words of his French eulogist, he regarded "the greatest happiness of the greatest number of human beings as the supreme object of society and government." He was resolved at once to relieve the masses by dealing with imposts on articles of general consumption, to cheapen the raw materials of manufacture, and to reduce the cost of collecting revenue. All duties on exports, including the important item of coal, were removed. The import duties on 430 raw materials used in manufacture, including cotton-wool, were abolished, and a large reduction was made in the sugar-duty. The repeal of the excise upon glass, amounting to two or three hundred per cent. upon its value, enabled British makers to compete with the foreign producer in Continental markets, and brought relief to the cottager who could rarely replace a broken pane, but was compelled to keep out wind and weather, along with the light of heaven, by a paper patch or stuffing of rags. Inside and out-

side of Parliament, louder and louder rose the cry for the repeal of the duty on corn. Great meetings of protest against the hated tax on food were held in Drury Lane and Covent Garden Theatres, and at a by-election for the City of London a Free Trader was returned against a Protectionist. Heavier and heavier still fell the argumentative and rhetorical blows of the repealers. When Sir Robert Peel complained of the "obstruction to public business" caused by the Leaguers in the Commons, Cobden retorted that "the most pressing public business is the salvation of the people from the workhouse and starvation." Again he cried, "Let a copy of the statutes be sent, if it were possible, to another planet, without one word of comment, and the inhabitants of that sphere would declare that these laws were passed by landlords. The partiality of your legislation is notorious." After one of these attacks, the *Morning Post*, a leading organ of the Protectionists, was forced to complain in piteous tones—"Melancholy was it to witness, on Monday, the landowners of England, the representatives by blood of the Norman chivalry, the representatives by election of the industrial interests of the empire, shrinking under the blows aimed at them by a Manchester money-grubber." The chief minister was awkwardly placed between his supporters and his party foes. Half-converted to the views of the League, and regarded with suspicion by his Protectionist friends; a minister of expediency, holding his party together by outward deference to the opinions of those who had placed him in power; he was charged by his adversaries with speaking, in his maintenance of "Protection" for agriculture, against his own conviction, and he was attacked, in his hesitancy between speculation and action, by those who were already irritated by his large advances in free trade. Disraeli made open war upon the great statesman. With a sarcastic reference to Peel's "arrogant silence" and "haughty frigidity" towards the "gentlemen of England" who dared to murmur at his doings, he declared that Sir Robert had, "by skilful parliamentary manœuvres, tampered with the generous confidence of a great people," and, bidding those on the Treasury bench to "dissolve the Parliament they had betrayed," he expressed his belief that "a Conservative government is an organised hypocrisy." The wrath of religious bigots was aroused, in the same session, by two measures of liberal dealing. The Jews were admitted to municipal offices, and a grant of £30,000 was made to Maynooth College, in Ireland, for new buildings to be employed in training the Irish Catholic clergy, with a permanent endowment of £26,000 a year. This increase of amount in a payment made since the Union caused the eccentric Colonel Sibthorp, a Tory of extreme views, to declare that he should have doubted, if he had not seen him take the oaths, whether Sir Robert were a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, or a Mahometan. Disraeli, leaving untouched the question of Maynooth, described Peel on this occasion as "a great parliamentary middleman; a man who bamboozles one party and plunders the other,

till, having obtained a position to which he is not entitled, he cries out, 'Let us have no party questions, but fixity of tenure.'" Another ministerial measure, denounced by Sir Robert Inglis as "a scheme of godless education," and by the Roman Catholic clergy as "a penal and revolting measure," established at Cork, Galway, and Belfast three purely secular colleges, wholly independent of tests or creeds, for middle-class instruction in Ireland. The session of 1845 closed with an official reference to the great development of private enterprise in extending railways through the kingdom.

In August 1844, there was danger of a serious rupture between the governments of Great Britain and France. Pomaré, queen of Tahiti, a convert to Christianity, as preached by English missionaries, had accepted the "protection" of France. This step, probably due to the threatening presence of a French squadron, aroused the anger of her subjects, and in November 1843 the French admiral landed troops, hauled down the Queen's standard, set up the tricolour, and proclaimed the annexation of Tahiti to France. The French government disavowed this act, but, some months later, the authorities at the island seized, imprisoned, and then expelled from those waters the British consul, a missionary named Pritchard. He had taken down his flag on the deposition of Queen Pomaré, declaring that he was accredited to her, and not to a French colony. He was then accused by the French of inciting the natives against their rule, and the treatment accorded to him aroused the national indignation when he reached England and told his tale in July 1844. The government made no attempt to repress this feeling, and Sir Robert Peel described the matter in the House as "a gross outrage." Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, used like language in the Lords, and the French government felt compelled to make an apology and to offer compensation to Mr. Pritchard. In October, a good understanding was fully restored for a time by Louis Philippe's visit to the Queen at Windsor. A pamphlet written by the Prince de Joinville, third son of the French king, aroused much attention in the same year. The author, deploring the state of the French navy, demanded the rapid construction of war-steamers, with a view to attacks, in case of a conflict, upon the British coasts and commerce. His suggestion that a town like Brighton should be bombarded, in the event of hostilities, was here regarded as unworthy of a civilised state. A year or two later, another peril to friendly relations arose in the gross duplicity of Louis Philippe and his chief minister, Guizot, on the question of "the Spanish marriages." They were eager to bring the throne of Spain under the direct influence of France, and a delusion handed down from the days of Louis XIV. induced them to contrive a scheme for wedding the young Queen Isabella to her cousin, Don Francisco d'Assis, Duke of Cadiz. It was fully believed that the marriage would have no issue, and the simultaneous union of her sister with the Duc de Montpensier, Louis

Foreign
affairs,
1844-1846.

Philippe's son, would one day, it was hoped, make the Spanish throne an appanage of France by the succession of his wife or child. The plot was in itself hateful in its cruel disregard of the happiness and honour of a youthful queen. The means used to effect the end were not less disgraceful. When Queen Victoria paid her visit, in 1843, to Louis Philippe at the Château d'Eu, the French king assured her and Lord Aberdeen that he would not hear of his son's marriage to the Infanta of Spain, Isabella's sister, until the Queen of Spain were herself married and had children. In 1846, when the marriages were effected, Lord Palmerston was Foreign Secretary, and, in spite of the French king's excuses and evasions, our Queen, in a correspondence with his daughter, the Queen of the Belgians, expressed in the clearest and most emphatic terms her opinion of the treacherous and ignoble policy adopted by himself and his austere and pious Protestant minister, Guizot. The day was not far distant when the righteous downfall of both, hastened by this very deed, would give them leisure to ponder and, perchance, to regret a transaction not the less shameful "because the chief plotter was a king, and the victims were a queen and a nation."

In the autumn of 1845, the efforts of the League received "an awful auxiliary, a ghastly reinforcement, springing up out of the ground, out of the furrows of Irish soil." Mr. Bright said "famine itself, against which we had warred, joined us." Repeal of
the corn-
laws.
1846.

The mysterious and fatal potato disease attacked the root which formed the chief food of the people of Ireland, and the peasants there were dying by tens of thousands, from hunger and from fever caused by famine, while the ports were closed against foreign corn. A general cry went up for opening the ports to free trade in grain. Sir Robert Peel proposed to the Cabinet an immediate reduction of duty on grain in bond to one shilling, and the admission of corn into the ports at a lower rate. Only three of his colleagues, Lord Aberdeen, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, agreed with him. The Protectionists, in spite of the condition of Ireland, still fought on the ground that, if the corn-laws were once suspended, they never could be replaced in action. Lord Stanley, in the end, left the ministry, and was henceforth a leader of the Conservative party opposed to advanced measures of reform. He was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone as Colonial Secretary, and it is remarkable that Peel's most able supporter in matters of finance and of economical reform, and the most advanced man in the Cabinet on the question of free trade, bore no part in the final proceedings. His promotion vacated his seat for Newark, where the elections were still controlled by the Duke of Newcastle, an ardent Protectionist, and Mr. Gladstone was out of Parliament during the session of 1846. Lord John Russell came forward now as a full Free Trader, and, in a letter to the electors of the City of London, he declared that the system of protection for corn was "the blight of commerce, the bane of agriculture, the source of bitter division among classes, the

cause of penury, fever, mortality, and crime among the people." When Peel made, early in December, his proposal for such a change of the law as would involve the "ultimate and not remote extinction of protective duties," the continued opposition in the Cabinet caused him to resign, but, on Lord John Russell's failure to form a ministry which would face the existing House of Commons, Sir Robert resumed office, now with the promise of support from Wellington and his other colleagues for the new legislation. The long perplexity of Peel's conscientious spirit was over at last, and the triumph of the League was at hand. Amidst the bitterest accusations of treachery from Disraeli and the wrathful party whose spokesman and leader he now became, Sir Robert, at the opening of the session of 1846, declared his purpose of striving to reconcile the three branches of the state in "the united action of an ancient monarchy, a proud aristocracy, and a reformed constituency." In a speech of four hours, on January 27th, he developed his whole plan of financial and commercial policy. The duties on tallow and timber, the only raw materials still taxed, were largely reduced, and those on foreign manufactured goods were either lowered or abolished. All articles of food, including live cattle, were partially or wholly freed from duty. The payment at the custom-houses on wheat, oats, barley, and rye was to be lowered at once, decreased for three years on a sliding scale, and then wholly swept away. After twelve nights of debate, during which Peel dealt in a masterly way with every kind of objection, from agriculturists, or shipowners, or manufacturers, to the details of his great measure, and warmed into rare eloquence in bidding the country not "to stand shivering on the brink of exposure to the healthful breezes of competition," the government had a majority of ninety-seven on an amendment against going into committee. The third reading was carried by a majority of ninety-eight. More than a hundred Tories joined over two hundred Liberals to form the majority, 327; in the minority, consisting of 229, more than two hundred Tories, led by the Marquis of Granby, voted against their old leader. Both Bills, on the customs-duties and on the corn-law, passed the Lords without much difficulty. On July 2nd the League held its last meeting at Manchester. With the coffers yet containing two hundred thousand pounds, Richard Cobden moved the resolution which quietly dissolved the body whose noble work was accomplished, whose splendid mission was fulfilled. Its name is inscribed on one of the most brilliant pages of modern history as a proof of what may be effected with the weapons of reason and rhetoric, wielded by able, enlightened, virtuous, and courageous men.

Success had come too late, indeed, for the wretched population of Ireland. In 1846 again, the potatoes, smitten with blight, almost utterly failed, and in this and the two following years, with an entire or partial loss of the crops from the same cause, the

misery of the people drew the attention and aroused the pity of the whole civilised world. The benevolence of Britain and the United States, and the utmost efforts of organised relief, were unable to cope with the work of famine and fever. The starving peasantry, after eating the flesh of horses, asses, and dogs, came to nettles, wild mustard, watercress, and seaweed. Of sheer hunger, countless human beings perished, in their cabins, by the wayside, and in the streets of towns. One inspector of roads had 140 bodies buried which he found along the highway. Sometimes the last survivor of a whole family earthed up the door of his hovel to prevent the ingress of pigs and dogs, and then laid himself down to die in this fearful family vault. With the days of starvation began the exodus from the soil of the stricken land, which has reduced the population of Ireland, within the present reign, from over 8,000,000 to little more than half the number.

The repeal of the corn-laws had given to the nation the boon of cheap bread, but it brought to Sir Robert Peel the penalty of political downfall. The enraged Tories, led by Disraeli, found their opportunity in a Bill sent from the Lords for the protection of life in Ireland by certain measures of coercion. The Liberals opposed the measure on principle, as they professed, knowing well that their coalition with the Tories opened for themselves a door for their return to power. Lord George Bentinck, the aristocratic leader of the Protectionists, joined Disraeli in his attacks on Peel, and the government were beaten by a majority of seventy-three. The minister retired from office with a just eulogy on the effects wrought by the "unaffected and unadorned eloquence" of Cobden, and, on his own behalf, justly claimed, in the emphatic words inscribed upon the pedestals of monumental tributes of a nation's gratitude, the remembrance due to one who had given to the toilers "abundant and untaxed food, the sweeter because it is no longer leavened with the sense of injustice."

On July 6th, Lord John Russell was sworn into office as First Lord of the Treasury. The Chancellor was Lord Cottenham; Mr. Charles Wood took the Exchequer; Sir George Grey became Home Secretary; Lord Palmerston went to the Foreign Office; Earl Grey was Secretary for the Colonies; Mr. Macaulay was in the Cabinet as Paymaster of the Forces. Outside the Cabinet, the Duke of Wellington held the post of Commander-in-chief, and one of the champions of free trade, Mr. Milner Gibson, was Vice-President of the Board of Trade, under the Earl of Clarendon, who was one of the sixteen Cabinet ministers. The fall of the late ministry was simultaneous with the settlement, arranged by Lord Aberdeen, of a long-standing and vexed question between Great Britain and the United States. The country called Oregon, between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific, had been left untouched in the Treaty of Versailles, concluded in 1783. Forty years later, the rival

Fall of
Peel, July
1846.

Lord John
Russell's
Ministry,
July 1846
to Feb-
ruary
1852.

claims of the two governments had brought the risk of war. A boundary was now settled, and the territory to the north-west of that line has since become British Columbia. During the brief remainder of the session, the new government did much in behalf of cheap justice by the establishment of county courts for the recovery of small debts. Labour Acts were also passed to provide work for half a million destitute adults in Ireland, representing 2,000,000 of people, and by July 1847, 3,000,000 of persons were being fed every day in the neighbourhood of their own homes, by rations of cooked food provided through parliamentary grants or private subscriptions. In this and the previous year more than £7,000,000 of money were advanced by the government for Irish relief. The session of 1847 brought relief to the factory-workers in the passage of the Ten Hours' Act, introduced by Mr. Fielden. A most abundant harvest was followed by a commercial panic of a nature not experienced since 1825. The practical suspension of the Bank Charter Act enabled the Bank of England to enlarge the amount of discounts and advances, and confidence was partially restored, but the ruin widely spread among the mercantile firms and the provincial banks was long felt by capital and labour. A new Parliament met in November, and Mr. Gladstone, now first elected for Oxford University, joined Mr. Disraeli in supporting a resolution of the Prime Minister for the admission of Jews to all functions and offices open to Catholics. Lord John Russell now had, as one of his three colleagues in the representation of the City of London, a Jew named Baron Rothschild, excluded by his faith and by the form of oath from the House to which he was elected. More than ten years were to pass before this disability was removed.

In the earliest days of the session of 1848, the British government, moved by distrust of France, and by a letter of the Duke of Wellington's on the state of our national defences, was proposing an increase of the naval and military estimates, when the question of danger from beyond the Channel received a sudden and complete solution. On February 24, 1848, the House of Commons was startled by the news of the abdication and flight of Louis Philippe, and the proclamation of a new French republic. Sir Robert Peel at once remarked, in conversation with the Liberal champion of economy, Joseph Hume, "This comes of trying to carry on a government by means of a mere majority of a Chamber, without regard to the opinion out of doors." The fall of the French monarchy was indeed a penalty that had been fully earned. The King's policy had been marked by gross dishonesty and unwisdom, both in home and foreign affairs. The blood and treasure of the country had been wasted in the useless conquest of Algeria; judges had been bribed and legislation made a matter of money traffic. The electoral franchise was very narrow, and the chief minister, Guizot, a learned and able professor and pedant, always opposed parliamentary reform, and based

The
French
Revolution of
1848.

his power upon a system of corruption and repression. The working-class, shut out from any active part in public affairs, regarded with hatred the employers, who were in almost exclusive possession of political power. The Opposition in the Chambers, powerful both in the tribune and the press, and eager for electoral reform as a means to attain power, allied themselves with the men of extreme opinions, who maintained the doctrine of "equality," long deep-seated in the hearts of the French people. The immediate cause of an outbreak was the forbidding, by the Minister of the Interior, of a Reform banquet to be held in Paris, with a procession of students and National Guards. An insurrection, beginning on the night of February 22nd, the day appointed for the banquet, soon rose to revolution. Guizot resigned office at the first demand, but the firing of some troops on a body of Republicans bearing a red flag made the position hopeless. The Palais Royal and the Tuileries were stormed and sacked; Louis Philippe and his family fled to England, finding a home, by the Queen's kindness, at Claremont. A republic was established, headed by Lamartine, Ledru Rollin, Crémieux, General Cavaignac, Louis Blanc, and the famous and able workman, Albert. In June, the new government had a terrible conflict for three days, costing many thousands of lives, with the Red Republicans, or men of extreme and socialistic views, in the streets of Paris, and, when order was restored, a new actor appeared upon the scene. In November 1848, Louis Napoleon was elected President of the Republic, under universal suffrage, by an enormous majority over his opponent, Cavaignac.

The democratic stir in France spread through Continental Europe. In March 1848, an insurrection at Berlin compelled the Prussian king, Frederick William IV., to grant the constitutional government, with two chambers, which formed the basis of that now existing. In Austria, the famous statesman Prince Metternich, one of the chief authors and supporters of the "Holy Alliance," was driven by insurrection from Vienna to England, and the Emperor Ferdinand I. abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph. Hungary had been moving in favour of constitutional freedom under the leadership of Francis Deak, Louis Kossuth, and other patriots, and they now set up a republic. In December, a great Austrian army invaded the country, but the Hungarians, under Gorgei, Bem, and other leaders, drove out all hostile forces by April 1849, and the Austrian empire was only saved from dismemberment by the help of Russia, to whose army Gorgei was forced to surrender in August. The people of Italy, excited by Mazzini and other patriots, rose up in Lombardy, Venetia, and some smaller northern states, against the domination or influence of Austria, but the fatal day of Novara, in March 1849, when Radetzky routed the troops of the Sardinians, ended the hopes of Italian freedom and the reign of its champion, Charles Albert. He resigned his throne in favour of his son, Victor

The Con-
tinent in
1848-1849.

Emmanuel, under whom the peninsula was to become a free and united polity. The Pope was for a time driven out of Rome, but the republic there founded, under Mazzini and Garibaldi, was crushed in July 1849, by the troops of her French sister, whose government was now courting the favour of the priestly party. In Sicily and Naples all attempts at revolution were suppressed, and the King, Ferdinand II., became infamous, as "Bomba," for firing on the people of Naples from the forts commanding his capital, and from the scathing exposure, in 1851, in Mr. Gladstone's letters to Lord Aberdeen, of the cruelties exercised on his political prisoners.

The turmoil of Continental war was in strong contrast to the perfect peace and order in England, 1848. "the courage to confront for one moment the strength of a loyal nation, rallied in firm array round a parental throne." Reform had averted all risk of revolution. Chartism came to an impotent conclusion on April 10th. A threat to meet in great force on Kennington Common, and to march with a huge petition to the House of Commons, was met, not by a display of military force, but by arrangements of Wellington, with troops artfully concealed at various points, that would at once have overwhelmed revolt. Nearly 200,000 special constables were enrolled, including Louis Napoleon, then still a resident of London, and the demeanour of the regular police quelled all thought of violence, and compelled the conveyance of the petition in a cart to the House of Commons, where the demagogue, Fergus O'Connor, one of the members for Nottingham, presented it in the usual way. In Ireland, attempts at insurrection in 1848, made by Mr. Smith O'Brien, Mr. Meagher, and Mr. John Mitchell, were subdued in the summer with little loss of life, and the leaders were sentenced, for high treason, to death, commuted to transportation.

Our last notice of British literature deals with authors so familiar as Literature, Science. to require little beyond a list of names. In 1842, the fruits of the work of authors were duly secured by a new Copyright Act. Mr. Serjeant Talfourd, whose tragedy *Ion*, dealing with an old Greek story, handled with charming effect by Euripides, was produced in 1836 at Covent Garden Theatre, had for some years been the champion of this cause in the Commons. An amusing petition from Thomas Carlyle was presented in 1839, praying for protection to his literary labours, if perchance, "at a distant time, when the labourer will probably no longer be in need of money," his survivors might find a benefit. In 1842, a speech of wonderful learning and logical power from Macaulay induced the House to modify a proposal of Lord Mahon, and to grant the protection of copyright to an author for the term of forty-two years from the publication of a book. Sir Robert Peel procured a further term of seven years for the author's family after his death. The provisions of the Act extended to an increasing class of literary labours in the shape of cyclopædias, reviews, and magazines. The

change of the law soon proved beneficial to the descendants of Sir Walter Scott, who had died in 1832, and of Wordsworth, who, succeeding Southey as poet-laureate in 1843, lived till 1850. The new school of historians in the Victorian age, or in the era that just preceded it, includes, among its greatest names, those of Hallam, Macaulay, and Carlyle, each being also famous as essayist and critic. Hallam's work was that of setting forth with solid learning and judicial accuracy and impartiality the state of mediæval Europe and the growth of the British Constitution. Macaulay, combining the attributes of the historian and of the writer of imaginative power, "knocked out the brains of the Stuart superstition." Carlyle cleared away the rubbish gathered round the memory of Cromwell, and gave the world a true portraiture of its greatest regicide, who was none the less a warrior, a patriot, and a statesman. His *French Revolution* is a great prose epic; his *Frederick the Great* is a triumph of discursive lore and picturesque narration devoted to hero-worship. The Catholic historian of England, Dr. Lingard, is conspicuous for ability and fair dealing. Tytler and Burton have well earned fame as historians of Scotland; Palgrave, Kemble, and Freeman have thrown a flood of light on early English and Norman times. Lord Mahon (Earl Stanhope), the writer of the record of Queen Anne's great war, and of the Georgian era down to the Peace of Versailles, is a clear and conscientious narrator, who seeks to inform rather than to convince. The Peninsular War found in Napier a writer worthy of his grand theme, and of the central figure in that mighty contest. Thirlwall and Grote will ever be connected in renown with the history of Greece, and Dr. Arnold, a man of the purest virtue and of high ability, will live in his unfinished work on ancient Rome. Merivale's *Roman Republic* and *Roman Empire* are also works of great merit. At a later date in the reign, Dr. Stubbs, who became Bishop of Oxford, dealt in a masterly fashion with our early chronicles and constitutional history; Kinglake, the brilliant author of *Eothen*, gave, in great detail, a splendid record of the Crimean War; and Lecky, a truly philosophical historian, is full of valuable information and disquisition on Ireland, the history of European rationalism and European morals, and on the eighteenth century in England. There is no need of criticism on the novelists whose works, in endless reprints, are in the hands of countless readers in every class of a community that reads as men, women, and children never read before. Dickens, Benjamin Disraeli, Lytton, Ainsworth, Marryat, Mrs. Oliphant, Whyte Melville, with his noble *Gladiators*, Lever, the Trollopes, the sisters Brontë, "George Eliot" (Marian Evans), Wilkie Collins, Charles Reade, Black, Blackmore, Meredith, Braddon, Besant, Thackeray, Kingsley, include among them writers of all degrees of power,—fair ability, rare talents, and literary genius of the highest order. The *Ingoldsbys Legends* places Barham very high among the humourists whose chiefs include Douglas Jerrold and Thomas Hood, the latter being also a true poet in the

serious and pathetic vein. In acting and literary drama, Knowles, Lytton, and Sir Henry Taylor are among the best of this age. Swinburne, Tennyson, and Browning assert powerfully the claims of our poetic school, with Elizabeth (Barrett) Browning, Rossetti, Matthew Arnold, and Patmore. Biography, essay, and miscellany show names of high merit in Forster, Landor, Lewes, Harriet Martineau, Smiles, and John Morley. The exposition of beauty in nature and in art has never yet produced the equal of the brilliant and wayward Ruskin. In theology and ecclesiastical history, Newman, Lightfoot, Trench, Milman, and Stanley are worthy of enduring fame. Mr. Froude has shown rare eloquence in dealing with Tudor times, and Buckle, dying all too soon, left behind a grand fragment of historical philosophy. The philosophical and scientific writers of this era have produced work of the highest order. John Stuart Mill, son of James Mill, the distinguished historian of British India in the earlier part of this century, showed his powers first, as a follower of Bentham, in the *Westminster Review*. His works on logic and political economy are standard textbooks, and his writings on Liberty and various philosophical and theological topics have had a vast influence on modern English thought. Mr. Herbert Spencer has proved himself to be one of the greatest modern thinkers in his works on biology, psychology, sociology, and morality. Sir William Hamilton, who died in 1856, won his fame as the most acute logician and most learned philosopher of the Scottish school of metaphysics before the present reign. Sir William Rowan Hamilton, inventor of the calculus of quaternions, a new method in the higher mathematics, was both a learned linguist and one of the chief astronomers and mathematicians of his day. Charles Darwin, author of the *Origin of Species*, published in 1859, worked a vast change in biological science by his development of the theory of evolution, in which he has been followed, with great scientific and literary skill, by Huxley. Tyndall, great on heat, light, and other branches of natural science, has been an eminent teacher of the same school. The Earl of Rosse's huge telescope, completed in 1845 and erected at Parsonstown, in Ireland, began a fresh course of discovery, and drew a veil from new worlds and wonders in the heavens. Sir John Herschel, Professor Adams, and Sir George Airy have been amongst the greatest of astronomers. Whewell, on divers scientific subjects; Brewster, on optics; Faraday, on electricity; Owen, in anatomy and physiology; Mrs. Somerville, in scientific geography and kindred subjects; Lyell, Sedgwick, Hugh Miller, and Murchison, in geology; Hooker, in botany; Max Müller, in philology—these are among the chief names of an era prolific beyond all others in profound investigators and skilled expounders of the results of scientific research.

CHAPTER III.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S FIRST MINISTRY.

Completion of free trade. Irish affairs. Palmerston and the Greek quarrel. Death of Peel. The new movement in the English Church. The "Papal Aggression" stir. The Great Exhibition. Foreign affairs. Lord Palmerston dismissed. Lord Derby in office. The new French Empire. Disraeli and Gladstone in the Commons.

The party abandoned by the reforming Conservatives, who now became known as "Peelites," was led in the House of Lords by Dying the brilliant, impulsive, and eloquent Lord Stanley, soon, by efforts of his father's death, to be known as the Earl of Derby. The Protec- tion, 1849. death of Lord George Bentinck gave the chief place in the Opposition of the Commons to the adroit and daring Disraeli, whose genius, with consummate skill, seized the opening to a career in which, for thirty years to come, he was to show, with wonderful success, his powers as a politician. All declarations and attempts against free trade proved to be futile. The ministry responded by the repeal, in June 1849, of the Navigation Laws which, passed nearly two centuries before, in our jealousy of Dutch commerce, had been modified in 1815 and 1822, with further relaxations in later years under legislation carried by Huskisson. For a few years longer foreign ships were excluded from the trade on our coasts, and between different parts of our dominions. The general result of open competition has been a vast increase in the commerce carried on by British vessels. A motion of Disraeli's for a fixed duty of five shillings per quarter on wheat was rejected, after an earnest speech from Peel, by a majority of 140, a decision which may be regarded as the permanent and final establishment of free trade. A Bill passed in the Commons for the admission of Jews to Parliament was thrown out in the Lords. This question was finally settled, after repeated defeats in the House of Lords, by an Act of 1858, under which Baron Rothschild took his seat at last as a member for the City of London.

After a renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in February 1849, and measures of relief for Irish suffering, restored Ireland, order and returning prosperity encouraged a visit of the 1849. Queen and Prince Albert to Ireland. In August they landed at Cork, and the port of Cove received the new name of "Queenstown," as Dunleary, the port of Dublin, had been called "Kingstown" in memory of George IV.'s disembarkation. The four elder royal children accompanied their parents, and the party were received with the utmost enthusiasm in Dublin. An abundant harvest in the country itself, increased imports of corn, flour, and meal, due to the British government and people, and the emigration called the "Irish Exodus,"

greatly improved the condition of the country. An Act for the sale of encumbered estates, under the direction of three commissioners, effected much good in freeing large districts from the incubus of bankrupt proprietors, but the peculiar conditions of Irish land and the Irish people did much to check the expected influx of British capital and labour, and the Irish land question was to remain a hard problem for the Legislature. In September, the Habeas Corpus Act was again in force, nor was its suspension required anew for many years. The chief source of Irish disturbance at this time was the conduct of the Orangemen, whose clubs, dissolved in 1836, had been revived in 1845. On that evil day of party conflicts, July 12th, the anniversary of the Boyne, a conflict occurred in 1849 between some Ribandmen and an Orange procession, and several of the former were shot. The Earl of Roden, a Protestant leader, refused to obey the order of the Irish government to receive informations against the Orangemen, and was dismissed, with two other magistrates, from the commission of the peace. In the following session, a salutary Act suppressed party processions in Ireland.

In 1849 the Asiatic cholera appeared, for the second time, in the British Isles. The Board of Health took precautions, but sanitary science was then in its infancy, and the whole number of deaths caused by the disease in London alone was nearly 15,000. The drinking of water polluted by sewage was a main cause of the mortality. A third visitation in 1853 promoted the sanitary legislation which, through the Metropolitan Board of Works, created the main drainage and the embankment of the Thames. The improvement of the conditions of public health caused the fourth visitation of cholera, in 1866, to continue but three months, with a vastly diminished mortality in a far larger population.

During the session of 1850, though some close divisions and other signs showed that the ministerial hold of power was becoming precarious, important measures were added to the statute-book. One Act enabled local authorities to form suburban cemeteries, and provided for the closing of burial-grounds in London. Other laws dealt with factory-labour and the inspection of coal-mines, and one measure enabled boroughs with a population exceeding 10,000 to establish, by the votes of a majority of two-thirds of the ratepayers, free libraries and museums. Revived prosperity had given the Chancellor of the Exchequer a surplus exceeding two millions, which enabled him to follow the policy of Peel in abolishing the excise-duty on bricks. A small beginning was also made in the reduction of the National Debt. The House of Commons now met, for the first time, in their new chamber, ten years after the beginning of the "Palace of Westminster" from the designs of Sir Charles Barry. The chief parliamentary event of the year was the "Don Pacifico" debate, for ever connected in our history with a great

Palmerston on his defence, 1850.
Death of Peel.

victory won by Palmerston, and with the lamentable close of a statesman's career. Lord Palmerston, in his direction of foreign affairs, was above all things a masterful man. He was cordially hated by Continental governments for the skill with which he met and baffled diplomatic intrigues, and for the dictatorial tone with which he often presumed to lecture them on their duties towards their subjects. He was feared and respected, as well as hated, as the symbol of his country's resolve to protect her own subjects abroad, and of the readiness of many Britons to support the cause of freedom, sometimes with less than a due regard to the rights of independent states, or to the limits of our power to enforce British views of humanity and equity. His despatches contained unpleasant truths not disguised in the mode of utterance, and the absolutists of Germany, and especially of Austria, viewed him with cordial abhorrence, which took, in a wit's mouth, the form of a suggestion that Palmerston had Satan for his sire. He had long been pressing upon Otho, the Bavarian king of Greece, his duty of fulfilling the promise of constitutional government for his subjects, which had been declared by three Powers, Great Britain, France, and Russia, to be a condition of their guarantee for the independence of the new monarchy. Otho and his ministers resented this interference, and encouraged intrigues at Athens against Palmerston and British influence. One of his chief complaints against the Greek government was its contempt for the rights which various Maltese, Ionian, and other residents claimed as English subjects. In April 1847, the Athenian mob, deprived by the police of their wonted Easter amusement of burning Judas Iscariot in effigy, took their revenge by plundering the house of Don Pacifico, a Jew of Portuguese origin, whose birth at Gibraltar made him a British subject. This man claimed more than £30,000 as the value of his destroyed property, a sum thirty times the amount afterwards settled by arbitration. With the demand of this greedy Hebrew was mixed up the claim of a more respectable person, Mr. Finlay, the historian of modern Greece, a resident of Athens, and an early supporter of Greek independence. A portion of his land had been taken to round off the gardens of the royal palace, and Mr. Finlay, who had also, as it seems, a keen eye to the main chance, demanded from the Greek government the sum of £1500 for land which had cost him £10. Such were the ignoble materials out of which Palmerston, eager to assert the influence of his country, constructed a serious quarrel. Both the claims were made through our Foreign Office, which adopted them in full. The Greek ministry resisted, on the just ground of gross exaggeration, and, after a long diplomatic contest, Palmerston, in January 1850, sent the fleet under Admiral Parker to the Piræus, with a peremptory demand for the settlement of the claims within twenty-four hours. On non-compliance, the port was blockaded, and an embargo was laid on all the Greek vessels, both merchantmen and men-of-war. The

French and Russian governments intervened, but, while a convention on the subject was being concluded in London between Palmerston and M. Drouyn de Lhuys, the French ambassador, the pressure at Athens induced the Greek government to yield to the demands made. The matter was at last settled by a reference to arbitration. Lord Stanley then caused a debate in the House of Lords, where his resolution, in June, condemning the foreign policy of the government, was supported by Lord Aberdeen and Lord Brougham, and carried by a majority of thirty-seven. In the House of Commons, Lord John Russell took up the gauntlet, and eulogised Lord Palmerston for having always acted "as only the minister of England." The great debate came on a resolution of Mr. Roebuck, an able, independent member for Sheffield, affirming that "the principles on which the foreign policy of Her Majesty's government have been regulated, have been such as were calculated to maintain the honour and dignity of this country, and, in times of unexampled difficulty, to preserve peace between England and the various nations of the world." On the night of June 24th, a leading Peelite, Sir James Graham, attacked the whole course of Palmerston's dealings with foreign countries. On the second night, the arraigned minister rose just as the summer twilight had faded away, and spoke for nearly five hours, till the breaking of a new day. He never could soar to any great height in eloquence, but his speech on this occasion was a masterpiece of parliamentary debate. Without a note, a failure of memory, or a pause in fluent utterance, he dealt with his whole course of diplomacy for three years, and appealed, with the utmost skill, to the patriotic feeling of his hearers. He showed that, in assailing Greece, he had really been fighting the Powers at her back, and avowed that his conduct had been actuated by the resolve that the poorest claimant who bore the name of an English citizen should be protected by the whole strength of England against the oppression of a foreign government. Amid enthusiastic cheering, he adopted, in his peroration, the formula made famous by Cicero and St. Paul, *Civis Romanus sum*, and declared that "so also a British subject, in whatever land he may be, shall feel confident that the watchful eye and the strong arm of England will protect him against injustice and wrong." The triumph of the speaker, in this "gigantic intellectual and physical effort," as his adversary Gladstone called it, was complete. It was in vain that Mr. Gladstone, resuming the debate on June 27th, brought his classic lore, in what Palmerston himself called "a first-rate performance," to demolish the parallel between a British and a Roman citizen. The fourth and last night was opened by Mr. Cockburn, member for Southampton, in a speech for the government which had a success only second to Lord Palmerston's, and gave him at once that place which he thenceforth maintained in the front rank of his country's intellect and power. He soon became Solicitor-General, and died, thirty years later, Lord Chief-

Justice of England. The great event of this evening was the last speech of Sir Robert Peel, marked by a dignified moderation and a generous spirit towards his political opponents which formed a fit end to his great career. His eulogy of Palmerston for the speech "which made us proud of the man who delivered it," has passed into a proverb. He strongly condemned the policy of attempted dictation to other nations. The House finally gave Palmerston and his colleagues a majority of forty-seven in a division of nearly six hundred members, taken at four o'clock on the morning of June 29th. At noon, Sir Robert Peel attended a meeting of the Commissioners for the proposed Industrial Exhibition, and early in the evening, as he rode up Constitution Hill, he was thrown by his shying horse. He clung to the bridle, and the horse came down with its knees upon his shoulders, breaking the collar-bone and forcing a broken rib into the lungs. The statesman died about eleven o'clock on the night of July 2nd. Gladstone in the Commons, Stanley and Brougham in the Lords, paid eloquent and touching tribute to his memory and their own sorrow, but nothing moved men's hearts like the tears and broken words of the aged "Iron Duke," as he avowed his perfect confidence in the truth and justice of his dead political and personal friend. A public funeral in the Abbey, and a peerage for the widow, were declined, in accordance with the expressed wish of the great man who now passed into history. He had quitted the scene at the very time when his wise counsels would have been of great service to the country.

A new movement had for some time deeply stirred the Church of England. In 1833, the first of the *Tracts for the Times* was published at Oxford. Staunch Churchmen had been offended by the establishment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as a new court of appeal in ecclesiastical causes. Before the new tribunal, which did not represent any ecclesiastical authority, doctrinal and ecclesiastical questions were practically decided by laymen. Orthodoxy was affronted by this grievous Erastianism, a name derived from the classical cognomen of a Swiss physician and philosopher, who maintained, in the sixteenth century, the subordination of the ecclesiastical to the secular power, and denied the right of the Church to inflict excommunication. The leaders of the "Tractarian movement," including John Keble, Dr. Pusey, and John Henry Newman, were also stirred by an earnest desire to combat the advancing spirit of scepticism. The new school in the Church was distinctly religious, as a reaction from the popular "Evangelical" Protestantism which had broken the stagnation of the Church in the last century, and had become the prevailing type of earnest religion. The Tractarians were anxious to recall the minds of the sons of the English Church to her character as a branch of the true Catholic Church, rather than allow them to dwell on her position as severed from and protesting against the Church of Rome. They felt that

The two Churches.
"Papal Aggression,"
1850-1851.

the means of revival existed within the Church, and they sought to attain their end by insisting, with speech and pen, on the Catholic element in the doctrine of the Church, and especially on the intrinsic efficacy of the sacraments, and on the authority of a priesthood, duly ordained by bishops in the apostolical succession, as the sole ministers of sacramental grace. The standard of Catholic truth was sought in the teaching of the Fathers of the Church during the first four or five centuries. The vulgar name bestowed on the new party was that of "Puseyites." The excitement aroused during the seven or eight years during which the *Tracts* were published reached its climax on the appearance, early in 1841, of the last of the series, the famous Tract No. XC. An increasing number of the clergy were becoming adherents of the new views, but the moderate and Evangelical parties, and most of the laity, had long regarded the Tractarians with deep distrust. They stood aghast when the famous tract from the pen of Newman showed that all the Articles, even those most strongly asserting "Protestant" doctrines, and condemning those of the Church of Rome, could be so interpreted as to be properly subscribed by persons holding "Catholic" opinions closely resembling Roman theology. Innovations in the forms of worship, since known as "Ritualism," deepened the disgust of those who were not aware that the attempt to renew the doctrinal bonds of Catholic unity was consistent with a steadfast rejection of the claims of the See of Rome. Popular wrath was particularly moved by the revival of the practice of confession and of conventual establishments. The clergy and the churches began to be distinguished as "High" and "Low," according as the doctrine and the ritual were marked by adherence to the new or to the old school. During the height of the controversy, proceedings were taken against Dr. Pusey and other Tractarians. Newman, in 1845, seceded to the Church of Rome, to become a Cardinal a generation later. Many of his admirers followed him in this step. In March 1850, the Judicial Committee decided in favour of a clergyman named Gorham, whom the eloquent, acute, and fervid "High" Churchman, Dr. Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter, had refused to institute to a living on account of his opinions touching infant baptism. The important general effect of this judgment was to decide that the Articles and Formularies of the Church of England are so framed as to admit a wide diversity of opinion and practice within her comprehensive pale, as the Church, not of a sect, but of a nation. The defeated side in this legal contest then took steps to arouse agitation, ending, some years later, in the revival of the synodical action of Convocation, which had been suspended since 1717. The feeling of the English people, as a body, towards a movement held to be Romanising, was not understood at the Vatican. Pope Pius IX. and his cardinals only saw the spectacle of England moved by the spread of "Catholic" doctrine, and of a ritual differing little from that of Rome. Converts were beheld returning to the old faith, as the

first-fruits of another reconciliation after the lapse of three centuries. It was believed that the time had arrived for a bold stroke, and there was a man in England ready to play the part of Cardinal Pole. Dr. Wiseman, son of an Essex gentleman and an Irish lady, born in Spain and educated at Rome, an accomplished scholar and preacher, an able administrator, and a bold and ambitious partisan of his Church, had come to this country in 1840 as Vicar-Apostolic. This was the man designated as the chief agent in bringing back England to St. Peter's fold, in the new character of Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster. Since the transfer of the English sees to Protestant incumbents under Elizabeth, the Church of Rome had never claimed to set up in this country rival bishops with territorial titles. The episcopal government of Catholics was intrusted to "Vicars-Apostolic," who bore titles, as of missionary bishops, derived from remote regions, as Dr. Wiseman had hitherto been "Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium*." It was now proposed to substitute for this arrangement a regular hierarchy of Roman Catholic prelates, consisting of an archbishop and twelve suffragans, on the model framed by Pope Gregory the Great when he sent Augustine to England twelve and a half centuries before. This step was sure to be regarded by English Protestants as a wanton aggression on the territorial rights of the Church and the prerogative of the crown. The brief of the Pope decreeing the new establishment was issued in September 1850, and was quickly followed by a pastoral letter from Dr. Wiseman, in which, assuming his new title, he wrote of "Catholic England being restored to its orbit in the ecclesiastical firmament." It would have been well for both the government and the nation to have adopted on this occasion the favourite suggestion of Lord Melbourne, to "let things alone," and to have maintained an attitude of cool tolerance for a change which concerned only the Catholics of the kingdom. The head of the government set the example of a different course. Lord John Russell, in a letter to the Bishop of Durham, denounced the Pope's action as "insolent and insidious," and inveighed against the new school of Anglican clergy who had led their flocks "to the verge of the precipice." The multitude expressed the wrath of true "Protestants" by turning the celebration of November the Fifth into an elaborate demonstration against the Pope, the Cardinal, and his bishops. At public meetings very bitter and intolerant language was employed, and both the Roman Catholics and the High Church clergy and their supporters were subjected to much insult and annoyance. In December, addresses from the Corporation of London and from the two chief Universities were presented in full state to the Queen at Windsor. The royal reply expressed a determination to "uphold alike the rights of my crown and the independence of my people against all aggressions and encroachments of any foreign power;" but, in a private letter worthy of the ruler of a free people, the Queen expressed regret for

“the unchristian and intolerant spirit exhibited at the public meetings,” and “the violent abuse of the Catholic religion, which is so painful and so cruel towards the many good and excellent Catholics.” The Duke of Norfolk, a leading Catholic, summed up many utterances of Catholic loyalty in the declaration that “ultramontane (extreme Popish) opinions are totally incompatible with our allegiance to our sovereign and with our constitution.” There the matter might well have been allowed to rest, but bigotry and panic insisted on legislation. When Parliament met in February 1851, excited debates took place, in which the English Radicals or advanced Liberals, and the Irish Catholics, with the Peelites as firm allies, opposed the introduction of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, forbidding, under a penalty of £100 for each offence, the assumption, by Roman Catholics, of titles taken from any territory or place within the United Kingdom. The measure was brought in by a very large majority, but the real weakness of the ministry was shown when, on a motion of Disraeli’s for legislation on behalf of the owners and occupiers of land, the government, in a full House, only won by fourteen votes. Sir Charles Wood’s Budget, proposing to renew the income-tax, only to reduce the hated window-tax, and to impose a house-tax of one shilling in the pound on the rental of all new and improved houses, was viewed with grave dissatisfaction. Finally, the ministry were beaten, in a thin House, by a majority of two to one, on a motion for reducing the county franchise to £10, and they at once resigned office. Lord Stanley was unable to form a ministry, on the refusal of the Peelites to join him, and the discredited Liberals returned to power early in March. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill became law in a modified form, and was from the first defied by the Catholics. One of their prelates in Ireland, the pugnacious Dr. MacHale, wrote a letter to the Prime Minister a year later, signing himself “John, Archbishop of Tuam.” No prosecution was instituted, and the Act, remaining a dead letter, was repealed in 1871. Before the session closed, an amended Budget swept away the window-tax, and replaced it by a duty, still in force, on all houses of an annual rent exceeding £20. An improvement in the criminal law enabled judges to amend the technical flaws in an indictment, by which justice had been often defeated. The census, taken on March 31st, showed a total population of nearly 28,000,000 for the United Kingdom, that of London being 2,360,000.

The year 1851 was one of glory for Prince Albert, in the triumphant execution of his project for an Universal Exhibition in London of the works of art and industry of all nations. To intellect, virtue, and force of character, that admirable man added a clear conception of the limits and the demands of his high position. He could play no public part in politics, but acted, with the utmost loyalty both to his wife and sovereign and to the nation, as the Queen’s confidential adviser and assistant in her official duties.

The Great
Exhibition,
1851.

In his public activity, he sought to bind together the people and the throne by a just use of the influence of the crown for the improvement of the social condition of the state. His culture in a wide range of literature, science, and art, his faculty of accurate observation, and his sound judgment, aided by the gift of thoughtful, fluent, and impressive speech, had caused him to be regarded by impartial, uncourtly critics as one of the most useful of our public men. The chief objects of his regard, in this public capacity, were the welfare of the working-classes and the education of all; the cause of religion, morality, and philanthropy; and the advancement of literature, science, and art, for their use in making the people better, happier, and more prosperous. In 1847 he became Chancellor of Cambridge University, and at once joined his efforts to those of her most illustrious graduate, one of the most learned men of all time, Dr. Whewell, Master of Trinity, in widening the range of study and establishing new honour triposes in mental and moral science. The Prince was earnestly devoted to the encouragement of agriculture, commerce, manufactures, and public improvements of all kinds, and to him is largely due the development of a taste for art among the people, which has become an important agent in elevating their habits and character, and has given a higher aim to such of our manufactures as are connected with the arts of design. The Great Exhibition of 1851 was a bold and, on that scale, a novel enterprise, carried to success, in the face of vast opposition and difficulties, by the united energy and ingenuity of Prince Albert and of the able men who executed the material part of the grand and brilliant scheme. During the autumn of 1850 and the earlier months of 1851, a building of glass and iron, designed by Mr. Joseph Paxton, chief gardener to the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, rose like a fairy fabric from the green turf of Hyde Park. Nothing amid the wondrous show of its contents charmed the eye of the spectator more than the building itself, covering a space of twenty acres, and enclosing beneath its lofty transept the foliage of stately elms. The name of "Crystal Palace" at once caught the popular fancy, and became an omen, and perhaps an element, of success. The first sight of the interior, lit by a brilliant sun shining on a wealth of varied colour, in the countless beautiful and ingenious works of industry and art despatched from every quarter of the world, produced an indescribable effect of wonder and delight, vivid in the remembrance of the present writer, and forming an epoch in the life of those who beheld it. Between the first day of May, when the show was opened by the Queen, and the early days of October, when it closed after a real summer, 6,000,000 visitors received instruction and enjoyment, and a surplus of nearly £200,000 was left in the hands of the commissioners. Under the auspices of a private company, the building, in an improved form, with an arched in place of a flat roof, was erected on the heights of Sydenham. The funds earned by the

Great Exhibition were employed in the establishment of the Department of Science and Art at South Kensington, and the erection of the Museum. The beautiful memorial to the Prince Consort marks the site of the peaceful international contest of 1851.

The beginning of a new era in the affairs of Continental Europe was coincident and nearly connected with a break in the long success of Palmerston's political career. That minister had already incurred severe censure from the Queen and the Prime Minister for his independent method of managing the business of the Foreign Office. The British monarch is supposed to take cognisance of, and to offer opinion and argument upon, all public questions of importance to the interests of the nation. Lord Palmerston, in the plenitude of his real knowledge and self-confidence, had often failed to submit despatches to Lord John Russell and the sovereign. He thus committed her and his colleagues to grave steps in foreign policy on which he had failed to consult them. In August 1850, a memorandum from the Queen, addressed to the Premier, distinctly charged the Foreign Secretary to keep her duly informed of his official proceedings before the adoption of any decisive course, on pain of the exercise of her constitutional right of dismissal. Palmerston submitted, with loyalty and sagacity, to this rebuke, but his eager nature soon caused him to transgress anew. Only a few weeks later, when General Haynau, of the Austrian service, was attacked by the draymen at Barclay's brewery in Southwark, to mark their sense of his cruel conduct towards men and women in the Hungarian revolt, Palmerston submitted a draft of a despatch, addressed to the Austrian government, for the approval of Lord John Russell and the Queen. Both of them objected to one passage in the note, and then found that the Foreign Secretary had already forwarded the document itself. In October 1851, the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, arrived in England, and delivered eloquent speeches, in pure English, inveighing against the tyranny of Austria and the interference of the Russian Emperor. He was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the public, and Palmerston was only prevented by the general opinion of his colleagues from according him a reception at the Foreign Office. In November, the irrepressible Secretary committed the grave error of receiving there a deputation to present addresses from meetings held in London, in which he heard the Austrian and Russian emperors denounced as "odious and detestable assassins" and "merciless tyrants and despots." He mildly disclaimed approval of these expressions, but the Queen and the Cabinet were justly offended by his unguarded conduct. A momentous event in France led to a final rupture. Louis Napoleon trampled down the French Republic in the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851. Never was any man more misread by most of his contemporaries. His boldest resolutions were at one time the mere impulse of blind fatalism, at another the desperate choice amidst

inextricable difficulties. In his most courageous acts, he put a vehement force upon a timid nature, and his greatest crimes and cruelties did violence to a temper known to his British intimates as genial and kind. Instead of being a strong self-contained man of steadfast and inscrutable designs, as he was long regarded by admirers, he had much of the visionary in his nature, and was really a weak and vacillating tool of circumstance and stronger wills. Surrounded by a gang of noxious adventurers, Morny, Persigny, Fleury, St. Arnaud, Maupas, and others, who were eager, under cover of his name and office, to make a prey of France, he rose to supreme power by the midnight arrest of opponents in the Assembly, the slaughter of unarmed men, women, and children in the streets of Paris, and a large deportation of the disaffected to the pestilential shore of Cayenne. The day of Austerlitz was appointed for the deed, and the choice of Louis Napoleon as President for ten years, with the restoration of the eagle to the army colours and to the cross of the Legion of Honour, indicated clearly the coming of the second Empire. At this crisis, when the Queen and the Prime Minister were desiring that Lord Normanby, our ambassador in Paris, should maintain a passive attitude, it was found that Lord Palmerston, before sending his despatch to that effect, had expressed to Walewski, French ambassador in London, his approbation of what had taken place in France. He was promptly dismissed from office, and the duties of Foreign Secretary were committed to the able hands of the courteous Earl Granville. The fallen minister took very quietly the blow which many held to be a close to his career. He was not the man to be daunted by defeat, and the time was not far distant when he was to rise to fresh distinction.

After an abortive attempt at franchise reform, the drifting ministry was wrecked on a plan for reviving the militia, in the novel ^{Events of} form of a local force, not to be removed from its own county. ^{1852.} The Duke of Wellington pointed out that such a body could not be used to repel invasion, and that in many counties there were no barracks. Lord Palmerston vigorously assailed the measure in the Commons, carried an amendment by a small majority, and caused an immediate resignation. The Earl of Derby became Premier, without any aid from Palmerston or the Peelites, because the bulk of his party still clung to "Protection." Sir Edward Sugden, a most learned lawyer, became Chancellor as Lord St. Leonard's, and no other man of mark was found in the new Cabinet, with the conspicuous exception of Mr. Disraeli, who became leader of the Commons, and, without any previous official experience, took charge of the national finance. His Budget was of a simple character, and he won sympathy and approval by his skill in handling figures on his first essay. In July, Parliament was dissolved, and the new House of Commons showed a majority of more than thirty against the government. On September 13th, the Senate of France addressed the Prince President, praying him to

re-establish the Empire. On the next day, the great man who did most to overthrow the first Napoleon died, in his eighty-fourth year, at Walmer Castle. No sovereign ever had a more conscientious, dutiful, and illustrious subject than he who passed away amid the unanimous love, respect, and esteem of his countrymen. The Queen deplored with tears the loss of her loyal friend and sagacious adviser, whose body, after lying in state for three days at Chelsea Hospital, was borne to St. Paul's Cathedral with a superb display of military pomp, made more impressive by dense, silent crowds of spectators, and by the ceaseless mournful strains of Handel's and Beethoven's music. On December 2nd, Louis Napoleon was proclaimed as Napoleon III., pledging himself to respect the territorial settlement of 1814. When Disraeli brought in his second Budget, he sought to please the landed interest by remitting half the malt-tax, at a sacrifice of two and a half millions of annual revenue. This loss was to be recouped by an extension of house-duty to dwellings rated at £10. Peelites, Radicals, and Whigs united against the measure, and a brilliant debate occurred. Disraeli became reckless, and indulged in violent invective against the Peelites and the "coalition" formed by them with the Liberals. When he sat down at two o'clock in the morning, the House was in a state of great excitement. Mr. Gladstone sprang to his feet, and, amid storms of cheering, rushed into one of the finest speeches ever delivered in the Commons. His analysis of the financial proposals was most convincing and masterly, and proved that the new house-tax, in particular, would press with great weight on the smaller farmers, whose benefit the Chancellor was seeking. From this hour began the brilliant antagonism, continuing for nearly a quarter of a century, of two of the most formidable gladiators that ever met in the parliamentary arena. The ministry, defeated by a majority of nineteen, at once resigned office, and Lord Aberdeen became Premier.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EASTERN QUESTION BRINGS WAR.

Lord Aberdeen's coalition ministry. Gladstone's first Budget. The Eastern Question revived. Russian and Turkish history. The Czar Nicholas. Russia and Turkey at war. British and French alliance. The Crimean contest. Alma, Balaklava, Inkermann. The Crimean winter. Lord Palmerston in power. Capture of Sebastopol. Naval operations. Russian policy.

THIS second "Ministry of all the Talents" included Whig and Peelite champions. Lord John Russell was leader in the Commons; Lord Clarendon took the Foreign Office, and Earl Granville the Presidency of the Council; the Duke of Argyll was Lord Privy Seal, Sir Charles Wood became President of the Board of Control (for India), and Lord

Cranworth was the Chancellor. These leading Whigs were at least fully matched in ability by five Peelites, the Prime Minister; Mr. Gladstone, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir James Graham, at the Admiralty; the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for War; and Mr. Sidney Herbert, Secretary at War. The independent Lord Palmerston became a very active Home Secretary, and won popularity by putting into force new sanitary legislation against smoke, dirt, and other nuisances. He was brought into closer contact with the British public, and his measures paved the way for his future advancement. Some able men outside the Cabinet included Mr. Cardwell, President of the Board of Trade; Lord Canning, Postmaster-General; and Mr. Robert Lowe.

In a speech of five hours, delivered on April 18th, Mr. Gladstone at one stroke created his reputation as a minister of finance. Able conception was aided by the utmost power and beauty of rhetoric, when he unfolded the scheme in which, by the imposition of a succession-duty on real property—the probate and legacy duties being extended from personalty to houses and land—he boldly carried out the principle that all classes were henceforth, for fiscal purposes, to be regarded as equal in the eyes of the law. The repeal of the corn-laws had, in fact, declared that no taxes were to be levied for the benefit of a part of the community. It was now held that no part of the community should be exempt from taxation, and the feudal immunities of real property were thus brought to an end. Among other benefits of this Budget were the abolition of the excise on soap, a great reduction of the tea-duty, and a lessening or abolition of the customs-charge on more than two hundred minor articles of food. Other legislation of the session wrought a great change in the system of punishment for criminals. The Colonies were stoutly resisting the further exportation of our convicts, and, except to Western Australia, where the settlers needed and desired convict-labour, transportation was abolished, and exchanged for the plan of “penal servitude” in prisons at home, with a scheme of licenses, known as “tickets of leave,” granted to convicts of good behaviour under punishment, for the shortening of their term. A notable speech from Macaulay gave strong support to a successful Bill which threw open to examination the Civil Service of India by admission through Haileybury College. In the same session, a wonderful effort of the same great orator induced the House of Commons, by a very large majority, to allow a Master of the Rolls to be a member of their assembly. The polling in parliamentary elections for England and Wales was limited to one day, and vaccination was made compulsory.

Interest in legislative and social reforms was now to be superseded by the reopening, in a formidable phase, of the sempiternal Eastern question. That question means, in brief, the disposal of the decaying Turkish Empire. Russian Christianity was received from Constanti-

Coalition
Ministry,
December
1852 to
February
1855.

Mr. Glad-
stone's
Budget,
1853.
Other
legisla-
tion.

nople at the close of the tenth century. Southern and eastern Muscovy were conquered by the Tartars in the thirteenth century. Constantinople was captured by the Turks in the middle of the fifteenth century. About thirty years later, modern Russia, freed by Ivan III. from the Tartars, emerged to view as a compact and independent state. Married to the niece of the last Byzantine emperor, this Ivan introduced into the Russian coat of arms the double-headed eagle of her house, and had a sort of hereditary title to take up the fallen cause of the Greek Church and Empire. From that hour, Russia was devoted to the enterprise of replacing the cross on the mosque of St. Sophia. From that hour, the possession of Constantinople was a fixed aim of Russian statesmen. The long quarrel between Turk and Russian has not been one of dynastic ambition, but a feeling deeply rooted in the heart of the Russian people. The Mohammedan conquerors of the holy city of the Eastern Christianity were doubly hated for their affinity in blood with the Tartar tyrants whose two centuries of domination had engendered in the Russian mind an undying animosity. Peter the Great, who first made Russia a power in Europe, abolished the patriarchate of the Russo-Greek Church, and vested in the crown both spiritual and secular supremacy. The absolute power of the Russian Czar is based upon the fact that the vast body of his people regard him as the vicegerent and minister of God to execute the divine commands, and constitute a force which the lifting of his finger would raise against the nobles and officials. Peter's policy of conquest, followed with more than manly energy and skill by Catharine II., made Russia strong upon the Baltic seaboard, and opened the Eastern question, in its modern form, by securing a hold on the northern shore of the Euxine. The treaty dictated by Catharine, in 1774, at Kainardji, in Bulgaria, contained some clauses on which Russia founded her claim to a protectorate over all the Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. The Treaty of Jassy, in 1792, confirmed to Russia the possession of the Crimea and of the territory on both sides of the Sea of Azov, and the famous fortress named Sebastopol, or "City of the Czar," began to rise, on a fine natural harbour, as a maritime arsenal commanding the Black Sea. The erection of this standing menace to Constantinople, and the evident design of turning the Black Sea into a Russian lake, whence her navies might issue forth to claim power in the Mediterranean, made a great change in the views of other European nations. The new position of Russia, combined with the final partition of Poland and the growing Muscovite ascendancy over Turkey in the Danubian region, caused the Mohammedan power to be no longer regarded as the common enemy of Christendom, but as an object of protection in the days of her decline, and as a barrier against the aggrandisement of her ancient, unscrupulous, and implacable foe. Austria, jealous of the new rival empire, was vitally concerned in a progress which involved the command of the Danube,

the main outlet of her trade. France and England looked with keen interest on the rise of a new naval power in southern Europe, which might compromise the interests of both in the Mediterranean. Britain, for herself, began to feel alarm at the growth of a Power which might turn her hostility against our rising dominion in Asia. Two more epochs in the history of this momentous matter were formed by the Peace of Bucharest, in 1812, advancing the Russian frontier to the Pruth and to the northern mouth of the Danube, and by the campaign of 1829, when Russia dictated, at the old Turkish capital of Adrianople, the treaty which, besides acknowledging the independence of Greece, gave to the Czar Nicholas the protectorate of Moldavia and Wallachia, in which principalities no Turks were henceforth to be allowed to reside. The diplomatists and statesmen of Russia, whose policy it is to suffer no other Power to forestall her at Constantinople, have from time to time intervened for the protection of the empire whose destruction forms a chief part of their political scheme. In 1833, Russian aid, which averted the destruction menaced by the victorious army of Ibrahim Pacha, was rewarded by an alliance which engaged the Porte to close the Dardanelles, in case of need, to the ships of all foreign powers. Constantinople was to be at the mercy of the Russian Black Sea squadrons, while all help from the West was to be shut out on the demand of the Czar. This famous treaty of Unkiar Skelessi was superseded by that of London, in July 1841, by which the Dardanelles were closed against the war-ships of all nations, while Turkey is at peace. In 1842, Sir Stratford Canning, better known as Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, became our ambassador to the Porte, and his great intellectual power, commanding person, strength of will, exquisite tact, and knowledge of mankind, gave him a great ascendancy over the youthful Sultan, Abdul Medjid, and his advisers. He was already a veteran diplomatist, who had shared in framing the Treaty of Bucharest, and had been special envoy to Constantinople under the ministry of his illustrious cousin, George Canning. He thoroughly understood all the elements of the "Eastern question," and was feared, admired, and detested by the diplomatic rivals whose schemes he divined and baffled. In 1844, Nicholas, a despot of strong ambition, impetuous and wayward temper, fine qualities of soul, with a noble and handsome person, paid a second visit to England. In 1830 he had crushed the Polish insurrection with remorseless severity, and had then ruled the country with a rod of iron. He came with the avowed purpose of conciliating English opinion by his personal intercourse and friendly demeanour, and he talked with the utmost frankness on the future of Turkey. His views were drawn up by Count Nesselrode in a Memorandum, the expressions of which clearly prove that the Czar was contemplating a speedy dissolution of the Turkish Empire, and believed that he could rely upon the aid of Britain and Austria in hastening that event, as partners in the policy and sharers of the spoil. France is regarded as

a power that must acquiesce in the course agreed upon by the trio, and Prussia is a nonentity, not named throughout the document. The part played by Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary under Lord John Russell, was that of a man who took an European interest in the independence and welfare of Turkey, and believed that her prosperity could rest on a solid basis only when her Christian subjects were placed on a footing of equality before the law with the Sultan's subjects of the Mussulman religion. Sir Stratford Canning was ever working with the same ends in view, but it seems that British statesmen were faulty in not giving a prompt and decisive disclaimer to the complicity assumed in Nesselrode's famous paper. The Memorandum was received and lodged in the Foreign Office, and the Czar was left to suppose that his views were shared by our Government. In 1852 a long dispute, between the Greek and Latin Churches, concerning the "Holy Places" at Jerusalem, ended in a diplomatic victory for France, who had espoused the Latin claims. Russia, the champion of the Greek cause, was thus foiled at Constantinople, and Nicholas was further irritated by Louis Napoleon's elevation to the Empire. Seeking redress from Turkey, the Czar set an army in motion for the frontier of the Danubian Principalities, and gave the first hint of war.

The struggle known as the Crimean War was due to the misconceptions formed by a powerful and ambitious monarch, and to the lack of plain-speaking on the part of a British ministry. When his friend, Lord Aberdeen, became Prime Minister, and Lord Palmerston was not Foreign Secretary, the Russian emperor believed that his hour for action had arrived. He suffered also from the delusion that Britain was henceforth vowed to commerce, under her new "free trade" system, and that the "Manchester School," or Peace party, was strong enough to control, through Parliament, the foreign policy of the realm. He seems to have supposed that England would go to war for no purpose whatsoever which did not vitally and immediately concern her material interests or her honour. He never for a moment believed in the possibility of active alliance between the old antagonists at Waterloo and on many other stricken fields through centuries of time. Early in 1853, a crisis came in the conversations held by Nicholas at Petersburg with our minister, Sir Hamilton Seymour. The Czar spoke of Turkey as "a very sick man," and proposed that Britain and Russia should make needful arrangements against the event of his decease. He referred to his duty, with the right secured to him by treaty, of watching over the interests of the Christian subjects of the Sultan, and hinted at the possible need of his occupying Constantinople. He then proceeded to partition, in his own mind, a large portion of the dying empire, and offered to wink at our seizure of Egypt, and even of Crete. The British ministry, through Lord Clarendon, promptly repudiated these assumptions and proposals, but committed the grave error of keeping the matter secret, instead of

The Russian (or Crimean) War, 1853-1856.

making a communication to Parliament which would have provoked a storm of indignant feeling before which the Russian plotter would probably have given way. Their weakness was further shown in trusting, or seeming to trust, to the professions which were afterwards made from the same quarter, at the very time when Prince Menschikoff was pressing at Constantinople claims which could only end in war. He was demanding, in return for Russia's promise of aid to Turkey against any Western power, an addition to the Treaty of Kainardji, whereby the Greek Church should be placed entirely under Russian protection without reference to Turkey. The Sultan was, in fact, required to give the Czar a share in his sovereignty. On April 5, 1853, Sir Stratford Canning returned to Constantinople from his leave of absence, with the title of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and his diplomatic attitude, on behalf of Turkey, caused Menschikoff, in wrath, to throw up his mission on May 15, and to take his departure with a threat of regarding any declaration in favour of the Greek Christians, short of the concession of a full protectorate to Russia, as "an act of hostility to Russia and her religion." His master was full of rage against Lord Stratford, and on May 31st an ultimatum was pressed by Count Nesselrode on the Porte, with the alternative that the Russian army would cross the frontier, in order to extort consent "by force, without war." On June 13th the English and French fleets went to Besika Bay, in readiness to enter the Dardanelles, and Lord Clarendon, writing to Lord Stratford, had referred to the use of force for the protection and independence of Turkey. Meanwhile, Nicholas was relying on Lord Aberdeen's vehement protestations of his desire for peace, though the Russian minister in London, Baron Brunnow, warned the Czar against taking them for the feeling and policy of England. On July 2nd two divisions of the Russian army crossed the Pruth and occupied the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, with the profession that they were only entered as "a material guarantee." The interests of France and Britain were identical in opposition to Russian progress towards the Mediterranean, and it is believed that Louis Napoleon, caring little for the independence and integrity of Turkey, saw the hope of political strength and military glory in a British alliance for her defence against Russia. In the diplomacy which now took place, in a conference at Vienna, and elsewhere, it is probable that a firm attitude on the part of Lord Aberdeen, and an assurance addressed to Russia that she would not have to deal with Turkey alone in the field, might have yet caused the withdrawal of her forces. In the absence of such an attitude, all hope of peace, as between Turkey and Russia, was at an end, and on October 4th the Porte demanded from the Russian commander, Prince Michael Gortschakoff, the evacuation of the Principalities within fifteen days. The Prince replied that he had no authority either to retire or to begin hostilities, and, at the expiration of the time specified, Turkey issued a declaration of war, and the two empires passed into a state of

conflict, by sea and land, both on their European and Asiatic frontiers. It now remains to trace the steps by which England and France were drawn into the struggle. The one man who could have prevented war was Lord Palmerston, if his advice had availed to strengthen the weakness of Lord Aberdeen, whose efforts varied between feeble conciliation and vain threats. When Russia sought to intimidate Turkey in the Principalities, while the language of moderation and disinterested professions were being employed at Petersburg and London, a resolute attitude and warlike preparations became absolutely needful. Lord Palmerston urged the ministry to cause the English and French fleets to be sent to the Bosphorus, with orders to enter the Black Sea the moment that the Russian troops were known to have crossed the Pruth. It was not till near the close of September 1853 that this step was taken by the French and British Governments, and then it only served to exasperate the Czar, and was regarded, even by the pacific Count Nesselrode, as a movement with "a settled purpose to humiliate Russia." The Russian government had thus been allowed, without any firm resistance, to reach a point from which they could not recede with honour, and if the defence of Turkey, mainly with a view to British and French interests, were to be undertaken at all, war had become inevitable. Even when the allied fleets were present in the Sea of Marmora, and Palmerston advised their entrance into the Black Sea, "to prevent the Russians from sailing out of Sebastopol," the feeble Lord Aberdeen "could not say that he thought the present state of the Russo-Turkish question would authorise such a proceeding on our part." On the next day, Palmerston and Russell so far prevailed at a Cabinet council, that authority was sent to Lord Stratford, in concert with his French colleague and the admirals, to employ the combined fleets for the defence of Turkish territory, and, "if the Russian fleet were to come out of Sebastopol, the fleets would then, as a matter of course, pass through the Bosphorus." These instructions arrived too late to avert a catastrophe for the Turkish ships. If enterprise were lacking in the British and French squadrons, there was quick resolution working behind the fortifications of Sebastopol. In the middle of November, while the allied fleets were anchored in the Bosphorus, the Russian fleet came forth, and made for the southern shore of the Black Sea. About noon on the 30th, Admiral Nachimov's squadron of six ships of the line, two frigates, and three steamers, bore down on the Turkish flotilla of seven frigates, a sloop, a steamer, and some transports, lying in the Bay of Sinope, a famous old Greek city, birthplace of Diogenes the Cynic. The first shot was fired from a Turkish frigate on a Russian boat, lowered probably to demand the surrender of a force so inferior, and this act was followed by the thunder, flash, and crashing shot of the Russian broadsides, which are described by a spectator as having, at one stroke, "sliced off" the upper works of the Turkish vessels. All the ships, except the steamer, were

destroyed; more than 4000 Turks were slain; the survivors, less than 400, were nearly all wounded; and the town itself was much shattered. This dreadful effect was so swiftly produced, that none knows whether any Turkish vessel struck, or meant to strike, her flag. On the next day the Russian fleet sailed back to Sebastopol. The cannon fired at Sinope had their echo in Paris and London, and the meaning of that reverberation was "war." The indignation of the French and English people was aroused, and the indecision of our ministry was swept away. The British public, venting their wrath on the wrong object, denounced the event as a treacherous massacre, but it is hard to see, according to the laws of war, the justice of such words as applied to a legitimate assault of a stronger fleet upon a weaker. On December 15th, Lord Palmerston resigned office, on the ground of his dissent from a proposed franchise reform of Russell's, but he returned to the Cabinet before the close of the year, when he found that, on pressure from the French Emperor, the ministry were taking a more warlike attitude. When Parliament opened on the last day of January 1854, the Royal Speech still spoke of efforts to restore peace. New diplomacies only ended in Russia's persistent demand for Turkey's recognition of a protectorate over the Greek Christians. On February 17th, Lord John Russell made a warlike speech in the Commons, ending with the old formula of onset in a judicial combat, "May God defend the right!" The words rang throughout the land, and, three days later, Mr. Disraeli, for the Opposition, approved the proposed vote for an addition to the army. It was in vain now that Bright and Cobden declaimed against war for Turkey, and a deputation of Quakers, courteously received by the Czar at Petersburg, excited mild amusement by their well-meant efforts in the cause held sacred by their sect. The reply made by Nicholas was a war manifesto to his faithful and fanatic people, in which he declared that England and France had "ranged themselves by the side of the enemies of Christianity against Russia, fighting for the orthodox faith." The allied demands for an evacuation of the Principalities were treated by Nicholas with a contempt that declined reply. In February, large bodies of troops had quitted England for Malta, and, amid the enthusiasm of a nation animated by mixed feelings of sympathy for "gallant Turkey," hatred of despotic and aggressive Russia, and interest in fleets and armies now, after forty years, to be once more engaged with a Power of the first class, a formal declaration of war against Russia was proclaimed, on March 31st, by the Serjeant-at-arms, accompanied by the City dignitaries, from the steps of the Royal Exchange. The public indignation against the foe had already been inflamed by the printing and issue of the secret despatches containing the conversations of the Czar with Sir Hamilton Seymour.

The war against Russia does not furnish one of the brightest pages in the history of Britain. Lack of prompt resolution in the government

had allowed the nation to drift into a contest in which no officer of high rank either created or enhanced his reputation. Few commanders, in fleet or army, did aught beyond their bare duty, and great loss and some disgrace were incurred by the sheer incapacity of men in the highest position. The machine of military administration, rusted in the long peace, broke down in such wise as to excite the mingled scorn and pity of all masters of organisation. The chief glory of the war remained with the defeated side, whose officers and men displayed the utmost tenacity and skill in conducting the defensive operations of one of the great sieges in history. Their chief engineer was one of a few men who acquired great fame in the struggle which must always recall the names of Todleben and Omar Pacha, of Butler and Nasmyth, of Sandwith, Teesdale, and Fenwick Williams of Kars. The war ended with a peace that exacted no just reparation, no sound guarantee, and the treaty which closed hostilities was, a few years later, torn up by the losers and flung in the face of the Powers whose armies had obtained its conditions at a vast cost of blood and treasure. The war in the Crimea was, for us, emphatically a soldier's war. The nation was, amidst its grief for losses largely due to incompetence for command and to administrative collapse, consoled but not surprised to find her regimental officers and men fighting with their olden valour. The noble guardsmen, linesmen, troopers, and gunners of the military service achieved, in the direst peril, the almost impossible feat of winning a yet higher fame. The picturesque, and oftentimes heroic, details of their deeds may be found in the pages of their brilliant and profuse historian, Kinglake. A mere sketch of the struggle is all that can be here given. The war on the Danube was confined to the Russians and the Turks, and the Ottoman troops, commanded by Omar Pacha, and aided at certain points by some British officers, gave their foes a great surprise. Boldly crossing the Danube from Widdin to Kalafat, they there, in an entrenched position, held the Russians at bay, repulsing all attacks with heavy loss, from November 1853 till April 1854, when the long blockade was abandoned. On November 4, 1853, lower down the great river, the Turks, led by Omar Pacha, crossed from Turtukai to Oltenitza, and, in a four hours' battle, drove the Russians off in rout. In the first days of 1854, the brilliant battle of Cétate, near Kalafat, was a complete victory for the Mussulmans, and early in July they won another signal triumph at the battle of Giurgevo. The main event in this quarter was the successful defence of Silistria, a fortress that forms the key of the eastern Danube. From April 14th to June 23rd that place, defended by ten thousand Turks, was assailed by five times their number of Russians. The heroes of the defence were two British officers, serving as volunteers, Captain Butler of the Ceylon Rifles, and Lieutenant Nasmyth of the East India Company's service. Their efforts were well supported by General Cannon, an Indian officer in the Turkish

The war,
1853-1856.
(1.) On the
Danube.

army, and by Lieutenant Ballard, who took Nasmyth's place when he was called away to consult with Omar Pacha. Butler died of a wound, privation, and fatigue. The Russian attacks ordered by the veteran Paskievich and by Prince Gortschakoff were all repulsed with fearful loss, and after showering on the place during the siege more than fifty thousand rounds of shot and shell, the enemy retired in utter discomfiture. The direct land attack on Constantinople, by way of the Danube and the Balkans, had thus completely failed, and the Russian withdrawal from the Principalities was followed by an Austrian occupation, arranged with the Porte and with the German states. In the first week of September, the Austrian forces were established at Bucharest, and the Russians then recrossed the Pruth, leaving behind them an impassable barrier against any further attempt on Turkey from the north.

Between 1689, when her boundary on the south-east was formed by the Terek and the mouth of the Don, and the year 1853, Russia had forced her way beyond the Caucasus, and now assumed a position of menace against Turkey on the side of Armenia. Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, guarded for the aggressor the southern end of the famous and formidable Pass of Dariel, and a line of attack towards Constantinople lay through Asia Minor by way of Kars, Erzeroum, and Trebizond. With proper leading, the Turkish troops in this quarter might have won as much success as on the Danube, but they were mainly in the hands of corrupt, cowardly, or incapable Pachas, and a struggle of two years had a disastrous but not inglorious issue. No auxiliary forces were sent by the Allies, and the best aid supplied to the Turks was that of the gallant Lesghian chief, Schamyl, who had, for more than twenty years, headed the mountaineers of the Caucasus in an internecine warfare against Russia. Towards the close of 1853, the Turks were twice defeated on the frontier, and then the Porte gave a command to the brave and able Hungarian, General Guyon, assisted by his compatriot, Kmeti. In January 1854, the Russians were defeated at Chefketil, on the border, and the campaign then languished until June, when the fortress of Kars became the centre of interest. That city, the capital of an ancient Armenian kingdom, stands on the river Arpa, in an amphitheatre of black basaltic rocks, amidst the highlands of Armenia, between six and seven thousand feet above the sea. The place had become great under the Genoese, but Turkish apathy and misrule reduced it to a mere wreck of its former strength and importance. Taken by Paskievich in the war of 1828, and restored by the Peace of Adrianople, it would have been almost defenceless when the campaign of 1854 opened, but for the labours of General Guyon. By him the Kara-dagh was crowned with eight redoubts, mounting forty-eight guns, and some other work was done to arm the place against a siege. The imbecility of the Turkish general, Mustapha Pacha, caused his army of 40,000 men to dwindle away under want and disease, and in

(2.) Russia's eastern attack, 1853-1855.

eight months 10,000 soldiers had perished at Kars alone. In August, Mustapha was beaten at the battle of Kurukdere, and Turkish defeats at other points made the Russians masters of the whole frontier from Batoum to Mount Ararat. They were for a time delayed by the swift, fierce, and successful attacks of Schamyl on their rear, but the close of 1854 saw the Ottoman cause in an almost hopeless condition. The brave Guyon, falsely charged by the miserable Mustapha as being the cause of all the Turkish disasters, had been removed from his command, and at Kars alone was any point of light to be seen. The presence of a few British officers had a marvellous effect upon the material and moral means of defence. In September 1854, General Fenwick Williams arrived there as British military commissioner to the Turkish army in Asia. The fortifications were improved by a line of earthworks, called the English Tabias, or batteries, constructed by Colonel Lake. Colonel Teesdale shared in the labours of command, and Dr. Humphrey Sandwith had charge of the medical and sanitary arrangements. Order had been restored out of chaos, when, in June 1855, the Turkish garrison of 15,000 men was invested by a Russian force of nearly 40,000, under the command of General Mouravieff. After a siege lasting from June 18th, the Russians made a grand assault on September 29th, under cover of the mists of daybreak. Then were fully proved the valour of the Turkish troops and the skill used in constructing the defensive works. The enemy, at the first rush, carried a portion of the lines, but this partial success only led to utter defeat. The captured redoubts were swept by a dreadful fire of musketry and cannon from other points, and, after a fight of nearly seven hours, the shattered columns were withdrawn, leaving 12,000 men on the ground. The Russian commander ventured no further attacks, but placed his sole reliance on famine. Omar Pacha, the victor on the Danube, made a gallant effort to relieve the beleaguered fortress by an advance from Redout-Kaleh on the north-west, but, after defeating a large Russian force on November 6th, he was driven by superior numbers to retreat, and the garrison of Kars, on November 25th, after extreme suffering from hunger and disease, were forced to lay down their arms. The gallant and kindly Mouravieff, a Russian whose name should ever be cherished by Englishmen, showed the utmost consideration to his fallen foes. Full honours of war, "flags flying and drums beating," were accorded in the terms of surrender. The officers of all grades were permitted to retain their swords, and the British officers, in particular, were treated with the most chivalrous delicacy of respect, and with boundless generosity of hospitable welcome.

In June 1854, an important change was made in the office of the (3.) The minister responsible for the conduct of war. The third Crimea. Secretaryship, that for the Colonies and War, was divided into two, and the Duke of Newcastle became Secretary for War, while

the charge of the Colonies was transferred to Sir George Grey. The British and French governments, who had at first seemed to intend a mere military promenade in Turkey, were resolving, in spite of Lord Aberdeen, to attack the enemy at a vital point, and despatch an expedition to the Crimea. Of the French army in Bulgaria, some thousands, and of the British forces many hundreds, had died of cholera before the end of August, but in the general ignorance as to the real strength of the foe at Sebastopol, it was hoped that a few weeks would see that fortress in our hands, and the war finished at one blow. On September 14th, the allied armies began to disembark in Kalamita Bay, on the west coast of the Crimean peninsula. The French general, Marshal St. Arnaud, had under his orders about 30,000 infantry and seventy guns, with 7000 Turkish foot. Lord Raglan, the British commander, known in the Peninsular War and at Waterloo, where he lost his right arm, as Lord Fitzroy Somerset, had for many years served as military secretary to the Duke of Wellington. He had all the qualities of mind and manner which could fit him to act in friendly union with a French colleague, but he lacked the vigour, decision, originality, and nerve needful for success in the arduous task with which, after nearly forty years of military routine, apart from experience of war, he was now intrusted. The troops now under his orders consisted of about 22,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry, with sixty field-guns and a siege-train. The ablest men under Lord Raglan were, beyond doubt, Sir Colin Campbell, a Peninsular veteran, now in command of the 42nd, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders; and Sir George Cathcart, commanding the fourth division, composed of a battalion of the Rifles and five regiments of the line. The first division, under the Duke of Cambridge, included the Highlanders and some battalions of the Guards. Sir John Burgoyne had chief command of the engineers. The cavalry, under the Earl of Lucan, included Hussars and Lancers, led by Lord Cardigan, and Scots Greys, Enniskillens, and Dragoon Guards (4th and 5th), commanded by General Scarlett.

As the armies marched southwards towards Sebastopol, they found their way barred by a Russian force in position on the heights above the little river Alma. About 40,000 men, with 100 guns, many placed in strong redoubts, were there commanded by Prince Menschikoff, the former special envoy to Constantinople. He had confidently stated to the Czar his belief that he could hold the foe in check for three weeks. His men were driven off in disorder after a hard fight of three hours. The chief part of the work was done by the British troops, who, under a fearful fire of shot and shell, attacked the Russian centre and right, while the French Zouaves, or light infantry, under General Bosquet, stormed the hill on the enemy's left. The French incurred a loss of about 600 officers and men killed and wounded, and our force was weakened by just over 2000. The Russians admitted the loss of nearly 6000 men. A

TheAlma,
Sept. 20,
1854.

rumour of the capture of Sebastopol, two days after the battle, gave the nation a false joy which a prompt advance would have made real. The harbour and the town, defended on the north side by forts and an entrenched camp, lay almost open on the south, save at the harbour mouth, where Fort Alexander forbade entry to hostile ships. It is believed that the northern defences would have fallen before a sudden attack, but Lord Raglan's proposal to this end was resisted by St. Arnaud, who was now in the last stage of mortal disease, and pleaded that "his troops were tired, and that it could not be done." Colonel Todleben himself has placed on record a decided, and, from such a man, a decisive opinion that, for four days after the Alma, the place could not have been held against the force at the command of the allies. Sir John Burgoyne, however, upheld the French objections, and Lord Raglan, with a sound judgment and a discerning eye at this crisis of the allied fortunes, had not the strength of mind to carry his point by an expressed resolve to act alone. A flank march inland then brought the two armies round to the south of Sebastopol, where the British base of operations was found in the landlocked harbour of Balaklava, about eight miles due south of the head of Sebastopol harbour. The French transports anchored in Kamiesch and Kazatch Bays, about four miles west of the town. The death of St. Arnaud, on September 20th, left the command in the hands of General Canrobert, a skilful tactician, but with little vigour in command.

The British and French armies, now encamped on the triangular plateau, from five to seven hundred feet in height, lying south and south-west of the fortress, began to construct siege-works. The French undertook the right and left attacks, while our men had charge of the centre. Prompt measures of defence had been undertaken by the foe. Admiral Korniloff, a hero of the antique type, was the soul of the Russian cause, and Colonel Edward Todleben, an engineer officer of German race, was its mind. The entrance to the harbour was closed by the sinking of seven ships of the line, and the crews of the whole fleet were assigned to the land service. The allies having failed to seize the chance of an immediate assault, the time thus granted to the great Russian engineer was so well employed in the construction of earthworks, that, within a week after the battle of the Alma, the southern side had been converted into an entrenched position. Men, however, were still wanting to man the works, and, on September 27th, after a due inspection, a prompt attack was proposed by Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, and supported by Lord Raglan. The wise and bold course was overruled by the timid counsels of Burgoyne and Canrobert, and the allied forces were thus committed to the chances of a long, costly, and eventful siege. They were already in a critical position, far outnumbered by the foe. On October 9th the defending garrison exceeded 50,000 men, and Menschikoff, outside the town, had a field-force of about half

that number. The labours of our troops were greatly aided, in the transport of siege material from Balaklava, and in the formation and manning of siege-works, by a naval brigade under Captain Lushington. Captain Peel, a son of Sir Robert, gained brilliant distinction in command of the battery which he armed and manned from his ship the *Diamond*. The allied fire opened on the morning of October 17th, and the British guns soon wrought much mischief. The brave Korniloff was killed by a round shot; the Malakoff tower was silenced, and soon after three o'clock the explosion of a magazine by a shell ruined the Russian work called the Redan, and dismounted all its twenty-two guns save two. An assault might have been delivered, but the French fire had been overcome by the Russians at an early hour, and our allies were not prepared for a simultaneous attack. Another opportunity was thus lost, nor was any advantage gained by a naval attack upon the sea-defences. The result of this conflict between "wooden walls" and stone forts was such as to show that no unarmoured men-of-war could meet the fire of numerous heavy modern cannon. The seamen were driven from their guns by the explosion of shells between decks, and, after the loss of over 500 men, the allied vessels were forced to retire. The enemy, in the casemated batteries of Fort Constantine, lost but 140 men from the fire of 1100 naval guns. The cannonade against the land-works was continued for a week, but so enormous were the resources of the foe in guns, material, and men, and such were the skill and energy of Todleben, that the damage done by day was more than repaired by night, and the defence grew ever stronger. The prospects of the allies became more gloomy day by day. Winter was coming, on that bleak table-land, to men destitute of huts, fuel, and warm apparel, and already needing repose from the exhausting labours of the siege. A yet more pressing danger was at hand. The besiegers were to be besieged in turn, and, fighting for their very lives, were to have the narrowest escape from the choice of death or capitulation.

Russian forces of all arms were daily gathering in greater strength in the valley of the river Tchernaya, to the right of and below the British position. A line of five weak redoubts was held by some Turks on a ridge to the north of Balaklava, and near at hand was our cavalry division of 1500 men, with the 93rd Highlanders under Campbell. Menschikoff's design was to attack and destroy the English base at Balaklava, and, at five o'clock on the morning of October 25th, a Russian force of about 11,000 infantry, with a large number of cavalry and thirty-eight guns, moved against our position. The Turks, unsupported, were driven off after a vain and brave resistance, and four redoubts, with twelve guns, were quickly in the enemy's hands. Lord Raglan and Canrobert were soon on the scene of action, and troops were ordered up, but, for a time, the defence of Balaklava was left to the 93rd Highlanders. Another

Bala-
klava,
October
25, 1854.

Russian force was now in the field, and their able general, Liprandi, had at his disposal about 25,000 men, with nearly eighty guns. A feeble attack of the Russian cavalry was repelled by two volleys from the Highlanders, and then its main body, about 3000 sabres, came into collision with our heavy dragoons, under Scarlett. In two separate charges, with about 500 men, the British and Irish horse broke up the enemy's huge mass of cavaliers, amidst expressions of admiring enthusiasm from the French officers who viewed the combat. Then came the heroic and disastrous blunder which made the day for ever memorable. Lord Raglan, well pleased with the defeat of the hostile cavalry, was eager to prevent the Russians from carrying off, as trophies of the day, the guns taken in the Turkish redoubts. He issued the written order:—"Lord Raglan wishes the cavalry to advance rapidly to the front, and try to prevent the enemy carrying away the guns. Troop of horse-artillery may accompany. French cavalry is on your left. Immediate." This order was conveyed to Lord Lucan, then, with Lord Cardigan as his second in command, in charge of the Light Brigade, numbering precisely 673 men, and composed of the 4th and 13th Light Dragoons, the 8th and 11th Hussars, and the 17th Lancers. Captain Nolan, a hot-blooded Irishman, was the bearer of the order, and an angry altercation ended by his pointing, with a "most disrespectful but significant" manner, not to the captured guns of the redoubts, but, as it seemed, to a Cossack battery of twelve field-pieces, nearly a mile and a half distant at the upper end of the valley, with cavalry in the rear, and batteries and riflemen on each flank. Lucan then gave the word to Cardigan, and the Light Brigade started on its fatal charge. Nolan, too late, tried to change the direction of the movement, and was quickly killed by a Russian shell. Amidst shot, shell, and rifle-bullets from the front and both sides, the men rode on, as the ground became strewn with dead and wounded horses and riders. Lord Cardigan and some of the foremost troopers rode right into and through the Russian battery, cutting down the gunners, and were then assailed themselves by a mass of horsemen. The only help given to the Light Brigade was a brilliant charge of the French 4th Chasseurs d'Afrique, who silenced the whole fire of the Russian batteries on the left flank. When the survivors again reached the British position, it was found that 113 men were killed and 134 wounded. Fifteen unwounded prisoners were, after their horses were killed or disabled, left in the enemy's hands, and General Liprandi questioned them under the belief that the daring deed could only be explained by intoxication. They told him that they had mounted without breakfast, and showed their untouched rations, including rum, in their knapsacks. Of the horses, 475 were killed and 42 wounded. The whole stirring scene had lasted about twenty minutes. The Russians were able to show, as results of the day, ground won in the valley on our right, with guns taken in the redoubts, and a

Turkish standard. The spirit of the besieged was raised, and the allies were soon to feel further efforts from the field-army. On the very next day, October 26th, a fierce sortie of the garrison was made against our position on the north-east, by Mount Inkermann, but it was promptly met and repulsed by the Second Division under Sir De Lacy Evans, and then, for a few days, there was a lull preceding a mighty storm.

The British force was by this time reduced to 16,000 bayonets, of whom 2000 men, including the whole Highland Brigade, were detached for the defence of Balaklava. The Russian army, Inkermann, Nov. 5, 1854. in the valley of the Tchernaya was being greatly strengthened, and on November 2nd a demonstration in force was made against the eastern defences of Balaklava. This was a mere feint to mask the grand design which had been formed for the raising of the siege by overwhelming the allied armies. The army of the Danube, under Prince Michael Gortschakoff, had now arrived upon the scene, and the enemy's forces, in and outside Sebastopol, numbered 120,000 men. On Saturday, November 4th, two of the Emperor's sons, the Grand-Dukes Nicholas and Michael, came into camp, to make their first essay in war and to stimulate the enthusiasm of the troops. Between five and six o'clock in the morning of Sunday, November 5th, our position near Inkermann was assailed by two huge Russian columns, numbering 40,000 infantry, with 135 guns. The spirit of the enemy's troops had been raised to the utmost pitch of religious fanaticism by the celebration of mass, and by the assurance of their priests that they were about to fight against the open enemies of the Cross. The darkness was made denser by a thick mist and drizzling rain, and, as our pickets were driven in, the Russians placed some powerful batteries on commanding points, and were able to throw shot and shell into the heart of the British camp. Then ensued a conflict almost without parallel in the annals of war. The desperate nature of the defence is stated in the fact that the allied infantry never exceeded 13,000 men, with fifty guns, and these troops, of whom about 9000 were British, had to bear for six hours the assault of three times their number. The prodigies of valour displayed in this heroic struggle, where our men, in lack of ammunition, met the surging masses of the foe with the bayonet, the butt-end, the hurling of stones, and, in some cases, with the clenched fist, ended about one o'clock in the retreat of the enemy, who left on the ground more than 15,000 men. The supineness of Canrobert prevented the close pursuit desired by Lord Raglan, which would, beyond doubt, have given us a large part of the enemy's artillery. During the battle, the garrison had made an attack upon the left of the French siege-works, preventing the troops from sending relief to Inkermann, and spiking a number of their guns. The British loss amounted to 2573, of whom 635 were killed, including Sir George Cathcart. The French force was lessened by 1800 men. The active operations of the

year on both sides ended with the day of Inkermann, and the British troops had now to face more formidable foes than Russians.

On November 14th, a hurricane swept over the Black Sea and the plateau of the Chersonese, tearing up tents, overturning waggons, and driving their fragments and contents over the miry ground. From Eupatoria round to Balaklava, the shore was strewn with the wrecks of thirty-two transports, and two French ships of the line were sunk in the harbour of Balaklava. The chief disaster for our troops was that involved in the wreck of the fine screw-steamer the *Prince*. Her whole cargo of shot and shell, winter clothing for 40,000 men, and a large store of sorely-needed medical comforts, were thus lost. The sick and wounded in the hospitals at Scutari, near Constantinople, had been subject to needless suffering from the lack of proper management, until Miss Florence Nightingale, a lady of gentle birth and nurture, with a body of trained and volunteer nurses, arrived on the day of Inkermann, and introduced a new system which ended in effecting a complete revolution in the art of nursing. Prince Albert headed a commission which founded, for the relief of the families of those who died in the war, a "Royal Patriotic Fund," the subscriptions to which reached, in the end, nearly a million and a half sterling. The strong sympathy felt at home could not, however, avert the bitter suffering at the seat of war caused by cold, privation, and disease. The ground between Balaklava and our camp was a sea of mud, and the men were perishing by hundreds from the lack of comforts and supplies which lay in harbour, and could not be conveyed in time to the front. The work of guarding the trenches against the frequent sorties of a powerful foe fell with extreme severity on the daily diminished numbers of enfeebled men, and exposure to damp and cold not only slew many victims, but wrecked for life the health of those who survived. The wrath of the public in England was aroused by the graphic letters supplied to the *Times* newspaper by Mr. W. H. Russell, its correspondent in the field. To that gentleman belongs the honour of creating a new department of literary activity and skill. The war correspondent became, as he has remained, a power in our public system, giving eyes to countless readers, and moulding that opinion which takes upon itself to make and unmake ministries. His exposure of the facts and his denunciations, well or ill deserved in special cases, of the incompetence and mismanagement of the chief officers in charge, soon produced a great effect.

After a brief session in December 1854, when measures were taken to augment the military forces by enlistments from the militia into the line, and by the enrolment of a foreign legion, Parliament reassembled on January 23, 1855. Mr. Roebuck gave notice of a motion for the appointment of a select committee "to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it has

Fallofthe
Ministry,
Feb. 1855.

been to minister to the wants of that army." This motion, one of direct censure, was a signal for flight to Lord John Russell. Long restless under the rule of Lord Aberdeen, and resolved at least to save himself, he at once resigned office, and left his colleagues to their fate. On January 26th, after powerful speeches in defence of the ministry from Mr. Gladstone and Lord Palmerston, the motion was carried by a majority of 157, or more than two to one, and Lord Aberdeen's ministry came to this sudden end.

Lord Palmerston, as the chosen alike of Queen and nation, at last attained the well-earned post of Prime Minister. His Cabinet was composed of Whigs. Lord John Russell was Colonial Secretary, and Lord Clarendon took the Foreign Office. Lord Panmure, an earnest advocate of military reform, remained Secretary for War, a post in which he had already succeeded the Duke of Newcastle. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, a man who had earned the highest reputation as a scholar of keen critical judgment, became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir George Grey went to the Home Office. The sudden death of the Emperor Nicholas aroused some hopes of peace, but the struggle at Sebastopol continued under his son and successor, Alexander II. At the same time, a new combatant entered the lists on the side of the Allies. The astute Sardinian minister, Count Cavour, one of the greatest of modern statesmen, had formed far-reaching plans for the unification of Italy under the rule of his master, Victor Emmanuel, a bluff, brave monarch of honest and steadfast purpose, styled by his subjects *Il Re Galantuomo*, "the honest king," in contrast with the perfidious tyrant Ferdinand of Naples. Cavour had lived for years in England, and had thoroughly learned the principles and practice of constitutional rule. As Minister of Commerce and Agriculture in Sardinia, he had introduced railways, adopted free trade, and remodelled finance. He now resolved to bring his country before the world in an honourable way, and to establish a claim on the good offices of Great Britain and France. Knowing the present needs of the allies before the Russian fortress, he despatched to the Crimea a well-equipped body of 10,000 men, under General La Marmora, the House of Commons readily voting an advance of a million sterling. This act of the Sardinian patriot was a direct defiance and insult to Austria, who held Lombardy and other states of Italy in bondage, and whose diplomacy was believed to be favouring the interests of Russia. Some abortive conferences at Vienna, in which Lord John Russell appeared for England, drew upon that minister just and severe censure, incisively expressed in the Commons by Mr. Disraeli. The British representative had actually supported a proposal made by Austria that Russia should be permitted to maintain in the Black Sea the same number of ships possessed by her in those waters before the opening of the war. The only effect of thus perpetuating and legalising her naval preponderance in that quarter would have been to establish

Lord Palmerston's first Ministry, Feb. 1855 to Feb. 1858.

a prospective cause for war. The Emperor Napoleon rejected the audacious proposition, and so caused the retirement from office of his representative, M. Drouyn de Lhuys, Minister of Foreign Affairs. In July, Lord John resigned his post, and was succeeded at the Colonial Office by the "philosophic Radical," Sir William Molesworth, followed, on his death in October, by Mr. Labouchere. The session of 1855 saw some useful home legislation. The stamp-duty on newspapers was abolished, and cheap intelligence on current events was brought within the reach of the mass of the people. An Act established the Metropolitan Board of Works, which gave London in due time a new system of main drainage and the embankment of the Thames. The Limited Liability Act restricted the responsibility of shareholders in joint-stock companies to the full amount of their own shares. A great administrative change began with the appointment of the Civil Service Commission for the examination of candidates for public offices, and thus was introduced the system of competitive examination for appointments in the India and Home Civil Service, hitherto filled by the exercise of parliamentary and private influence on ministerial patronage.

The advent of Palmerston to power was speedily followed by a vigorous administration of the war. Large reinforcements relieved the terrible pressure of work and watching, and the men were now better rested, in better health and spirits, more warmly clad, and better housed. A railway, in the early spring, joined the harbour of Balaklava with the British camp, and a submarine cable, laid from Turkey to the Crimea, afforded hourly communication with England. During the winter, the Russian defences had been strengthened with consummate energy and skill, and the trenches and batteries of the allies were pushed nearer and nearer to the foe. An incessant conflict of sorties, and of fights for rifle-pits on each side, was waged, and in April a second great bombardment was opened. No permanent effect was produced, and the enormous resisting power of well-constructed earthworks was again shown to military critics. In May, Canrobert was succeeded in the French command by the bold and determined General Pélissier, who at once made a series of assaults on some new and formidable works threatening his left attack. Good service was rendered in May by the fleet, in a blow aimed at the enemy's communications. A British squadron of steamers, carrying English, French, and Turkish troops, was sent against Kertch, at the entrance of the Sea of Azov. The Russians had abandoned the place, after blowing up all the forts and destroying vast stores of provisions. Then the expedition, entering the Sea of Azov, destroyed an immense number of storeships, merchantmen, magazines, and provision stores at various points, and thereby deprived the enemy of four months' rations for a hundred thousand men. The defence of Sebastopol was thus greatly crippled, and the absence of all resistance proved that the enemy were running short of men. On June 6th, the

third great bombardment was opened with good effect. On the following evening, our troops, now raised to 30,000 men, in excellent health and spirits, stormed the quarries in front of the Redan, and the French captured the works on the hillock known as the Mamelon, thereby bringing their attack close up to the Malakoff, which was the key of the whole position. On June 17th, the fourth bombardment began with a tremendous fire from the whole line of the allied batteries, and the effect produced upon the Russian works appeared to be so great that a combined French and English assault was planned for June 18th, the anniversary of Waterloo. The well-meant enterprise was doomed to failure. Our allies were repulsed from the Malakoff, and the British troops also failed in their attack on the formidable Redan. This check was followed by the death from cholera, ten days later, of Lord Raglan, who was succeeded in the command, in virtue of his seniority, by an old Indian officer, of no ability or note, General Simpson. At the same time, Menschikoff was succeeded in the Russian command by Gortschakoff. The allied works, in the last week of July, had been pushed so near to the enemy, that every twenty-four hours cost the French 200 men, and the British nearly one-third of the number, from the heavy shot and rifle-bullets of the foe, and in the repelling of frequent sorties. The Russians, by this time, were feeling severe pressure, and on August 16th a last desperate attempt was made to raise the siege by an attack from the outside. At the battle of the Tchernaya, or Traktir Bridge, a Russian host, under General Liprandi, was completely defeated, with the loss of 6000 men, by the French and Sardinian troops. The Italians, by their gallant conduct, here won a full share in the honours of the campaign. The final bombardment of the great fortress was opened on September 5th, and continued for three days with an effect unequalled in the history of war. The enemy's guns were dismounted on all sides, and their batteries were beaten into ruin. Massive stone buildings, inside the town, were swept away, and many fires were kindled by shells. A ship-of-war in the harbour was fired, and, in spite of the protection afforded by their works, the Russians were losing, every twenty-four hours, about 2500 men. The fire was maintained by the allies day and night without cessation, and the enemy were thus hindered from efforts to repair damages. The final assault took place on September 8th. All the attacks were repulsed by the Russians save on one point, and that a vital one. Péliissier was resolved, at any cost, to have and to hold the Malakoff, and for that end he detached an army of 30,000 men. The position was carried with a rush in ten minutes, but it took eight hours of hard fighting to keep it against the determined efforts of the foe. The supply of men on the French side was kept up by the advance of regiment after regiment, brigade after brigade, division after division, and the enemy at last yielded the post which commanded the whole line of their defences. A sorry contrast to this success was presented,

with no blame to the British troops, in our attack on the Redan. The arrangements for assault made by General Simpson were of the most inadequate, and, indeed, the most imbecile kind. The Redan was captured, with the loss of many hundreds of men, by columns which numbered only 3000 bayonets, but no supports were provided to enable the troops to maintain the position. The Guards and the Highlanders could have held the place against all efforts of the enemy, but, after being inside the works for the space of an hour, the unaided troops were swept out by an enormous force of Russians gathered from other points. Gortschakoff had already provided for retreat to the north side of the harbour by the construction of a solid bridge of boats, and during the night, after blowing up Fort Alexander and the Grand Magazine, and firing the town at all points, the Russians withdrew and left Sebastopol a heap of ruins. After a siege of 349 days, the allies took possession of the town on the morning of Sunday, September 9th. The approaches made in the siege-works had a total length of over fifty miles, and, during the operations more than 1,600,000 shot and shell had been fired from about 700 guns placed in battery. The allied armies in the Crimea now exceeded 200,000 men, of whom 35,000 were British, and prompt measures would have driven the enemy fairly out of the Crimea. The French, however, were growing weary of the war, and a large portion of their army was withdrawn. The allied forces at Sebastopol were engaged till February 1856 in preparing for a new campaign by the construction of roads, and in the work of destroying the fortifications, quays, and docks on the southern side of the harbour.

Apart from the operations in the Sea of Azov, little was effected by the allied fleets. In 1854, Admiral Sir Charles Napier took a powerful armament to the Baltic, but no attack was made upon the forts at Cronstadt, and the only success achieved was the capture and destruction of the fortress of Bomarsund. This place, on one of the Aland Isles, near to Stockholm, was a standing menace to Sweden, and that nation felt relieved when the allied sailors and marines bombarded and took the works. In 1855, Admiral Dundas, commanding in the Baltic, bombarded with gunboats the fortress of Sveaborg, on the north side of the Gulf of Finland. Everything explosive and combustible in the place was blown up and burned by a shell-fire delivered at the range of 3000 yards, but no impression was made on the solid strength of the fortifications. An English squadron did some damage in the White Sea, and another naval force was repulsed, with much loss and discredit, in an attack on the Russian forts at Petropaulovski, in Kamtschatka. In October 1855, some French and British ships attacked the forts of Kinburn, near the junction of the Dnieper and the Bug, protecting the great naval station of Nikolaieff. The place was surrendered after a severe bombardment, made notable by the use, in the French squadron, of two iron-clad

Naval
opera-
tions of
the war.

batteries. The Russian shot was safely defied, and fell away from their sides into the sea. This was the first faint foreshadowing of a complete revolution in naval construction.

It has long been the aim of Russia to extend her power beyond the Baltic to the Atlantic shore of Norway, and there secure a naval foothold on the western ocean. The acquisition of Finland, by the treaty of 1809, brought the forces of the empire almost to the gates of Stockholm, by way of the Aland Isles, and a treaty signed in May 1852 placed the succession to the throne of Denmark in the Russian line. British and French diplomacy had an eye to these matters, with all their sinister significance, and a crisis came in Russian efforts, by threats, cajoleries, and tempting offers, to induce the king of Sweden to grant a slight strip of territory for a fishing-station on Varanger Bay. The Treaty of Stockholm, signed in November 1855, between Great Britain, France, and Sweden, bound the Scandinavian monarch not to cede to Russia, nor allow her to occupy, any portion of the territories belonging to the crown of Sweden and Norway, nor to concede any right of pasturage or fishing-ground on any portion of the coast. In case of any such proposition from Russia, the king of Sweden and Norway engaged himself at once to make the matter known to the French and British governments, and they undertook, for their parts, to provide sufficient naval and military forces for the resistance of any Russian claim or act of aggression. Russia was thus confined within her proper boundaries, and her insidious designs on Varanger Bay, with a view to the erection of a northern Sebastopol, were effectually dealt with.

The Swedish alliance, November 1855.

CHAPTER V.

LORD PALMERSTON'S PERIOD OF POWER.

The peace with Russia. Chinese war. Lord Derby and Disraeli in office. Palmerston again in power. Gladstonian finance. Home affairs. A new China war. Trouble with United States. Other foreign affairs: Turkey, Mexico.

A CONTEST which had cost the country, for the Crimean campaign, the lives of nearly 20,000 officers and men, with about 3000 permanently disabled, and had caused a war expenditure of over £70,000,000, was ended by the Treaty of Paris, signed on March 30, 1856. Russia was forced to yield that part of Bessarabia which gave her control of the northern mouth of the Danube, and she undertook not to renew the fortification of the Aland Isles. The independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire were guaranteed by the Powers, and, while the Sultan undertook to amelio-

Treaty of Paris, March 1856.

rate the lot of his Christian subjects, all foreign nations were excluded from any claim to a protectorate. The Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were still closed to vessels of war in time of peace, and the Black Sea was neutralised, in being left open to the mercantile marine of all nations, but interdicted to their flags of war, except for a definite number of Russian and Turkish small vessels, needed for their respective coasts. Neither Russia nor Turkey was to erect or to preserve any military-maritime arsenal on the shores of the Euxine. The conclusion of peace was celebrated in London by an unequalled display of illuminations, and of fireworks in the public parks, and by a review in Hyde Park of the whole brigade of Guards, then for the first and only time in our history assembled on the same spot in the full strength of all its battalions. The treaty arrangements made at Paris included some momentous agreements on points of international law, especially affecting the interests of great maritime powers. Privateering was abolished; the neutral flag was henceforth to cover enemies' goods, except contraband of war; neutral goods, with the same exception, could not be seized under a hostile flag; and blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective, that is, must be maintained by a naval force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy. Count Cavour, as the representative of Sardinia, denounced Austria as the arch-enemy of Italian independence, and from that time exerted himself to embroil her with the French Emperor.

In October, 1856, the Chinese officials seized, in the Canton river, a small native-built vessel called a lorcha, and named the *Arrow*. She carried the British flag, but her master and crew were charged with piracy and made prisoners. Redress was refused, and the British fleet, under Sir Michael Seymour, took the Canton forts, destroyed a fleet of war-junks, and bombarded the town. These events were made by the Opposition the ground of a combined parliamentary attack. A vote of censure in the Lords, moved by Lord Derby, was rejected by a majority of thirty-six, but a different issue came in the Commons. Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone and other Peelites, Mr. Roebuck and other independent Radicals, and Lord John Russell, joined Mr. Disraeli and his followers, and a vote of censure was carried by a majority of sixteen in March 1857. Lord Palmerston appealed to the country by a dissolution, and won a great victory in the elections. Cobden was rejected at Huddersfield, and had no seat in the new Parliament. Bright and Mr. Milner Gibson both lost their seats at Manchester, returning to the House for other places before the close of the year. The Earl of Elgin went as envoy to China, in conjunction with a French colleague, Baron Gros, and in December, after a bombardment, English and French troops took possession of Canton. In June 1858, the treaty of Tien-tsin threw open to Western commerce five new ports, allowed British subjects to travel throughout China, granted toleration to Christianity,

Chinese
and
Persian
wars.
1856-1858.

and secured an indemnity for the expenses of the war. The brief contest with Persia was due to Russian intrigues, causing the Shah to revive an old claim on western Afghanistan, and to seize the city of Herat. An expedition sent from India took Bushire in December 1856, and troops, landed under Sir James Outram, in January 1857, defeated the Persian army in several actions, and took the fortified town of Mohammerah. The Persian monarch then renounced all claims on Herat and Afghanistan, and Lord Palmerston took occasion to arrange for the abolition of the slave-trade in the Persian Gulf.

After the general election of 1857, Lord Palmerston, with a majority of nearly ninety in the House of Commons, seemed likely to enjoy a long lease of power. As in 1851, he was destined to incur trouble on behalf of Louis Napoleon. In January 1858, a desperate attempt to assassinate the French Emperor was made in Paris by an Italian fanatic named Felice Orsini. This man, who had escaped from an Austrian prison at Mantua, was an enthusiast maddened by oppression and misled into the belief that tyrannicide is a lawful and effectual weapon in the cause of freedom. Louis Napoleon was deemed to be a supporter of the Austrian domination, and his life was sought by three bomb-shells, prepared in England, smuggled into France through Belgium, and flung by hand under the carriage conveying the Emperor and Empress to the opera. Many persons were killed and wounded in the crowded street, but the intended victim and his wife escaped, though one of the occupants of the carriage was stricken. Orsini died on the scaffold, and the chief result of his crime was the indignation aroused in France against England. Some hot-headed French colonels, in an address to the Emperor, denounced this country as a "den of assassins," and hinted, not obscurely, at invasion. The French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Walewski, repudiated and apologised for this language, but British wrath was excited, and a not remote effect was the first enrolment of the volunteers who afterwards became an important branch of the auxiliary forces of Great Britain. The French government, in a moderate tone, appealed to our Cabinet as to whether our laws should "continue to protect persons who place themselves by flagrant acts without the pale of the common law." On February 9th, Lord Palmerston introduced a Bill for making conspiracy to commit murder abroad, now only a misdemeanour, into felony punishable by penal servitude. Public feeling held that the ministry were legislating at French dictation, and a combination of the Peelites with the Conservatives defeated the second reading by a majority of nineteen. Lord Palmerston at once resigned, and Lord Derby came again into power.

Mr. Disraeli was again Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the Commons; Lord Malmesbury was Foreign Secretary. The Colonial Office was held at first by Lord Stanley, eldest son of Lord Derby,

Fall of
the Mini-
stry,
February
1858.

and, when he became the first Secretary of State for India, the same post was ably filled by the versatile and brilliant novelist, Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton. The skill and courage of Disraeli as a debater and as a parliamentary tactician were fully tested, with great advantage to his reputation, when, with little aid from his colleagues in the Commons, he was called upon to face such men as Palmerston and Russell, Gladstone and Sir James Graham, Cobden and Bright, supported by a majority of votes, whenever the Opposition should combine its various sections. The difference with France was arranged in a friendly way by the new ministry, and the session was distinguished by the vital change, to be elsewhere noticed, made in the government of India, which put an end to the political power of the East India Company, and transferred the government of our Indian territories to the crown. The year 1859 was marked by the war between France, with Sardinia, and Austria, in the north of Italy. The great Italian patriot, Garibaldi, played a brilliant part as a guerilla leader, acting with his volunteers upon the enemy's communications. A short and sharp struggle, in which rifled cannon were employed by the French for the first time in modern warfare on a large scale, was ended by the cession of Lombardy to Sardinia, whose king was compelled to pay for the powerful assistance of his ally by the surrender of Savoy and Nice. This beginning of liberation and union for Italy was soon followed by the annexation of the duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Modena, with the city of Bologna, and the northern part of the Papal States, known as Romagna. The Conservative ministry was engaged, early in the session, with a Reform Bill which aimed at "lateral extension" of the suffrage to fundholders, depositors in savings-banks, civil and military officers, members of the learned professions, graduates of universities, schoolmasters, and persons having other tests of respectability and education. The object of Mr. Disraeli was to anticipate the Liberals, whom Mr. Bright was then stirring up in a vigorous campaign for franchise reform at meetings in the north of England and in Scotland. Two members of the ministry, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, resigned office rather than support a reform which really meant very little, and merely offered the franchise to a large number of persons who either had it already, or could obtain it whenever they desired it. The one valuable clause of the measure proposed to equalise the county and the borough franchise by setting each at £10 rental. Lord John Russell carried an amendment, extending the franchise in cities and boroughs, by a majority of thirty-nine, and Lord Derby appealed to the country by a dissolution. On June 10th, a vote of want of confidence, moved by a rising Whig, Lord Hartington, was carried by a majority of thirteen in a very full House, and the ministry at once resigned.

On June 18th, Lord Palmerston, in his seventy-fifth year, entered

on his second premiership, which only ended with his life. For more than six years he was accepted by the country as the minister of the nation, and held a position almost removed from the chances of party strife. The Conservatives well knew that from him they had no cause to fear any radical measures of change, and they were content to criticise and watch, without attempting to subvert his rule. Mr. Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord John Russell held the Foreign Office, during the whole period of the ministry's existence. Other posts were held by Peelites and Whigs, such as Sir George Lewis, Sir George Grey, Mr. Cardwell, the Duke of Newcastle, and Sir Charles Wood, who was Secretary of State for India. The office of Lord Chancellor was held in succession by Lords Campbell and Westbury. Lord Westbury was a man of great ability and legal learning, and master of a most acrid style of speech. As Sir Richard Bethell, and Attorney-General, he had won distinction by the skill and energy with which, in the face of the most strenuous opposition, on moral and religious grounds, from Mr. Gladstone, he had carried, in 1857, the new Divorce Bill through the Commons.

Lord Palmerston's second Ministry, June 1859 to Nov. 1865.

Early in 1860, the commercial policy of William Pitt was revived by the conclusion of a treaty of commerce with France, negotiated by Mr. Cobden and M. Michel Chevalier, the French advocate of free trade. The Budget of Mr. Gladstone was an epoch in our financial history. In a speech of three hours, he gave proof of the vast benefit conferred upon the country by free trade, and showed that remissions of taxation had always been followed by increase of revenue, due to the growth of commerce. Duties to the amount of over £1,000,000 a year were removed, by reduction or by abolition, from butter, cheese, eggs, tallow, timber, hops, and foreign fruits. The duty on French light wines was lessened, and the minister sought to aid the cause of temperance by granting licenses to grocers for the sale of single bottles. After 1861 only fifteen articles remained, for purposes of revenue, upon the customs' tariff, as against over 1,200 before Sir Robert Peel had begun his free trade legislation. Experience has fully proved that these commercial reforms have increased the comfort and happiness of every home, however lowly, in the compass of the British Isles. One of the chief measures in this famous Budget led to a conflict between the House of Commons and the Lords. In order to favour the cause of cheap literature, including the new penny daily papers, one of the Budget resolutions, carried in the Commons, abolished the excise duty on paper, amounting to three-halfpence per pound on all qualities. The interests of the people were largely concerned in this matter. The great publisher, Mr. Charles Knight, to whom the nation owed a debt of gratitude as a chief pioneer and promoter of cheap and wholesome literature, proved that in twenty years he had spent

Mr. Gladstone's finance, 1860-1865.

£50,000 on paper-duty. The materials affected by the tax were of great number and variety, as everything fibrous could be converted into paper, an article largely used in nearly seventy trades. The duty had closed all the small mills, and the manufacture was a monopoly in the hands of two or three makers. Mr. Gladstone showed that the removal of the tax would promote rural labour, and so relieve the poor-rates in country districts. It was proved that Mr. Herbert Ingram, proprietor of the *Illustrated London News*, by establishing a paper-mill at Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, had within four years lessened the poor-rates of the parish by one-half. The abolition of the paper-duty was rejected in the Lords by a large majority, and some public excitement arose. Mr. Gladstone denounced the action of the peers as "a gigantic innovation," and contended that the course taken was wholly unconstitutional, in reimposing a tax which the Commons had repealed. Lord Palmerston carried resolutions in the Commons affirming the rights of that House concerning money-bills, and the particular matter now in question was settled in 1861 by the inclusion of the repeal of the paper-duty in a Bill combining all the financial measures of the Budget, which the Lords allowed to pass as a whole. In the same year, the passing of the Post-Office Savings' Bank Bill was a measure which, with amendments and additions in 1864, has proved most beneficial to the working-class. In 1863 a bold and ingenious financial scheme reduced the capital of the National Debt by a system of terminable annuities, lightened the tax on incomes below £200, and lowered the tea-duty by fivepence per pound. In 1864, reductions of the duty on life-insurance and on malt were made in the Budget which gave Mr. Gladstone the opportunity of stating some of the benefits of free trade. Since 1859, our imports from France had more than doubled, while our annual exports to that country had risen from nine to twenty-two millions, and the loss of trade caused by the civil war in the United States had been completely made good by the increase of our commerce beyond the Channel. In 1865, the duty on tea was further lowered from one shilling to sixpence per pound, all reductions of taxation being more than compensated by the wonderful increase in our commercial prosperity. The income-tax was reduced to fourpence in the pound, the lowest point which it had yet reached, and the six years' administration of the finances by Mr. Gladstone had now resulted in a total remission of annual taxation to the amount of £15,000,000, with a reduction of the National Debt by the sum of £20,000,000.

In July 1861, Lord John Russell ended his long career in the House of Commons by elevation to the peers, with the title of Earl Russell. The census of the year gave the population of the British Isles as approaching 30,000,000, of whom more than two-thirds were found in England and Wales. In December, the Queen and the nation suffered an irreparable loss by the death,

Home
events,
1860-1865.

after a short and sharp attack of typhoid fever, of the Prince Consort. One of the last acts of his most useful life was the composition of a memorandum for the Queen, which gave material aid in furthering a peaceful settlement of a dispute with the United States. In 1862, a second Great Exhibition, which had been promoted by the Prince, was held in a huge building erected for the purpose at South Kensington. The glories of the display made in 1851 were revived and surpassed, proving that much progress had been made in tasteful and substantial works of art and industry. From 1861 to 1864 the manufacturing districts of Lancashire were suffering from the lack of raw material for the mills, known as the Cotton Famine. The ports in the cotton-growing Southern States of America were blockaded by the Federal fleets, and hundreds of thousands of our operatives were compelled to cease from work. Public subscriptions and parliamentary aid, largely directed by the ability and energy of Lord Derby, gave relief to the sufferers, and the time of trial was passed through with a patience and a quietude honourable to the working-class and to the free institutions of the country enriched by their labours. Some supplies of cotton, of an inferior quality and length of staple, were procured from India, and the temporary loss of American supplies led to increased cultivation of the plant in Egypt and other countries. In March 1863, the Prince of Wales, who had lately completed his twenty-first year, was married to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark. In January 1864, was born the son and heir of the royal couple, Prince Albert Victor, whose premature death, under the most painful circumstances, is now (January 1892) mourned throughout the British Empire. In April 1865, the country had to lament the death of Richard Cobden, whose eulogies were uttered alike by political friends and opponents. Mr. Disraeli, in a graceful speech, anticipated "the verdict of posterity, that he was without doubt the greatest politician that the upper middle class of this country has as yet produced." A general election, in July, gave an increased majority to Lord Palmerston, and was remarkable for the close of Mr. Gladstone's political connection with the University of Oxford. That eminent politician had been assuming a more advanced position in the direction of Liberalism, and, in a debate, in May, on a Reform Bill introduced by Mr. Baines, he had startled the House of Commons and the country by declaring that "every man who is not presumably incapacitated by personal unfitness or political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the constitution," in other words, to possess the parliamentary franchise. This democratic utterance, delightful to the Radicals, was too much for the Tory out-voters, who were mainly country-parsons, of the University which Mr. Gladstone had represented for eighteen years. He was rejected in favour of Mr. Gathorne Hardy, but found a new seat in South-West Lancashire, where he told his constituents that he had come amongst them "unmuzzled." The *Times*

declared the Oxford election to be a "disgrace" to the University, and an evidence of "the vulgar motives of party-spirit." The same general election gave to the House of Commons new members in the "philosophical Radical," Mr. John Stuart Mill, and Mr. (now Sir George) Trevelyan, a nephew of Lord Macaulay. In October 1865, aged nearly eighty-one, Lord Palmerston closed by death his long, active, and distinguished career. His body was interred in the Abbey, near the graves of Pitt and Fox.

In May 1859, the bad faith of the Chinese government caused a renewal of war, and a British squadron, under Admiral Hope, was repulsed with severe loss near the mouth of the Peiho river. The enemy were employing European gunners to aim and fire the numerous cannon mounted on the works, and all the efforts of our sailors and marines were baffled in their rush to storm the forts over the mud-banks outside them. In August 1860, an united British and French armament, escorting Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, sailed up the Peiho, and captured these Taku forts, and an advance was then made on Peking. The cruel treachery of the Chinese caused the seizure and barbarous death, after torture, of many official persons sent forward by the British and French envoys. The allied forces marched on Peking, and the Chinese capital was entered. The splendid summer-palace of the Chinese emperor, a vast group of buildings spread over an immense park, and filled with curiosities of antiquity and art, was plundered and burnt by the troops, and in October the Treaty of Peking opened Tientsin to our trade, admitted a British minister to the Chinese court, ceded a district of the province of Canton, and secured large indemnities for the families of the murdered officials, and for the expenses of the war. In Europe, our diplomacy was largely concerned with the adventurous and ambitious policy of the French Emperor. A "great Continental policy of intrigue," in the words of the Prince Consort, seemed to be ever scheming to "re-construct the map of Europe." The annexation of Savoy and Nice by France caused much bitterness of feeling in England, and Lord Palmerston found it needful to check French arrogance by a firm and plain declaration that he was ready to face war, if such an issue were desired. An elaborate scheme of national defence, for the fortification of our great naval arsenals on the south coast, was our reply to the menace which was felt to be involved in the recent completion of the great works at Cherbourg, within a few hours' steaming of Portsmouth. Great events had been occurring in Italy. In 1860, Garibaldi and his comrades conquered Sicily and the kingdom of Naples, in conjunction with the Sardinian army, and in May 1861, Victor Emmanuel became king of all Italy, except Venetia, and the city of Rome, with a small territory around it, in which the Pope's "temporal power" was secured by a French garrison. At the close of 1861, the civil war in America came near to causing a rupture between Great

Foreign
affairs.
1859-1866.

Britain and the Northern or Federal States. The Southern or Confederate States, ruled by Mr. Jefferson Davis as President, were eager to obtain the recognition and support of England and France. Two commissioners, Messrs. Mason and Slidell, despatched by the Confederates to Europe, took passage in the West Indies on board our mail-steamer, the *Trent*. From the deck of this vessel they were removed as prisoners, in spite of all protests, by the captain, Commodore Wilkes, of the Federal man-of-war, the *San Jacinto*. This lawless outrage and insult to the British flag caused a storm of indignation, which our government met by an instant demand for the surrender of the captured officials, with due apology and reparation. A battalion of the Guards, and other troops, were sent to Canada, in readiness for war, but the Federal government, headed by President Lincoln, readily disavowed the action of their zealous officer, and gave up the Confederate envoys to our minister at Washington. Their mission to Europe was of no service to their cause. Louis Napoleon desired us to join him in recognition and material aid to the Southern States, but the ministry maintained a neutral position. On the other hand, the Federal government had a just cause of complaint against this country in the damage done to their commercial marine by privateers built, armed, and manned in British ports. The chief of these destructive vessels was the famous *Alabama*, built and equipped by Messrs. Laird at Birkenhead. In her career of nearly two years, under the command of Captain Semmes, until she was sunk off Cherbourg by the Federal man-of-war *Kearsarge*, the *Alabama* captured and destroyed nearly seventy Northern vessels. Mr. Adams, the American minister in London, had given Lord Russell due information, in ample time, of the intended purpose of this vessel, before she left the Mersey, but our government failed to seize and stop the ship, and, some years later, after much bitter discussion, we found ourselves compelled, from a sense of bare justice, and after arbitration, to make compensation for the damage done through our default. In 1862, a peaceful revolution in Greece ended the misgovernment of King Otho, and the throne was, in the end, given to Prince George of Denmark, a brother of the Princess of Wales. In 1864, the British government resigned the protectorate of the Ionian Islands, which were annexed to Greece. A new power in European statesmanship had recently appeared in the person of the sagacious, crafty, and resolute Prussian minister, Von Bismarck. This masterful man, in conjunction with his sovereign, King William I., who succeeded to the Prussian throne in 1861, had resolved to make his country the leading power of Central Europe. The Prussian army had been brought to a high state of efficiency by the genius and patient labours of the war minister, Von Roon, and of the consummate strategist and tactician, Von Moltke. In 1864, Austria and Prussia made a joint war on Denmark, which ended with the cession of Schleswig-Holstein and part of Jutland.

This country remained neutral, and Lord Palmerston declined to join Louis Napoleon in a proposed European Congress. A vote of censure moved by Mr. Disraeli was rejected by a majority of only eighteen. Disputes as to the disposal of the territory taken from Denmark caused the Austro-Prussian war of 1866, in which Prussia gained a rapid and decisive success, and rearranged the map of Germany by the annexation of Hanover and other territories, and by the establishment of a new North German Confederation, headed by Prussia, with the exclusion of Austria. Italy was the ally of Prussia in this contest, and, though her forces were defeated by Austria, on land at Custoza, and by sea at Lissa, she became the gainer, under the Treaty of Prague, by the cession of Venetia and the east of Lombardy.

The year 1860 was marked by the prompt and effectual intervention of Great Britain and France in the internal affairs of the Turkish empire lately rescued by their arms. A sect called the Druses, of mixed Jewish, Mussulman, and Christian tenets, inhabiting the Lebanon mountains, were in fierce conflict with their old enemies, the Maronites, a body of Christians in the same northern region of Syria. The Turkish officials favoured the Druses, disarmed the Maronites, and left them to the mercy of their foes. The fanatical spirit of the general Mussulman population was thus aroused, and in July a Turkish mob attacked the Christian quarter of Damascus, and burnt most of the houses. The foreign consulates were destroyed, and nearly 2000 Christians were massacred. The five great Powers at once concluded a convention, intrusting this country and France with the task of restoring order. The Turkish government was driven to action, and Fuad Pasha, the able Minister for Foreign Affairs, was sent from Constantinople to punish the authors and abettors of the massacres. Achmet Pasha, the governor of Damascus, had his epaulets torn from his shoulders, and was beheaded along with the commander of the Turkish troops. Lord Dufferin, the British commissioner, acted with much spirit and sound judgment, and the permanent peace of Syria was established by the appointment of a Christian governor for the Lebanon. Louis Napoleon, whose troops, under the convention, had obtained a foothold in Syria, was believed to cherish some desire to maintain a permanent position in the country, where the establishment of her influence had long been coveted by France, but the firmness of Lord Palmerston caused her withdrawal in June 1861.

In 1861, we joined France and Spain in an expedition to the republic of Mexico, for the purpose of exacting payment of moneys due to foreign creditors, and reparation for wrongs done to our subjects. Lord Russell wisely declined to take any part in changing the government of Mexico, and our ships and troops were withdrawn when payment and redress had been obtained. The French Emperor's forces, contrary to the convention made with his allies, remained to try and conquer the country, and to set up a

The
Mexican
interven-
tion, 1861.

Mexican empire ruled by Maximilian, an Austrian archduke, brother of the Emperor Francis Joseph. At the close of their civil war, the American government curtly requested the French Emperor to withdraw his forces from the country, and with this virtual order he felt obliged to comply, in face of the large armies of victorious troops which the re-United States had now at disposal. The unfortunate Maximilian was taken by the Mexicans and shot, in retaliation for like treatment accorded to "rebels" against his authority, and the utter and ignominious failure of Louis Napoleon's ambitious and fatuous enterprise was a deadly blow to his power at home.

CHAPTER VI.

A NEW PERIOD OF REFORMS.

Another Tory ministry. Second Reform Act. The Fenian trouble. British troops in Abyssinia. Disraeli attains the premiership. The Irish Church. Mr. Gladstone prime minister. Energetic legislation all round. Foreign affairs. Fall of Gladstone's first ministry.

THE death of Lord Palmerston opened a period of rapid and important political changes. The chief man in the new ministry, headed by Earl Russell, was Mr. Gladstone, again Chancellor of the Exchequer, and now leader of the Commons. The troubles of the year 1866 included a serious financial panic, culminating in the failure of the great bill-broking house of Overend and Gurney, in the City of London, with liabilities amounting to eleven millions sterling. This catastrophe was followed by a very long and severe period of commercial depression. The farmers were severely tried by an outbreak of cattle-plague, causing special legislation for the suppression and prevention of the disease, and for compensation to owners of cattle slaughtered for the general good.

No measure could really be more feeble and futile than the Bill for franchise reform now introduced by the government. It was, indeed, a compromise based on no sound principle; it could arouse no enthusiasm among those who desired a real and searching reform, and it was sure to be opposed both by the Tories and the Whigs. The Bill proposed to reduce the county franchise from a rental of £50 to £14, and the borough franchise to a £7 annual rental for householders. The measure was assailed with the most brilliant and incisive rhetoric by Mr. Robert Lowe, and with the utmost bitterness by Mr. Horsman. A knot of Whigs, headed by Earl Grosvenor (afterwards Duke of Westminster), opposed the Bill from the outset, and were denounced by Mr. Bright in his famous phrase concerning a political "cave of Adullam." The second

Lord
Russell's
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Ministry,
Nov. 1865
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reading was carried by a majority of only five, and, on June 18th, a Whig amendment, carried by a majority of eleven, caused the resignation of the ministry.

The new administration included, of course, Mr. Disraeli, again at the Exchequer and leader of the House, and brought new men into office in Mr. Gathorne Hardy (who soon succeeded Mr. Walpole as Home Secretary), the Earl of Carnarvon, who was Colonial Secretary, and Viscount Cranborne, late Lord Robert Cecil, and now, by his brother's death, become heir to the Marquisate of Salisbury. To him was intrusted the important post of Secretary of State for India. Lord Stanley was at the Foreign Office, and the post of Irish Secretary, now again becoming arduous and important, was filled by Lord Naas, afterwards Lord Mayo. Sir Stafford Northcote, once private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, and his pupil in financial matters, was also introduced to high office, as President of the Board of Trade. The Radicals throughout the country now made a great stir on the subject of franchise reform, and on July 23, the closing of the gates of Hyde Park, against reformers who desired to hold a meeting, caused a riot in which a long range of the iron palings in Park Lane was thrust down by the mob. Some fighting took place between the people and police, but order was restored by the arrival of a body of the Guards, who were received by the rioters with cheers.

The activity of a new Reform League, and the great meetings held in London and the provinces during the parliamentary recess, had caused Mr. Disraeli, who was the real head of the ministry, to resolve on passing a measure of franchise reform. The government were facing a decided majority in the Commons, and the tact and enterprise of the Conservative leader were tried to the utmost in effecting his purpose amidst hostility which was not confined to the benches of his avowed opponents. After a vain attempt to proceed by way of resolutions, and the production and withdrawal of a Bill hampered by all kinds of "fancy franchises," Disraeli took a bold course which at once caused the resignation of Lord Cranborne, Lord Carnarvon, and General Peel. On March 19, 1867, a Bill was produced that gave household suffrage in the boroughs to all men who paid rates. There were many checks and restrictions, swept away by the Liberals in committee, and the measure became at last one of very real and substantial change in the electorate for the House of Commons. Lord Derby described the Act as "a leap in the dark," and "a dishing of the Whigs." Time was to show that his brilliant lieutenant had rightly relied on the existence of a strong conservative element amongst the working-men now to become voters. The new plan of representation, as completed by Scottish and Irish Reform Acts in 1868, raised the numbers of the electoral body from nearly one and a half million to about two millions and a half. Seven seats were transferred from England and Wales to Scotland, giving the northern king-

Lord
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The
second
Franchise
Reform
Acts, 1867-
1868.

dom sixty members. All boroughs, thirty-five in number, having a population below ten thousand, were reduced to one member for each. Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Glasgow, and Leeds had three members, and the London University one. A vote was given to lodgers occupying unfurnished rooms of £10 annual value and upwards. In the counties, tenants of lands or houses to the annual value of £12 received the franchise. Two new metropolitan boroughs, Hackney and Chelsea, each with two members, were created. Twenty-five borough seats in England and Wales, partly taken from four towns disfranchised for gross bribery, and from boroughs of less than 5000 inhabitants, were assigned to counties, of which subdivisions were now made. In Scotland, the Universities of Edinburgh and St. Andrews had jointly one seat, and the same representation was given to Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities. In Ireland, the occupation franchise was reduced from £8 to £4. Such were the chief electoral arrangements that existed for the next seventeen years.

Early in 1866, the government of Lord Russell had found it needful to induce Parliament to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland. The reason for this measure lay in the discovery of the treasonable conspiracy known as Fenianism, a name said to be derived from that of the ancient Irish militia. A Fenian association was formed among the Irish in the United States, and, at the close of the civil war, many of the disbanded Irish soldiers came over to Ireland, to render help to the disaffected in that country. The organisation, which aimed at rebellion, was arranged on an ingenious system which caused authority, and knowledge of treasonable schemes, to be confined to certain men known as "centres," who issued orders to those who were bound to a blind obedience. The "Head Centre," James Stephens, was arrested in Dublin in November 1865, but he soon made a skilful and daring escape from prison, and this event encouraged the Fenians of Ireland, who believed that he would reappear to head an army of insurrection. Stephens was too prudent for any such wild attempt, and the arrest of many of the band in Ireland, under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus, checked the movement for a time. Then the Fenians resorted to a series of wicked and senseless outrages in England. A daring plan for the seizure of Chester Castle, with its store of arms and ammunition, was disclosed by an accomplice, and prevented by the prompt despatch from London of a strong body of the Guards. This scheme, frustrated in February 1867, was followed by the failure, with little bloodshed, of a rising in Ireland. Many prisoners were convicted at special commissions, and the conspiracy seemed to be crushed, when a most audacious attack was made in Manchester. In September 1867, a party of armed men assailed, in broad day, a police-van conveying two Fenian prisoners, who were rescued after the firing of a shot through the keyhole, which killed the policeman in charge of the door. For this crime, three men were

Fenian-
ism, 1866-
1868.

executed in Manchester, in presence of an imposing display of military force, including artillery, assembled in response to Fenian threats of a rescue on the scaffold. In December of the same year, an atrocious deed was perpetrated at Clerkenwell Prison in London. A Fenian, named "Captain" Burke, was there detained, after reprieve from a death-sentence for treason, and his friends made an attempt to blow down the prison wall by a cask of gunpowder placed against the outside, and fired in the street, lined by houses on the side facing the prison. The explosion wrecked a number of these dwellings, killing nearly twenty people, and wounding over a hundred. One man was convicted, and died in May 1868, at the last public execution that took place in this country.

Theodore, king of Abyssinia, a potentate of stormy nature, had sought, in 1863, our alliance against Turkey. Lord John Russell, then Foreign Secretary, gave great offence by not answering the letter, and Theodore resorted to hostile measures against British subjects within his reach. Captain Cameron, our consul at Massowah, on the Red Sea, was sent, with others, as a prisoner to the rock-fortress of Magdala. Mr. Rassam, sent from Aden as an envoy, with two assistants, was added to the number of the captives, who included some German missionaries, with their wives and children. When all our remonstrances and threats were of no avail, a strong expedition was despatched from Bombay, under the command of an able engineer officer, General Sir Robert Napier. Twelve thousand troops marched inland from Annesley Bay, on the west coast of the Red Sea, in January 1868, and made their way, for nearly 400 miles, through a very wild, rugged, and mountainous country. The difficulties were overcome with consummate skill and success, and the only battle which occurred, at the Arogee Pass, ended in the slaughter of hundreds of the gaily-clad Abyssinian horsemen, with a most trifling loss to the invaders. Three days later, on April 14th, after the captives had been all surrendered in the panic caused by defeat, the capital, Magdala, was taken with but slight resistance. Theodore's dead body lay inside the gate. The discomfited barbarian had shot himself in despair. A peerage rewarded our leader, as Lord Napier of Magdala. This vindication of British rights, made necessary by Lord John Russell's want of diplomatic tact, cost the country about £11,000,000 sterling.

The retirement of Lord Derby, from failure of health, in February 1868, gave Mr. Disraeli his well-earned promotion, and he became Prime Minister with the approval and congratulations of his political opponents. Mr. Ward Hunt was now called to the Exchequer, and another change was made in the elevation of the Attorney-General, Sir Hugh Cairns, a lawyer and debater of great knowledge and ability, to the office of Chancellor, in place of Lord Chelmsford.

Mr. Disraeli's first Ministry, February 1868 to December 1868.

A struggle of more than forty years was needed for the abolition of compulsory church-rates. The Irish people had been rid of the exaction in 1833, but in England and Wales the Nonconformists carried on the contest in the parish-vestries and the law-courts, and in many cases submitted, for conscience and for freedom's sake, to the seizure of their goods, and even to imprisonment. The stand made by Dissenters was strongly marked in the eastern counties, where the spirit of the Puritans maintains a vigorous existence. A legal battle known as "the Braintree case," from the name of an Essex parish, after eighteen years of litigation and thirteen legal decisions, virtually gave a death-blow to the claims of the Church, by establishing the principle that no rate could be valid which was not made by a majority in vestry. A deep impression was made on the public mind by the imprisonment of John Childs, of Bungay, in Suffolk, and of John Thorogood, of Chelmsford, and in 1868, with a Tory government in office, and a Liberal majority in power, Mr. Gladstone carried his Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Bill, and settled the question to the general satisfaction of Nonconformists. It was in March 1868 that the same statesman made his attack on the Established Church in Ireland. The country took up the cry of disestablishment, and Mr. Gladstone, by majorities of sixty and upwards, carried three resolutions aimed at the privileged existence of the Irish Church. The defeat of the ministry caused a dissolution in the autumn, and the elections were held, on a register including the large body of new voters, amid great popular excitement. Mr. Gladstone stood again for South-West Lancashire, and delivered many eloquent addresses. The proceedings at the nomination at Liverpool were very animated, and a Tory placard afforded a rare specimen of election humour in accusing the distinguished Liberal candidate of suffering from "Bright's disease and Lowe fever," an allusion to the attacks made on the Irish Church, in the House of Commons, by Mr. Bright and Mr. Robert Lowe. Mr. Disraeli strove to alarm the Protestant feeling of the country by suggestions of an alliance between "Irish Romanists" and "High Church Ritualists," but the result of the elections was decisively against him. Mr. Gladstone, already elected for Greenwich, was rejected for the Lancashire division, but found himself in possession of a majority much exceeding a hundred. The Scottish boroughs all returned Liberals, and only seven Tories were sent up from the northern kingdom to Westminster. Mr. Disraeli set a precedent by resigning office without meeting the new Parliament.

In the new administration, Mr. Lowe was Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Bruce, afterwards Lord Aberdare, took the Home Office; Lord Clarendon, succeeded, on his death in 1870, by Lord Granville, was Foreign Secretary; and the Duke of Argyll became Secretary for India. When Parliament assembled in February 1869, the first business of importance was the introduction by Mr. Gladstone of his

Bill for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church. The principle of this great measure, full of complicated details handled by the Premier with consummate skill, had aroused great wrath amongst the Churchmen of England and Ireland. One speaker at a Church synod declared that the Bill was "highly offensive to Almighty God." An archdeacon insisted that "at all hazards the Queen must interfere to prevent this dreadful thing—she had better jeopardise her crown than destroy the Church." At a great meeting held at Exeter Hall, Orange clergymen and laymen denounced the ministry as "traitors," "robbers," and "political brigands," but the House of Commons, in spite of the most fervid opposition, passed the second reading by a majority of 118. In the Lords, most eloquent speeches against the measure were delivered by Lord Derby and by the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Magee, but the Bill was passed by a small majority, after Lord Derby and many peers had signed a protest against it, and the Earl of Winchelsea had compared Mr. Gladstone to Jack Cade. From January 1, 1871, Irish prelates ceased to sit in the House of Lords; the grants to the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics of Ireland were commuted for a capital sum; all vested interests were secured; and the surplus property of the Irish Church, amounting to over £7,000,000, was applied to the service of the Irish people, in subsidies afforded to asylums, training-schools, reformatories, and middle-class education; and, finally, in 1882, in payment of arrears of rent. The year 1869 was marked by the death, in October, of the Earl of Derby, and by the opening, in November, of the Suez Canal.

The ministry of Mr. Gladstone, supported by the strong majority in the Commons, now entered on a series of reforms of great variety and importance. In 1870, Mr. Gladstone, in his first Irish Land Act, strove to secure for tenants the value of improvements made by their own personal exertions or pecuniary means, and to protect, in other ways, the Irish cultivators of the soil against the action of some oppressive landowners. The great measure of the session was the Elementary Education Act, carried through the Commons by Mr. W. E. Forster, as vice-president of the Educational Committee of the Privy Council. For the first time in our history, the nation now duly recognised the importance of allowing no children to grow up in the darkness of ignorance. The work done by the voluntary agencies for education was now greatly aided by the establishment of Board Schools, supported by rates, and supplied with learners by compulsory attendance. The elements of knowledge were thus brought within reach of every home. Two years later, a like measure, passed for Scotland, gave popular control to the national system of education. In 1871, the Act, carried in the previous year, for the re-organisation of the army on a system of short service, was supplemented by the abolition of the purchase of commissions. The occasion

Mr. Gladstone's first Ministry, Dec. 1868 to Feb. 1874.

The rush of Re-form, 1870-1873.

was made notable by the high-handed course adopted by Mr. Gladstone. The Bill for purchase abolition, after passing the Commons by a very small majority, was thrown out in the Lords. The premier then induced the Queen to exercise her prerogative in cancelling the royal warrant which alone made legal the purchase of commissions. The Lords retorted by a vote of censure, carried by a majority of eighty, and many supporters of Mr. Gladstone were offended by his action. The cost of compensation to the holders of commissions caused an addition of twopence to the income-tax. The same session saw an important advance towards religious freedom. The two great national universities were at last thrown open to Nonconformists, by the abolition of religious tests for degrees and offices at Oxford and Cambridge. Two years later, a like measure removed tests at Trinity College, Dublin. The decennial census of the year showed, for the United Kingdom, a population of nearly 32,000,000. In 1872, Mr. Bruce carried the famous Licensing Act for the regulation of houses engaged in the sale of alcoholic liquors. This effort to protect the working-class against themselves restricted the hours for the opening of the houses, gave magistrates the power of endorsing licenses with a statement of conviction for misconduct in the publican, and put some restraints on the granting of licenses for fresh taverns. The same session produced a most important change in the mode of conducting parliamentary and municipal elections. Vote by ballot, so long vainly advocated by Mr. Grote and Mr. Berkeley, was adopted as the means of enabling citizens in possession of the suffrage to state their choice of candidates with the security of complete secrecy. The system of open voting had permitted a monstrous amount of bribery, corruption, and intimidation. Large numbers of the voters could not act at elections according to their conscience and convictions. The tenant was in terror of his landlord; the workman stood in fear of his employer; the small shop-keeper of the country-town submitted to the dictation of the wealthy customer. In Ireland, voters were taken to the poll, by landlords and their agents, like droves of slaves, and, in pleasing the landowner, they ran the risk of violent assault from the crowd of non-electors who supported the popular candidate. The public feeling of the country grew ashamed of such abuses, and a change of system was the issue. The measure which has almost extinguished bribery and undue influence at elections also abolished the public nomination of parliamentary candidates at the hustings, which had long been the cause of scandalous scenes of drunkenness and riot. In 1873, Mr. Gladstone strove to deal with the vexed question of university education in Ireland. Trinity College, Dublin, was then a Protestant institution, of no educational service to the Catholics of Ireland; the Queen's University was a secular institution, condemned by the heads of the Catholic Church. The Catholics themselves desired a chartered Catholic university, but English feeling was opposed to the granting of public

money to any sectarian establishment. The scheme proposed by the government sought to make Dublin University the one central university for Ireland, with the exclusion of all teaching and examinations on the disputed subjects of theology, moral philosophy, and modern history. The separate colleges affiliated to the University could act for themselves with regard to instruction in those matters. All sects and parties were hostile to a compromise which failed to satisfy the bigotries and prejudices of any, and the second reading was rejected by a majority of three. The ministry resigned, but Mr. Disraeli declined to undertake office with the existing House of Commons, and the Cabinet returned to power. The great measure of the session was the Judicature Act, carried through the Lords by the Chancellor, Lord Selborne, who had succeeded Lord Hatherley as occupant of the wool-sack. The administration of justice was now centred in one supreme Court, of which the old courts of law and equity became divisions, and, a few years later, the scene of legal action was transferred from Westminster Hall to the new Law Courts in the Strand.

The great fact in British history, as a record of the nineteenth century, has been the development of democratic power in the state. The toilers who create the nation's wealth from ridge and furrow, factory and mine, have learned the value and the force of self-help and combination. The leaders in this revolution were the artisans of manufactures in the northern towns. One form of co-operation placed in their hands profits which had been received by manufacturers and shopkeepers. In 1844, a few poor flannel-weavers at Rochdale founded a "co-operative store," with a capital of about £30. In 1860 this modest sum had become £120,000, mainly through the agency of cash-payments and the division of profits, combined with sound management. The whole north of England soon became studded with similar associations, and an Act of 1852 allowed the sale of goods to non-members, and the holding of land, which enabled them to act as building-societies. In the latter half of the century, the trades-unions have become bodies of formidable strength. English legislation had for centuries, since the days of the Statute of Labourers, "acted on the principle that the working-man was a serf of society, bound to work for the sake of the employer, and on the employer's terms." Down to 1825, all combination among workmen for their own protection was unlawful, and long after that date, the law was very harsh against what it called "conspiracy" among artisans for trade purposes. Trades-unions were, in many respects, treated as devoid of legal recognition and protection, and the natural consequence was that some of these bodies, or the more reckless members, were driven to extreme courses in defence of their trade interests and supposed rights. Public opinion, for many years, was all against the trades-unions. The employer, the capitalist, the press, the pulpit, regarded them as immoral and dangerous combinations, and denounced

the leaders as daring and greedy demagogues, living on the contributions of deluded victims. A strike was viewed as a crime against political economy and society, without considering the fact that it was the working-man's only means, in many cases, of obtaining his fair share of the wealth which he was helping to acquire for the employer. Meanwhile, the more intelligent among the workers were shrewd enough to see that the Bar, the Stock Exchange, and the medical profession were nothing but trades-unions, with arrangements settling the price of labour, and governed by a system of rules and etiquette. By slow degrees public opinion, influenced by the words of men like John Stuart Mill, and still more by the growing strength of the organisations themselves, began to veer round in favour of what it had so thoroughly condemned. In 1866, the unions made a great and imposing part of the public demonstrations in favour of franchise reform. In some of the processions, wholly composed of members of these trade societies, rank after rank, in lengthy display, of quiet and determined men moved onward through the streets, and made thoughtful observers aware that a new social element had arisen in a form and force that demanded the most careful attention of the statesman who desired to convert a possible danger into a support and a strength for the realm. It was in 1867 that the country was disturbed by the account of outrages committed by members of certain trades-unions at Sheffield, Manchester, and other northern towns. A system of terrorism had been set in motion against workmen who incurred the anger of the unions by working for obnoxious employers, or by violation of any of the stringent rules of the associations. Sometimes the tools of the culprit were destroyed; sometimes his house was damaged or blown up by a tin of explosive matter flung through the window. In other cases, men were shot at and maimed, and there were several instances of direct and deliberate murder. A special commission, empowered by an Act to take evidence on oath, and to offer the protection of impunity to criminals who should supply information striking at the root of the conspiracies, was sent to Sheffield. A wretch named Broadhead, who had previously denied all knowledge of the evil, and denounced it with indignant eloquence at a public meeting held in Sheffield, confessed to the commissioners that he had himself devised, arranged, and paid for many of the outrages committed. This man was secretary to the saw-grinders' union at Sheffield, and the revelations made by him, and by other culprits in the towns disgraced by their deeds, were really a death-blow to the mischief thus brought to light. It was clearly proved that the great majority of the trades-unions were free from all complicity in, or sanction of, the cowardly atrocities committed by the few. The legislation which admitted the artisans to political power, followed by changes in the law, which duly recognised their rights as workers combining for their common trade interests, gave a new social status to the men, and a higher moral tone to their action. In 1871, the

Trade Union Act swept away all the vexatious civil disabilities of the unions, and it was expressly enacted that no member of such a body should be liable to criminal prosecution for conspiracy or otherwise, because the purposes of his union might happen to be in restraint of trade. Another statute of the same year strictly defined, in the interest of the workmen, the offences of molestation and obstruction, and the Legislature thus affirmed at last the right of workmen to combine for any purpose not actually criminal. To complete this subject, we may here notice the Employers and Workmen Act of 1875, which put masters and men on a perfect equality in matters of contract, as they long had been in Germany, Italy, and France. Under this first ministry headed by Mr. Gladstone, two Acts were also passed for further security to the lives of miners, and for the better education of their children by the raising of the age, from ten years to twelve, at which boys could be employed in coal-mines. In 1878, under Mr. Disraeli's (Lord Beaconsfield's) second ministry, an excellent measure was passed consolidating and amending the Factory and Workshops Acts. The new statute improved the sanitary condition of factories and workshops, provided for the due guarding of machinery, limited the hours of labour for children, youths, and women, prohibited all employment of children under ten, secured the education of employed children, and required certificates of fitness for employment in the case of children under sixteen. In 1880, Mr. Gladstone's second ministry, urged by the earnest pleading of the representatives of labour in the House of Commons, passed the Employers' Liability Act, which made the employers responsible for injuries received by the employed, where any harm resulted from neglect on the part of himself or his agents. The punishment of flogging in the army and navy was one which greatly concerned the class of workers, from whose ranks the military and naval forces were recruited. In 1868 Sir Arthur Otway, M.P. for Rochester, carried an amendment causing the abolition of the cat in time of peace. In 1879 flogging was abolished for the army in time of war, except for offences punishable with death, such as treachery, mutiny, and the case of a sentry sleeping at his post. In 1881, flogging in the army and navy was altogether swept away. It was in 1872 that English society was startled by the appearance of the rural labourer as a striker, an agitator for higher wages, a member of his own trades-union. The patient, stolid, bovine creature had been roused at last by the spirit of the time, and stepped forth upon the stage amid the fields of South Warwickshire. The leader of this movement, a real revolution in the land, was a labourer named Joseph Arch, a man of good character and high intelligence, who had wandered from his native soil, had seen many men and things, had pondered thereon, and formed resolves. As a preacher of Methodism, he had shown much fluency and force of speech, and had gained great influence among his fellows. Under a great chestnut-tree this prudent, law-respecting, and politic Jack Cade

addressed a meeting of a thousand men, and easily induced them to form a labourers' union. Some advanced Radicals took up the cause, and leaders of the great trades-unions helped the work of organisation. The landlords and the farmers stood aghast at the phenomenon, but the work went on, spread to many other districts of the land, and had a great political effect in ultimately causing the enfranchisement of the agricultural householder.

The war between France and Germany, beginning in July 1870, came as a surprise upon the world, though shrewd observers had long foreseen the inevitable struggle. The strong military and political position acquired by Prussia in 1866 had aroused great jealousy in France, in having secured the German unity which French policy had always striven to thwart, and in having raised to so powerful an eminence the state which France had struck down in the early part of the century. The attitude and conduct of Louis Napoleon and his government towards Prussia became restless, irritating, and intrusive, and, as the French Empire, from various causes, was losing ground with the French people, their ruler, as the last resource, made a pretext for declaring war. Our government assumed an attitude of strict neutrality, though a vote of £2,000,000, for the addition of 20,000 men to the army and navy, was granted as a measure of precaution. Our concern for the safety of Belgium was inflamed by Bismarck's adroit and cynical publication of the draft of a secret treaty, proposed to him the year before by the French ambassador, Benedetti, in which the French government offered to guarantee the gains of Prussia in the late war, if Prussia would support the acquisition of Luxemburg and Belgium by France. Our government then concluded separate treaties with France and Prussia, engaging that, if either belligerent should violate the neutrality of Belgium, Great Britain should unite with the other in her defence. The striking events of the Franco-German war need no record here. An immediate result of the German success was the completion of Italian unity in October 1870, when, on the downfall of the French Empire, Rome was occupied by the Italian troops, to become, in the following year, the capital of Italy. Lord Granville was involved in further diplomacy by Russia's repudiation of that clause of the Treaty of Paris (1856) which neutralised the Black Sea. It was impossible for this country, single-handed, to coerce Russia in this matter, and, on the suggestion of Count Bismarck, a Conference was held in London which politely recognised the inevitable, and allowed Russia to have her way, and again proceed to convert the Black Sea into a Russian lake. The next trouble for Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet was that of the "*Alabama* claims." The United States had allowed the question to rest for a time, but in 1874 their government pressed for compensation of the damage caused to American commerce by the *Alabama* and other privateers built in England during the civil war. In May 1871, the

Foreign
affairs,
1870-1874.

Treaty of Washington recognised, on our part, the principle of the American claims, and expressed regret for the losses caused through the escape of the cruisers from British ports. A tribunal of arbitrators met at Geneva, and, on their award, we paid to the American government a sum exceeding £3,000,000. A very sore feeling was created in many British hearts by what was deemed to be a humiliating submission, and this was intensified when the German Emperor, as chosen arbitrator, decided against this country a dispute with the United States concerning the possession of the island of San Juan, on the Pacific coast. Our ill-success in these instances of international arbitration caused, with scant justice, much unpopularity for the ministry.

The great commercial prosperity of the country had enabled Mr. Lowe, during his four years' financial administration, to remit taxes to the amount of over £12,000,000, and to reduce the National Debt by more than £20,000,000. In 1873 it had, however, become clear that Mr. Gladstone's ministry had lost much popular favour. Reforms had gone fast and far, and many interests had been offended and alarmed. The Church bitterly resented the treatment of her Irish sister; the publicans hated Mr. Bruce for his legislation against alcohol. Conservative reaction had begun, and Mr. Gladstone was subjected to incessant irritation from the loss of seats at bye-elections. The majority had been reduced from 116 to about seventy, when, in October 1873, Mr. Disraeli, a keen watcher of events, wrote a famous letter denouncing his political adversary's "career of plundering and blundering." Early in 1874, a signal defeat in a bye-election at Stroud exhausted Mr. Gladstone's patience, and he suddenly resolved on a dissolution, announced to the country in a lengthy manifesto which promised, in the event of his retention of power, a complete cessation of the obnoxious income-tax. This tempting bait did not attract the electors, and the Conservative majority of more than fifty seats caused Mr. Gladstone to resign without meeting the new Parliament.

CHAPTER VII.

DISRAELI BECOMES LORD BEACONSFIELD.

Disraeli in office with a majority. New Tory politicians. The Eastern Question again in front. Activity in foreign affairs. Afghanistan. Zululand. Fall of Ministry. Gladstone's second Ministry. Irish party in the Commons. The Tory Opposition. Third Reform Act. Troubles in Africa. Egypt and Soudan. Changes of Ministry. The royal family. Exploration, telegraphy, philanthropy. The Jubilee.

IN the new ministry, headed by Mr. Disraeli, with Lord Cairns again as Chancellor, the Exchequer was assigned to Sir Stafford Northcote, and the Foreign Office to the cautious Lord Derby, a man presenting

the strongest contrast to his impulsive and eloquent father. The Earl of Carnarvon went to the Colonial Office, and the Marquis of Salisbury was Secretary for India, an office in which, as Lord Cranborne, he had already shown great ability and tact. The post of Home Secretary was given to an untried man, Mr. R. A. Cross, a Lancashire lawyer. Mr. Gathorne Hardy was at the War Office, and Mr. Ward Hunt, succeeded, on his death in 1877, by Mr. W. H. Smith, took charge of the Admiralty. The Opposition was soon left, by the retirement of Mr. Gladstone, to the leadership of Lord Hartington, who gained reputation by his spirited discharge of the duties of a most difficult post. The surplus of nearly £6,000,000, bequeathed to his successors by the late premier, was partly employed in reducing the income-tax to twopence in the pound, the lowest point it has ever reached, and in the abolition of the duties on sugar. Some aid was also given to local taxation, and the tax on horses was removed. The Public Worship Regulation Act, introduced by Archbishop Tait, supported and defined by Mr. Disraeli as an effort "to put down Ritualism," and strongly opposed by Mr. Gladstone, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Hardy, was a measure of the first session that has wholly failed in practice. The public were amused when, during the debates, the Prime Minister described his colleague at the India Office as "a master of jibes and flouts and jeers." In 1875, the Home Secretary carried an important measure for the improvement of the dwellings of the working-classes in London and the great provincial towns, by enabling the local authorities to clear away squalid and dilapidated houses, and to procure the erection of suitable homes. An outburst of public indignation compelled the withdrawal of two successive "Slave Circulars" issued by the Admiralty, which appeared to remove the protection of our flag from slaves who might have reached a British boat or ship abroad. In the same session, Mr. Plimsoll, a Liberal M.P. of ardent philanthropy, who had made himself the champion of the sailors in our mercantile marine, forced from the government due attention to the danger caused by the overloading of ships, and their despatch to sea in a leaky condition. He drew upon himself the need of a full apology to the House of Commons by a scene of extraordinary violence, in which his zeal impelled him to denounce certain shipowners in the House as "villains," to defy the Speaker's authority, and to shake his fist at the Treasury Bench. His anger had been aroused by the withdrawal of a government Bill dealing with merchant shipping. Mr. Plimsoll's case, in spite of his behaviour, was strongly supported at meetings of the working-men, and, in the end, legislation dealt with overloading, and caused the painting of the famous "Plimsoll mark" round the hull of merchant vessels, as the limit of safe flotation for a freighted ship. In 1876, the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave a boon to the possessors of moderate means by allowing a deduction of £120 to be made from the assessment of

Mr. Disraeli's second Ministry, Feb. 1874 to April 1880.

incomes under £400. At the same time, incomes below £150 were made totally exempt from this partial and unjust tax.

It was in the field of foreign policy that the ministry of Lord Beaconsfield, as he became in August 1876, was to find its occasions of display, achievement, risk, and what their admirers called renown. The late administration had given to the people a present distaste for heroic doings in home affairs. The premier believed that he could dazzle the public mind, strengthen his position, and render real service to Great Britain, by the adoption of what is called a "spirited foreign policy." An end was to be made of the era of peace and non-intervention, and of arbitrations that made Britons pay dearly in purse, pride, and territorial possession. The days of Elizabeth were to return, and we were again to play an "imperial" part upon the world's stage. The record of facts will show to what extent this scheme was carried into action. In November 1875 the nation was made half-owner of the Suez Canal, by the purchase of shares, to the value of £4,000,000, from the bankrupt Viceroy (Khedive) of Egypt, Ismail Pasha. The subjects of our Empire in India were, it was hoped, duly impressed by the brilliant display made, in the autumn of 1875, in the visit of the Prince of Wales, and by the proclamation, in 1876, of the Queen as "Empress of India." This change of designation was a side-blow aimed at Russia, a Power who had of late inflamed British jealousy by encroachments in the west of Central Asia, which, in spite of her repeated promises, afterwards carried her dominion from the shores of the Caspian to Khiva, Merv, and Samarkand, and thus brought her almost within striking distance of our possessions. An opportunity was now to be afforded on the soil of Europe for fresh demonstrations against the "northern spectre."

During the twenty years that had passed since the Crimean War, the empire of the Sultan had been growing weaker under the influence of incurable corruption and misrule. A crisis arrived in South-East Europe when, in August 1875, an insurrection arose in Bosnia and Herzegovina. A revolt in Servia, in 1876, helped by many Russian volunteers, was soon put down, but the fighting in the other provinces continued, and the intervention of Russia became daily more probable. Our Cabinet declined to join in the Berlin Memorandum, a diplomatic document intended to force Turkey to concessions and reforms by the united pressure of all the six Powers, and the employment of force in case of her refusal. Then came a succession of startling events—an outbreak of Mussulmen at Salonica, with the murder of the French and German Consuls; the deposition and suicide of the Sultan, Abd-ul-Aziz; and, above all, the cruel deeds known as "the Bulgarian atrocities." A revolt in Bulgaria had been suppressed, and then the innocent were punished by the massacre, at the hands of the Turkish irregular troops—Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians—of many thousands of unarmed men, with women and

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1876-1880.

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children. Deeds worse than murder were committed by these barbarians in Turkish pay, and the record, with its truth absolutely proved by our official investigation, and by the ocular witness of newspaper correspondents of the highest character, forms one of the foulest pages in modern history. The indignant feeling aroused in this country found expression at countless public meetings, and the effect in Russia was such as to make her warlike action a certainty of the near future. After a futile conference at Constantinople early in 1877, the Russian armies, in April, crossed the Turkish frontier both in Europe and Asia, and the Russo-Turkish war began. The chief political effect in England of the events in Bulgaria had been that of rousing from his retirement the great champion of the Liberals. Pamphlets against the Pope, and Homeric dissertations, were now flung aside for writings and speeches of the utmost vehemence and vigour against Turkish rulers and all their works and ways. A duel to the death began with his old political rival, and from that hour Mr. Gladstone used all his energy and eloquence in opposing the ministry, both in and out of the House of Commons, and in striving to force his way back to power. The country was divided into two hostile camps, in one of which the Liberal leader was denounced as the friend and instrument of Russia, while Lord Beaconsfield was extolled as the unrivalled supporter of British interests and "prestige." After a gallant struggle, the resistance of Turkey was beaten down in the early days of 1878, and the victorious Russian armies were approaching Constantinople. Great excitement arose in this country. A parliamentary vote of £6,000,000 for naval and military purposes caused the retirement of Lord Carnarvon from the Colonial Office, and the despatch of our Mediterranean fleet, through the Dardanelles, to within a few miles of the Turkish capital, drove away Lord Derby. He was succeeded at the Foreign Office by Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Hardy, created Viscount Cranbrook, took his post at the India Office. Throughout the debates in the Commons, and against all the fierce attacks of Mr. Gladstone and his supporters, the ministry had been maintained by an ever-growing majority in that House. In April 1878 a force of 6000 Indian troops was brought to Malta, and this display in Europe of our reserves of military power in Asia was believed by the admirers of Lord Beaconsfield to have greatly restrained the ambition of Russia. The Eastern Question was then settled at the Congress of Berlin, completed in July. This country was represented by Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury, and the discussions ended in the Treaty of Berlin, which greatly crippled Turkey, and somewhat increased the power of Russia. She now received, from Roumania, the territory called Bessarabia, lost by the Crimean War; and she acquired the great fortress of Kars and the port of Batoum. Bulgaria, the territory between the Danube and the Balkans, became virtually independent. Montenegro acquired full freedom, and Servia and Roumania became independent kingdoms.

Bosnia and Herzegovina were transferred to the rule of Austria, and Cyprus became a British possession. Greece, in the end, acquired Thessaly and a portion of Epirus, and the Turkish empire in Europe was thus reduced to narrow limits. Lord Beaconsfield, on his return to London, had a most enthusiastic reception from his countless admirers in the capital, to whom he announced, from the windows of the new Foreign Office, that he had brought back "Peace with honour."

From the time of the Berlin Congress, the popularity of the ministry underwent a steady decline. The country had grown weary of the constant surprises and shocks involved in an adventurous foreign policy. Public feeling was offended, at the close of 1878, by the injustice of a war with Afghanistan, which we deal with elsewhere, and by the contest with the Zulus, a brave and powerful tribe of south-east Africa. Their king, Cetewayo, a man of great force of character, a noble specimen of the African chieftain, endued with considerable military skill and not devoid of political sagacity, had always been anxious to remain on good terms with Great Britain. An old Indian official, Sir Bartle Frere, had been sent out to the Cape as Governor and High Commissioner, with special charge to carry out a plan of Lord Carnarvon's for South African confederation. The Zulu king maintained an army of many thousand warriors, for self-defence against powerful native neighbours, and especially against the aggression of the truculent Boers of the Transvaal. Sir Bartle, a man whose soul was filled with zeal for the spreading of the Gospel and for enlarging the borders of the Empire, chose to assume that Cetewayo was planning an attack on our colony of Natal, and demanded from the Zulu king the immediate disbandment of his forces. A prompt refusal was followed by the invasion of his territory. The British troops, under Lord Chelmsford, crossed the river Tugela, and soon met with a surprising disaster. On January 22, 1879, one division, under Colonel Glyn, was almost annihilated at the battle of Isandula (or Isandlana) by the Zulus under Cetewayo, who rushed fearlessly, spear in hand, against bullets showered from the breech-loader. One English regiment was almost destroyed, and hundreds of colonial troops perished. Natal was only saved from invasion by the gallant defence of the position at Rorke's Drift, on the Tugela, by a small force under Majors Chard and Bromhead. The struggle could, of course, have only one issue when the British force was properly handled. On July 4th, Lord Chelmsford defeated the Zulus, with enormous loss, at the battle of Ulundi, and Cetewayo was afterwards hunted down by Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had assumed the command. The Zulu king, after captivity at Cape Town, was allowed to visit London in 1882, and, being restored to a portion of his former power, he was defeated by a rival chief, and died, a broken man, as a refugee in our territory. The Zulu war was denounced with the utmost vehemence by the Opposition, and it was, beyond doubt, disapproved by the Ministry,

who had, however, with the injustice meted out to all governments, to endure much of the odium attached to an ignoble transaction. Elizabethan "Imperialism" became thoroughly discredited, and the country was looking for a new period of tranquillity and legislative reforms. The government were assailed with remorseless vigour by Sir William Harcourt, Lord Hartington, and other Liberal leaders, and with the utmost efforts of his passionate eloquence by Mr. Gladstone, who had resolved to attack the Tory house of Buccleuch, in the heart and centre of their territorial and personal influence, by contesting the county of Edinburgh. His "Mid-Lothian campaigns," in the autumn of 1879 and the spring of the following year, were a main cause of the utter defeat of Lord Beaconsfield's party; which followed a dissolution in March 1880. The Liberal majority, including sixty-two Irish "Home Rulers," approached two hundred, and the ministry resigned office in April, as soon as the returns were known. The Queen, after first resorting to Lord Hartington and to Lord Granville, followed their advice in commanding the victor in the electoral battle to undertake the parliamentary government of her realm.

Mr. Gladstone was at first his own Chancellor of the Exchequer, succeeded in 1882 by Mr. Childers. Sir William Harcourt was Home Secretary; Lord Granville took charge of the Foreign Office; Lord Kimberley and Lord Derby were successive Colonial Secretaries, and Lord Hartington, followed by Lord Kimberley in 1882, became Secretary for India. The state of affairs in Ireland made the post of Chief Secretary at this time one of peculiar difficulty and toil, and the arduous task was undertaken by Mr. W. E. Forster. Some new men came to the front in the Radical section of Mr. Gladstone's party. Mr. Chamberlain, M.P. for Birmingham, a very able man in debate, entered the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade; Sir Charles Dilke was made Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs. One of the most remarkable men in the new ministry was the Postmaster-General, Mr. Fawcett. The affliction of total blindness had in no wise impaired his energy and courage, and his powerful memory, enabling him to deal with the details of discourse and debate, aided him, after filling with honour the chair of Political Economy at Cambridge, to acquire a new and wider fame as one of the ablest and most independent members of the House of Commons. He gained the title of "member for India" by his mastery of Indian questions, and by his devotion to the interests of the Queen's subjects in Asia. Before his premature death in 1883, his career at the Post-Office had been made memorable by valuable additions to the Postal Savings Bank Act, by a new Money Order Act establishing the postal-notes, a paper currency for small sums from one shilling to one pound, and by the Parcels Post Act. During their term of office, the government were from time to time harassed by a difficulty which recalled the days of John Wilkes. Mr. Bradlaugh,

Mr. Gladstone's second Ministry, April 1880 to June 1885.

M.P. for Northampton, refused at first to take the oath at the table of the House of Commons, and was not afterwards permitted either to swear or merely to affirm. Many of Mr. Gladstone's followers left him on this question of the admission of an avowed atheist to the House, and the Opposition, led by Sir Stafford Northcote, succeeded for some years in excluding Mr. Bradlaugh, who was again and again re-elected for Northampton, both after resignation of his seat, and after expulsion from the House for irregular conduct. It is only fair to record that this very able, energetic, and honest politician, between his final admission to the House in 1886 and his death in 1890, succeeded in winning cordial respect from men of all sections of party.

The ministry, in the House of Commons, were also made subject, like their predecessors, to the most irritating, ingenious, and pertinacious obstruction of business by the strong Irish party of Home Rulers led by Mr. Parnell. A failure of the Irish harvest in 1879 had caused widespread misery, and evictions for non-payment of rent were followed by numerous outrages which aroused horror and disgust on this side of the Irish Sea. In 1880 a Bill to relieve insolvent tenants was thrown out by the Lords, and then the Land League in Ireland, and the Home Rule party in the House, waged an incessant war against the government. In 1881, a strong Coercion Act was passed, and was strongly used by Mr. Forster. Scenes of violence in the Commons, during the passage of the measure, caused the suspension of many Irish members, and ended in the adoption of the French principle of closure of debate. Mr. Gladstone had already striven, in his second Irish Land Act, to meet the views of the Irish party. The chief feature of the measure was the establishment of Land Courts for dealing with disputes between landlord and tenant. These courts had the power of fixing a fair rent for the term of fifteen years, and the tenant was secured against eviction, except for non-payment of rent or for breach of certain covenants. The Land Leaguers in Ireland were not satisfied with this, and advised the people to pay no rent at all. In October 1881, Mr. Parnell and other leaders were arrested in Dublin, and were released in May 1882, to the disgust of the Lord-Lieutenant, Earl Cowper, and of Mr. Forster, both of whom resigned office. Lord Spencer became Viceroy, and the departure of Mr. Forster, who himself had the narrowest escape from a plot for his assassination, was followed by the crime which shocked the whole civilised world. His successor, Lord Frederick Cavendish, was murdered in the Phoenix Park, in broad day, by four men armed with knives, who drove away on a car, and for the time vanished into safety. The new Chief Secretary, a man of the most lovable character, became the victim of the assassins merely from the fact of his being at the time in the company of Mr. Burke, a most unpopular official of Dublin Castle, who had long been doomed to death. The wicked men,

unknown to Mr. Parnell and his associates, and belonging to an outer ring of lawless wretches known as the "Invincibles," who had planned and perpetrated this double murder, were hunted down by the Irish police in the early days of 1883, and five were hanged, while others were sentenced to various terms of penal servitude. In connection with Irish troubles, a number of "dynamiters," between 1883 and 1885, caused several violent explosions in London. The last of these outrages did great injury at the House of Commons in January 1885. The skill and energy of the police brought to justice nearly all the perpetrators, and crimes of that class ceased to alarm the public mind. Mr. (now Sir George) Trevelyan became, in May 1882, the Chief Secretary for Ireland under Lord Spencer, and a new Coercion Act was employed by them with success in the two following years. The question of Home Rule, started, in its new form, by Mr. Isaac Butt in 1873, taken up by Mr. Parnell in 1877, and involving the demand of a separate Parliament for Ireland, is not yet (1892) ripe for historical discussion.

The great Tory chief did not long survive his political defeat, and his death, on April 19, 1881, removed from the scene a man whose career had been in every way remarkable, as he passed, through the exercise of courage, patience, and wonderful ability, from a position of respectable obscurity to the height of political power and renown. The mantle of Lord Beaconsfield seemed to many, for a season, to have fallen on the shoulders of Lord Randolph Churchill. This young, intrepid, eccentric, adventurous, and very able politician became a thorn in the side of Mr. Gladstone, and his colleagues in the Commons, at an early stage of the new Parliament. The Irish members, led by Mr. Parnell, had been styled the Third Party, as men who at times held quite aloof from their usual Liberal allies, and, for Irish ends, voted in the Tory lobby. Lord Randolph soon formed the famous Fourth Party, composed of four men—himself as leader, Sir Henry Wolff, an able diplomatist, Mr. (now Sir John) Gorst, and Mr. Arthur Balfour. Sir Stafford Northcote was, in their estimation, too lenient with his adversaries, and the new party seized every chance of attack, session after session, with the utmost skill and determination.

In 1880, Mr. Gladstone sought to conciliate the tenant-farmers by the abolition of the malt-tax, and by the passing of the Ground Game Act, which gave them power to kill the hares and rabbits on their own farms. His supporters, the Non-conformists, were gratified by the Burials Act, which allowed them to use their own form of religious service at funerals, and to appoint ministers of their own to conduct them, either in a cemetery or in a parish churchyard. In 1882, the Married Women's Property Act placed husband and wife on an equality before the law so far as concerns their private income, earnings, or inheritance; a most just and

The Tory party, 1881.

Legislation, 1880-1884.

useful measure, at last guarding wives from robbery by dissolute and selfish husbands. In 1883, Mr. Chamberlain carried a Bankruptcy Act, making insolvent debtors subject to more stringent treatment than under the existing law. The offence of bribery at elections was now, for the first time in our history, treated with real severity in the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act. A candidate guilty of corruption in his own person was disabled from ever representing that constituency, was excluded for seven years from the House of Commons, and debarred, for the same period, from holding any public office or voting at any election. An offence committed by any of his agents prevented the candidate, for seven years, from representing the constituency. A maximum of legal expenses was fixed by the statute, and the taking of voters to the poll in hired carriages was made illegal. Undue influence, and the use of bribery and treating, were made misdemeanours, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and personation of a voter was declared to be felony, liable to imprisonment with hard labour. Another statute dealt, in a like spirit, with offences committed at municipal elections. In 1884, the interests of the working-men, in their capacity as voters, were consulted by an Act extending the hours of polling from four till eight o'clock in the evening.

Under the ministry of Lord Beaconsfield, the subject of further franchise reform had been kept alive in the Commons by the **Third Reform Act, 1834-1885.** efforts of Mr. Trevelyan, whose successive motions in 1877 and the two following years were all rejected in that House. In 1883, resolutions in favour of the franchise for all county householders were passed at a great meeting held at Newcastle, and, early in 1884, Mr. Gladstone introduced a Bill. A great change had passed over the political world of Great Britain since the days of 1832. The revolution then accomplished was brought about under the pressure of threats, violence, and bloodshed. In 1867, there was some pressure from without, but the movement was like that of an army controlled by its leaders. Now, in 1884, there was no tumult without, no leadership within, the Liberal party in power, but the ministry accepted the mandate of a large body of delegates, representing 500 Liberal Associations, assembled at Leeds, and at once prepared for legislation. In 1884, the existing constituencies had grown in numbers, since 1870, from about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions to $3\frac{1}{4}$ millions. The measure brought forward in February 1884, proposed to add two millions of voters by granting the franchise to artisans, miners, smaller tradesmen, and, especially, to the peasantry, residing outside the boundaries of boroughs. The redistribution of seats was to be left over till the next year. A cardinal point in the Bill was the inclusion of Ireland, and the admission of her agricultural householders to the franchise on the same terms as those proposed for Great Britain. The second reading was carried by a majority of 130; the third reading was unanimously voted. The

House of Lords, insisting that the redistribution of seats should go along with the extension of the franchise, rejected the Bill by a large majority. In the autumn, a great series of meetings in favour of the measure took place, and some strong language was used against the peers. At an autumn session, early in November, the Bill was again brought forward, and the second reading was now carried by a majority of 140. The matter was then settled by a compromise. Lord Salisbury and Mr. Gladstone arranged for the passing of the Franchise Bill, on condition of the introduction forthwith of a Redistribution Bill, on lines agreed on by the leaders of the two great parties. The preparation of the latter measure was a work of great labour, for which the country was largely indebted to Sir Charles Dilke. The general result was that the number of the electorate was raised to over five millions. The House of Commons has now 670 members, Scotland having seventy-two, or twelve additional seats. Many small boroughs were disfranchised, and their members were assigned to new county divisions and to large towns. Many large boroughs were divided, with a member given to each division, in about the proportion, according to the present population (1892), of one member to every 60,000 people. A very great change took place in the representation of London, which now sends to the Commons sixty-two members. The voters in small towns join in electing members for the county divisions. The most remarkable features of the Act were the creation of the single-member divisions both in counties and boroughs, and the near approach made to the establishment of the Chartist principle of equal electoral districts, or representation in proportion to numbers. The rising democracy was thus launched in full strength on a career which cannot fail to influence to a vast degree the future of the country. The Constitution has become that of a republic, with strong aristocratic and plutocratic elements, and with the inestimable advantage, in the person of the sovereign, of an hereditary dynastic president with a pedigree going back far beyond the days of Alfred, and a history embracing every stage of the development and growth of the British Empire. We may here note that, by the Census taken in 1881, the population of the United Kingdom was found to exceed $35\frac{1}{4}$ millions, of whom England had over $24\frac{1}{2}$ millions, Wales about $1\frac{1}{2}$ millions, Scotland $3\frac{3}{4}$ millions, and Ireland $5\frac{1}{4}$ millions.

The annexation, in 1878, of the Transvaal Republic in South Africa, proved to be a mistaken measure. The Boers, descendants of The Boer War, 1880-1881. the old Dutch colonists, revolted from our rule in December 1880, and took the field with a force, every man of whom was a trained marksman with the rifle. The British troops on the spot could make no head against such men, skilled in guerilla warfare, and they experienced four defeats, at the last of which, in February 1881, our general, Sir George Colley, was killed in defending the position of Majuba Hill. The honour of our arms was redeemed by the gallant

and successful defence of many towns and military posts, until the arrival of an overwhelming force under Sir Evelyn Wood. It was generally thought that an unqualified submission should have been extorted from the rebels, but the ministry yielded to Mr. Gladstone's protests against the "blood-guiltiness" of avenging defeats, or forcing unconditional surrender, and the Transvaal Republic was re-established under conditions which secured the rights of the native tribes from the encroachments of the greedy and unscrupulous Dutchmen. Our government also reserved a right of veto over any treaties that the Transvaal State might conclude with any foreign power.

In 1879, British and French interests caused a joint interposition in the affairs of Egypt, whose Viceroy or Khedive, Ismail Pasha, had become again involved in serious financial difficulties. The Sultan deposed his vassal, who retired to Naples, and was succeeded by his son, the mild and well-conducted Tewfik Pasha. A national party in Egypt, hostile to European intervention, then arose under the leadership of an officer named Arabi Pasha. In June 1882, there was trouble at Alexandria, and the slaughter, by the natives, of some French and British residents caused a flight of Europeans thence and from Cairo. The Turkish government favoured Arabi, and the British and French fleets went to Alexandria, where the new virtual ruler was erecting forts. The French ships steamed away to Port Said, but our Admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour (Lord Alcester), bombarded the works on July 11th, and soon silenced the guns. Then the town of Alexandria was for two days in the hands of the mob, who massacred over 2000 Europeans, and partly reduced the place to a smoking ruin. Order was then restored by our marines and sailors, and, in September, an army under Sir Garnet Wolseley stormed Arabi's position at Tel-el-Kebir. He was taken prisoner and tried and condemned to death for rebellion against the Pasha, but reprieved from that sentence and despatched into exile at Ceylon. Egypt then came into British occupation, and our troops had soon to face a far more formidable task than the suppression of the revolt headed by Arabi.

With the virtual rule of Egypt, the ministry had assumed, as they believed, responsibility for the safety of the Egyptian garrisons in the vast territory known as the Soudan. That country, extending from the Red Sea on the east to Darfour on the west, and southwards as far as the Nyanza Lakes, had been a dependency of Egypt since 1819, and a constant source of trouble to her conquerors. The reign of order in the Soudan, established in 1874 by Colonel Gordon, as governor for the Khedive, ended with his departure for England in 1879, on the deposition of Ismail Pasha. Gordon was one of the greatest characters of modern times—a noble and wondrous combination of Puritan and knight-errant. He had fought in the

**The
Soudan
War,
1883-1885.**

Crimean War, and was present at the capture of Peking in 1860. His title of "Chinese Gordon" was won by his marvellous successes as commander of the Imperial forces against the Tai-ping rebels. In the Soudan he did much good work in the suppression of the slave-trade, which has long been a curse to the peoples of Central Africa. He was adored by the natives, and hated by the Arab traders who thrived upon their captivity and sufferings. It was in 1881 that a kind of Mohammedan Messiah, known as Al-Mahdi, headed a rebellion of the Arabs in the Soudan against Egyptian rule. In 1882 he won some victories over their troops, and early in 1883 he cut to pieces another army, headed by an English officer, General Hicks, in the service of the Khedive. The Egyptian garrisons in the Soudan, at Dongola, Sinkat, and other places, were now in imminent peril. A force of Egyptians was shut up in Khartoum, and in January 1884, General Gordon was sent out, to try and settle matters with the Mahdi, and arrange for the peaceful withdrawal of the Egyptian forces from the whole country. Gordon's arrival at Khartoum was hailed with joy by the natives, but he was unable to make terms with the Arab foe, and was closely shut up within the walls of the town. An expedition could have saved him, with prompt despatch, but the vacillations of a divided Cabinet delayed this effort until August 1884, when a force under Lord Wolseley was sent to make its way up the Nile. After fierce battles with the Arabs, and very slow progress, a detachment under Sir Charles Wilson fought its way up the river in some vessels to Khartoum, by January 28, 1885. The rescuing force saw the Mahdi's banner floating above the ramparts, and found that the town had been entered by the foe, and Gordon and his friends slain, two days before their arrival. Desperate fighting had occurred at other points in the Soudan, between our troops under General Graham, and the Arabs commanded by the Mahdi's lieutenant, Osman Digna. The Arab spearmen, in their charges against our troops, armed with the breech-loader, and aided by Gatling guns, proved themselves to be the most athletic and gallant foes of their class that ever tried the bravery and skill of British soldiers. The names of Abu-Klea, where, in January 1885, Colonel Burnaby, the hero of the "ride to Khiva," fell by the Arab spears; of Metammeh, fatal to General Sir Herbert Stewart; of Tamasi, where the young British soldiers, in a square broken by a fierce rush, used the bayonet with rare skill and success, will not soon be forgotten in our military records.

When the year 1885 was reached, Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had, from various causes, greatly lost their hold on the country. The failure to relieve Gordon had been a shock to the public mind, but the ministry had held their ground against attacks from the Opposition, and the end of their career came in a sudden and somewhat ludicrous way. They were beaten in a division on a proposal of Mr. Childers, now Chancellor of the

Fall of
the Ministry, June
1885.

Exchequer, to increase the duties on beer and spirits, and Mr. Gladstone at once resigned.

Lord Salisbury took the Foreign Office, Sir Hardinge Giffard became Chancellor as Lord Halsbury; Sir Richard Cross was again Home Secretary, and Lord Randolph Churchill became Secretary for India. Sir Stafford Northcote, a noble specimen of the English gentleman and politician, who died suddenly in the first days of 1887, now virtually ended his career in elevation to the House of Lords as Earl of Iddesleigh, holding the post of First Lord of the Treasury. At the general election held in November, the boroughs mostly favoured the Conservative cause, and the new county voters polled heavily for Mr. Gladstone's supporters. The Liberals numbered 333, the Tories were 251, and the 86 Irish Home Rulers, led by Mr. Parnell, thus held the balance of power. They turned against the government in January 1886, when a Bill was brought in to suppress the National League, and, a few days later, on another measure, they helped the Liberals to put the ministry in a minority of seventy-nine. Lord Salisbury resigned office, and was succeeded by Mr. Gladstone.

The premier's colleagues in his third term of highest office were mostly the same as in his ministry of 1880, with a variation in the posts which they held. The Chancellor was Lord Herschell, Solicitor-General in the last Liberal ministry, and a rising man, Lord Rosebery, became Foreign Secretary in place of Lord Granville, who went to the Colonial Office. A distinguished man of letters, Mr. John Morley, M.P. for Newcastle, became Chief Secretary for Ireland, under Lord Aberdeen as Viceroy. Mr. Gladstone had now resolved to try and produce peace in Ireland by granting to that country a separate Parliament. On this momentous question the Liberal party was at once torn asunder. The Prime Minister was abandoned by Lord Hartington, Mr. Bright, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, the Duke of Argyll, Lord Selborne, and many other men of mark. They became the leaders of a section known as Liberal Unionists, or Dissident Liberals. Mr. Gladstone's chief adherents were Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Morley, Earl Spencer, Earl Granville, the Earl of Rosebery, and the Earl of Aberdeen. On April 8th, Mr. Gladstone introduced his famous measure "to amend the provision for the future government of Ireland," and this was followed in a few days by a Land Purchase Bill, proposing to buy out the Irish landlords by an issue of public stock to the amount of £50,000,000. This startling measure caused a further loss of adherents, and on June 7th the ministry was defeated by a majority of thirty votes in the fullest House ever known, numbering 652 members. The defeated government appealed to the country on the great questions at issue, and the general election of July 1886 proved disastrous to Mr. Gladstone, who secured only 196 supporters

Lord Salisbury's first Ministry, June 1885 to Feb. 1886.

Mr. Gladstone's third Ministry, Feb. to July 1886.

in Great Britain, with 86 Home Rulers from Ireland. The Dissident Liberals numbered 73, and the Tories were 315.

In the new ministry of Lord Salisbury, Lord Randolph Churchill was Chancellor of the Exchequer and leader of the House, but resigned his office and became a "free lance" early in the following year. Sir Richard Cross, as Viscount Cross, took the India Office; Mr. Matthews, M.P. for Birmingham, became Home Secretary, and Mr. W. H. Smith was Secretary for War. In January 1887, Mr. Goschen took charge of the national finances, Lord Salisbury succeeded Lord Iddesleigh at the Foreign Office, and Mr. W. H. Smith became First Lord of the Treasury and leader of the Commons. Mr. A. J. Balfour was now made Chief Secretary for Ireland, in which capacity he passed the Coercion Act of 1887, with which we must take leave of British and Irish political affairs. A pleasing and instructive incident of 1886 was the magnificent display made at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition held at South Kensington, which was very successful in awaking the public mind to a sense of the reality and greatness of the empire abroad which has quietly grown up during the reign of Queen Victoria.

A matter of constitutional interest and importance occurred early in the reign, and became the last instance of conflict between the privilege of the House of Commons and the jurisdiction of the law courts. The parliamentary printers, Messrs. Hansard, had published an official report in which a certain book, put forth by a Mr. Stockdale, was described as an obscene and disgusting work. That publisher brought an action for libel, and the defendants pleaded the authority of Parliament as justification. Lord Chief-Justice Denman set aside this plea, on the ground that the House of Commons was not Parliament, and could not sanction the publication of libels on individuals. Judgment was at last given by default against the Hansards, and the sheriffs of London were ordered to seize and sell some of their property in discharge of damages and costs. Those officials, if they obeyed, were liable to imprisonment in Newgate for contempt of the privilege of the House of Commons. If they refused to obey, they would certainly be committed for contempt of the Queen's Bench. The Hansards then, under protest, paid the amount awarded into the sheriff's court; the House ordered the sheriffs to refund the money; the court of Queen's Bench was applied to for an order directing the sheriffs to pay it over to Stockdale. The serjeant-at-arms, by order of the Commons, arrested the sheriffs, and the Queen's Bench served him with a writ of Habeas Corpus to produce the sheriffs in court. The quarrel went merrily on, at considerable length, and the public excitement and amusement were great, when they saw the House of Commons encumbered with prisoners whom it cared neither to release nor to retain in custody. The Court of Queen's Bench had allowed the Commons to keep the sheriffs, when

Lord Salisbury's second Ministry, July 1886.

The Stockdale case, 1837-1840.

the serjeant-at-arms produced his prisoners, and stated that he held them by order of the House. At last, in April 1840, the matter was settled by a compromise in the shape of an Act ordaining that all civil or criminal proceedings against persons for publication of papers printed by order of either House were to be stayed by the courts, on production of a certificate and affidavit to the effect that such publication was by order of Parliament. Throughout the contest, public opinion had been with the sheriffs, and against the House of Commons, but the real point at issue was one of vast importance, since the interests of the weak and the oppressed absolutely demand that the free exposure of abuses shall be secured by the unrestricted right of publication as inherent in both Houses.

Among the matters of tragical interest concerning the sovereign and her family have been several attacks made upon the person of the Queen. They had no political meaning or importance, beyond the danger which, in one or two instances, was really incurred by the personage assailed. On June 10, 1840, a youth named Oxford fired two shots at the Queen as she was driving up Constitution Hill with Prince Albert. He was a potboy of seventeen, crazed by a desire for notoriety, and was confined for life as a criminal lunatic. On May 30, 1842, again on Constitution Hill, a man named Francis, from the distance of a few feet, fired a pistol at the Queen as she drove down rapidly in her carriage. This attempt at regicide was made on the very spot where Oxford had failed. The culprit, twenty-two years of age, was sentenced to death for high treason, but only underwent transportation for life. It was not certain that the weapon had been loaded with ball. A short time afterwards, a lad named Charles Bean presented a pistol at the Queen's carriage, in the Mall near Buckingham Palace. Before he could pull the trigger, he was disarmed by a boy standing near, and the weapon was found to be loaded with powder, closely rammed paper wadding, and some pieces of a clay-pipe. This third mountebank, aiming at martyrdom under the law of treason, was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, and then an Act was passed, at the instance of Sir Robert Peel, the premier, making such attempts on the royal person liable to transportation for seven years, or to imprisonment for three, with the addition of three whippings, according to the direction of the judge. On May 19, 1849, an Irish bricklayer, named Hamilton, fired a pistol, loaded with powder only, at the Queen, again on Constitution Hill. He was sentenced to seven years' transportation, after a narrow escape from "lynching" at the hands of the indignant crowd. On May 27, 1850, for the first and only time, the Queen was actually struck by one of these cowardly or frantic miscreants. A man named Robert Pate, an ex-lieutenant of hussars, gave Her Majesty a blow across the face with a stick, as she was leaving Cambridge House, Piccadilly, after a visit to her uncle, the

The
Queen
and
Royal
Family.

Duke, who was seriously ill. No great damage was done by the light cane used, as the bonnet worn in that day broke the force of the weapon. Insanity was pleaded, and the prisoner was spared whipping, but sentenced to seven years' transportation. In February 1872, a lad of seventeen, named O'Connor, presented a pistol at the Queen, as she entered the gateway of Buckingham Palace after a drive. The weapon proved to be unloaded, with a broken lock, and the culprit had in his hand a petition in favour of some Fenian prisoners. Twelve months' imprisonment, with a whipping, was the sentence in this case. Lastly, on March 2, 1882, a young man named Maclean fired a loaded pistol at the Queen, as she drove out of the railway station at Windsor. He was tried for high treason, but was found to be insane by the jury, and went to Broadmoor for life. On March 12, 1868, an Irishman named O'Farrell, connected with the Fenian conspiracy, made a desperate attempt to assassinate the Duke of Edinburgh, in a public garden at Sydney, in Australia, where the Prince was then staying, as commander of the frigate *Galatea*. A severe wound was inflicted by a shot from a revolver. Another event of most painful interest for the time, but marked by a happy issue, was the dangerous illness of the Prince of Wales, at the close of 1871. His ailment was typhoid fever, which had proved fatal to his father. By a remarkable coincidence and contrast, the malady took a favourable turn on December 14th, the anniversary of the Prince Consort's death. On February 27, 1872, a grandly loyal demonstration attended the public service of thanksgiving, when the Queen, the Prince, his wife, so nearly widowed, and other members of the family, went in procession to St. Paul's Cathedral. It is needless to allude here to the numerous royal marriages, and we only record the events of mournful import. On December 14, 1878, by another remarkable and now unhappy coincidence, the Queen was deprived, on the anniversary of her husband's death, of her second daughter, the Princess Alice of Hesse, who became the victim of diphtheria, at her German home, in nursing one of her young children. In March 1884, the Queen lost her fourth and youngest son, Leopold, Duke of Albany, by his sudden death at Cannes from a fit of epilepsy. About two years before, he had been happily married to the German princess Helen of Waldeck. His health was feeble, but his character and tastes resembled his father's, and the nation had hoped for good work from his efforts on the same lines as those chosen by the Prince Consort.

Britons of the Victorian age have not failed to win renown in the arduous and perilous work of scientific travel conducted in climates of opposite extremes. In voyages towards the Northern and Southern Poles, and in African researches, the chief results of courage, skill, and endurance have been attained. Between the years 1818 and 1833, Captain (the late Sir John) Ross, and Lieutenant (the late Sir William) Parry, made repeated efforts to

Travel
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discover the long-desired north-west passage to Asia. Many discoveries of land were made, including Boothia Felix, part of the North American continent, named after Sir Felix Booth, a London merchant, who fitted out a steamer for Ross in 1829. The true position of the magnetic pole was found to be there situated, and the party returned to England after an absence of four years. In May 1845, Sir John Franklin, already noted for Arctic travel, started for the north-west with the ships of tragic name and fame, the *Erebus* and *Terror*. On July 26th of that year, the vessels were seen, for the last time, in Melville Bay, on the west coast of Greenland. Year after year passed away, and Lady Franklin, with other relatives of the explorers, passed from hope and expectation to mourning and despair. Between 1848 and 1859 more than twenty British and American expeditions—some at Lady Franklin's charge, others sent by private persons, others at the cost of the two governments—were despatched by sea and land. Our knowledge of the Arctic regions was greatly extended, and, in 1850, the north-west passage to Asia was at last discovered by Captain M'Clure, who made his way all round from Behring Strait. In 1853, the explorer Rae learnt from the natives the first tidings of the destruction of Franklin's ships, after being abandoned by the crews. In 1855, some relics of the vessels were found in Boothia, and in his expedition of 1857-59, Captain (the late Sir Leopold) M'Clintock established the fact that Franklin and his companions had all perished of cold, hunger, or disease, in 1847 and 1848. In 1859, M'Clintock discovered a document deposited twelve years before, recording the death of Franklin, with some officers and men; the wandering Esquimaux reported the decease of the remainder of the party, and various bodies and relics were afterwards discovered. The last British expedition was that of 1875-76, headed by Captain (Sir George) Nares, with the steamships *Discovery* and *Alert*. One of the sledge-parties attained a point— $83^{\circ} 20'$ —nearer to the North Pole than any yet reached by civilised man. Our chief Antarctic discoverer was Sir James Ross, a nephew of Sir John. He was a man skilled in magnetism, meteorology, and other departments of science, and made a four years' voyage towards the South Pole in 1839 to 1843. A vast continent, bordered by a barrier of ice to the height of 150 feet, was discovered, and an active volcano, that named Mount Erebus, was seen. The region was named Victoria Land, or South Victoria; the lowest south latitude attained was just over 78° . It is in Africa that the most interesting and valuable modern geographical discoveries have been made, and heroic endurance has been shown in encountering the difficulties caused by the climate, the hostility of natives, and the jealousy of Mohammedan occupants and traders in the vast interior which, for Europeans, had been so long shrouded in a veil of mystery. At the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, much of Central Africa, and a great region lying south of the equator, were either a blank upon the maps, or they

were marked by the conjectural dotted course of rivers, and by supposed ranges of mountains. The source of the Nile was as much a secret as it had been for Herodotus. Within the last hundred years, more has been done to open up Africa than in the whole previous course of history. Near the close of the eighteenth century, an enterprising Scottish surgeon, Mungo Park, undertook to trace the course of the river Niger. He made known its easterly or upper portion, and returned to England in 1797. In 1805, Park headed an expedition for the British government, to trace the course of the river down to the sea. The whole of the travellers died of disease, or were slain by the natives, and one of Park's books, a nautical work, was seen by some English explorers at the house of a native chief. After some French expeditions had explored the western and central Sahara, and had traced the Senegal and the Gambia to their sources by the year 1818, British travel was resumed in 1822 by Major Denham, an old Peninsular officer, and Captain Clapperton, of the royal navy. Denham, a man full of courage, energy, and tact, went with Clapperton due south from Tripoli to Lake Tchad, in a complete passage of the Sahara. In 1825, Clapperton, with his faithful servant, Richard Lander, started from the Guinea coast of Africa, and made his way to Soccatoo, on a tributary of the Niger, where he died in 1827. He was the first European traveller who ever crossed Africa from the Mediterranean to the Guinea coast. Denham died of fever, in 1828, as governor of Sierra Leone. The problem of the true course of the Niger was at last solved by Richard Lander. This great explorer, in 1830-32, with his brother, John Lander, descended the last 800 miles of the great western river. In 1834, he died near the Niger mouths, from wounds inflicted by natives. In 1850, under the auspices of our government, Dr. Barth, a German of Hamburg, set out from Tripoli, with Dr. Overweg and Mr. Richardson, both of whom died during the expedition. The Sahara, and the regions round Lake Tchad, became more fully known, and, in the work of five years, Barth visited Timbuctoo, learned much about the Niger tributaries, explored an area of about 2,000,000 square miles, till then almost unknown, and returned to Tripoli in 1855. We turn now to the exploration of the basin of the Nile. The source of the eastern, by far the shorter, branch of the mighty and mysterious stream, had been discovered by the Scottish traveller, James Bruce, in 1770, in the highlands of Abyssinia. The Blue Nile was thus known, but the western branch, or White Nile, eluded complete discovery for nearly a century longer. In 1848 and 1849, two German missionaries, Krapf and Rebmann, discovered the lofty mountains Kilimanjaro, over 20,000 feet high, and Kenia, 18,000 feet, and exposed the fable of a great range known as the "Mountains of the Moon." They little knew how near they were to the true source of the Nile. In 1857, Dr. Krapf heard from the natives that "a large river issued from a lake at the foot of the mountains of Kenia, and flowed

northwards through another lake." In the same year, Major Burton and Captain Speke, crossing from Zanzibar, reached and discovered Lake Victoria Nyanza. In 1861, the river was found by Captains Speke and Grant at the Ripon Falls, on the north shore of the Victoria Nyanza, and they followed it down to the Karuma Falls, but were prevented by a native war from tracing it down to the Albert Nyanza. In 1876, M. Gessi, an officer of Colonel Gordon's (the hero of Khartoum), traced the Nile upwards to Lake Albert Nyanza, which he fully explored. Long before this, in 1863-64, Sir Samuel Baker had so far explored the part not previously traced as to make it certain that the White Nile issues from Lake Victoria Nyanza, nearly 4000 feet above sea-level, on the equator, as its source. This lake was sailed round by the American traveller Stanley in 1875, and he found that a river about a mile wide flowed into it on the south side, and other large rivers on the east and west. The most illustrious and devoted of all travellers on the continent of Africa was the Lanarkshire man, Dr. Livingstone, born in 1813, in early youth a worker in a cotton-mill, then a self-taught man, and a graduate in medicine, in 1838, of Glasgow University. In 1840, he began his life as a missionary for the London Society, and joined the famous Robert Moffat in South Africa. After labours in the Bechuana territory, and learning native customs, languages, and laws, he started northwards in June 1849, and in August was paddled up a river into Lake Ngami, then first seen by European eyes. In 1851 he went north-east and discovered the Zambesi, the largest river of southern Africa. Between January 1853 and May 1856, amid dangers and difficulties from fever, famine, and hostile natives, Livingstone made his way northwards to Lake Dilolo, the source of one arm of the Zambesi, and then crossed westwards to the Portuguese town of St. Paul de Loanda, which he reached in August 1854. He then retraced his steps, passed down the Zambesi, discovered the great Victoria Falls, and came out at Quillimane, on the northern mouth of the river, after performing the then unparalleled feat of crossing Africa from ocean to ocean in those latitudes. During this great journey Livingstone had discovered, near Lake Dilolo, the dividing plateau, from five to seven thousand feet above sea-level, or watershed, between Central and Southern Africa. The territory which he had traversed was proved to be richly fertile, thickly wooded, well watered, and of great mineral wealth. In December 1856 he returned to England, was received with much enthusiasm, and published an account of his travels. Early in 1858, he returned to Quillimane, in Mozambique, as British Consul, and from that time until 1862 he was exploring the regions north of the Lower Zambesi, thereby adding to the map an accurate configuration of Lakes Nyassa and Shirwa. After another visit to England in 1864-65, Livingstone began his latest achievements in 1866. He now explored the country between Lakes Nyassa and Victoria Nyanza,

and, after ascending the river Rovuma, about ten degrees south latitude, for some distance, he struck out south-west by land, round the west side of Lake Nyassa, and due northwards to Lake Tanganyika, which he reached in the autumn of 1867. On his way he had discovered Lakes Liemba, Bangweolo, and Moero. Then followed one of the most striking episodes in the history of modern travel. News arrived in England that the great explorer had been killed by the natives. The story was discredited by Dr. Kirk, of Zanzibar, and by Sir Roderick Murchison, in England, who divined that it was invented by Livingstone's native followers, as a reason for their arrival at the coast, after deserting him. This was proved to be the case by a search-expedition, which found natives who had seen him safe some days after the date of his alleged death; and, more conclusively, by letters sent off by Livingstone four months after that time. After being lost to the world for nearly three years, delayed by inundations, and cut off by native wars, he was discovered, in November 1871, at Ujiji (on the eastern side of Lake Tanganyika), by Mr. H. M. Stanley, sent out to search by the proprietor of the *New York Herald*. Livingstone had then made extensive new explorations west of Tanganyika, and had discovered the Lualaba river. In May 1873, after further arduous exertion, he died of dysentery on the south shore of Lake Bangweolo. His body was embalmed and carried to the coast, and, in April 1874, it was most fitly laid within the walls of Westminster Abbey. Between 1872 and 1875, Lieutenant Cameron, sent from Zanzibar, by the Royal Geographical Society, in search of Livingstone, made many discoveries about the rivers and lakes which feed the great river Congo from the south, and he finally reached Benguela, on the Atlantic coast, after traversing the whole continent. Mr. Stanley has since proved that the Congo and Livingstone's "Lualaba" are identical.

The practical uses of electricity belong solely to the Victorian era, and, along with the applications of steam, they have effected results of vast social, commercial, and political importance, reducing the civilised world, for the communication of news, to the dimensions of a small district. To no empire in the world have the electric wires proved to be of such value as to the British dominions, scattered as they are in every quarter of the globe, and bound by the ties and interests of trade to communities of every clime, furnishing every kind of valuable products. The electric telegraph, as an instrument of practical and commercial value, is mainly due to the ingenuity of Professor Steinheil of Munich; of Mr. Morse, a citizen of the United States; and of our countrymen, Wheatstone and Cooke. It was in the year of the Queen's accession that the new system of signalling was established, as a commercial speculation, in Germany, England, and America. Countless improvements have brought the sometime marvel to perfect and familiar use. In 1863, the Post-Office Department bought up the lines of wire, and, in the end, cheapened

Electric
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the transmission of messages, and brought the whole system under good management and control. The first submarine cable was that laid from Dover to Calais in the year of the first Great Exhibition. Holyhead and Dublin were thus connected in the following year, and in 1856, an able and energetic American, Mr. Cyrus W. Field, revived a project for telegraphic communication between these islands and the United States. It was he who first showed how to do it, and at last effected his aim. In 1857, a first attempt was made to lay a cable between the island of Valentia, on the south-west coast of Ireland, and Newfoundland. At 300 miles from Ireland the cable broke, and the effort was given up for that year. In 1858, two ships of war, the British *Agamemnon* and the American *Niagara*, met in mid-Atlantic, each bearing half of a huge telegraphic rope. The cables were joined, and the vessels then parted company, steaming east and west. Stormy weather caused delay, and the breaking of the cable brought another temporary failure. Later in the same year, the effort was renewed, and this time it ended in the union, for a few days, of Europe and America. Messages of congratulation passed between the Queen and the President, but the construction was defective, and permitted the escape of the electric current into the ocean-bed. The wires soon ceased to act on the instruments at each end, and the great enterprise was laid aside until science had devised means for their perfect insulation. In 1865, the rupture of a new cable left a portion for the time at the bottom of the ocean, but in 1866 that portent of marine architecture and commercial failure, save for the laying of submarine cables, the *Great Eastern*, accomplished the feat of laying an Atlantic telegraph of complete and continued efficiency. This grand success was followed by the laying of wires beneath the ocean in many other parts of the world.

The reign of Victoria has been nobly distinguished by the endless energetic work of men and women who are true lovers of their kind. Countless societies and institutions have been founded for the help and the relief of the sick, the suffering, the weak, the needy, of every age, class, and condition. The wrecked sailor, the wounded soldier, the feeble and innocent child, the released prisoner, the dumb animal, have found strong sympathy, defence, and aid in the hour of their utmost peril and distress. In no direction has more progress been made than in the cause of moderate indulgence in the use of spirituous liquors. At the accession of the Queen, the youthful sovereign found herself called to rule over the most drunken nation in the world. If that has long since ceased to be our reproach, the improvement is due to the energetic efforts of reformers devoted to the work of Temperance. The first societies formed for this purpose arose, early in the century, in the New England States of America. The movement spread to this side of the Atlantic, and in 1829 a society was established in Ireland. In 1838, the great

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Temperance apostle, Father Theobald Mathew, began to preach to his whisky-loving countrymen with such wonderful power and success that, in the space of two years, nearly 2,000,000 of Irish men and women had formally renounced the use of ardent spirits. The first Temperance Society in Scotland was founded in 1829, and on June 14, 1830, the work began in England with the starting of an association at Bradford, soon followed by many others. The early societies waged war only against the use of spirits, but in 1832 Joseph Livesey, of Preston, began the movement in favour of total abstinence from all alcoholic drinks. In the year 1838, the "Teetotal" party had become supreme among the advocates of temperance, and its members began to aim at legislative restriction in Great Britain. The National Temperance League was founded, in London, in 1856. It had been preceded by the Scottish Temperance League, in 1844, and by the United Kingdom Alliance, founded in 1853. This association was composed of the "Permissive Bill" party, who advocated the passing of a statute which would give a majority of two-thirds of the inhabitants in any district the power to decide whether public-houses should be permitted to exist within its bounds. This method of procedure will ever be associated, along with the general advance made in the cause of temperance, with the name of Sir Wilfrid Lawson, whose "gay wisdom" of speech his political opponent Disraeli declared to be his chief characteristic. The Cumberland baronet brought a boundless supply of spontaneous, overflowing fun to the aid of a social reform whose sincere and earnest advocates had often made the subject dull and repulsive to their unconverted hearers. This new agitator soon caused the House of Commons to listen to his effusions with delight. Every kind of "teetotalism," and temperance in strong liquors, had been the theme of satirists and jesters, who aimed their scornful wit at men described sometimes as sour fanatics, and sometimes as sanctimonious impostors, who drank copiously on the sly. When Sir Wilfrid Lawson took the field, about the year 1870, the tables were promptly turned. Attacked himself by every kind of rude, coarse, and stupid epithet, he made fun of his opponents and their friends. He set the House of Commons and crowded public meetings laughing at them. Never bitter or abusive, always inspired by genial humour, ever in earnest, not for a moment dull, he fought his best in the cause which he had undertaken. The temperance movement had long been a moral force, a religious force, and a popular force. He made it a parliamentary force by his interesting and amusing speeches, and politicians of both parties have now to reckon with a question which has become a great power in the land. After repeated defeats in the Commons, Sir Wilfrid Lawson carried, in 1880, a resolution in favour of the "local option" which is the principle of the Permissive Bill. In 1873, the Church of England at last took up the cause, and has effected great good by her special Association.

The fiftieth anniversary of the Queen's accession was celebrated on June 21, 1887, and the occasion was one on which people of all classes, parties, races, and creeds throughout this vast empire, united in a spirit of joyful congratulation around a maternal throne. From all parts of the British dominions came cordial words and costly gifts, and great festivities took place in every part of the world where British subjects dwell. The Queen, with her family and court, went in procession from Buckingham Palace to Westminster Abbey, where, amid a scene of splendour, sparkling with jewels and rich in costly raiment, a thanksgiving service was held before an assemblage of representatives gathered from all parts of the Empire. The most striking feature of the pageant on this memorable day was the "Cavalcade of Princes," in which there rode together twenty-four sons, sons-in-law, and grandsons of the sovereign. The most stately figure in the group was that of the Crown Prince of Germany, already doomed, by fell disease, to die within twelve months, as the Emperor Frederick, shortly after succeeding his aged father, the founder of the new Germanic imperial realm. The length of Queen Victoria's reign has now (in 1892) exceeded that of all our sovereigns save two, Henry III. and George III.

The Jubilee. June 1887.

BOOK XVIII.

OUR EMPIRE IN ASIA.

CHAPTER I.

BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH INDIA.

The Moghul empire. Early English travellers and traders. The East India Company. The English and the Dutch. The Presidencies. Robert Clive at Arcot and Plassey. The French in southern India. Lally and Eyre Coote.

THE imposing fabric of our Indian Empire, due to energy, enterprise, and valour displayed during more than a century of time, had its lowly origin in a trading company founded at the close of the Elizabethan age. The land invaded by Alexander in the fourth century before Christ, had been overrun, between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries of the Christian era, by Moham-
Our early inter-course with India.

medan conquerors from the north-west. In 1398, Timour the Tartar, or Tamerlane, took Delhi with his Mongol hosts, but it was his descendant Baber who first firmly held the country, and founded the Moghul dynasty of Delhi. The reign of his grandson, Akbar, from 1555 to 1605, almost exactly coincides with that of Queen Elizabeth. He was a great, wise, and powerful ruler, who crushed the last remains of Afghan sway in Hindostan. At the close of his reign the British trader comes upon the scene, following the Portuguese, who had, in 1510, been the first European people to set foot in the land after the re-discovery of the route round the Cape. The English merchants had for some time cast a longing eye on the profits of the Portuguese, and in 1583 the Turkey Company sent out two agents, named Newbury and Fitch, on an overland journey by way of Syria, Bagdad, and the Persian Gulf, in order to obtain information concerning the means of establishing trade with India. Newbury died in the East, and his comrade returned after visiting Bengal, Pegu, Ceylon, and Cochin. In 1591 Captain Lancaster, with three ships, made the first British maritime expedition to the coveted region of wealth and wonders. A cargo of pepper and other spices was obtained from Malacca and Ceylon.

In mediæval times, trade and industry had been merely municipal, regulated in each town by the craft-gilds. The expansion which took place in the Tudor age made commerce a national matter, and for

protection amidst the dangers of unknown seas and against foreign rivals, companies were formed for separate areas of trade. It was on the last day of the sixteenth century, December 31, 1600, that Queen Elizabeth granted a charter to a body of adventurers, styled "The Governor and Company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies." Exclusive liberty of trade was given for the term of fifteen years. Early in 1601, a fleet of four ships, under Lancaster as admiral, and with the famous John Davis as pilot, sailed for the Eastern seas. Factories, or trading-posts, were established at Acheen, in Sumatra, and at Bantam, in Java. Two of the vessels returned to England with rich cargoes of pepper, cloves, cinnamon, and other produce, and the leader received knighthood as Sir James Lancaster. Other ventures, more or less profitable, followed in the early years of James I.'s reign, and in 1609 the charter of the Company was renewed without limitation of time. Jehanghir had now succeeded the great Akbar in his mighty sovereignty, and we have a quaint account of his power, magnificence, and wealth in the writings of Thomas Coryat, who started from Jerusalem to Agra, the seat of the Great Moghul, in 1612, and walked the whole distance in a journey of fifteen months.

Between 1612 and 1616 the Company, by the grant of the Indian Emperor, established "factories" at Surat, Ahmedabad, and Cambay, on the western side of the country, with the privilege of introducing their merchandise at a fixed rate of duty. Much trouble was caused by the jealous hostility of the Portuguese and Dutch, but the new-comers held their ground, and won the favour of the Moghul ruler. In 1615, James I. sent out Sir Thomas Roe as his ambassador to the court of Agra, where he resided for four years, and obtained further privileges for the Company, who soon had trading posts at Agra and Burhampore, in the Moghul's own dominions; at Masulipatam and Calicut; in Borneo, Malacca, Celebes, and Siam. Roe gave, on his return, a glowing account of Indian splendour, wealth, and power, as displayed in the "twenty royal elephants" of Jehanghir, "so rich that in precious stones and furniture they braved the sun;" in vast cavalcades of armed horsemen; in the mosques and tombs of Delhi, and in the gorgeous public buildings which combined the marks of Hindoo and Saracenic art. The home governments strove in vain to settle the disputes between the English and Dutch traders in the East. The Hollanders were seeking to maintain a monopoly of the trade in spices, and especially of the supply of nutmegs and cloves obtained from the Banda Isles. In 1619, a treaty made in London divided the commerce with Java and the Moluccas between the traders of the two nations, but in the following year our people were forcibly expelled from some of the Banda group, and Dutch hostility culminated in 1623 with the atrocious massacre of some English residents on the island of Amboyna, in the Moluccas, an outrage left without redress

until the day of Cromwell's power. At the close of James First's reign, the Company's affairs were in a languishing condition.

A revival came in the reign of Charles I. In 1641 a settlement was made, by permission of the native powers, on the Coromandel coast, and Fort St. George arose on the site of the city of Madras. In 1654, this post became the first Presidency, governed by a President and Council appointed by the Court of Directors. Under the rule of Cromwell, the trade of the Company was injured by the allowed competition of "interlopers," "free traders," or private adventurers, but in 1657 they received a new charter, and their affairs again became flourishing. In 1668, the island of Bombay, part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, was bestowed on the Company by Charles II., along with many new privileges, and this trade centre, in spite of Portuguese hostility, soon grew into importance. In the middle of the reign of Louis XIV., a French East India Company became a formidable rival to the English, with a station at Chandernagore, on the Hooghly, a branch of the Ganges, and at Pondicherry, on the Carnatic coast. In 1691, Fort St. David, south of Pondicherry, was erected by our Company as a check upon the new-comers in that quarter. In 1698, the purchase of some land from the Emperor Aurungzebe, the last powerful sovereign of the Moghul dynasty, became the origin of the second Presidency, that of Bengal. Fort William, on the Hooghly, now gave its first strength and importance to Calcutta, and new trade depôts were established at Dacca, Patna, and Cossimbazar. In 1707, Calcutta was made the seat of government for this new Presidency, and Bombay became the third in the following year.

In 1697, the Whig government at home favoured the formation of a new East India Company, while the Tories supported the old corporation. An envoy was sent out to plead with Aurungzebe for his favour to the new body, but the Moghul emperor did not sanction their pretensions, and dismissed their ambassador from Agra. After lengthy disputes and negotiations, the rival Companies were united in 1702, and, the influence of Godolphin having arranged matters of finance, the East India Company was launched on the career of growing wealth and power which was destined to continue for a century and a half. No thought of conquest or of empire had yet dawned upon the minds of the commercial magnates who traded in Eastern lands and seas. It was the decay of the Moghul empire, and rivalry with the French, our old European foes, that first made peaceful traders into a warlike body. In these early days, the three Presidencies had each but a small garrison of British troops, purely for self-defence, with native soldiers called Sepoys. After the death of Aurungzebe, his extensive empire, already on the wane, fell ever into swifter decline. The viceroys of its great provinces, ruling as Subahdar, or Nizam, or Nawaub (Nabob), or Vizier, shook off the central authority at Delhi, and became by degrees independent kings. The

The three
Presidencies.

The new
Company,
1702.

power of the Great Moghul was seriously shaken by the invasion, in 1739, of the Persian monarch, Nadir Shah, and a warlike people, called Mahrattas, were rising into formidable strength. This Hindoo race, early in the seventeenth century, had descended, under their chief, Sivaji, from the mountains on the west coast, and, plundering as they marched and fought and won their way, they had, before the middle of the eighteenth, extended their dominion eastwards to Orissa, and from Agra southwards to the Carnatic. From the position of banditti they had risen to the dignity of conquerors, and holders of sovereign states, whose rulers were in nominal submission to the Mahratta lord, Sivaji's heir, who lived at Sattara, while the real chief of the race was the Peishwa, his minister, who ruled at Poonah.

The genius and courage of Robert Clive laid the strong and lasting foundation of British rule in India. This great man went to Clive, 1744-1757. Madras, as a "writer" or clerk, at the age of nineteen, in 1744, but, born soldier as he was, he soon found work more suited to his powers than the tame, however useful, labours of the desk. The first serious troubles for our countrymen in the East arose in southern India, where the Mahrattas were at war with the Nizam, the Mohammedan ruler of the Deccan, or country between the Nerbudda and the Kistna. The war of the Austrian succession in Europe brought us into collision with the French in India, and hostilities began in 1744. Our enemies had at first a clear advantage in the struggle. La Bourdonnais, governor of Mauritius, or the Isle of France, attacked Madras with a fleet and army in September 1746, and, after five days' bombardment, compelled the surrender of Fort St. George, which he offered to restore, with the rest of the settlement, for a heavy ransom. A very able, crafty, and ambitious man, Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, had formed the design of expelling us entirely from India, and bringing the whole country under the dominion of France. He now declined to ratify the terms made by La Bourdonnais, and carried off the English governor and other officers to Pondicherry. Clive had fled from his counting-house to Fort St. David, and obtained an ensign's commission in the service of the Company. In 1748, a large force arrived from England, but, after we had suffered great loss in an unsuccessful siege of Pondicherry, the contest ended for a time, and the Madras Presidency was recovered, under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Then the French and English again became hostile as the active supporters of native princes who were rivals for the power and title of Nabob of the Carnatic. Arcot fell into the hands of the prince favoured by Dupleix, and the power of the English Company seemed likely to follow to virtual extinction that of the Portuguese and the Dutch, when the new Nizam of the Deccan, a pretender also raised to power through French assistance, appointed the bold Frenchman governor, under the Moghul, of the whole eastern country from the Kistna to Cape Comorin. The occasion was most urgent, but a man

was found equal to its claims. Clive was now a captain of twenty-five years, who had never seen a regular battle, but had gained promotion by his energy and ability in the duties of inferior command, and was now commissary to the troops in the Presidency of Madras. He conceived the daring plan of an attack on Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. With happy judgment, his superiors gave heed to his proposals, and he set forth with eight officers, four of whom were trading servants of the Company, in command of a force that numbered but 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys. Amidst the thunders, floods, and flashings of a tropical storm that paralysed even the native garrison with superstitious terror, Clive marched up to the gates, and, without a blow, became possessed of a city of 100,000 people. The French and their native allies, now engaged upon the siege of Trichinopoly, detached a force of 10,000 men to assail the ruinous fort at Arcot in which the daring Englishman had placed his little garrison. All efforts, prolonged for fifty days, were in vain. The young hero inspired his native soldiers with a devotion due to confidence based on his sagacity and courage, and, when rice grew scarce, they would only take the liquor in which the grain was boiled, leaving the more solid food for the Europeans to consume. A brave Mahratta chief, Morari Row, who lay with his force on the hills of Mysore, was touched by the resolute defence, and resolved to send aid to our cause. The besiegers, after vain offers of bribes and utterance of threats, made a last desperate assault, enduring for an hour, and repulsed with the utmost intrepidity and skill. In the morning, the assailants had vanished from the scene of action, and the fame of Clive was spread through the land. He took the open field with reinforcements, won victory after victory over the French and their allies, assisted his superior, Major Lawrence, in raising the siege of Trichinopoly, and then returned to England for recovery of health. In 1756 he was at Fort St. David as governor, with the rank of colonel in the British army by the King's commission. He found that his baffled rival, Dupleix, had been superseded by his government, and had returned to France, to die in poverty and neglect.

In April 1756, Suraj-ud-Daula, a cruel, debauched, and ignorant youth of nineteen years, succeeded his grandfather, Alivardi Khan, as Nawab or Subahdar of Bengal, Orissa, and Behar. He had inherited a hatred of the British, and in June, after a feeble and unskilful defence, he became master of Fort William and Calcutta. The fearful tragedy of the Black Hole, in which over a hundred of our captured countrymen died amid the horrors of thirst and suffocation, found an avenger in the hero of Arcot. When the terrible news reached Madras in August, an expedition was prepared, and the squadron under Admiral Watson took on board Clive, with 900 British troops, including the 39th regiment, whose colours were destined, after many glorious campaigns, to bear the proud and suggestive motto "Primus in Indis." After long delays in the Bay of

Plassey,
June 23,
1757.

Bengal, due to contrary winds, the armament reached the Hooghly, and on January 2, 1757, Calcutta was retaken. Suraj-ud-Daula marched from Moorsshedabad with 40,000 men. Long negotiations followed, during which our troops attacked and captured the French settlement at Chandernagore. Clive then engaged in a course of adroit and, to state the truth, unscrupulous intrigue for the deposition of his foe, and the appointment of the general, Meer Jaffier, as Subahdar. It was arranged that the treacherous native should desert his master with one division of the troops, but in the end Clive was forced, with but 3000 men, of whom only one-third were English, to encounter 60,000 enemies at Plassey, a village on the river south of Cossimbazar. The victory there won made a deep and lasting mark upon the native mind, and, in its far-reaching results, gave us our Indian Empire. The defeated Suraj-ud-Daula was put to death by Meer Jaffier, who succeeded to his power, and paid nearly £3,000,000 sterling, from the treasure of Moorsshedabad, as a reward to the fleet, the troops, and the civil servants of the Company. A native prince was thus again seated on the throne of Bengal, but English influence was supreme in the province, and the day of French and Dutch rivalry, as of real native power, had for ever passed away in the rich lower valley of the Ganges.

Whilst Clive, after Plassey, had been busy in Bengal, routing before Patna an army of the Great Moghul, and destroying a Dutch fleet and troops on the Hooghly, new and serious dangers had arisen for his countrymen in the south. The French were again in the field as our foes in the Seven Years' War, now raging in three quarters of the world. Their leader, as successor to Dupleix, was the brave, impetuous, and skilful Count Lally Tolland, who commanded a body of 1200 veterans from France. Fort St. David was taken and destroyed, but he failed in an attack upon Madras. Another great soldier took command of our men, in the person of the famous Eyre Coote. In January 1760, the British and their Sepoy comrades completely defeated Lally and his native allies at Wandewash, south-west of Madras, and gave us a firm hold of the Carnatic. In 1761, a long siege and desperate defence ended in the fall of Pondicherry, and from that day French power in India had an end. The gallant Lally, born in France of Irish parents, promoted for distinguished conduct at Fontenoy, and engaged with the Pretender in the '45, returned to France to die, after long incarceration, by a cruel and unjust sentence for treachery.

The English and French in Southern India. 1758-1761.

CHAPTER II.

INDIA UNDER WARREN HASTINGS.

Clive's work in Bengal. Hyder Ali in southern India. The Regulating Act. Warren Hastings in office. Appointed Governor-General. Conflicts with his Council. Philip Francis, Sir Elijah Impey. Hastings and Hyder Ali. Victories of Sir Eyre Coote. Pitt's India Act. Hastings in England. Impeachment and acquittal.

THE return of Clive to England in 1760, to become an Irish peer as Lord Clive, Baron of Plassey, left the charge of Bengal to the weak and inefficient hands of Mr. Vansittart, who came, as Affairs in Bengal.
1760-1765. his successor, from Madras. Meer Jaffier, the Subahdar whom Clive had raised to power, was removed by his English allies in favour of his son-in-law, Meer Cossim, who was forced to pay off the late ruler's debts to the Company, to grant to them the revenues of certain territory, and to furnish large sums, for their private use, to Vansittart and members of his Council, the very men who had been denouncing Jaffier for his lavish bestowal of money on worthless and greedy favourites. The strong hand of Clive had been withdrawn, and the agents of the Company, regarding their own enrichment as the chief business of their lives, and allowing their native subordinates to pursue a like course of extortion, became a sore burden to the unhappy Bengalese. The misgovernment now exercised left a stain on the fame of the East India Company which was only effaced by many years of just and humane rule. When Meer Cossim showed his aversion to seeing his subjects ground to the dust by oppressions which yielded him no profit, the Company went to war in 1763, for the purpose of deposing him and restoring Meer Jaffier. Cossim was overthrown, but not till he had taken vengeance on the English by a massacre worse than that of the Black Hole. In 1764 he murdered 150 prisoners in the fortress of Patna, and then fled to the dominions of the Nabob of Oude. Their united forces, marching on Calcutta, were totally defeated in the same year by Major Munro, at Buxar, east of Benares, where 7000 men, mostly Sepoys, trained and led by British officers, overcame 50,000 natives, including some well-disciplined brigades and a host of brave Afghan horse. Skill and heroism had thus saved Bengal for the Company, but it was no remedy for the misrule of their servants, which was then left unchecked by the want of a central authority in England. The King's government had at this time no efficient control over Indian affairs. The Directors in Leadenhall Street were quarrelling amongst themselves, and the whole of British influence and dominion in India would probably have gone to ruin if Clive had not procured an ascendancy in the Court of Directors. In May 1765, he arrived from England, with extensive powers, as Governor of Bengal.

A formal commencement of the Company's empire in India was made when Shah Alum, the Moghul emperor, bestowed upon Clive, 1765-1767. them, in return for a large yearly payment, the virtual government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, a territory twice as large and populous as the British Islands, and yielding an annual revenue of £3,000,000 sterling. The renown won by Clive in war was now augmented in a brief period of rule beneficial to the natives of Bengal. By judicious measures he set bounds to the rapacity of the Company's servants, compelling them to give pledges to accept no presents from natives, and debarring high officials from carrying on private trade. His reforms raised against him every bad passion, but his courage and resolute will bore down all opposition. A formidable mutiny among the British officers of the army, caused by certain retrenchments of expense, was quelled with a salutary vigour which cashiered the leaders in the plot, and spared the younger and less heinous offenders. In his own person, Clive strictly adhered to the rules laid down for others. He might have returned to his native land the richest subject in Europe, but he would accept none of the vast sums and costly jewels offered by native princes, and in January 1767 he quitted India, in failing health, with his fortune rather lessened than enlarged.

At this time, one of the ablest and most formidable foes that our southern arms ever encountered in India came forward in the south. India: Hyder Ali. Hyder Ali, son of a general in the service of the Raja of Mysore, was a man of rare energy, daring, and skill, who deposed his sovereign in 1762, and became ruler in his place. His encouragement of trade and tillage enriched the country. The army was re-organised, and the dominions of Mysore were in a few years greatly extended by conquest, and made to yield a large revenue. In alliance with the Nizam of Hyderabad, the Mysore ruler attacked our dominions, and a fierce war was waged with varying success. The resolute Hyder was not to be daunted by defeat in the field, or by the loss of fortresses, and his warlike skill made him fully a match in strategy for the British commanders. The Carnatic was ravaged by clouds of his horse, and in 1769, eluding one of our armies which had forced him to retreat, he hurried to Madras with 6000 of his best cavalry, and dictated terms to the helpless Council, in the absence of their troops. Hyder was thus left in possession of his enlarged kingdom of Mysore, and the government of Madras concluded a forced alliance, binding them to lend aid against all his assailants. In the next year, Hyder's dominions were invaded by a vast Mahratta army, well commanded, and his capital, Seringapatam, was soon in danger. The Council declined to incur the risk of encountering these new foes, and the Mysore ruler was deprived of nearly half his territory, and forced to pay a large sum. He never forgave the English for what he deemed to be a cowardly breach of faith.

After the departure of Clive, affairs in Bengal soon fell again into

an evil condition. Greed, oppression, and peculation were rife; financial ruin was in prospect, and, in 1770, the forces of nature caused a dreadful aggravation of the effects of misrule, when a famine swept away nearly one-third of the 30,000,000 of the people. The system and results of Indian government had already drawn attention from the ministry at home. In 1766, the elder Pitt, with ideas greatly in advance of his age, declared that the territories acquired in self-defence by the East India Company ought to come under crown control. In 1767, the Grafton ministry exacted an annual payment of £400,000 for renewal, during two years, of the Company's charter, and a like arrangement was made, for five years, in 1769. Thus crippled in their resources, the Company, in 1772, with £1,000,000 of arrears, were forced to borrow largely from the Bank of England, and then to risk a stringent inquiry into their affairs by applying to Parliament for aid. Much prejudice had been stirred in England by the conduct and demeanour of the more vulgar class of civil servants from India, who came home, enriched by cruel and unlawful means, to buy seats in the House of Commons, vote blindly with the ministry as "King's friends," and, under the scornful name of "Nabobs," excite the derision and disgust of the old nobility and gentry by their arrogant and lavish display of wealth, and their awkward mimicry of good manners. When the Company sought pecuniary help from the House of Commons, Lord North caused the passing of two Acts which greatly changed the relations between the Directors and the crown. A loan of £1,400,000, at four per cent. interest, was granted, and the payment of their annual tribute to the government was suspended until the debt was paid; the dividend of the proprietors was limited to six per cent., and the Company were allowed to export to America the tea which there caused such serious commotion. By the second statute, or Regulating Act, the mode of choosing Directors was changed; a new supreme court was established at Calcutta, with a chief-justice and three judges nominated by the crown; and, above all, a Governor-General of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa was appointed, with a salary of £25,000 a year, assisted by four highly-paid councillors. The other Presidencies were now to be subordinate to that of Bengal. The first Presidencies were now to be subordinate to that of Bengal. The first Governor-General and his Council, named in the Act, were to hold office for five years, and then the nomination fell to the Directors, subject to the approval of the crown. One of the new Council was Sir Philip Francis, the supposed, and most probable, author of the *Letters of Junius*, and his nomination to so important and lucrative a post has been regarded as a virtual bribe which secured his future silence. Thus did India, for the first time, become a part of our political system, instead of a mere estate owned by a commercial body.

The first, and to this day the greatest, of our supreme rulers in India was the man who, in 1772, had been made by the Directors

The Regulating Act, 1773.

President, or Governor, of Bengal. The splendid rhetoric of Macaulay, who too closely followed Burke, has deformed the moral side of the character of the consummate statesman whose intellectual powers the brilliant essayist and historian has so amply recognised. The labours of later biographers and critics, devoted to records used with more impartial care, have done much to vindicate the memory of the great proconsul who, in the time of our direst peril, saved our position in the East. When his country was at war with the revolted colonists of America, with France, and Spain, and Holland, Warren Hastings, amid a sea of local troubles, and battling with the insult, intrigue, and rancorous opposition of colleagues in the Council, calmly measured men and things, justly weighed circumstance and events, boldly fronted all risks, and, with serene mood and unshaken nerve, looked forward to the time when, out of chaos, British resolution and energy should create a well-framed, lasting structure of dominion. The Regulating Act was our country's first attempt to constitute, by legislation, a regular administration for a distant dependency, and the scheme was naturally full of defects that experience alone could show. At every turn, during part of his great career, Hastings was hampered by the veto intrusted to a majority of the five in Council, according to the plan which "aimed at creating a self-adjusting balance of authority, and at checking abuses on the part of one set of officials by submitting them to the criticism and control of another." The supreme court was often at open issue with the executive, and the two minor Presidencies indulged in acts of rash independence, and then appealed to Hastings for deliverance from the ruin invited by their own policy. On his appointment to the rule of the Bengal Presidency in 1772, Hastings had already, during fourteen years' residence in India, from 1750 to 1764, proved himself to be an able and disinterested servant of the Company. He then returned to England, where he spent four years, and in 1769 was sent out by the Directors to reform financial matters as member of Council at Madras. His conduct in that post was marked by moderation, tact, and discretion, accompanied by a deep devotion to the interests of his employers which caused them to select him for still higher service. Early in 1772, he was second in Council at Calcutta, and in April he succeeded Cartier as President. Large reforms of the administration were soon effected. The collection of the revenues of Bengal was placed solely in the hands of English civil servants; the native zemindars, or revenue-farmers, were dealt with on terms that largely increased the Company's receipts, and also protected the ryots, or cultivators, from oppression, and the village usurer was checked in his extortion. The powers of the native courts were greatly curtailed by the creation, in country districts, of civil and criminal tribunals in which the British official was supreme. With firmness and tact Hastings repressed the corrupt and oppressive practices, including monopolies in salt, tobacco, rice, and other impor-

tant articles of trade, which prevailed among the Company's servants, many of whom were friends or relations of Directors. The country was also cleared of bands of roving robbers or dacoits. Before he assumed office, in 1774, with his new powers as Governor-General, his good influence had been felt in all branches of administrative work. A rich and growing revenue was derived from the manufacture of salt and opium, now brought under the control of the government. Sure foundations of civilised rule had been laid in the great territory which had been won by the sword and diplomacy of Clive. The burden of his peaceful toils did not prevent Hastings from paying careful heed to the action of native princes beyond the borders of his rule. The war-like Mahrattas were again in the field, and forced the Moghul emperor, Shah Alum, to become their accomplice and ally in attacks on other princes friendly to the British. The Bengal tribute due to Shah Alum was promptly withdrawn by Hastings, who declined to clear up arrears or to make any future payments. In order to recruit the Company's finances, a British and Sepoy brigade was lent on hire to the friendly ruler of Oude, who employed our troops against some troublesome neighbours, of Afghan race, named Rohillas. Their chiefs had been intriguing with Mahratta leaders in a manner likely to prove dangerous to our dominions in Bengal, and the conquest of Rohilkhand was an event welcome to the Governor-General. The ravages inseparable from such warfare were afterwards made the basis of the most unscrupulous and exaggerated charges against Hastings. There was no "rich province turned into a desert," no "extermination of a gallant people," but the simple expulsion of a few thousands of warriors, with their families, from a country won by their own sword or that of their fathers, a land in which they left behind nearly 1,000,000 Hindu husbandmen.

In October 1774, the three new councillors, appointed by Lord North to mould the policy of the Indian government for Parliament and the crown, arrived at Calcutta. Philip Francis was by far the ablest, as he was the most insolent and malevolent, of the three. General Clavering was an honest and impulsive, and Colonel Monson a wayward, arrogant, and weak-brained soldier. The Chief-Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, was an old school-fellow of Hastings at Westminster. The fourth colleague of the Governor-General was Mr. Barwell, a member of the old Council. The newcomers at once attacked Hastings' late dealings with the ruler of Oude, while Barwell gave a loyal support to the cause of his old chief. The policy adopted in regard to native princes was now in some points reversed, and the man of perfect skill and knowledge was made powerless by colleagues full of ignorance, rashness, and self-conceit. The natives were quick to mark the change, and nothing but the patience of Hastings could have enabled him to endure the position. He soon found himself assailed by slanders from native and English knaves

Hastings
and the
new
Council,
1774-1780.

whose enmity he had incurred in his capacity as ruler, or who thus sought to earn favour with his opponents in the Council. Among these men was an old foe, Nanda-Kumar (Nuncomar), a crafty Brahmin of high rank, a typical Oriental villain. This man had the effrontery to charge Hastings, in a letter which he placed in the hands of Francis, with acts of corruption, oppression, and fraud, and Francis and his two supporters proposed that the accuser should appear before the whole Board and give evidence against the Governor-General. Hastings declined to submit to arraignment, on charges from so foul a source, before his colleagues as judges, and thus properly upheld the dignity of his person and office. On this ground, while he bade the councillors to make an inquiry for themselves, and Barwell, on behalf of his friend, demanded a reference to the Supreme Court, Hastings has been charged with an eagerness to stifle investigation, and with thus supplying a collateral proof of guilt. The two then left the council-chamber, and Nuncomar was summoned to attend. He produced a letter, with a signature and seal certainly forged, and on this "evidence" Francis and his friends declared their official superior to be guilty of receiving a large bribe from a native princess of Oude. The lady herself afterwards disowned the document. Other charges of like value followed from native accusers, and the governor was pronounced by the tribunal of three foes to be guilty of "every species of peculation." The baited statesman turned for help to the Supreme Court, and in April 1775 he lodged a charge of conspiracy against Nanda-Kumar and some of his tools. The matter never came to trial. Early in May, the Brahmin was charged before the sitting magistrate of Calcutta with obtaining a large sum from a dead man's estate by means of a forged bond. The affair had really been pending for more than a year, until certain documents in proof could be obtained. The accused man was committed for trial before the Supreme Court. In June he was tried before an English jury, defended by two English barristers, convicted after a hearing of eight days, and sentenced by Sir Elijah Impey, with the full concurrence of his three colleagues, to be hanged, according to English law. Francis, Clavering, and Monson left him to his fate, and Nuncomar underwent his sentence in the first week of August. Hastings took no part whatever in causing the prosecution or its issue, but a dangerous foe was removed from his path in a way that struck terror into the inmost souls of hostile natives, and on this ground alone the great Governor-General was charged by Burke with "murdering" Nanda-Kumar, and Impey has been branded as a second Jeffreys. Francis and his two friends resumed their factious and venomous conduct in the council-chamber, and, in their desire to thwart every plan proposed by Hastings, they sacrificed in some cases the British interests committed to their charge. The death of Monson, in September 1776, gave Hastings a majority in Council through the use of his casting-vote, and Clavering and Francis were, for a time, made

powerless. The Directors, however, on many points had been supporting Francis and his party, and censuring Hastings. Lord North, the Prime Minister, was trying to cause his recall, with a view to the appointment of Clavering, whose strong parliamentary influence made him a favourite with minister and king, both of whom were ready to do anything for votes in the House of Commons. Hastings did, in fact, offer to resign his post, and the Directors, fearing Lord North's threat to abolish, through Parliament, their political power, named Clavering as successor. In June 1777, their despatch to this effect arrived, and Clavering at once took the violent and illegal course of summoning a Council, taking the oaths as Governor-General, demanding the keys of the fort and treasuries from Hastings, and bidding the troops to obey his own sole orders. Hastings resolved to stand his ground, and was supported by the troops, by many chief civil servants, and by the Supreme Court. A few weeks later, the death of Clavering ended this matter, and though Wheler, a new member of Council, supported Francis, Hastings and Barwell were still masters at the Board through the casting-vote. The Governor-General was now enabled to pursue his policy of securing allies among the neighbouring native princes, and providing in various ways against future danger from the Mahrattas. The war with France that arose in 1778, and the influence of Hastings with the Court of Proprietors in London, induced Lord North and the Directors to leave Indian affairs, at so critical a time, in the hands of the highly capable man who had refused to act on his own accepted resignation. In 1780, Barwell resigned his seat in the Council and sailed for England, and, after a brief interval of peace, Francis resumed his old hostility to Hastings, which now culminated in a duel. Francis was severely wounded, and in the last month of the year he departed for England, leaving a decided victory to his foe, after six years of conflict, and brooding over the schemes of vengeance which took the form of persistent and, in many quarters, effective calumny.

In 1778, the French government had made a common cause with our revolted North American colonies, and their agents were intriguing with the Peishwa, or chief minister, of the Mahrattas, at his seat of viceroyalty at Poonah. An alliance dangerous to our interests was likely to be formed, and Hastings took prompt measures. Chandernagore and Pondicherry were taken, and an expedition against the Mahrattas was sent out from Bombay. The early operations ended badly. The force was driven to retreat, and then surrounded by hostile cavalry. The little army was saved from destruction only by a convention, surrendering to the Mahrattas all that our arms had won in western India since 1765. The governments of Bombay and Calcutta repudiated this arrangement, and a Bengal army, under the able Colonel Goddard, soon put a new face on our affairs. In 1780, Ahmedabad and Bassein

Hyder Ali
and the
Mahrattas, 1780-
1784.

were taken; the powerful Mahratta chiefs, Holkar and Scindia, were twice defeated in the field, and another force from Bengal, under the daring Captain Popham, took by escalade the rock-fortress of Gwalior, which all men had deemed impregnable. In March 1781, Scindia was again defeated, and our cause in that quarter was safe. A greater and more perilous task awaited the skill and energy of Hastings and his officers in the south. The old enemy, Hyder Ali, had, ever since 1772, been enlarging his borders by force or fraud, and in 1780 this powerful Rajah of Mysore, allied with the Mahrattas, invaded our territory in the Carnatic with fire and sword. His army had been trained by French officers, and the fierce old Mussulman, now in his seventy-eighth year, hoped to drive the British infidels into the sea. Sir Hector Munro, the former victor of Buxar, commanded the Madras army, and he seems to have too lightly treated the danger of the present crisis. In September 1780, a force under Colonel Baillie, of 2500 men, was surrounded by an immense army, under Hyder and his son Tippoo Sahib, at Conjeveram. A long and desperate struggle, in which Baillie was mortally wounded, ended in the surrender of the poor remnant, composed of about 300 officers and men, nearly all wounded, and saved from instant butchery in cold blood only by the indignant remonstrance and strenuous efforts of the victor's French officers. The prisoners, who included Captain (afterwards Sir David) Baird, were taken to a cruel confinement in the dungeons of Seringapatam. Munro, who was on his way to the scene of action with 5000 men and forty guns, was forced to fling his heavy artillery into a tank, and beat a hasty retreat to Madras. Hyder then seized Arcot, and our hold on Southern India was in dire peril. Hastings did not for a moment quail at the tidings of disaster, and he had a man ready for the occasion. By a happy selection, on the renewal of war with France, the government at home had despatched to India the old hero of Wandewash, Sir Eyre Coote, as commander of all the troops, with a seat in Council at Calcutta. He now hastened to Madras with a small, well-equipped force of British and Sepoys, and in July 1781 he gained, south of Pondicherry, the decisive victory of Porto Novo, also styled the battle of Cuddalore. The skilful and patient movements of Coote enabled him, with 8000 men, to defeat ten times the number under Hyder, who left thousands of dead and wounded on the field, with a loss to the victors of but 300 men. In August a less brilliant victory was gained by Coote at Pollilore, and in June 1782 he was once more successful against Hyder at Arnee, south-west of Madras. Sharp fighting off the Carnatic coast and Ceylon, with varying success, had meanwhile occurred between our fleet, commanded by the active and able Sir Edward Hughes, and the French ships under Suffren, their nearest approach, at a long distance, to our Nelson. In October 1782, ill-health compelled Coote to return to Calcutta, and in December his great antagonist, Hyder, succumbed to old age, with expressed

regret for his warfare with a nation that no defeats would ever destroy, and a charge to his son and successor Tippoo to make peace with the English on any terms. Hastings had already concluded a treaty with the Mahrattas, restoring all his conquests except Gwalior, but pledging them to sole friendship and intercourse with the British among Europeans. The Mysore war was continued by Tippoo, a man of great energy, but far less able than his father, and the death of Coote, in April 1783, removed from his path his most formidable foe. His vast armies had some success over our troops, but the Peace of Versailles withdrew from him the valuable aid of the French forces under Bussy, and in March 1784, after a powerful British army had been close to Seringapatam, a peace was concluded which left us masters of the Carnatic, and Tippoo in possession of Mysore.

In 1780, the skill of Hastings settled a long-standing and, for the peace and prosperity of Bengal, a dangerous quarrel between the Council and the Supreme Court. The conflict of authority was due to the framers of the Regulating Act, who had failed to define the respective powers of the Company and the crown. Sir Elijah Impey was now made President of the Company's chief civil court. Clashing jurisdictions were reconciled, and Impey did good service by drawing up a code for the guidance of the young English district judges. The Governor-General then made important reforms concerning the salt-revenue, the land-revenue, and the customs, lessening the cost of collection, and greatly augmenting the returns.

The expenses of the war, and the demands of the Directors in London, kept Hastings under a constant and severe financial pressure, and forced him into methods of raising money which incurred sharp censure from men who had never been placed in so painful a position. Cheyt Singh, Rajah of Benares, was a tributary, for a fixed annual sum, to the government of Bengal, and was also a vassal of the same power, paying rent for his lands, and liable to be called on to give aid in time of war, with supplies of men and money. In 1778, Hastings, on this ground, exacted five lakhs of rupees, or £50,000. The same sum was demanded and paid in the following year. In 1780, 2000 horse were required for the public service. The Rajah demurred, on a false plea of poverty, and was also engaged in a treacherous correspondence with our foes. His fixed tribute was in arrears, and the Governor-General resolved at once to replenish the treasury and to inflict punishment. He demanded the payment of half a million sterling, and in July 1781 he started in person for Benares. For once he had shown a lack of his usual judgment. He had entered a great city with a slender military force, and he now made the Rajah a prisoner in his own palace. The people rose in wrath, destroyed many of the Sepoy guard, and put Hastings in great danger of his life, until troops hurried up from the nearest military posts. A strong force under Popham defeated Cheyt

Affairs in
Bengal.
1780-1781.

Trouble
with
Benares
and Oudh.
1781-1783.

Singh's great army of retainers, and took possession of his territory. The Rajah, however, had escaped with the greater part of his treasure, and the government still needed money. The ruler of Oudh was indebted to the Company to the amount of a million and a half pounds, mainly due for the expense of British troops that kept order in his territory. The two Begums, or Princesses, of Oude, his mother and grandmother, were the possessors of a great treasure, and the debtor suggested that money should be obtained from that source. The Begums had actively assisted the revolt of Cheyt Singh, and their treasure had, in fact, been taken in 1775, against the strong protest of Hastings, then overruled by a majority in Council, from the ruler of Oude, its rightful owner. With Hastings' consent, and aided by British troops, he now compelled his relatives to surrender a great sum, which was duly sent to Calcutta. Two court-officials, who managed the affairs of the Begums, were forced by prison fare and fetters to yield in this matter, which furnished Burke and Sheridan, followed by Macaulay, with matter for eloquent and absurdly unjust invectives against the Governor-General.

In 1784, William Pitt, the young Prime Minister, caused the passing of an Act which made a most important change in the government of our territories in India. The establishment of the Board of Control in London left to the Company its power over patronage and commercial business, but deprived the Directors and Proprietors of supreme authority in civil and military affairs. The new body of Commissioners consisted of six Privy Councillors, nominated by the crown, and always including the Chancellor of the Exchequer and one of the Secretaries of State. The President of the Board, who had all the real power, was to be a member of the Commons or Lords, and was responsible to Parliament and the crown, who thus gained direct knowledge of Indian affairs. Such was the system of government for India that remained in force during the whole further existence of the Company.

Amid continual censure from the Directors, who did not know their own interest, nor rightly estimate the great man who was serving them and the nation, and with vexatious opposition in his Council from new members, Hastings worked on with patience for the common good. Benares became a British province, and, amid all his other cares and labours, the statesman found time to show his love of learning as he helped Sir William Jones, the new Chief-Justice of Bengal, to found the Asiatic Society, and to draw from the Pundits of Benares the treasures of Sanscrit literature. In February 1785, he took ship for England, after gaining an imperishable renown as the man who had built up an administrative system for British India, who raised the Company into a great political power, and saved his country, in the East, from disgrace and ruin at the hands of powerful native and European foes. In the words of one of

Pitt's
India Act,
1784.

Close of
Hastings' rule,
1782-1785.

his ablest detractors, when he becomes just as well as eloquent, Hastings "had preserved and extended an empire. He had founded a polity. He had administered government and war with more than the capacity of Richelieu. He had patronised learning with the judicious liberality of Cosmo."

Hastings had long been able to foresee the reception which awaited him at home from a body of influential enemies. Indian affairs had of late years become prominent in parliamentary discussion, and two committees of the Commons were appointed by Lord North in 1781, one including Burke, and the other Dundas, as chairman, both politicians hostile to Hastings. Sir Elijah Impey was recalled, in accordance with a vote of the House, in 1783, but he defended himself at home, with perfect success, against all the charges of Francis and Burke. In May 1782, a vote of the Commons had caused the Directors to order the return of Hastings, but this step was overruled by his staunch friends, the Court of Proprietors, who, in November 1783, carried an almost unanimous vote of thanks for his many great services. When he arrived in England, he was well received by the King, and by his old friend Lord Thurlow, the Chancellor, and he now had a vote of thanks from the Directors. A storm was, however, soon to burst on his devoted head. In the session of 1786, Burke and Fox attacked him in the Commons, and a hostile vote was carried by a majority of thirty-nine. In February 1787, Sheridan delivered his famous speech, full of eloquence, sophistry, and untruth, concerning the Begums, and Pitt joined in the assault, which ended in the condemnation of Hastings by an overwhelming majority. In May, the House resolved on his impeachment before the Lords, and the trial began in Westminster Hall on February 13, 1788. Francis was the real author of this cruel return for the work of a man who ought to have received a high place in the peerage. The process lasted until April 1795, during which period the court sat for but 148 days. The audience, at the outset, were dazzled by the rhetoric of Burke and Sheridan, full of imaginary horrors due to the spite and ingenuity of Francis. The defence was conducted in a masterly way by Law, the coming Lord Ellenborough, and in 1794 Lord Cornwallis, a man who had just learnt, by a long experience, the facts and conditions of rule in India, gave valuable evidence in favour of the accused man. In his reply for the prosecution, the fury of Burke was vented in words of the most disgraceful scurrility, "so vulgar and illiberal," as Law solemnly declared in the Commons, "that the lowest blackguard in a bear-garden would have been ashamed to utter them." On April 23, 1795, Hastings was acquitted on every charge, and, more than twenty years later, in advanced old age, he went down to his grave "in peace, after so many troubles, in honour, after so much obloquy."

CHAPTER III.

CORNWALLIS, WELLESLEY, BENTINCK.

The land-settlement. Tippoo Sahib. The two Wellesleys in power. Capture of Seringapatam. The Mahratta war. Assaye and Argaum. Wellesley's great policy. Mutiny of Vellore. Lord Minto's period of rule. Amherst and the Burmese war. Combermere at Bhurtpore. Bentinck's and Macaulay's services. Opening of the Eastern trade.

IN 1786, Lord Cornwallis, the new Governor-General, received power by an Act to deal with cases of emergency without the concurrence of his Council at Calcutta. The period of his rule was made noteworthy by a complete reform of the Company's civil service, and by his permanent settlement of the system of raising the land-revenue of Bengal. The zemindars now received in perpetual tenure the lands on which they had previously been merely collectors of the tax which they henceforth undertook to pay to the government. The Company's officials were deprived of all irregular sources of income, and were paid salaries sufficient for their proper maintenance, and those who presided in any courts of justice ceased to be employed in the collection of revenue.

IN 1789, the ambitious ruler of Mysore attacked our dependent, the Rajah of Travancore. The Company's European troops were, at this time, very inefficient, and Pitt, by his Declaratory Act, had compelled the Company to bear the cost of transport and maintenance for four regiments from England. Cornwallis, a soldier whom we have seen in the American war, was also the Indian commander-in-chief, and he soon took the field in person against our old enemy in the south. Alliances were formed with the Peishwa of the Mahrattas, and with the Nizam of Hyderabad, and in 1790 General Meadows held the command in the Carnatic. No success was obtained, and Tippoo's numerous and formidable horse did much damage to the country. In January 1791, Lord Cornwallis and Abercrombie led our troops, and, after the storming of Bangalore on March 21st, Cornwallis marched on Seringapatam, defeated Tippoo in May, and drove him for refuge under the guns of his great fortress and capital. The victor, left without help from the Mahrattas, and running short of supplies, was then compelled to retreat. In January 1792, with reinforcements fresh from home, raising his army to over 20,000 men, and strengthened by the junction of the Nizam and the Mahrattas, the Governor-General again advanced on the enemy's capital, stormed, with his own troops, three strong lines of advanced works and redoubts, mounting 300 guns, and forced Tippoo to retire within the walls. An investment and threat of siege brought the Rajah to humiliating terms. Half of his territory was equally

divided among the three allies; £3,000,000 sterling were paid for the expenses of the war; and his two sons were delivered up as hostages. The outbreak, in Europe, of war with France was followed, in India, by our prompt capture of Pondicherry. In 1793, the Company's charter was renewed for twenty years, with continuance of exclusive rights of trade in India and China.

Between 1793 and 1798, the chief post of rule in India was held by Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth. He had been an able adviser to Cornwallis, and did much to establish the new settlement of the land revenue. During his term of office, peace was maintained with the chief native powers. His successor, Lord Mornington, is better known as the Marquis Wellesley, and his period of rule included events of great importance. Under him, the last efforts were made from Europe to destroy the edifice of our power in India, and thus, in the words of Napoleon, "to inflict on England a deadly wound," and the country was convulsed by perilous and sanguinary wars, due to a league of native states against British influence. Yet rapid and irresistible progress was made through genius displayed alike in arms and in council, and our sway was carried across the Deccan from Mysore to Oude. The man of splendid abilities and vigorous character who now assumed the control of our dominions had with him a sound adviser, not only in military but in political matters, in his younger brother, Arthur Wellesley, colonel of the 33rd regiment. They were called to confront a serious condition of affairs in Central and Southern India. The Peishwa of the Mahrattas had become a tool in the hands of Scindia, who was now at the head of the Mahratta name; and Tippoo, Rajah of Mysore, rejecting every pacific overture from the new Governor-General, was forming an alliance with the French government. Nelson, at the Nile, and Sidney Smith, at Acre, made Napoleon "miss his destiny," and for ever ended his vain hopes of a march from the Nile, by Syria, to the Indus, but powerful native armies were afoot, formed and commanded by French officers, and the British element in our forces, reduced through the demands of the war in Europe, was not ready for the field. The Company's finances were not flourishing, and their credit was at the lowest ebb. The utmost despondency prevailed both at Calcutta and Madras, and the general cry was for peace at any price with Tippoo, when the two brothers Wellesley, with combined prudence and courage, faced the critical situation of our empire. Skilful negotiation postponed war for some months, while our army was being prepared for the coming conflict. The Nizam of the Deccan, who had fallen under French influence, was enticed back into our alliance, and precautions were taken to prevent succours reaching Mysore from the Mauritius, and to clear the seaboard of French squadrons.

Lord Mornington
(Marquis Wellesley)
Governor-General.
1798-1805.

When all was ready for the fray, the Governor-General made a last

friendly offer to Tippoo, but he still relied on French aid, and there was no alternative but war. In March 1799, 40,000 British troops, commanded by Generals Harris and David Baird, entered the territory of Mysore. They were joined by a large contingent of troops from the Nizam, to which Colonel Wellesley's regiment was attached. Tippoo made a vigorous and skilful resistance to our columns, as they ascended the hills from the opposite coasts, but he was forced back upon his capital, and on May 4th, the stormers, led by Baird, captured the city in two hours. The brave Tippoo's body lay amidst a heap of dead, and his state-sword became the prize of Baird, who had been, in former days, a prisoner for four years in the fortress. The territories of the fallen monarch were divided amongst the British, the Nizam, and a descendant of the old ruler who had been dispossessed by Hyder Ali. Our share of the conquest added 20,000 square miles to British territory in southern India, including the coast of Canara, the district of Coimbatore, the formidable passes of the Ghauts, leading into Mysore, and the city of Seringapatam. Colonel Wellesley became its governor, and was engaged for some years in organising the civil and military administration of the new province.

After the fall of Tippoo and the partition of the Mysore territory, Lord Wellesley steadily pursued the policy known as the Subsidiary System. Its principle was that of forming, with native rulers, treaties according to which a military force, under British command, was maintained at the expense of the native prince, and the control of state affairs was vested in the British Resident, while the sovereign preserved regal pomp without regal power. In 1800, an arrangement of this kind was formed with the Nizam, who ceded all his Mysorean territories in exchange for British aid and protection. In 1801, like measures were taken with the Nabob of Arcot, and the Subadhar of Oude and the Peishwa of the Mahrattas also came under subordination to British authority.

In 1802, clouds again began to gather, and to throw their shadows over the fair prospect of complete repose for British rule. The French officers who had been expelled from the court of the Nizam made their way to Delhi, and organised a native force which, under the command of Perron, was a standing affront to the rulers of Bengal. A kind of new French state held possession of the person and nominal authority of the Moghul emperor, Shah Alum, and exercised much influence over native princes from the banks of the Indus to the confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges. The unceasing hostility of Napoleon still, even during the brief truce made at Amiens, conspired against our Eastern empire, and Wellesley resolved to meet his aggressive plans by an extension of British influence far into Central and Northern India. He was thus soon brought into collision with the Mahrattas, whose five chiefs, including Holkar and Scindia,

Lord Wellesley's policy: the Subsidiary System.

Mahratta War, 1803-1805.

were the lords of a population of 40,000,000 in the fertile provinces extending south from Delhi to the Krishna, and from the Bay of Bengal to the Gulf of Cambay. Their collective military force amounted to 300,000 men, of whom 100,000 were cavalry. A quarrel among these potentates favoured the designs of the Governor-General. Holkar had recently attacked Scindia's submissive instrument, the Peishwa, and driven him from Poonah. He called the British to his aid, and the important Treaty of Bassein was concluded. The Peishwa hereby ceded valuable positions on the western coast; British garrisons were admitted into Poonah and other fortresses, and our authority was thus planted in the heart of the Mahratta territories. Then Scindia and the treacherous Peishwa, who had just been reinstated in his capital by General Wellesley, formed an alliance against us with the Rajah of Berar, another Mahratta chief whose territories reached the eastern coast. The brief and splendid campaign which followed is one of the most important in our Indian history. The qualities of a great captain were herein displayed, which, a few years later, drove the legions of Napoleon from the Tagus to the Garonne. Decision and daring valour carried the general and his troops from victory to victory against immense odds. General Arthur Wellesley took the command of all the British and allied forces in the territories of the Nizam and the Peishwa, and, early in August 1803, he captured the strong fortress of Ahmednuggur, east of Bombay. On September 23rd, the Mahrattas, reinforced by sixteen battalions from Perron's army, commanded by French officers, and with a good train of artillery, lay at Assaye, a village on the banks of the Kaitna. With 5000 men Wellesley, in a fierce battle of nearly three hours' duration, attacked and defeated at least five times the number of Mahrattas, taking most of their guns, and losing one-third of his men. In October, Colonel Stevenson, at the head of another division, took the strong fortresses of Asseerghur and Burhampoor. In November, Wellesley followed up the brilliant success at Assaye by a victory, at Argaum, over the united forces of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar. The enemy retreated in disorder, leaving all their cannon, and in December a treaty was made, by which Cuttack was annexed to our dominions, and Scindia and the ruler of Berar became our dependents under the subsidiary system, agreeing to exclude from their territories all Europeans except the British. Almost equal success was won in the north by our forces under General Lake. The army led by Perron fled, and their chief claimed and received British protection. In September 1803, the fortress of Alighur was stormed. Agra had already succumbed when our siege-batteries opened fire. After a great defeat of Scindia's troops on the banks of the Jumna, Delhi was taken, and the Mahomedan population of India were conciliated by the restoration of Shah Alum to his shadowy power. In November, after other conflicts, Lake won his peerage by the great victory of Laswaree, north-west of Agra,

where many French were among the vanquished, who lost their colours, baggage, and guns. In April 1804, war was declared against Holkar, whom the Governor-General had in vain tried to win by diplomacy. The enemy was assisted by a large force of ferocious freebooters called Pindarees. The campaigns of 1804 and 1805 were not wholly successful. Some battles were won by Lord Lake, but Colonel Monson was defeated, Delhi was besieged, and the victor of Laswaree, early in 1805, failed in five separate assaults, delivered against imperfect breaches, on the fortress of Bhurtpore, probably the strongest in all India. Lake then retired, after driving far from the walls a relieving force of Pindarees. In July, Wellesley resigned his office as Governor-General, and was succeeded by Sir George Barlow, after the death, in October, of Lord Cornwallis, who had been appointed to follow him. In December 1805, peace was made with Holkar, who agreed to exclude from his dominions all Europeans except the British.

Lord Wellesley's administration had advanced our rule far to the north-west, and had firmly established British influence in the ^{Wellesley's} rule. Central India. On the east, the territories of Bengal and Madras were united by the annexation of Cuttack. The western seaboard had come into our possession, and the Mahratta power was broken, though not yet wholly subdued. The period is also marked by the final extinction of French attempts against our empire in India. It was another part of Wellesley's fame that he made an end, in our Indian councils, of the pernicious theory that the country was but a preserve for our trade, and a good dividend for the Company the main object of British rule. He taught our officials abroad, and some of our statesmen at home, that our position in India meant a supremacy over a great, populous, and flourishing territory, involving duties of sovereignty paramount to mercantile interests, prejudices, and profit, and committing to our charge the task of securing the happiness of our subjects by the permanent improvement of our dominions, and by a dignified, vigorous, and pure system of administration. His high conception of the position and duties of the civil servants of the Company, as those belonging to men required to discharge the functions of magistrates, judges, ambassadors, and rulers of provinces, caused him to found the College of Calcutta. This institution became the spring of the improved system of education for the Indian Civil Service which made our officials really fit for their important and responsible posts.

In July 1806, a serious mutiny of Sepoys occurred at Vellore, near Madras. The sons of Tippoo Sahib took part with the outbreak, in the hope of recovering the forfeited power of their house. In the middle of the night, the European barracks, containing four companies of the 69th Regiment, were surrounded by two battalions of the Company's native troops, and these mutineers poured volleys of musketry, through every door and window, upon the sleeping soldiers. The sentinels on duty were killed; the sick in the

Sir
George
Barlow,
1805-1806.

hospital were massacred; the houses of the officers were ransacked, and they, with their wives and children, were murdered. Colonel Fancourt, the commander of the 69th, fell in the attempt to save his men; his widow, with her little son, made a marvellous escape. Swift retribution fell on the perpetrators of these atrocities. On the next day, a regiment of dragoons took the fort of Vellore; 600 of the sepoy fell under the sabre-edge; and 200 more were dragged from their hiding-places and shot. This revolt was partly due to a belief engendered by the indiscreet zeal of persons eager for the conversion of natives to the Christian faith. The military authorities at Madras had devised a change of dress for the sepoy, which included a transformation of the turban into a kind of helmet, and this, combined with the fanatical spirit of certain missionaries and their supporters, had created an opinion that the government wished to force the native troops into acceptance of Christianity.

The Earl of Minto, who succeeded Barlow as Governor-General, was an able and far-seeing Indian ruler. Lord Wellesley had set the example of diplomatic efforts intended to avert danger from states beyond the sphere of our immediate power and influence, in sending Sir John (then Major) Malcolm on a mission to the Shah of Persia. Lord Minto followed up this prudent policy. The skill of Malcolm was again used at the Persian court; Mountstuart Elphinstone conciliated the ruler of Cabul; and Sir Charles Metcalfe did much to place British rule on a friendly footing with Runjeet Singh, the founder of the Sikh kingdom, afterwards famous as the "Lion of the Punjab." The Sutlej was now accepted as the southern boundary of his dominions. In 1809, after the conclusion, in our favour, of a war with the Rajah of Travancore, the Governor-General had to deal with a mutiny of the European officers in the Madras army, due to discontent with their pay and allowances. The trouble was quelled by Lord Minto's firmness, and his moderation in according an amnesty to all but eighteen officers, most of whom resigned their commissions rather than face a court-martial. The danger of the matter lay in the possible effect of revolt in their superiors upon the troops of the Sepoy army, but the regiments of the King's service were entirely obedient, and their attitude had a due effect. It was now the policy of the Directors to maintain peace as long as possible in India, and certain incursions of the Pindares and the Nepaulese were not met with any vigorous measures of repression.

The return of Lord Minto to England, in 1813, coincided with a material change in the commercial position of the Company. A committee of the Commons inquired into their affairs, and the government, after long debates in both Houses, carried a measure renewing the charter for twenty years, throwing open the trade to India in favour of all British subjects, separating the territorial and commercial branches of the Company's

Lord
Minto,
1807-1813.

Renewal
of the
Com-
pany's
charter,
1813.

affairs, and providing for religion by empowering the crown to appoint a bishop for India, with three archdeacons, to be paid from the funds of the Company. The trade to China still remained closed.

Important warlike events occurred during the long rule of Lord Moira, afterwards Marquis of Hastings. In 1815 and the following year, the brave Ghoorkhas, wild mountaineers of Nepal, were driven from our northern frontiers, and then from their hill-forts, and some of their territory was annexed. In 1816, the troublesome Pindarees of Central India invaded our territory west of Madras, and retired with a great booty, after plundering some hundreds of villages, and putting to death some thousands of the people. It was found that they had acted in secret alliance with the Peishwa, Scindia, the younger Holkar, and other Mahratta chiefs, and the Governor-General was empowered from home to adopt military measures of the utmost vigour. A great force was gathered from the three Presidencies, and in September 1817, Lord Hastings and Sir John Malcolm took the field. The warfare with the Pindarees ended, in the spring of 1818, with their entire destruction or dispersal. They had spread terror throughout the land, and they were now, once for all, fairly hunted down to ruin. In December 1817, the Mahrattas under Holkar were, after a severe battle, routed by Malcolm at Maheidpoor, north-west of Indore, and further operations completely suppressed the Mahratta power, and greatly enlarged the Presidency of Bombay.

The government of Lord Amherst was marked by the first British conquests on the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. The Burmese, a warlike people of the Mongolian race, had founded, before the middle of the eighteenth century, the kingdoms of Siam, Pegu, Ava, Aracan, and other petty realms, on the great peninsula between the Bengal and China seas. The modern empire of Burmah was established by an able warrior of lowly origin, named Alompra, exactly at the time when Clive was victorious over the Nabob of Bengal. For nearly seventy years the British from the Ganges, and the Burmese from the Irawaddi, had been pushing forward until their frontiers met. The seizure of an island on which we had formed a small military post was followed by a mild complaint of Lord Amherst to the king of Ava. That mighty potentate then sent down a force, threatening to invade our territory, and to re-annex Bengal to the dominions of himself, its rightful owner, "Lord of the White Elephant." In April 1824, the Bengal army embarked for Rangoon, the chief seaport of the Burmese, at the mouth of the Irawaddi. The place was taken almost without a blow by the forces under Sir Archibald Campbell, who then fortified the great pagoda and the smaller Buddhist temples, and, during June, July, and August, repulsed all attacks of a great Burmese army. Meanwhile, the enemy's Aracan army invaded Bengal, defeated some native infantry, and thereby caused a

panic among the natives at Calcutta. The victors were then recalled to defend their own territory. In December, a final attack on Rangoon was made by 60,000 of the enemy, who were driven off into their jungle after seven days' severe fighting. In February 1825, General Campbell set his troops in motion, by land and water, up the Irawaddi. A part of his force was repulsed in an attack on some formidable works, and the wounded men, left behind in a hasty retreat, were crucified by the Burmese, and their bodies were sent floating upon rafts down the river. Shells and rockets, in a week's incessant fire, drove the enemy from this position, and gave us the command of the whole river. At the end of April, Prome was occupied, and operations then ceased during the rainy season. In November and December there were two great battles, in the latter of which the Burmese were utterly routed. Early in 1826, severe fighting took place on our advance to Ava, and the king made peace when our forces were within fifty miles of his capital. The treaty gave us Assam, Aracan, Tenasserim, and other territory, and conceded the residence of a British minister at Ava, with the right of free trade for British subjects in the Burmese dominions. The contest was remarkable for the courage and endurance displayed by the British and Sepoy soldiers against the most formidable difficulties and dangers of climate, country, and armed force, and for the first employment in war of a ship moved by steam-power.

In January 1826, an old wound to British pride was healed by the successful attack on Bhurtpore made by Lord Combermere, once a distinguished cavalry leader, the Sir Stapleton Cotton of the Peninsular War. An usurper assailed the rights of the new Rajah, and expelled him from his capital. The native princes were anxiously watching to see if the British, with the war in Burmah on their hands, would maintain the just claims of their young adherent and ally. A cry had been heard from the mob in the streets of Delhi that "the rule of the Company is at an end." It was most important not to fail again with the fortress now held by a vast force of men who believed the place to be impregnable. Combermere, the commander-in-chief, who had known the days of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz, did not for a moment hesitate. His vigorous, well-timed, and active operations were crowned with complete success. On his arrival before the walls, the usurper was requested to send out the women and children, for removal under safe-conduct. This humane proposal was treated with contempt, and on November 23rd our siege batteries opened fire. Breaches were at last made, and on January 18th the assault began at the signal given by the explosion of a mine, which utterly destroyed one angle of the fortress. The men then rushed in, and cleared the ramparts in two hours' hard fighting. The surrender of the citadel ended the contest, and the destruction of the works, and restoration of the rightful prince, once more told the natives of India

Capture
of Bhurtpore, 1826.

that no warlike task was too hard for the countrymen of Coote and Clive.

Lord Amherst was the first British ruler who gave a large measure of freedom to the newspaper-press in India. In 1799, Lord Wellesley had established a censorship prior to publication, with the penalty of summary deportation to Europe. In 1818, Lord Hastings issued new regulations, abandoning the censorship, but prohibiting all discussion and animadversion deemed likely to excite the native mind on political or religious affairs. A tribunal was also appointed to watch the newspapers, and to convey warnings to their conductors. Under the new system, just before the arrival of Lord Amherst, Mr. James Silk Buckingham, proprietor of the *Calcutta Journal*, was deprived of his license to remain in India, and ordered to quit the country within two months. His successor in the ownership of the paper was sent away to England as a prisoner, and the *Calcutta Journal* was suppressed. Experience showed that the change made by Lord Amherst was as safe as it was beneficial.

Lord William Bentinck, the successor of Amherst, did more than any Governor-General to attach the natives of India to British rule. During the seven years of his "wise, upright, and paternal administration," he "infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom, and never forgot that the true end of government is the happiness of the governed." Always striving "to elevate the moral and intellectual character of the nations committed to his charge," he "won the veneration and gratitude of many millions of mankind, differing in race, in manners, in language, and in religion." Such are the terms, from the pen of his friend and colleague Macaulay, which are inscribed on his statue at Calcutta, and commemorate, with just eulogy, the services of the man who abolished the custom of suttee, or widow-burning; made an end of the secret society of robbers and assassins known as Thugs; introduced, with Macaulay's aid, European education into India, and greatly encouraged instruction among the natives; maintained the freedom of the press, and effected many judicial and administrative reforms and fiscal economies. In 1833, Macaulay, member of the Supreme Council at Calcutta, became president of a commission on the jurisprudence and jurisdiction of our Eastern empire. In that capacity he took the chief part, with vast labour, in framing the new Criminal Code for the whole of our Indian territories, which, thirty years later, was adopted into the judicial system, and added the reputation of a great jurist to the renown won by the orator, poet, essayist, and historian.

In 1833 the Company's charter was renewed for twenty years. The territorial government of India was left in their hands, but from April 1834 their existence as an exclusive commercial body ceased. The experience of twenty years, since 1813, had shown the advantage, to the trading and manufacturing com-

Freedom
of press
in India.

Lord
William
Bentinck
1828-1835.

The Com-
pany as
traders,
1833.

munity of Great Britain, of free intercourse with the East, and the opening of the China trade now created a vast market for our produce and manufactures. At the same time, Europeans were freely admitted to India; no native, nor any subject of the crown resident in India, was henceforth excluded from office by place of birth, religion, colour, or descent; and slavery was to be at once mitigated, and abolished at the earliest possible date. The North-Western Provinces were made separate from Bengal, and placed under the charge of a lieutenant-governor.

CHAPTER IV.

THE AFGHANS AND THE SIKHS.

The troubles at Cabul. British interference. Akbar Khan wins the day. The Khoord-Cabul catastrophe. Sale at Jellalabad. The British retaliation. Lord Ellenborough. Sir Charles Napier in Scinde. End of Mahratta power. Rise of the Sikhs. The Sikh wars. Lord Dalhousie's rule. Second Burmese war. Dalhousie's great services.

THE administration of Lord Auckland was marked by the greatest disaster and disgrace that ever befell our arms in any quarter of the globe. The capitulations of Saratoga and Yorktown, in America, brought no discredit on the men who surrendered, after a brave defence, to overwhelming force. Now, for the first and only time in our history, a British envoy and officers were to be found acting as imbeciles or cowards, and incurring ruin with dishonour from sheer lack of the prudence and courage which might have saved themselves and their unhappy followers, and would at least have won death without a stain upon their names. The remote cause of this terrible occurrence was a groundless fear of Russian designs on India, which led to our intervention in the affairs of Afghanistan. In that turbulent country, a ruler named Shah Soojah had been driven from the throne of Cabul by an able usurper, Dost Mahomed Khan, who proved to be more acceptable to the people. The dethroned man was a resident at our cantonment of Loodiana, in the Punjab, as a pensioner of the Company. The Governor-General became the victim of a wide-spread panic as to some great invasion from the north-west, in which Russians, Persians, and Afghans were to pour down upon British territories, and cause a general rising among our own subjects and in the states of neighbouring princes. A strong and sagacious ruler would have met both the dread and the real danger, if any, by effective preparations, on his own ground, and within reach of his own resources, to meet his assailants when they came, far from their base of supplies, within striking distance of the frontier. Lord Auckland, a weak man of little wisdom, resolved to

restore Shah Soojah, who was believed to favour our interests against Russia.

An army of more than 20,000 men crossed the Indus in the spring of 1839, and entered, by the Bolan Pass, nearly sixty miles in length, a land yet untrodden by the feet of British troops. A captain in one of the regiments, promoted to command a company, in those days of army-purchase, after twenty-three years of service as lieutenant, bore the name of Henry Havelock. After some loss sustained from Beloochee freebooters during the six days' march through the pass, the Bengal and Bombay columns were united at Candahar. In July, the troops, under Sir John Keane, stormed the strong fortress of Ghuznee, regarded as impregnable by the Afghans, armed with abundant cannon, and held by over 3000 brave men. Major Outram, another soldier destined to future fame, took part in this brilliant exploit. On August 7th, Cabul was entered in triumph, and, amidst the scowls and silence of the people, Shah Soojah was restored to his sovereignty, and took up his abode in the Bala-Hissar, the ancient palace of his race. Sir William Macnaghten remained as envoy in Cabul, with a native division of Bengal infantry, and some detachments of Queen's regiments. For a time all went well, but a storm was gathering in the land, and risings of the tribesmen occurred around Cabul towards the close of 1840. Dost Mahomed, who had fled beyond the distant mountains, reappeared upon the scene, and fought a gallant battle with our cavalry, in which he won a partial success. Despairing, as it seemed, of restoration through force, he surrendered himself at Cabul, and was sent to live in India with an ample pension. His cause was then taken up by his daring and treacherous son, Akbar Khan. Near the close of 1841, the command of the troops in Cabul was in the hands of General Elphinstone, an old Peninsular officer, now disabled by age and disease. On November 2nd, the people rose in arms, attacked the house of Sir Alexander Burnes, a former envoy to Dost Mahomed, and slaughtered him, his brother, and his friend, Lieutenant Broadfoot. Our troops, who should have been placed in the citadel, the Bala-Hissar, were scattered in extensive, indefensible cantonments. The position, day by day, grew more perilous, as the 4500 men lacked commanders to lead them boldly against the rebels in the town. Supplies were running short in the first days of December, and a fatal course of negotiations was begun with the Afghan chiefs. The tale of British timidity, credulity, and indecision appears in the famous journal of the lady who was the worthy wife of the heroic Sir Robert Sale, now about to maintain his historical defence of Jellalabad against a host of foes. On December 23rd, Sir William Macnaghten was murdered at a conference by Akbar Khan, shot through the body with a pistol presented by himself to the assassin on the previous day. Not a gun was fired, nor a soldier sent forth, to avenge this crime, and, three days later, a treaty was made for the immediate evacuation of

the country, with the surrender of all the guns save six, of all the treasure, and of four officers as hostages for the surrender of Jellalabad by General Sale. On January 6, 1842, with snow lying deep, and in a sharp frosty air, the army, with 12,000 followers, and some wives and children of the officers, moved out of the cantonments. The nearest place of safety was ninety miles away, within the walls defended by the men under Sale. The long far-shooting guns of the Afghan tribesmen, and their keen knives, were at work from the first, and 3000 men fell in the awful pass of Khoord-Cabul. On the 9th, Akbar Khan, professing regard for the safety of the ladies and children, took charge of their small party, with six married men and two wounded officers, who were all conveyed away in a wandering captivity of many months. It is needless to dwell on the horrors which occurred as cold, exhaustion, and sharp steel made an end of the whole confused and hapless column. The 500 surviving European officers and men were nearly all massacred in the Jugdulluck Pass, at the upper end of which the treacherous foe had prepared a barricade of bushes and felled trees. On the morning of January 13th, a sentry on the ramparts of Jellalabad saw a solitary rider, clinging in exhaustion to his staggering pony's neck. Some soldiers brought him in, and, with recovered strength, he told the true tale that he, Dr. Brydon, was the sole survivor, save the small body of captives, of nearly 17,000 persons who had started from Cabul. The Afghans then retook Ghuznee, but in vain attacked Candahar, kept safe by General Nott; while Sale, after a siege of three months by Akbar Khan, sallied from the walls, with Havelock in command of one column, and routed the enemy, with the storming of his camp, in the plain outside.

On February 25, 1842, Lord Ellenborough, a man who had been twice President of the Board of Control, a fine speaker, but far greater in word than in act, of real ability marred by love of showy and dramatic effects, arrived in Calcutta as the new Governor-General. He appeared at first inclined to submit to the severe check incurred at Cabul, and to desire only to withdraw all the troops from Afghanistan; but the feeling of both the British officers and civilians was too strong for him to adopt so tame a policy, and General Pollock was allowed to advance and make a serious effort to retrieve the fame of our arms. He forced his way through the Khyber Pass, after storming the heights on both sides, and pouring shot down on the Afghans who were hoping to repeat the horrors of the Khoord-Cabul. In the middle of April, he joined Sale at Jellalabad, where he was long detained by sickness and other hindrances. General England, meanwhile, had joined his forces with those of Nott at Candahar. Ghuznee was retaken early in September, and, a few days later, the united armies of Pollock and Nott moved on Cabul, where the British standard, on the 15th, was seen floating on the Bala-Hissar. Two days later, the captives with Lady Sale were delivered up by a friendly

chief, and welcomed back amid shouts, tears, booming cannon, and unutterable joy. As a lasting mark of our victorious presence in the city of our past suffering and shame, the great bazaar at Cabul, a large and splendid building, was utterly destroyed, and the army then began its march back to India. Dost Mahomed was released, and returned to his sovereignty at Cabul. A severe lesson had been given to our Indian rulers on the policy of causeless intervention. The whole matter ended with a pompous proclamation of Lord Ellenborough "to all the princes, and chiefs, and people of India," glorying in the fact that our troops had brought back from Ghuznee certain gates, made of sandalwood, which adorned the entrance to a mosque containing the tomb of Sultan Mahmoud. It was believed that these gates were those which had been carried off, 800 years before, as a trophy of victory, from the Hindoo temple at Somnauth, in Gujerat. The Governor-General now promised to restore these gates to the Somnauth temple, unaware of the fact that the place was in ruins. A gross insult was thus offered to the Mahometan population of India, and the British ruler, contrary both to sound policy and to the express orders of the Board of Control, was proposing to make a present to a heathen temple. The absurdity of the affair was completed by proof that the gates were not genuine relics at all. It was long before Lord Ellenborough heard the last of the "gates of Somnauth."

The country called Scinde, watered by the Lower Indus, was under the rule of a body of despotic nobles, the Ameers, whose simple idea of rule was that of exacting heavy tribute from the hapless tillers of the soil by their fierce military retainers, the Beloochees. As a condition of retaining our friendship, the Ameers, in spite of the protection of repeated treaties, had lately been compelled to cede the port of Kurrachee, with free navigation on the great river. The disaster in Afghanistan encouraged them to gather a large army, which was thought to menace British interests. Sir Charles Napier, a most able soldier, a former Peninsular officer, then holding the chief command in the Presidency of Bombay, asked and obtained permission from Lord Ellenborough for a prompt invasion. He destroyed, in January 1843, after a most hazardous march through sandy wastes, a stronghold in the desert of Beloochistan. Major Outram, the British Resident at Hyderabad, the capital of Scinde, was attacked by 8000 Beloochees. He had but a hundred infantry, and only escaped by help of the fire from two war-steamers in the river. On February 17th, Napier fought and won the marvellous battle of Meanee. His force was made up of 400 Irish, of the 22nd Queen's regiment, with rather more than 2000 Sepoys and other native troops. The artillery consisted of twelve guns. With these Napier encountered over 20,000 brave Beloochees. Bayonet met and conquered sword, and round-shot and canister mowed down the masses of the foe. After three hours of deadly conflict, the result was still doubtful, as most of

The
Scinde
War, 1843.

the European officers were down, and the enemy would not quit the ground. Napier, unscathed, had been in the very midst of the fight, and now, by a happy thought, he sent his small body of horse charging into the enemy's camp. A panic arose, and the day was won. On the next day, six of the Ameers came forth from Hyderabad, and laid their jewelled swords at the feet of the conqueror, who returned their weapons, declined to intrude on their palaces, and stayed outside in his tent. In March, the hero, now with 5000 troops, defeated in front of Hyderabad four times the number of Beloochees, led by another chieftain, and in June the war came to an end. Scinde was annexed to our possessions. Napier was made governor, and, in four years of wise and humane rule, he developed the resources of the fertile land, constructing great public works, and creating, for the first time in those regions, a contented and prosperous people, who have never for a moment swerved from their allegiance to the British sway.

It was in 1804 that Gwalior became one of the "protected States." The successor of the Rajah who died in 1843 was a minor, and the Mahrattas expelled the Regent approved by the Governor-General. The British Resident was insulted, and there was only one course to be adopted. Lord Ellenborough and Sir Hugh Gough took the field with a large force, and on December 29th they defeated the enemy with great loss at Maharajpooor, near Gwalior. On the same day, another hostile army was routed at Punniar. The fortress-town of Gwalior received a British governor, and the Mahrattas never more disturbed the peace in India. The authorities at the India House did not approve the action of the Governor-General, and, without the concurrence of the Tory ministry, a majority of the Directors, in the exercise of their legal power, removed him from his high office.

The successor of Lord Ellenborough was a former Peninsular officer, Sir Henry Hardinge, whose happy inspiration, when he was serving on the staff of Beresford, had saved the allied forces from defeat on the sanguinary field of Albuera. His warlike ability was soon to find important exercise in this new sphere of action, to which he was appointed after good work done for the nation as Secretary-at-War, and Chief Secretary for Ireland.

The Sikhs proved themselves to be the most formidable foes that our arms ever encountered in the East. Their name means "disciples," and they were a nation sprung from a religious sect founded early in the sixteenth century by a pious Hindoo named Nanak Shah, a native of the province of Lahore. His belief was a strict monotheism, his doctrine benevolent, ennobling, and devoid of all pretension and fanaticism, his life pure. His tomb and shrine are at Kirtipur, on the Ravee. After his death, his writings were gathered into a sacred book for his followers, and then the active hatred both of Brahminical Hindoos and of Mohammedans transformed the Sikhs

The end
of the
Mahratta
power,
1843.

Sir Henry
Hardinge,
1844-1848.

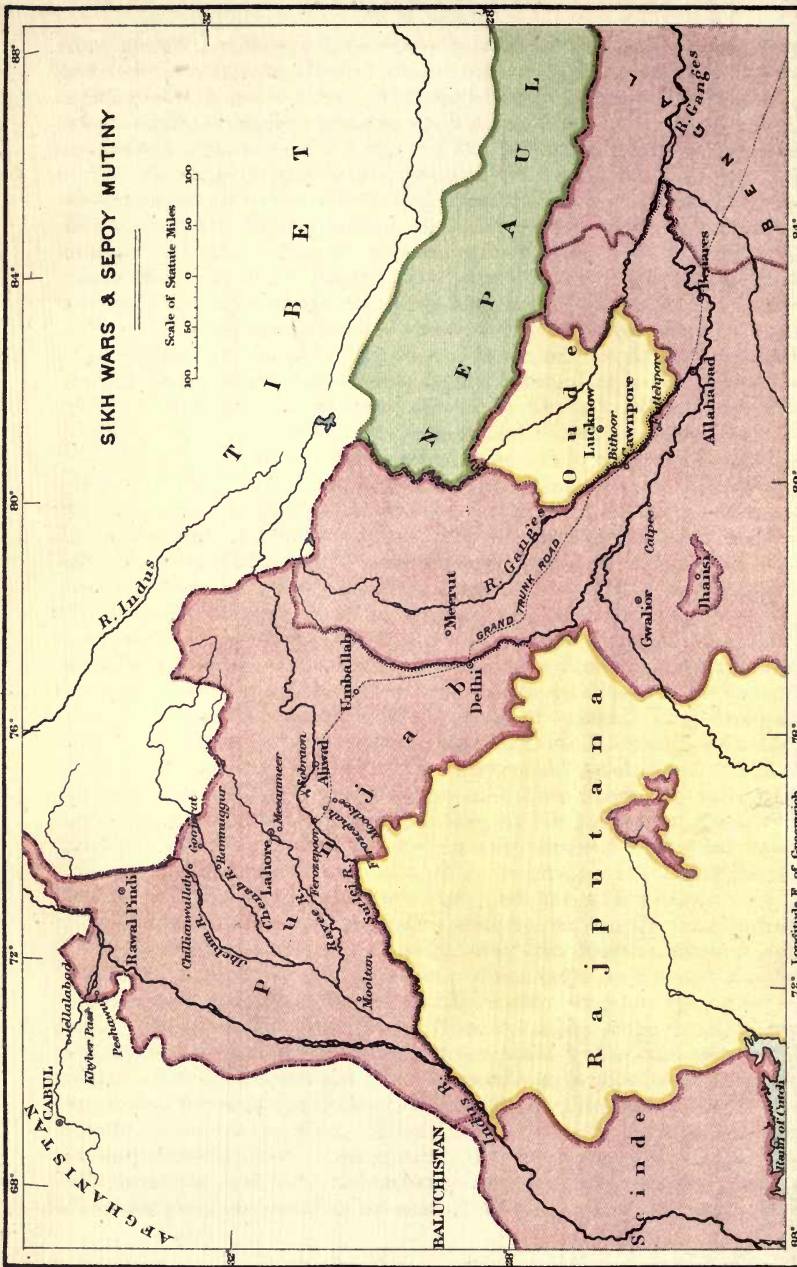
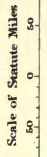
The
Sikhs.

from peaceful believers into brave warriors. A great soldier, ruler, and lawgiver, named Govind Singh, who died in 1708, was the real founder of the Sikh state. He abolished the Hindoo distinction of castes, and gave equal rights to all his subjects. After his death, the new people succumbed for a time to the Mahometans, but none would abjure his religion, and a remnant escaped to the mountains, whence they emerged after the invasion of Nadir Shah had plunged the land into confusion. They subdued all Lahore, and, after an interval of anarchy and civil strife, they became once more a nation under the strong rule of Runjeet Singh. His death in 1839 was the signal for a series of troubles which led to the invasion of our territory.

The Sikh army which crossed the Sutlej in December 1845 numbered 50,000 men, well drilled by French officers, and provided with more than a hundred field-guns of large calibre, imported from British foundries, and served by trained artillerymen. The campaign of fifty-four days included four great battles. The enemy formed an intrenched camp at the village of Ferozeshah, while our army, under Sir Hugh Gough, advanced from Umballah to the relief of Ferozepoor, which was partly invested by the foe. On December 18th the Sikhs were severely repulsed at the battle of Moodkee, south-east of Lahore, where Sir Robert Sale, to the grief of all his comrades and the great loss of his country, received a mortal wound. Our army, consisting of about 17,000 men, with seventy guns, then marched on Ferozeshah. Hardinge, with a noble chivalry, set aside the claim of his rank as Governor-General, and served as second under Gough. Three days after Moodkee, on the evening of the 21st, the troops attacked the enemy's strong lines of works. They were met with a resistance so determined that darkness fell with our soldiers in possession of but a part of the intrenched quadrangle. All the reserves had been engaged, and the men were exhausted with a long day's march, followed by hard fighting, and a scanty supply of food. Hardinge and Gough had no rest on that anxious night, but moved about among the troops with animating words, as the living lay side by side with the dying and the dead, and the gloom was lit by the glare of burning huts and exploding shells. At one time the cannon-fire of the Sikhs became so annoying, that two regiments were forced to rise and charge with the bayonet. When morning dawned, the fight was renewed, and the batteries of the enemy were too strong for our guns. The whole line of foot, with Gough and Hardinge in their front, bore onward with cold steel, stormed the inner works, and entered the village. The battle was not yet won, and our troops were in deadly peril when, towards the close of the second day, a great force of Sikh reserves came on the field. Then came a strange turn in this long and desperate struggle. Our cavalry, with horses so wearied that they could barely raise a trot, made a movement which caused the enemy to fall into a panic, in dread of an assault on their flank and rear. They

First
Sikh War,
Decem-
ber 1845
to Febru-
ary 1846.

SIKH WARS & SEPOY MUTINY



88° 84° 80° 76° 72° 68° 84° 80° 76° 72° 68°

Longitude E. of Greenwich

abandoned their guns, and retired across the Sutlej. On the side of the victors, nearly 2500 men had fallen, with many officers of note. The European regiments were fearfully thinned, the 62nd foot leaving half its numbers on the field. A few days later, the enemy were again on our side of the river, in a fortified position, at Aliwal, north-east of Moodkee. They were there attacked and smartly defeated by Sir Harry Smith, who carried their camp by storm, captured all their guns and ammunition, and drove them beyond the Sutlej. The war ended with the great battle of Sobraon, fought on the 10th of February. The enemy were intrenched on the river-bank, with a bridge of boats across. The junction of Sir Harry Smith had put Gough in command of a very strong force, aided by the arrival of a siege-train from Delhi. He refrained from action until rain had swollen the Sutlej, and cut off retreat save by the boat-bridge. The works were then attacked and stormed, and the breaking of the bridge, under the weight of masses in hurried retreat, caused the enemy a great disaster. They lost in all about 13,000 men and nearly seventy of their guns. The British force was diminished by 2000 men. Ten days later, the Sikh capital, Lahore, was in our hands, and the young Rajah, Dhuleep Singh, restored to his position, made a treaty of friendship with the government of India, with a British resident at Lahore to supervise affairs. The eastern districts of the Punjab were annexed to our dominions, and the country was placed under a British protectorate. In order to secure the frontier from future aggression, Lord Hardinge reduced the army of the Sikhs to 24,000 men and fifty guns, spread over the whole Punjab. At the same time, our garrison in north-western India was doubled, and the line of the Sutlej was guarded by 50,000 men, with sixty guns. The Punjab capital, Lahore, was held by a large force, and at Ferozepoor a complete army, ready to march at once, was kept in camp. When Hardinge, raised to the peerage for the successes of the Sikh war, quitted India in January 1848, he believed that he was bequeathing to his successor a long period of assured peace.

Lord Dalhousie, a ruler of very high order in energy, intellect, and courage, became Governor-General at the age of thirty-five, being the youngest man since Clive who held the chief post in India. He had already given proof of unusual ability and power of work as President of the Board of Trade during the great period of railway-making in 1845 and 1846. He was marked out, both by oratorical and administrative power, for the attainment of the highest position in the political world at home, when he quitted his country to construct a new Indian empire, and to sacrifice his life in the arduous exertions by which he triumphed over mighty obstacles in a noble career of conquest, consolidation, and development. To the north-east and north-west, and in the centre of the vast peninsula, a series of annexations extended our frontier and gave unity to our Eastern dominions, and his great schemes of public works and his admi-

Lord Dal-
housie,
1848-1856.

nistrative changes prepared the way for a social and economical revolution in the land. His keen eye was turned to every point, his mind grasped every detail, his resolute will bore down every material, moral, and intellectual hindrance to his comprehensive and far-reaching reforms.

Sir Henry Lawrence had become the ruler of the Punjab during the minority of the young prince, along with a regency of Sikh nobles. New trouble soon arose from the native governor of Mooltan, a place of great trade, with a strong fortress, near the river Chenab. When he was called to account by Lawrence, he pretended to resign his rule, which was taken over, pending the arrival of a new governor, by two young men of high promise, Mr. Vans Agnew, of the Civil Service, and Lieutenant Anderson. In April 1848, after an outbreak of the Sikh troops, they were both murdered by the mob. Lord Gough, in the hot season, declined to move his troops from Ferozepoor, but Lieutenant (the late Sir Herbert) Edwardes hurried up from the Indus with a few hundred men, won two battles, in June and July, against great odds, and drove the rebellious army back to the fortress with the loss of eight guns. The movement at Mooltan spread over the whole country, and the Sikhs were again in arms. The Afghans became their allies, and streamed down by thousands through the Khyber Pass. In September, Mooltan was besieged by General Whish with a large force, but in a few days he was obliged to retire, and await the action of Gough in the open field. The Governor-General despatched large reinforcements from Scinde and Bombay, and started in person for the Sutlej. In November Lord Gough advanced with 20,000 men and nearly 100 guns. The hot-headed Irish leader made a rash attack, on the 22nd, against the enemy's intrenched position at Ramnuggur, on the Chenab, defended by nearly 40,000 men. Great loss was incurred by our troops, but, in the end, the foe were driven off, and, ten days later, they were smartly defeated by General Sir Joseph Thackwell. Lord Gough then resolved to await the issue of the renewed siege of Mooltan. During a fierce bombardment from heavy guns, in the last days of December, much damage was done by the explosion of the great magazine, and the city was taken by assault on January 2, 1849. Three weeks later, the fortress was surrendered to Whish. On January 13th, the impulsive nature of Lord Gough had again caused his troops severe loss, accompanied by some discredit. At the village of Chillianwallah, the whole Sikh army was posted, in strong intrenchments, on the left bank of the Jhelum. Our troops were wearied with a long march, when, at evening, they arrived in front of the foe. The commander was annoyed by shot, from a Sikh battery, falling near his own tent, and he ordered an immediate attack. After a cannonade on the enemy's centre, which met a vigorous reply, our infantry were sent against the right flank, but the fire of a masked battery caused them to recoil, and much confusion

followed. The 14th Light Dragoons, from a mistaken order, retired before the enemy's horse, and a regiment of Bengal cavalry fairly took to flight. On the following day, the Sikhs withdrew in nearly undiminished strength, after inflicting on our forces a virtual defeat, with a loss exceeding 2000 men. The news of this carnage was received at home with indignation and dismay, and Sir Charles Napier, the conqueror of Scinde, was appointed, on March 9th, to supersede Gough in the command. Before that date, the old chief had redeemed his name and ended the war. Strongly reinforced from the victorious army of Mooltan, Gough, on February 20th, again attacked the Sikhs at Goojerat, east of Chillianwallah, where they were posted to the number of 40,000 men, with sixty guns. The British force, of 24,000, was greatly helped by the crushing, well-aimed fire of ninety guns, and both the European and Sepoy troops behaved with heroic courage. After nine hours' hard fighting, the enemy were driven from all their positions, and the British cavalry turned defeat into a complete rout, in which the victors took fifty-three guns, with all the ammunition and baggage. The loss to our army was but 100 killed and a few hundreds wounded. A close pursuit broke up the whole military power of the Sikhs. On March 12th, their remaining forces piled arms at Rawal Pindi, and the cannon were all surrendered. The Afghan horse were driven in headlong chase to the Khyber Pass, and the struggle ended with the annexation of the Punjab as an integral part of our Indian empire. The young Rajah, Dhuleep Singh, then in his eleventh year, was brought to England for education. He adopted the Christian faith, and, with the pension granted by the government, took his place in society as a Norfolk squire. The spoils of Lahore included the famous diamond known as the Koh-i-noor, or Mountain of Light, which was presented to the Queen by the Directors of the Company, and formed one of the chief attractions of the Great Exhibition in 1851.

The conquered territory was placed in charge of Sir Henry Lawrence, his brother John, and other able officials, and a strong line of defence, in forts and cantonments, was formed on the new north-western frontier. The best of the Sikh soldiers were enlisted in our service, and the people have since remained as loyal subjects as they once were gallant foes. The land system, the revenue, and the judicial administration were remodelled, and the prosperity of the country was greatly and rapidly increased by the creation of canals for irrigation, and of the Grand Trunk Road, with its branches in all directions. The great province thus governed was to become, at no distant day, a main element of safety in the hour of direst peril for British dominion in the East.

The Burmese monarch had bitterly resented the presence at Ava of the British Resident, placed there by the treaty of 1826. He was regarded as an intruder on sacred ground, and in 1837 a new sovereign's

insulting treatment caused our minister to remove his abode from Ava to Rangoon. In 1840, the Resident was formally withdrawn, and for the next twelve years our merchants were made subject to many irritating and wrongful acts. Lord Dalhousie was the last man to neglect the claims of injured British subjects. His courteous application for redress was met with contempt and repeated provocations, and his next step was a thorough preparation for war. The dangers of the Burmese climate were well considered, and the expedition, in the due regard paid to fresh food, hospitals, and shelter from the sun and rain, was an admirable model of sanitary care. The Governor-General was resolved to give a lesson, and to push its teachings sternly home. In April 1852, a naval and military force was at the mouths of the Irawaddi. Martaban was quickly captured, and a grand stroke of war, too little known and valued, was dealt in the heroic storming of Rangoon. The great pagoda, a temple-fortress of immense strength, was held, with the city, by 18,000 men. Our columns of attack, less than one-third the number, under a blazing sun and against a storm of shot, rushed up the steep and narrow stairs with levelled steel, uttering the shout which, on many a field of battle, has smitten with terror the hearts of our foes. The Burmese "Immortals," picked warriors sworn to die at their posts, fled out at one gate as the stormers broke in at another. The governor of Rangoon, after fleeing to a place of safety, valiantly advised our leader, General Godwin, "to retreat while he could." The capture of Rangoon was followed, in the autumn, by the seizure of Prome, which opened the way up the river to Ava. The Burmese king still refused submission, and in December 1852, Lord Dalhousie proclaimed the annexation of the province of Pegu, or Lower Burmah, which was placed under British rule headed by Sir Arthur Phayre. Since that time, the population of Rangoon has grown fifteen-fold, and the value of the trade has risen from two to fourteen millions. The Eastern commerce in rice and teak came into British hands, and a great territory, ruined by misrule, has been changed into a very prosperous and progressive country.

The system of "protected" and allied native states was one which had been fully established, after a period of slow growth, under the rule of Lord Wellesley, at the beginning of the century. The native princes placed in these relations to the British government were thereby secured against both outward attack and inward peril arising from misrule. The dynasty was held safe, while its subjects, in many cases, were the victims of cruel oppression. The time had arrived when British rulers in the East would no longer maintain so shameful a position towards helpless peoples. The despots invested, by our policy, with power devoid of responsibility, were now either to be swept away, or compelled to govern according to British ideas of justice and humanity. Lord

Dal-
housie's
peaceful
annexa-
tions.

Dalhousie was but the instrument who effected a change the need of which had already forced itself upon the minds of the Directors, and of those British politicians who paid due heed to the concerns of our Indian empire. He was, however, an active and intelligent instrument, strongly convinced himself of the propriety of change. The principle, moreover, had been long established by the Court of Directors that, on the failure of male-heirs in a protected state, the Indian government, as representing the suzerain or lord-paramount, could either sanction the transference of political power to an adopted heir, or incorporate the principality within its own dominions. It was under this rule that, in 1848, the Governor-General annexed the small state of Satara, on the Kistna. The states of Sambalpur and Jhansi, with Udaipur, in Rajputana, were annexed on the same principle, to the great benefit of the native people. The great state of Nagpur, nearly twice the size of England, was incorporated with our dominions in 1854, and now forms the chief part of the Central Provinces. This region of mountain, forest, and plain was a Mahratta principality, long grossly misruled by its Rajah, who died, in 1853, without even an adopted heir. The jewels and private estate were, in this as in other cases, reserved for the benefit of the widows and blood-relations. The Governor-General, like his predecessor Warren Hastings, was made the subject of calumnies, uttered in London by agents from the feudatory states, often assisted by civil servants with special grievances against the Company or their chief official. The Indian revenues were increased in 1855 by the lapse, through death, of a large sum paid to the titular Nawab of the Carnatic, a name which was now suppressed by the Directors. The last case of annexation under Lord Dalhousie was the famous one of the province of Oude, effected through the order of the government at home. The people of that state had long been victims of the most odious oppression. In 1831, Lord William Bentinck gave an emphatic warning to the wicked king, who died in 1837. Lord Hardinge, ten years later, went in person to Lucknow, the capital, and gave the ruler two years to amend his ways of governing, on pain of loss of power. Repeated warnings from Lord Dalhousie produced no change, and the country, in 1854, was in a state of anarchy. The fear of British interposition in the ruler's favour was the only obstacle to a general revolt, and by a proclamation issued in February 1856, the province of Oude was annexed to the British territories.

By the Act of 1853, which renewed, for the last time, the charter of the Company, the Governor-General ceased to have immediate charge of Bengal, and a deputy, as Lieutenant-Governor, was appointed for the provinces on the Lower Ganges. The great increase of British territory demanded a new system of administration. Our dominions had grown by nearly a quarter of a million of square miles, with nearly 40,000,000 of people, and it was needful to

Dal-
housie's
great
reforms.

change the centre of power. The military force began to be moved towards the northern and central provinces, and, for a great part of the year, Simla has replaced Calcutta as the abode of the Governor-General, whose special task is to supervise the rule of the whole vast empire. In 1853, Dalhousie devised the grand system of railways which now traverse India, tripling our military strength, and opening up the land to new enterprise, capital, trade, and profit. Sixteen thousand miles of the iron-road are now at work, and the free intercourse thus afforded is welding once isolated peoples, of divers races, religions, and tongues, into something like national unity. The country was also, amidst great difficulties arising from climate, wild natives, animals, and white ants, provided with the electric wires which give discernment to the distant eye, and grasp to the distant hand, of the ruler in such a region. A new Department of Public Works provided roads, canals, and buildings for business in every province, and, for the first time, the natives were enabled to become writers of news to relatives and friends by a cheap rate of postage. A halfpenny stamp now franks a letter for distances that may exceed 2000 miles. In 1854, the great ruler, aided by Sir Charles Wood, President of the Board of Control, founded a complete national system of public instruction, which proceeds upwards, by well-arranged steps, from the lowest class of schools to the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Lahore, and Allahabad. In February 1856, Dalhousie, created a Marquess after the Sikh war, quitted the country, wearied and worn by the arduous and incessant labours whose effects brought him to the grave in December 1860.

CHAPTER V.

THE MUTINY AND CHANGE OF RULE.

The Sepoy revolt. Meerut and Delhi. Fidelity of native princes. Lawrence in the Punjab. Cawnpore and Lucknow. Havelock's great march. Recapture of Delhi. Sir Colin Campbell to the rescue. Crushing of the rebels. "John Company" expires. India Act of 1858. Latest Afghan troubles. Roberts' march to Candahar. Other Asiatic possessions.

THE successor of Dalhousie was Lord Canning, son of the famous statesman. He was a cool, clear-headed man, well suited for the great and perilous crisis with which he was soon required to deal. The mutiny of the native army in Bengal was a military outbreak, obscurely connected with intrigues of native princes, alarmed by the recent annexations, and largely due to the fanaticism and credulity of Hindoo and Mahometan soldiers, who dreaded a supposed design to subvert the institution of caste and to outrage their religious scruples. Many circumstances

The
Indian
Mutiny
or Sepoy
War, 1857-
1858.

were concurring to fan sparks of discontent into a raging and devouring flame. The failure, at the outset of the campaign, of our administrative system in the Crimean war, and Russian success in Asia, had created in India some idea of British weakness, and this view was encouraged by lack of wisdom in British rulers. The European element in the Indian forces had been dangerously lessened. Against the earnest remonstrance of Lord Dalhousie, two regiments had been withdrawn for service in the Russian war, and had not, according to promise, been afterwards replaced. Five or six other regiments had been despatched to Persia, and the British forces in Bengal, widely dispersed in small bodies, scarcely exceeded 20,000 men. Our military leaders were blindly convinced of Sepoy loyalty, at the very time when certain signs, unmarked by arrogant and self-sufficient authority, gave token of lurking peril. The Hindoo Sepoys of the Bengal army were chiefly Brahmins of high caste, and both a religious and a clannish spirit were very strong in their ranks. The command of these men was almost wholly in the hands of British officers, alien in race and faith, and the men whose valour had won just praise in the severe contest against the Sikhs, and had been rewarded with abundant spoil, regarded with disgust the advent of a new and peaceful era, producing for the rank and file nothing but lengthy marches for relief and garrison duty. In July 1856, some uneasiness was caused in the Sepoy mind by a new order that future enlistments in Bengal rendered the troops liable to service beyond the sea, which the Hindoo hates and fears. At the same time, the new rifles, called the "Enfield," were served out to some of the troops, and plotters, with ingenious malice, spread rumours concerning the greased cartridges. The Hindoo regards the ox as a sacred animal; the Mahometan, like the Jew, abominates the hog. The soldiers of both religions were informed by secret agents that the cartridges were greased with a mixture of beef-fat and lard, with the express purpose of insulting, in opposite ways, those who handled them. In January 1857, these cartridges were withdrawn from use, and ostensibly new ones were issued, prepared, like the first, with fat derived from mutton, in which no offence existed for soldiers of either faith. Falsehood, however, had done its work, and on May 6th, many of the native troopers at Meerut, a large town north-east of Delhi, refused to handle the cartridges, and were sentenced to imprisonment by court-martial.

A few days after June 23rd, when the hundredth anniversary of Clive's victory at Plassey was celebrated in London, terrible news arrived from the East. The 3rd Bengal cavalry and the 11th and 20th regiments of native infantry at Meerut had risen in revolt, shot down some British officers, set fire to the cantonments, released their imprisoned comrades, and massacred many of the European men, women, and children. There was a British force of 1500 men at the station, and a prompt use of their services

The outbreak.
May 10,
1857.

would have easily crushed the Sepoys, who were only double the number. The mutineers were allowed to make their escape to Delhi, where the aged nominal king was residing with his two sons, and the old capital of the Moghuls became at once a strong centre of disaffection. By the most culpable negligence of the military authorities, no European force was stationed at this great arsenal, and the native regiments, over 3000 men, soon joined the ranks of the rebels. Many of the British officials, civil and military, with their families, were slaughtered; the mob sacked the bank and the chief European buildings; and the Moghul dynasty was proclaimed. The magazine, with immense stores of artillery and ammunition, was in charge of Lieutenant Willoughby and eight assistants, who were attacked by a great force. Willoughby, with desperate heroism, fired a train intended to blow the whole place into the air, but the explosion was only partial, and, though hundreds of the assailants perished, with five of the defenders, the greater part of the stores fell into the hands of the rebels, who were thus enabled to make Delhi a powerful fortress. The news of revolt spread through the land, and, while the Sepoys in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies were mainly faithful to their colours, Bengal, Oude, and the other northern territories, save the Punjab, were seething with rebellious troops, aided by swarms of criminal and disorderly men from the country parts and great towns. Many of the Oude nobles and some minor princes took the field with their retainers in support of the revolt, but the British cause was well served by the fidelity of Maharajah Scindia, ruler of Gwalior, of the Nizam of Hyderabad, with his able minister Sir Salar Jung, of Gholab Singh, and Jung Bahadoor, princes of Nepaul, and of Holkar, ruler of Indore. Lord Canning, when the peril came, faced it with a steady courage. His calm attitude repressed European panic at Calcutta; soldiers were summoned from Bombay and Madras; the regiments now returning from Persia were despatched to the north-west; and some of the troops on their way to the China war were intercepted for service in India.

Among the chief elements of ultimate safety in this time of peril for British rule were the action of Sir John Lawrence and his assistants in the Punjab, and the loyalty of the Sikh troops. When the evil tidings reached Lahore, Lawrence was in the Upper Punjab, but his deputy, Mr. Montgomery, caused the prompt disarmament, in presence of European troops with loaded and pointed cannon and rifles, of the 4000 Sepoys stationed at Meeanmeer. Thirteen hundred British were thus set free for movement against the rebels, and Sir John promptly raised reinforcements among the Sikhs and hill-tribes. The Punjab thus became not only a solid breakwater to the north-west against the surging sea of revolt, but a sure source of supply to the force engaged in the reduction of Delhi.

The great town of Cawnpore, commanding the bridge over the

Ganges and the highroad to Lucknow, was garrisoned by nearly 4000 Sepoys, with less than 200 British, commanded by Sir Hugh Wheeler, a general of seventy-five years. The civil Europeans numbered about 1000, and all these, with the military, took refuge in the barrack-hospital outside the town, on June 5th. The sole defence was a newly-made mud wall of about four feet in height, and the men able to fight behind this wretched shelter numbered about 400. The native troops rose, and were helped by the retainers of a miscreant named Nana Sahib, who lived at Bithoor, about twelve miles up the river. This man was the adopted son of Baji Rao, ex-Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who died in 1851. From him Nana had received a large fortune, and the British government had further bestowed his adoptive father's grant of land. Without the slightest legal or moral right, Nana claimed the continuance of Baji Rao's pension of £80,000 a year, granted by Lord Hastings in 1818, purely as a life-annuity. This impudent request met with a firm refusal both in India and in London, and Nana Sahib now hoped to win both revenge and power, and to become prince over Oude when the British were driven from the land. For nearly three weeks the little garrison repulsed all attacks made by tenfold odds. Their sufferings from the fierce heat, and from lack of due supplies of water, only to be procured from a single well always under the besiegers' fire, were fearful and unremitting. On June 21st, Wheeler died from wounds received in a daring sortie, and three days later, pressed by want and hopeless of relief, the British surrendered, on the terms of a safe passage down the river to Allahabad. A long train of women, children, sick, dying, wounded, and some scores of able-bodied men, passed down towards the boats. A part only had embarked, when a signal was given by Tantia Topee, the faithful lieutenant of Nana Sahib. The straw-roofs of the boats burst into flame, and from both river-banks came showers of musketry and grape. Four men alone escaped from this foul massacre. The survivors, about 120 women and children, were crammed into a small building, where nearly a fourth soon perished from disease. On July 16th, when Havelock's victorious column of relief was close at hand, the prisoners were all murdered, some by volleys fired through the windows, and the others hacked to pieces by five men armed with swords. The bodies were flung into a dry well on a spot now covered by a memorial chapel surrounded by a garden.

Lucknow, the capital of Oude, was occupied in May 1857 by a garrison of over 6000 Sepoys, with a British regiment of about 600 men, and a small auxiliary force of Sikhs. Sir Henry Lawrence, the governor of Oude, a man of great ability and prudence, brother of the Punjab Commissioner, took timely precautions against an expected rising of the native troops, and turned the Residency into a fairly strong place of defence, well-stored with food and

Cawn-
pore.
June-
July 1857.

Lucknow,
May to
September 1857.

ammunition. The value of this work was soon to be fully proved. On May 30th a partial revolt occurred, but the mutineers were either driven off, or held in check for some time. On June 30th, the small British and Sikh force marched out against an army of advancing rebels, but, partly from the treachery of some native gunners, they retired in defeat to endure a long siege in the Residency, hampered and made grievous by the charge of many women and children. On July 4th, Lawrence died from wounds inflicted by a shell, and the defence was then gallantly and skilfully maintained by Colonel Inglis. Amidst constant deaths from wounds and disease, the garrison held their own against a host of foes, and the British flag waved defiance as its champions waited for relief.

The hero of the whole struggle was Brigadier-General Henry Havelock, a man worthy, from religious zeal, courage, and warlike skill, to have fought by the side of Ireton and Cromwell. Landing from Persia on May 29th, he was appointed to command a column formed at Allahabad for the relief of his countrymen beleaguered at Cawnpore and Lucknow. The little army numbered only one thousand men, but all were British troops, including some companies of the 78th Highlanders. There were six old field-guns, badly equipped, eighteen volunteer horse, mostly young officers of the revolted regiments, and a most valuable "intelligence department" of native spies and scouts. This was Havelock's first and only independent command, and he so bore himself as to win, in a single brief campaign, a renown not likely soon to pass away. On July 7th he marched from Allahabad, and, three days later, he overtook and united with his force 400 British and 300 Sikhs, detached by General Neill, who had been doing good work in restoring order at Benares, Allahabad, and other points. On July 12th, an army of the enemy, in more than double force, was defeated in ten minutes at Futtehpore, with the loss of all their eleven guns of large calibre, which now replaced the paltry field-pieces used in the action. Two more victories, won on the 15th, brought Havelock and his men near to Cawnpore, where Nana Sahib, fresh from the second massacre, was strongly posted, with 5000 men, behind some villages. On the 16th, the British leader, to the enemy's great loss, won a complete victory, at a cost to himself of a hundred men. The Nana galloped into the city on a bleeding and tired horse, and, after blowing up the magazine, retreated to Bithoor. On Havelock's approach, after two days' rest to his wearied troops, the palace was fired by the despairing foe, whose men had fled across the Ganges, while he vanished himself towards the borders of Nepaul, and was never more beheld by any British eye. The treacherous murderer, Tantia Toppee, was taken and hanged in 1859. The recovery of Cawnpore was the first event that tended to restore the credit of our arms. On July 25th, the victor crossed the Ganges into Oude, and won four more battles in an advance towards

Have-
lock's
march,
June to
Septem-
ber 1857.

Lucknow, and a retreat to Cawnpore due to lack of men sufficient to replace the losses of battle and disease. On September 16th, the arrival of Sir James Outram with fresh troops raised the relieving force to 2500 men. Outram, appointed to the chief command in Oude, showed a rare chivalry in choosing, for the time, to serve under Havelock. Three more brilliant successes were won on the way to Lucknow, and on September 25th, after desperate fighting with 10,000 foes, the rescuing army forced their way to the Residency. The besieged were thus saved from inevitable death, but it was impossible to remove the women and children, the wounded and the sick, to any other place, and for some weeks Outram and Havelock were blockaded in their turn.

The recapture of Delhi was a matter of the first importance, and to this work due heed was given within a few days of its seizure by the rebels. General Anson, the commander-in-chief, died of cholera during his march, and was succeeded by General Barnard, who, after a junction with Archdale Wilson's force from Meerut, defeated the rebels on June 8th, a few miles from the city. Our army numbered but 3000 British troops, with a like force of native auxiliaries, twenty-two field-guns, and a small siege-train. With such means, it was impossible to assail a strongly-fortified place, held by 12,000 men, and Barnard, for some time, took up a strong position near the town, and waited for reinforcements. The garrison, meanwhile, was constantly swelled by the arrival of mutineers from other stations, and repeated attacks, always bravely repulsed, were made on the British lines until the end of July. Then the troops from the Punjab, and contingents from loyal native princes, began to arrive, and, by the close of August we were strong enough to assume the offensive. Barnard had perished by disease, and the command was now in the hands of General Wilson. The defences of the town had, however, been greatly strengthened; the ramparts bristled with heavy guns, well served; and the garrison, with a force outside, numbered 30,000 men. An attack of the rebels on our rear was defeated with heavy loss by General Nicholson, and the arrival of a new siege-train enabled us, on September 12th, to open an effective fire. Two days later, the storming-columns, led by Nicholson, advanced to the attack, and, with a mortal wound for the chief, the outer defences were taken. Nearly a week's fighting was needed to gain the mastery of the whole town, but on the 21st the British flag was flying over the palace of the "Great Moghul." The old king and his two sons and a grandson were captured, and the younger men were shot, with his own hand, by Captain Hodson, commander of some irregular horse. The aged king went as a prisoner to Rangoon. The loss of Delhi made Lucknow the headquarters of revolt, and thither the centre of interest is now transferred.

The news of Delhi being strongly held by the mutineers made Lord Palmerston resolve to place the Indian command in the hands of the fine

Peninsular and Crimean veteran, Sir Colin Campbell. The old soldier left London, at a few hours' notice, on July 12th, and landed at Calcutta in the middle of August. Before the end of September, eighty transports, with 30,000 men, had started for India, but Sir Colin was unable to await the arrival of any considerable force. The position of Outram and Havelock at Lucknow, with a number of non-combatants distressed by disease and wounds, was most perilous and urgent. On November 9th, Campbell left Cawnpore, and was joined on the march by a brigade of seamen, with some heavy guns, under the famous Captain William Peel, of the *Shannon*, whom our readers have seen in the trenches before Sebastopol. He had also the help of a body of troops under Sir Hope Grant. In all, his force barely reached 5000 men, with some thirty guns, and it was only after four days' hard fighting that, on November 17th, Campbell forced his way to the Residency, and met Havelock and Outram. The sick and wounded, with the women and children, were now removed to a safe position five miles from the Residency, and, that shattered building being abandoned, Sir James Outram, with a small force, was left in Alumbagh, an isolated cluster of buildings, with grounds and enclosure, to the south of the town. The army and the country, on November 24th, suffered a great loss in the death, from dysentery, of the noble Havelock, who had just heard from Sir Colin of his appointment to a knighthood of the Bath. He had been dead three days when the Queen's hand signed a patent of baronetcy, an honour at once transferred to his brave son Henry, who had been acting on the staff during the last brief and glorious phase of his father's career. The city of Lucknow was still, perforce, left in the hands of the rebels, and Campbell turned away to the work that awaited him elsewhere. During the relief of the garrison of Lucknow, Cawnpore had again been lost. The soldiers of the loyal Scindia at Gwalior, seduced by a body of Sepoy mutineers, had risen and expelled him from the town. These new foes then marched off to join the rebellion in Oude, and General Windham, more brave than prudent, went out from Cawnpore to meet them. He was driven back with heavy loss, and the city itself was taken. Sir Colin and Sir Hope Grant, attacking from two sides, were masters of the place early in December, and Campbell then formed an establishment of stores, munitions, and means of transport for future operations at Lucknow. He was resolved to undertake the crushing of the foe, in their chief seat of power, only with the means of sure and complete success.

On March 1, 1858, the general-in-chief was again near the suburbs of Lucknow. He now commanded an army of 50,000 men, including 20,000 British troops, and aided by a hundred guns. Such a force would have been irresistible in immediate assault, but the general was able, by the masterly use of his artillery, and by a prudent disposal of his men, to win a solid and

Sir Colin
Campbell, Nov.
1857 to
March
1858.

Capture
of Luck-
now,
March
1858.

brilliant success at a very small cost. The enemy, with great loss, were driven from point after point by the terrific fire of the guns, and twelve days were occupied in gaining possession of the whole vast area of the city and adjacent posts. In the final attack, 2000 of the enemy fell by the bayonet alone, wielded with relentless severity by the Highlanders. Among our wounded were the gallant Peel, who died a little later of disease; the killed included Hodson, the slayer of the princes at Delhi. Among those who bore, from first to last, the sufferings of the Residency siege, and earned praise for his valour and endurance, was one of the most interesting of our countrymen that ever met danger in the East. This was Dr. Brydon, sole survivor of the disaster of Cabul, and then comrade of Sale at Jellalabad.

The taking of Lucknow was a deathblow to the cause of the rebels. Sir Colin Campbell took prompt and effectual means of dealing with the scattered parties and posts that were found in the valley of the Ganges. Flying columns, or complete small armies of artillery, cavalry, infantry, and engineers, fitted for every kind of work, swept hither and thither through the land, taking forts and dispersing mutineers and banditti. Some valuable work was due to the energy and skill of Sir Hugh Rose, known later as Lord Strathnairn. Under his command, on May 26th, the fortress of Calpee was taken from the mutineers of Gwalior, and, on June 13th, that great rock-fortress itself was won back for its master, Scindia. In this last battle the Ranee, or Princess of Jhansi, fell fighting in the ranks of our foes, after proving herself, as our general declared, "the best man on the side of the enemy." She had suffered from the annexations under Lord Dalhousie, and, when the mutiny began, she took the field with Nana Sahib and his men. On December 20th, Sir Colin, who had now become Lord Clyde, was able to announce to Lord Canning that the campaign was at an end, and that "the last remnant of the mutineers and insurgents had been hopelessly driven across the mountains which form the barrier between the kingdom of Nepaul and Her Majesty's empire of Hindostan."

The Act passed in August 1858, by the ministry of Lord Derby, vested in the Queen all the territories previously governed, and all the powers previously exercised, by the East India Company. A new Secretary of State took the place of the President of the Board of Control, and a new Council of India was created, consisting of fifteen members, seven to be elected by the Court of Directors from their own body, and eight nominated by the crown. Vacancies in this body were, in the end, to be filled up by the Secretary for India. The naval and military forces of the Company passed into the Queen's service, and entrance into the Civil Service of India now became fully subject to competitive examination. The "Governor-General" became "Viceroy," with supreme power in India, and furnished with the aid of a Council. The whole

Final operations,
1858.

Political death of the Company,
August 1858.

of our territory is now divided into nine provinces, each with its own independent civil government, subject only to the Viceroy. The political functions of the Directors ceased on September 1st, but the Company still existed for the management of their "East India Stock," all its other property being vested in the crown for the purposes of the government of India. An Act of 1873 redeemed the dividends on the capital stock, and on June 1, 1874, after its long, chequered, and, on the whole, glorious history, the East India Company was dissolved.

On November 1, 1858, the Queen was proclaimed as sovereign of India. India, in a document which breathed a noble spirit of generosity, benevolence, and religious toleration, and received warm and grateful recognition from the general intelligence of the people. For the next twenty years, the history of our Indian empire was mainly one of peaceful progress, under the able and energetic rule of a succession of excellent Viceroys. Natives of the country, men of high ability and character, were admitted to sit in council along with British soldiers and civilians, and loyal adherence to British rule was thereby strengthened. Lord Canning, created an Earl, returned home in 1862 with health shattered by his arduous work, and died in the same year. His successor, the Earl of Elgin, a man who had formerly won great credit as ruler of Canada, and had lately been envoy in China, died in November 1863. Sir John (afterwards Lord) Lawrence, the great ruler of the Punjab, was Viceroy from 1863 to 1868. His successor, the Earl of Mayo, did much for Indian finance, before his career was cut short, in February 1872, by the knife of a Mahometan convict and fanatic, who stabbed the Viceroy at Port Blair, in the Andaman Islands, as he was about to leave the shore on concluding a visit of inspection. The four years' rule of Lord Northbrook, from 1872 to 1876, was followed by the appointment of Lord Lytton, son of the novelist and statesman. A speedy change then came over the foreign policy adopted by recent Viceroys.

After the death of Dost Mahomed in 1863, a long series of civil wars in Afghanistan had ended in the supremacy of his third son, Shere Ali, who was aided with weapons and subsidies by the successive Viceroys of India, Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook. British jealousy had been aroused by the rapid advance of Russia in Central Asia, and by the reception at Cabul of a Russian envoy, when Lord Lytton, instructed from London, despatched a mission in September 1878. Shere Ali had already declined to receive an envoy or to admit any British Resident, and, at the entrance of the Khyber Pass, the party, which included a large force of cavalry, was stopped by the Afghan officials. War was declared, and Cabul and Candahar were soon in the hands of British troops. Shere Ali fled, and soon afterwards died, leaving the throne to his son, Yakoob Khan. In May 1879, the Treaty of Gandamak admitted a British minister as

Afghan
War.
1878-1880.

a Resident at Cabul, and the Indian government undertook to pay a subsidy of £60,000 a year, and to support the Afghan ruler against any foreign foes. Sir Louis Napoleon Cavaignac, an officer of high merit, was the son of an Italian who had been a devoted adherent of the second Emperor of the French, and the companion of his early exile in England. Cavaignac now became British minister at Cabul, but in September 1879, he and all his suite were massacred in a popular rising. In October, after several engagements, our army, under Sir Frederick Roberts, was again quartered in Cabul, and the deposed Yakoob Khan went as a prisoner to India. Early in 1880, two chief claimants for the Afghan sovereignty took the field. One was Abdurrahman Khan, a grandson of Dost Mahomed. The other, Ayoub Khan, a man of much ability and energy, was a son of Shere Ali. He raised an army at Herat, and marched against Candahar, then held by General Primrose. Ayoub Khan's force numbered 12,000 men, with thirty-six guns, well equipped and well served. Primrose, ignorant of the enemy's real strength, sent out General Burrows, with a force not much exceeding 2000 men, with twelve guns. The infantry included but 500 British, men of the 66th or "Old Berkshire" regiment. A desperate fight of six hours ended in our utter defeat, and a ruinous flight of fifty miles to Candahar. The disaster of Maiwand was brilliantly retrieved by Sir Frederick Roberts from Cabul. With 10,000 men, a force composed of British, Sikhs, and brave, active little Ghoorkas, he started for Candahar on August 8th, twelve days after the battle of Maiwand. For more than three weeks Roberts and his men were lost to the anxious eyes and ears of their countrymen, but on September 1st, after a march through trackless wastes, conducted with consummate prudence and skill, they emerged to view beneath the walls of Candahar. On September 1st, the beleaguering force under Ayoub Khan was completely defeated, with the loss of all the guns, and this success prepared the way to peace. In 1880, Lord Lytton was succeeded by the Marquis of Ripon, and Abdurrahman was recognised by the British government as ruler of Afghanistan. An annual subsidy of £120,000 secured the new Ameer in our interest in 1883, and, four years later, a new northern frontier for Afghanistan was marked out by British and Russian commissioners.

Aden, the town, seaport, fortress, and territory on the south-west coast of Arabia, near the entrance to the Red Sea, consists of a mountainous peninsula, about fifteen miles in circumference, connected with the mainland by a low, narrow, sandy isthmus. This important military position, most valuable as a coaling-station for steamers, and a place of trade for the transhipment of goods valued at £4,000,000 a year, is a telegraph station on the line between Alexandria and India. The spot was once a Roman colony, and, in the Middle Ages, Aden was a great mart of the Eastern trade. In 1837

Other
Asiatic
possession.

a Madras ship was wrecked on the coast, and the vessel was plundered, with cruel treatment of the passengers and crew, by the Arabs in the petty town. The government of Bombay sought redress from the chieftain, and, on refusal, attacked and captured the place in January 1839. The island of *Perim*, ninety miles distant, in a commanding position on the Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, which renders it the key of the Red Sea, is a dependency of Aden, held by a detachment of its garrison. The harbour, capable of holding a fleet of men-of-war, is well sheltered. The place was occupied in 1857 as a station for a lighthouse in those dangerous waters. *Ceylon*, the ancient Taprobane, visited by Marco Polo and by Sir John Mandeville, was conquered by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century from the Arabs who held the seaports, and from the petty kings of the interior. The first European possessors of the land of cocoa-nuts, cinnamon, and coffee, after a long period of cruel and oppressive rule, were expelled by the Dutch in 1658. The coast provinces of the island became ours by conquest in 1796, and the interior was annexed in 1815, after the deposition, by desire of the native chiefs, of the tyrannical king of Kandy. The *Straits Settlements*, on and off the coast of Malacca, were mainly acquired by purchase from native rulers. Malacca was taken from the Dutch in 1795; Wellesley province and Penang were ceded by a Malay prince towards the close of the eighteenth century; the great commercial emporium, Singapore, was bought, in 1824, from the Sultan of Johore. The island of *Labuan*, now a coaling-station with valuable mines, was ceded in 1846 by the Sultan of Borneo.

Our latest important acquisition in Asia took place in 1886. From 1853 to 1879, the sovereign of Upper Burmah remained on friendly terms with his neighbours in Pegu, and there was a British resident at his capital, Mandalay. A change came with the accession of his son, Thebaw. This drunken tyrant, after murdering his brothers, sisters, and other blood-relations, assumed a hostile attitude towards British interests in that quarter of Asia. When he refused redress for arbitrary dealing with the rights of a British company working in Upper Burmah, war was declared by the Indian government, and in November 1885 a British force crossed the frontier and steamed up the Irawaddi. Before the end of the month, the Burmese troops laid down their arms at Ava; the capital was in our hands by surrender, and the deposition of the king was followed by his removal as a prisoner to India, and by the annexation of the whole of his territory. Much trouble was incurred by our forces in guerilla warfare with Burmese dacoits or banditti, but the country, which is about four times the area of England, is being gradually pacified, and brought under regularly organised rule.





20°

Longitude East 30° of Greenwich

40°

AFRICA
SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR

50 0 100 200 300 400

BOOK XIX.

COLONIAL EMPIRE IN AFRICA, AMERICA, AND AUSTRALASIA.

CHAPTER I.

BRITISH DOMINIONS IN AFRICA.

The West African coast. Wars with the Ashantees. Wolseley at Coomassie. St. Helena, Ascension, Mauritius. Rise of British power at the Cape. Kaffir wars. Extension of our dominion. Natal, Basutoland, &c. Colonies made self-governing.

THE first connection between England and the western coast of Africa began with the commercial ventures of the African Company, a joint-stock association founded in 1530. Sir John Hawkins, about thirty years later, traded thither for cargoes of blacks to be sold in the West Indies. The first European settlers on the Gold Coast were the Portuguese, who were expelled from Cape Coast Castle by the Dutch, themselves in turn dispossessed, in 1661, by the English, who secured the territory, six years later, by the Treaty of Breda. The Gambia settlements were first occupied by our traders in 1591. Sierra Leone was made a British colony, by purchase from native chiefs, in 1787, and, on the abolition of the slave-trade twenty years later, it became a settlement for negroes rescued by British cruisers. The capital, Freetown, is a naval coaling-station, and the headquarters of the West Indian regiments in garrison on the West Coast of Africa. Lagos, ceded by a native ruler in 1861, is the only place of trade, chiefly in palm-oil, for an extensive and fruitful district of the interior. It was in 1821 that the Gold Coast, by transfer from another African company, became a crown colony. Before that date, the land had begun to have a history. The Ashantees, a warlike and ferocious people, with some remains of Moorish civilisation, first came in contact with British power in 1807. They were repulsed from a fort at the town of Anamaboe, but the governor of Cape Coast Castle made a treaty which acknowledged the king of Ashantee as sovereign of the whole territory. In 1816 the British fort at Cape Coast was blockaded by the Ashantees, on the ground of aid lent by our troops to the Fantees, a rival people. The enemy were induced to withdraw

by the payment of a sum of money, and this policy soon produced its natural result.

In 1821, Sir Charles MacCarthy became governor of the crown colony. **Ashantee Wars.** He formed an alliance with the Fantees, in defiance of terms of friendship recently concluded with their hereditary foes by an agent from England, and in 1823 the Ashantees declared war. In 1824, their warrior swarms totally defeated a British force of about one thousand men. The governor and almost all his officers perished, and MacCarthy's skull was carried off as a trophy of this great success. The struggle ended, in 1826, with the rout of the Ashantees near Accra, and, at the close of another war, in 1831, the river Prah was fixed as the boundary between their kingdom and the tribes under British rule and protection. The warrior race could not, however, long remain quiet, and the frontier was often treated with small respect. In 1863, the governor at Cape Coast refused to surrender some slaves who had taken refuge on British soil, and the Ashantee king called his men to arms. The territories of neighbouring chiefs were invaded, and many villages destroyed, and the aggressors arrived within forty miles of the frontier. The governor resolved to anticipate attack, and rashly, at the wrong season, sent forward troops to meet the foe. The force was soon disabled by disease, even the West Indian soldiers proving unable to endure the hot and pestilential air. The expedition was withdrawn, and, in January 1866, peace was made with an adversary again encouraged by an European failure. In 1872, some Dutch possessions on the Gold Coast became ours by purchase and exchange, and this matter was soon to be the cause of a new war. The Ashantee king claimed the tribute once paid by the Dutch, and declined to quit some of the ceded territory. His attack upon the Fantees, and the danger of union, in case of any marked success, among all the powerful tribes, caused Mr. Gladstone's government to resolve on dealing an effective blow. Sir Garnet Wolseley, who had lately won distinction in North America, was appointed to command an expedition which included some of our best troops, such as the 42nd Highlanders (the famous "Black Watch") and the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers. In January 1874, about 1500 British, armed with the Snider rifle, and a few hundred native troops, marched up the country to encounter foes of unknown numbers, and to strive to complete their work within the cooler months, before the climate should begin to operate with deadly and inevitable effect. After some vain negotiations with the Ashantee king, Koffee Kalkalli, the river Prah was crossed, and the invading force then plunged into a jungle, where the lofty trees, entwined and hung with a dense growth of creeping plants, made all below a twilight, while the air reeked with a steam like that of a freshly-watered hot-house. The brief campaign was a triumph of sanitary care and strategic skill. Daily doses of quinine, taken by the men under the officer's eye, and the use of pocket-filters for purifying water, guarded the soldier's frame

from the worst perils of disease. The marching column was protected against surprise by special precautions in front, and flank, and rear, and light field-guns, with rocket-batteries served by the men of a small naval brigade, were ready at every point to pour their fire into the surrounding forest. On the last day of January, the Ashantee army was encountered in the fierce battle of Amoaful, twenty miles from Coomassie, the capital. The enemy were about 20,000 strong, armed with old muskets, but each provided with two or three of these, deftly loaded by women crouching in their rear. Happily for our men, the powder obtained from dishonest dealers on the coast was of quality so bad that it lacked propulsive power, and only the bullets fired from within one or two score yards inflicted real wounds. With all this, the British force underwent a severe trial. The column was attacked on every side at once, and an unceasing shower of bullets came from the bush around, swarming with enemies invisible to those assailed. The men knelt or lay down, and, with muzzles well depressed, smote their unseen foes with the terrors of the breech-loader. Some of the prisoners piteously complained that "the British did not fight fair, in firing without loading." Thus alone could they explain the incessant stream of lead dealt out by so small a force. The Ashantees, however, fought with determined bravery, and the front was not cleared for our advance until shells and rockets, with their frightful scream and rush, had enabled the Highlanders to charge with the cold steel. Four days' further fighting, of a desultory kind, brought the invaders to Coomassie, which was fired and abandoned, when the king declined to come to terms. The troops then began their march towards the coast, and on February 13th some envoys arrived to tender submission. New terror had been inspired by a daring movement of Captain Glover, who, after operating on the enemy's left flank, and failing to join Wolseley before the capture of Coomassie, marched through the ruined capital, and crossed fifty miles of unknown country to meet the returning army. The treaty concluded after this complete discomfiture of the Ashantees placed British power on the Gold Coast, for the first time, on a solid basis.

The island of *St. Helena*, discovered by the Portuguese in 1502, was afterwards possessed in turns by the Dutch and English until 1673, when it came into the hands of the East India Company. The spot became world-famous in 1816, through the residence of him who died there in 1821. In 1833 it was transferred to the crown. *Ascension* became a military station in 1816, when Napoleon was confined at *St. Helena*, and was afterwards used as a port of call for ships in need of stores, and, later still, as a coaling-place and naval yard for steamers of our slave-squadron. The spot is dear to epicures, as producing the finest turtle in the world.

The continental territory of *Zanzibar* is divided between British and German influence and rule, as part of their colonial hold on Eastern

Africa. The island and town are wholly under British protection, and form an important centre for trade, and for the work of missionaries and explorers on the mainland. *Mauritius*, discovered by the Portuguese in 1505, was first held by the Dutch, who took possession in 1598, and named it after their Stadtholder, Prince Maurice of Nassau, youngest son of the great Prince of Orange, "William the Silent," founder of the Dutch Republic. In 1715 the island became a French colony, and, receiving the name of the Isle of France, remained in the hands of its new possessors until 1810, when it was captured by British forces, being finally ceded by the Treaty of 1815. The *Seychelles* and *Amirante* islands, *Rodriguez*, and the *Chagos* group, far away in the Indian Ocean, are held by Britain as dependencies of Mauritius.

The Dutch first colonised the Cape in 1652, and till the end of the eighteenth century the settlement was under the Dutch East India Company. In 1795, Cape Town was captured by a British expedition, but the colony was restored to Holland by the Peace of Amiens. In 1806, Sir David Baird, with an army of 5000 men, landed and defeated the Dutch, and became master of Cape Town. General Beresford then pursued the enemy into the interior, and forced them to capitulation. The possession of the colony was confirmed to Great Britain by the peace of 1815. The country, with its fine pastures, was found to be well suited for the production of wool, and the northern advance of settlers slowly extended the boundary to the Orange River. Much of the early history of Cape Colony in British hands is dealt with by the two words "Kaffir wars." The tall, athletic race called Kaffirs (a word meaning "unbelievers," bestowed by Arab foes) find their chief wealth in cattle, and their hostile incursions caused contests between them and the settlers in 1811-12, and in 1818-19. Another contest, of a serious nature, arose in 1834-35, and a fourth in 1846, which lasted nearly two years, with much loss and suffering to both sides in the quarrel. The struggle ended with an extension of British territory to the north and east, and the reservation of a district for the natives, under the name of British Kaffraria. In 1850, the restless Kaffirs, in great force, invaded the colony, and a fierce contest of over two years' duration ensued, in which our troops were directed with energy and skill by two successive governors, Sir Harry Smith, the victor over the Sikhs at Aliwal, and Sir George Cathcart, who afterwards fell at Inkermann. British Kaffraria was annexed, and a long period of peace ensued. In 1853, the colony received from the home government a representative constitution, modified by later Acts, which vest the executive power in a governor and ministry, appointed by the crown, while the legislative function rests with an elective council and a House of Assembly, both chosen by the same voters under a moderate qualification of property or wages. The University of Cape Town received a royal charter in

1877. In 1871 the country called Griqualand West, which had just become famous by the discovery of diamonds in the basin of the Vaal River, was ceded by its chief, and incorporated with Cape Colony. A great rush of emigrants followed the finding of the precious deposits, which have reached an annual value of four millions sterling. The town of Kimberley is the seat of government, and centre of the diamond-trade. East Griqualand was annexed in 1874, and in recent years the vast territories known as Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Pondoland, with other considerable regions, have become British, under direct imperial jurisdiction or protection. The colony of Natal is a region which derives its name from discovery by Vasco da Gama on Christmas-day, 1497. The first settlers were a body of Dutch farmers, or Boers, who were induced by dislike of British rule to emigrate from Cape Colony in 1836. Three years later they proclaimed themselves an independent republic, and the establishment of a hostile settlement so near to British territory soon led to war. The Boers were, after strong resistance, driven beyond the Drakenberg chain, and in 1843 Natal became British territory as a part of Cape Colony. In 1856 it was made a separate state, with a charter of constitution which, modified by later statutes, has vested the administration in a governor and executive council or ministry, with a legislative council of thirty members, seven nominated by the crown, and the others chosen by the counties and boroughs, under a qualification depending on property, rental, or income.

CHAPTER II.

THE AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES.

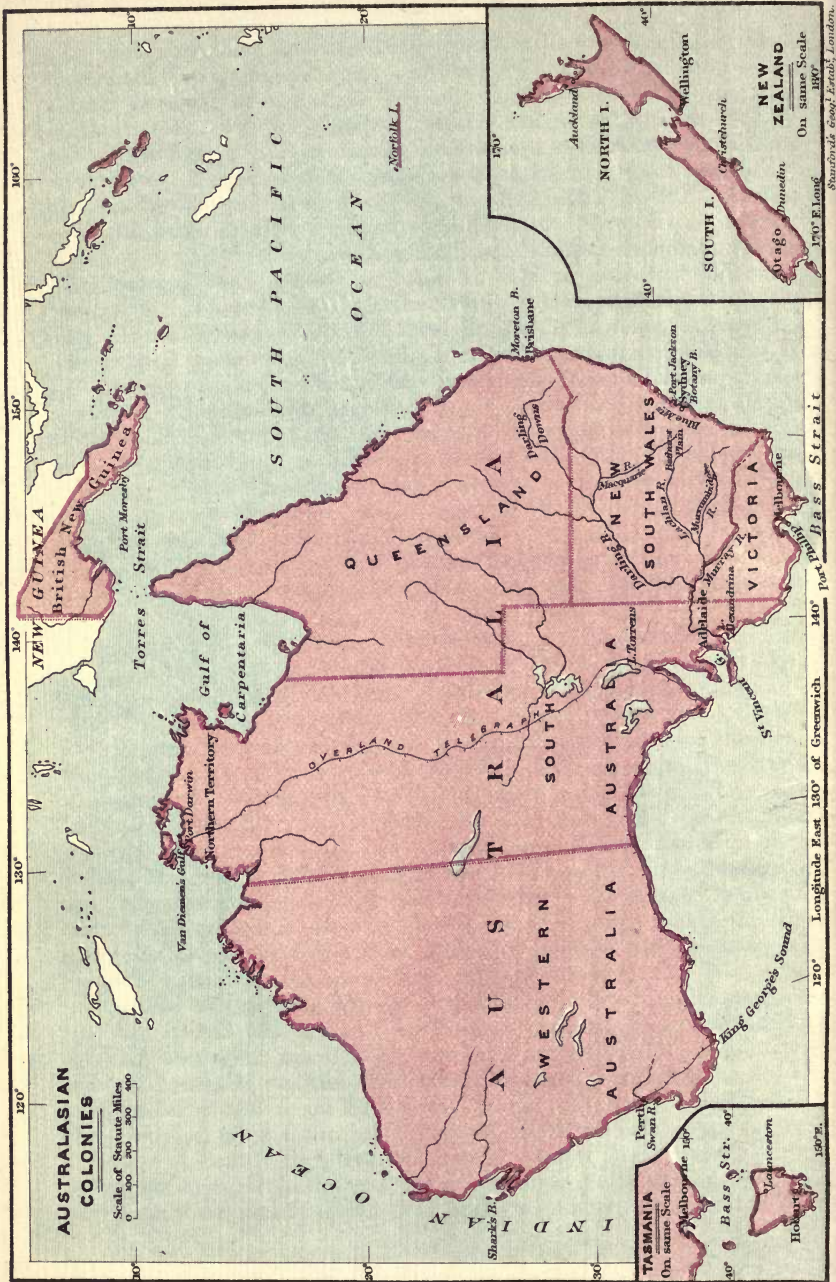
Early Australasian history. Tasman, Dampier. Captain Cook on the scene. The convict-colony. New South Wales and her offshoots. A land of wool and gold. Queensland. Travel and discovery. Eyre, Sturt, M'Douall Stuart. Beginnings and development of New Zealand. The Pitcairn Islanders. Fiji.

THE insular region, of continental size, once known as New Holland, was first, as it seems, discovered by a Portuguese navigator in 1601, though certain French maps of 1542 claim to contain the country under the name of Jave la Grande, the discovery at that date, if true, being still due to the Portuguese. In 1606, Torres, a Spaniard, passed through the strait that now bears his name, between Australia and New Guinea. The early presence of Dutch explorers is proved by such names as Dirk Hertog Island, De Witt Land, and many others, since changed, which show that they visited nearly all the northern and western, with much of the southern, coast-line. In 1642, Jan Abel Tasman sailed from Batavia with an expedi-

tion which reached the island now justly called by the name of its discoverer, but which he styled Van Diemen's Land, in honour of the Dutch governor of the East Indian colonies. He sailed round its southern coast, and for nearly a century and a half the country was believed to form a part of the great southern continent. In his eastward course, Tasman came upon New Zealand, and then returned to Batavia by the north of New Guinea. In 1664, the States-General gave the name of New Holland to the western part of the region of which their countrymen had then seen more than any other navigators. The land was then almost forgotten in Europe, save for the visit of the enterprising and skilful mariner William Dampier, who is the first Englishman known to have landed on the Australian shore. This adventurous man, who had fought in the Dutch wars of Charles II., had cut logwood on the coast of Campeachy Bay, commanded a privateer against the Spaniards in American waters, and sailed round the world, was appointed, in 1698, to the command of a sloop of war in the royal navy. In this vessel he was despatched by William III. on a voyage of discovery to the Australian seas, where he visited the western coast, caught sight of kangaroos, and of some of the ill-looking natives, and bestowed the name of Shark's Bay on an inlet then and now infested by the sailor's foe. The first British occupation of any part of the southern continent dates from the closing years of the eighteenth century.

In June 1768, Lieutenant James Cook, a Yorkshireman of lowly birth, who had taken soundings for Wolfe in the St. Lawrence during the siege of Quebec, was placed in command of the ship *Endeavour*. At the request of the Royal Society, the government were sending out a scientific expedition to the South Seas, in order to select a suitable spot for observations on the transit of Venus over the solar disc, an astronomical event due in June 1769. Mr. (afterwards Sir Joseph) Banks, an able naturalist, Dr. Solander, a Swede, pupil of Linnæus, and at this time assistant-librarian at the British Museum, and other learned men, were on board the *Endeavour*, and their discoveries supplied the world with knowledge of many new animals and plants. An observatory for the transit was established at Otaheite, or Tahiti, the chief island of a group first seen by the Spaniards in 1606, rediscovered in 1767 by the navigator Wallis, and now named by Cook the Society Islands, in honour of the learned body who had caused his voyage. In October 1769, Cook arrived at New Zealand, and spent six months in examining the shores. The eastern coast of Australia was then attentively surveyed, and possession of the land, under the name of New South Wales, was formally claimed for the sovereign of Britain. An inlet on the south-east shore received the name of Botany Bay, from the number of new plants there observed by Banks and his friend. A second voyage, under Cook's direction, now with the rank of naval master and commander, was begun in July

Captain
Cook.
1768-1779.



AUSTRALASIAN COLONIES

Scale of Statute Miles
 0 100 200 300 400

Longitude East 120° of Greenwich

On same Scale 180°

Shaw's *Geog. Atlas*, London.

1772, in the ships *Resolution* and *Adventure*. The latitude of 71° south was reached by this expedition, and the island of New Georgia was discovered. After visiting Otaheite and other places in the Pacific, Cook returned home in 1775. His success in preventing disease among his crews, who lost only one man from sickness during the whole voyage, was rewarded with the gold medal and the Fellowship of the Royal Society, and with promotion to the rank of post-captain. The great navigator's third and last voyage, with the *Resolution* and the *Discovery*, included the exploration of a large extent of the western coast of North America, and the discovery, in 1778, of the Sandwich Islands, named after the Earl who was then head of the Admiralty. In February 1779, Captain Cook was killed by the natives at Owhyhee (or Hawaii), the largest island of the group.

The first settlement made on Australian soil was due to the want of a place of banishment for criminals from the British Isles. The loss of the American colonies, whither convicts had been sent to compulsory work in the plantations, had caused the government to place prisoners on board hulks or dismantled men-of-war. An outlet was sought for these seething and unwholesome communities of crime, and Botany Bay occurred to mind as a spot fitted for a penal colony. In May 1787, a fleet of eleven sail, commanded by Captain Phillip, bore from Portsmouth nearly 800 convicts, with two or three hundred officials, guards, and other free settlers. In January 1788, the expedition arrived at Botany Bay, but Phillip, as governor of New South Wales, did not approve the site, and, entering the splendid harbour of Port Jackson, to the north, he laid, on the shore of one of its many inlets, the foundations of the town of Sydney, named after the peer who was then in charge of colonial affairs. Captain Phillip ceased to be governor in 1792, by which time about 5000 convicts had been sent out to clear the woods and till the soil. Among his successors, Macquarie, Darling, Bourke, Gipps, and others have left their names on the Australian map, and under their auspices, with the advent of free settlers, New South Wales, the first of Australian colonies, grew in wealth and importance. Before the close of the eighteenth century, much had been done in the exploration of the coast. George Vancouver, who had served under Cook as a midshipman, and has left his name, for lasting remembrance, in the fine island on the Pacific coast of North America, explored in 1791 a large part of the south-western shores of Australia. Flinders and Bass, in 1798, sailed through the strait which bears one of their names, and proved that Tasmania was an island.

It was only by slow degrees that the new colony received any large number of free emigrants, and began to emerge from the state of a mere convict settlement. For more than thirty years the chief work done lay in the forced labour of criminals employed in constructing public buildings, in making roads, and

The first colonisation of Australia, 1788.

New South Wales.

in clearing the land. The system of "assignment," by which convicts were allotted as servants to free settlers, was introduced after the year 1821, when a tide of emigration began to set in from the mother-country. The crossing of the Blue Mountains in 1813 laid open to new-comers a great territory which tempted further advance. The future prosperity of New South Wales was to lie in sheep-farming, for which the land was soon found to be admirably suited. In 1797, Captain MacArthur introduced, from the Cape of Good Hope, some rams and ewes of the pure Spanish Merino breed, and excellent results were gained from the crossing of this stock with the coarse-woolled sheep already in the colony. From this source the whole country was in time supplied with the sheep which have produced wealth so vast in wool and tallow. The criminal element of the population became, in the course of sixty years from the first settlement, greatly outnumbered by the free immigrants, and in 1841 the reception of convicts ceased. A great impulse was given, ten years later, to the increase of population in this part of Australia by the discovery of very rich deposits of gold. The production of California was surpassed, and the event was an epoch in the history of Australia. In 1843, the principle of representative government was introduced, and in 1855 "responsible rule" was fully established, with a Parliament of two Houses, the one being a Legislative Council of twenty-one members nominated by the crown, and the other a Legislative Assembly of 122 members, elected by voters without any property qualification, and with votes given by ballot. Education is under state control, and the flourishing University of Sydney forms the apex of the system.

The great colony named Victoria, formerly the "Port Phillip District" of New South Wales, was made a separate state in 1851. First settled in 1835, this territory owed its rapid growth in population and wealth to sheep-farming on the rich pastures between the River Murray and the south-east coast. A rush of immigration came with the discovery of gold, and Melbourne, the capital, increased within a few years from a population little exceeding 20,000 to five times the number. From 1851 to the end of 1888, the value of the gold obtained in this region exceeded £220,000,000 sterling. In 1888 the value of the wool exports was above £5,000,000. In 1854 the colony received full representative government, with two legislative chambers (Council and Assembly), the members of the Council being chosen by voters possessed of a moderate property qualification, or a certain educational or professional standing. The constitution of the Assembly is democratic, as the members, elected for three years, are chosen by universal suffrage. Education is free and compulsory between the ages of six and fifteen, and the teaching is strictly secular. The University of Melbourne, both an examining and a teaching body, is in a highly flourishing state. In 1889, over 2000 miles of railway, all belonging to the government, were open for traffic, and news is con-

veyed by over 10,000 miles of telegraph-wire, with more than 600 stations.

The settlement of South Australia had its origin in a body of emigrants sent out from England, in 1836, by an association formed for the purpose, under a royal charter, with a grant of lands from the imperial government. The site for a capital, named Adelaide from the Queen, was chosen on the River Torrens, near the Gulf of St. Vincent. After a period of early struggle, the colony was helped by the discovery of rich copper-mines, and then checked for a time by the outrush to the tempting gold-fields of Victoria and New South Wales. Under financial difficulties, the settlement, in 1841, was transferred to the crown, and, two years later, the governor was assisted by a Legislative Council, the members of which, in 1850, began to be chosen by the colonists. A regular Parliament of two Houses was granted in 1853, the choice of members of the Council being limited to electors with a fair qualification as freeholders or tenants, while the Assembly is chosen triennially under manhood suffrage. Education is compulsory up to a certain standard, and is paid for partly by fees and partly from the revenue of public lands set aside for that purpose. In 1863, the colony received from the imperial government the provisional cession of the vast region extending northwards to the Indian Ocean, once called Alexandra Land, now known as the Northern Territory. This is the land crossed since 1872 by the telegraphic wires which enable the official or the merchant in London to communicate with the chief towns of Australia in the space of a few minutes.

The first settlement of this region took place in 1829, soon after Captain Fremantle had claimed possession of the territory in the name of George IV. The colony was known then as the Swan River Settlement, and for a long period its progress was very slow. The population is mainly found in the south-west, near the Swan River and King George Sound. Owing to the scarcity of labour, the colonists petitioned for convicts to be sent to them, and in 1850 Western Australia became a penal settlement, but in 1868 transportation was abolished. The colony is provided with responsible government in the shape of a Legislative Council, partly chosen under manhood suffrage, with a few nominated members. Education is compulsory, and railways and telegraph lines are largely at work in the south-west.

Until December 1859, the most northerly portion of New South Wales was known as the Moreton Bay District. In that year the territory became a separate colony, provided with a Parliament of two Houses. The Legislative Council has thirty-nine members, nominated for life by the crown; the Legislative Assembly, of seventy-two members, is chosen by ballot voting, under manhood suffrage, with dual or further suffrages for the owners and holders, in

any district, of a certain amount of freehold or leasehold property. Elementary education is entirely free and secular, and the chief religious bodies hold valuable grants of land, free from taxation. This flourishing colony, with rich gold-fields, discovered in 1858, immense numbers of sheep and cattle, coal-mines, and large crops of sugar-cane, possesses more than 2000 miles of railway, all in the hands of the government, and nearly 10,000 miles of telegraph. Among all the Australian colonies, Queensland has the greatest variety of products, owing to its semi-tropical and tropical climate. English vegetables may be seen growing along with the pine-apple, banana, sugar-cane, and orange, and, in addition to the ordinary cereals, maize, tobacco, coffee, cotton, and arrow-root are profitably grown. Sheep-farming, which supplies wool as a chief export, is still the principal industry, and millions of acres of admirable pasture remain for occupation in the west and north-west. The woods afford large supplies of timber most valuable for building and manufacturing purposes.

Tasmania, the best watered and most healthy of all these great colonies, was first settled in 1803, as a penal offshoot of New South Wales. For fifty years the country was a convict settlement, becoming a distinct colony in 1824. In the earlier days of its history, progress was much retarded by the hostility of the natives, a race now extinct, and by the evil doings of convicts who escaped from control, and became harassing depredators known as "bushrangers." The fertile soil produces large supplies of European cereals, roots, and fruit. The chief articles of export are wool, gold, timber, tin, and fresh and preserved fruits. Railways and telegraph wires are in extensive use. Hobart, on a fine inlet of the south coast, is the capital; Launceston, on the north coast, is the other chief town. Two Houses form the Parliament, the Legislative Council being chosen by voters with a qualification of freehold or leasehold property, or with educational standing as graduates, members of the learned professions, or commissioned officers. The House of Assembly is elected, for five years, under a moderate qualification of property, tenancy, or income.

The record of interior exploration forms an interesting chapter of Australian history, marked by the endurance of great hardships, and by loss of life due to privation, or to the action of hostile natives. It was in 1813 that a lengthy drought drove colonists beyond the barrier of the Blue Mountains, in search of fresh pasture for their hungry sheep. The Bathurst Plains were reached, and the next sixteen years saw the discovery and exploration of the Lachlan, Macquarie, and other rivers, while the botanist Cunningham hit upon the famous Darling Downs, a rich table-land west of Brisbane. In 1829, Captain Sturt discovered the Darling River, which flows into the Murray after a course of nearly 2000

miles, and he then descended the Murrumbidgee to its junction with the Murray, down which he sailed to its termination in Lake Alexandrina, in South Australia. The southern coast was ably surveyed by Captain Parker King; and Major Mitchell, in 1835-36, explored a large extent of fine country, now forming part of Victoria. Between 1837 and 1840 Mr. Eyre explored a great expanse of land between Sydney, Adelaide, and the Murray River, with the whole southern coast district to King George's Sound. His visit to Lake Torrens aroused a strong desire to learn the nature of the country to the east, between the lake and the rivers. Captain Sturt, with this object, started from Adelaide in 1844, travelled up the Murray to its junction with the Darling, passed up the Darling, and then boldly struck out to the north-west, over a barren land, until he reached latitude 25° south. After suffering greatly from drought and heat, he regained the Darling in December 1845. Dr. Leichhardt, meanwhile, had been despatched inland by the government of New South Wales on a still wider range of discovery. Starting from the Darling Downs, he passed northwards to the shores of the Gulf of Carpentaria, and then north-west to the sea at Van Diemen's Gulf, thus completing a journey of nearly 2000 miles. In 1847, the same explorer set forth again from Darling Downs, intent to cross the continent to the west coast, but, after April 1848, no news was heard of himself and his party, and their fate to this day is a mystery unsolved. In 1855-56, an expedition under Mr. Gregory, starting in search of Leichhardt, made important explorations in the north-west of Australia, and crossed thence to Brisbane. A great name among Australian explorers is that of M'Douall Stuart, who, between 1859 and 1862, crossed the continent from south to north, all the way from sea to sea, and returned by the same route, almost on the line of the overland telegraph. In 1860-61, a practicable route from Victoria to the Gulf of Carpentaria was found by the hapless expedition which included Burke, Wills, Gray, and King. The first three of these died, on their return journey, from fatigue and lack of food; the fourth was saved by the kindness of the natives, who took him in charge until the arrival of a relief-party. Later explorers, travelling with camels, have made known great districts of the vast interior, which is found to be largely composed of rocky tracts and barren plains almost destitute of water. Many of the rivers lose themselves in swamps or sandy wastes, and are thus of little service for interior research.

The group of rising states, of Britains beyond the seas, beneath the brilliant Southern Cross, is completed by the grand anti-⁽²⁾New Zealand. They were first seen Zealand. by the Dutch navigator Tasman in 1642, when a boat's crew of his sailors were massacred by the ferocious natives. After the visits made by Captain Cook, the coasts were sometimes resorted to by whalers, escaped convicts, and maritime adventurers. The first permanent

settlement was made in 1815 by missionaries, whose labours by degrees won the people (called Maoris in their own tongue, meaning "aborigines" or "natives") from their practice of cannibalism. They are the finest examples of the Malay race in physical, moral, and mental character, and their conversion to Christianity, combined with the fact that they were never made the subjects of conquest by Europeans, but freely submitted to British rule, has been attended with the happiest effects, save that of staying the gradual diminution of their numbers. There are Maori members of the Parliament whose intelligence, demeanour, and character make them fully worthy of a place beside British legislators. In 1833, a British Resident was appointed, subject to control from New South Wales, and in 1840, under the "New Zealand Company," a regular colony was established. The lands taken up by settlers were, from the first, acquired by purchase from the natives, and the chiefs freely surrendered the sovereignty of the country to the Queen. In 1841, New Zealand, with a seat of government at Auckland, on North Island, was formally separated from New South Wales, and in 1852 a system of constitutional government provided superintendents and elected councils in each of the six provinces, afterwards increased to ten. A statute of 1875 abolished the provincial system, and divided the country into counties and boroughs. The Legislative Council has fifty-four life members, nominated by the crown; the House of Representatives is composed of ninety-five paid members, including four Maoris. The members are chosen triennially, with manhood suffrage, subject to residence for six months or possession of small freehold, for Europeans, and a ratepaying or small freehold qualification, for Maori voters. In 1864, the seat of government was removed to Wellington, on account of its central position. Elementary education is free, secular, and compulsory, and there are numerous high-schools and grammar-schools. The University of New Zealand is solely an examining body, with power, under royal charter, to grant degrees, scholarships, and honours. There are three chief affiliated colleges—the Otago University at Dunedin, Canterbury College at Christchurch, both richly endowed, and University College at Auckland. In 1861, a great impulse was given to the colony by the rush of emigrants due to the discovery of the rich gold-fields of Otago, and the generation which has since elapsed has brought remarkable and rapid progress. Two thousand miles of railway, made and owned by the government, and 5000 miles of telegraph, aid the business of the wealthy state which possesses 17,000,000 of sheep, has supplied nearly £50,000,000 sterling value of gold, annually exports wool worth more than £3,000,000, and despatches to our shores, in the ice-chambers of huge steamers, countless carcasses of the finest mutton. From time to time, disputes concerning land in the North Island caused warfare with the Maoris, in which their warriors proved themselves formidable foes, gathered in strong stockades fronted by rifle-pits artfully con-

trived. In 1864, a large British force, with thirteen Armstrong guns, was repulsed in an attack on one of these strongholds, defended by 800 natives, who afterwards made a skilful retreat. A more cautious use of our troops compelled the Maoris to sue for peace before the end of the year.

Norfolk Island, in the South Pacific, about 800 miles east of New South Wales, is a dependency of that colony. It was discovered by Captain Cook in 1774, and long had an evil name as a penal settlement, containing the worst of the convicts from Australia. The condition of the place had become a gross scandal, when the whole system of transportation was reviewed by Parliament in 1856. Colony after colony had refused to receive cargoes of incarnate crime. Western Australia, in the lack of free labour, was the last to invite or permit the despatch of convicts from the home-country, and the exile of criminals was exchanged for "penal servitude" in home-prisons, on the plan of "tickets-of-leave." In 1856, Norfolk Island was swept clean of its horrors, and was given as a place of residence to the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island, one of the group called the Low Archipelago. This community, then numbering about 200, was mainly composed of the descendants of nine sailors, part of the mutineers against Captain Bligh, of the *Bounty* frigate, and six men and twelve women, natives of Tahiti, who landed on the island in 1790. The Norfolk Islanders now number about 700, including the members of a mission-station founded in 1867 as a centre for the propagation of Christianity in the Pacific. The Fiji Islands, a numerous archipelago discovered by Tasman in 1643, with a total area of nearly 8000 square miles, were long notorious as the abode of cannibals. A happy change was due to the zealous efforts of Wesleyan missionaries, and most of the natives have become professed Christians, with over 40,000 scholars, or a third of the whole population, under instruction from European and native teachers. The land is fertile and the climate healthy, and in 1866 European settlers began to arrive from Australia and New Zealand. The cultivation of maize, tobacco, and the sugar-cane, with some cotton and coffee, created a growing trade, and, in 1874, at the desire of the king and leading chiefs, the British flag was hoisted in token of annexation as a crown colony. The largest island, Viti Levu, is more than half the size of Wales. The local government is conducted by the chiefs, and the native laws and customs have been largely retained. Under the new government, very rapid progress has been made, and the whole foreign trade exceeds the value of three-quarters of a million sterling. The latest acquisition connected with our Australian possessions was made in 1885, in the south-east of the vast island called Papua, or New Guinea, discovered by the Portuguese early in the sixteenth century. Remaining an almost unknown land for over three centuries, the region has been visited, within the last thirty years (since 1858), by naturalists and

(3.) Other
Austra-
lasian pos-
sessions.

missionaries. Thoughts of annexation on the eastern side arose with Germany and the Australian colonies, the western portion having long been treated as Dutch. British New Guinea, on the south-east, is a territory about equal to Great Britain in area, and is ruled as a crown colony, with an official centre at Port Moresby. The islands in Torres Strait have all been annexed to Queensland; they have valuable fisheries of pearl-shell and trepang.

CHAPTER III.

BRITISH RULE IN NORTH AMERICA.

The French in Canada under British sway. The rebellion of 1837. Lord Durham in Canada. His recall and famous Report. The new system of rule. Lord Elgin's able administration. The North American Federation. Vast territories and their products. History of Hudson's Bay region, British Columbia, Newfoundland.

WE have seen that the great territory discovered by the Cabots in North America. 1497, partly explored by Cartier and Roberval in the middle of the following century, first settled by Champlain in 1608, (1.) Can- and colonised by the French under Louis XIV., became a ada. British possession in 1763. At that time, the whole population, almost confined to the lower valley of the St. Lawrence, little exceeded 60,000. When the American colonies became the United States in 1783, many thousands of British loyalists emigrated to Canada, where they received grants of land, and gave a new impulse to the progress of the country. In 1791, after the outbreak of the French Revolution, when war was impending between France and Great Britain, the attitude of the French population in Canada became one of doubtful allegiance. William Pitt, however, supported by Fox, took the bold course of granting a measure of self-government. The country was divided into two provinces, Upper Canada or Ontario, and Lower Canada or Quebec, the latter being allowed to keep its old feudal land-tenure and the French civil law. In both, representative institutions, without responsible government, were established, and the country remained loyal during the war between Great Britain and the United States from 1812 to 1815.

In the first years of Victoria's reign, the country was in a troubled state. The inhabitants of Lower or Eastern Canada were chiefly of French descent, and, retaining their Catholic faith, they also adhered to the torpid habits and unprogressive ways of the pre-revolutionary France which had sent their forefathers beyond the seas as the first settlers of the land. Upper Canada, with its new population of English, Scottish, and Irish Protestant colonists, was full of restless and busy life, devoted to trade and tillage, and

Canadian
rebellion,
1837-1838.

eager for modern progress. There was much jealousy between the two provinces, and little sympathy save on one point of great importance. Both the French and the British communities were dissatisfied with their existing constitution. The governor, his Executive Council, and the Legislative Council, both in Upper and in Lower Canada, were appointed by the crown; the members of the Assembly were elected by the colonists. The spirit of disaffection was first openly shown in Lower Canada. For some years before the Queen's accession, the House of Assembly had declined to vote supplies for the expenses of government, and demanded for the people the right of electing the Legislative Council, and of their House exercising a free control over all the branches of the executive. Both the Houses at Westminster, in March 1837, rejected these demands by large majorities. Some of the colonists rose in arms under the leadership of Mr. Louis Papineau, an able man of high character, who had been member for Montreal and Speaker of the House of Assembly. The movement was, in fact, one for home-rule, soon suppressed, in its military and rebellious form, by the governor, Lord Gosford. In January 1838, a small insurrection in Upper Canada, headed by a Dr. Mackenzie, was easily dealt with by the governor, Major, afterwards Sir Francis Head. One incident of the struggle had been the destruction, on American territory in the river Niagara, of the steamboat *Caroline*, laden with arms and ammunition by a party from the States who sympathised with the Canadian insurgents. The British troops, after a desperate fight, set the vessel on fire and sent her drifting over the Falls. The United States President, Mr. Van Buren, issued a proclamation forbidding any aid to the rebels. Another outbreak, at the close of 1838, was subdued by Sir John Colborne.

The ministry of Lord Melbourne then carried a Bill which suspended for a time the constitution of Lower Canada, and sent out a Lord Governor-General and High Commissioner, with full powers ^{Durham} to remodel the political system of both provinces. The Earl of Durham was the man chosen for this important work. He was an impetuous and ardent reformer, of great ability and bold utterance, endued with a zeal not always controlled by discretion. The result of his mission was that he won constitutional freedom for Canada and ruined his own career. To him are really due both the political regeneration of a great British colony and the principle of federal union which was afterwards adopted for the provinces in North America. Lord Durham arrived at Quebec in May 1838, and at once assumed the tone and performed the acts of an absolute dictator. A general amnesty was published, with the exclusion of the leaders, Papineau, Mackenzie, and others, eight of whom were in custody at Montreal, while sixteen had escaped out of British jurisdiction. An ordinance was issued by the new ruler consigning to imprisonment at Bermuda the rebels who were in his hands, and appointing the punishment of death for any of

them, or of those who had escaped, who should return to Canada without permission. In both these matters Lord Durham went beyond the bounds of law, and of the authority granted by the Act. Fierce attacks were made in Parliament upon these and other arbitrary dealings, and the Government felt compelled to disallow the ordinances issued by their own high official. The purpose of Lord Durham was wholly devoted to the interests of mercy, peace, and freedom, but he suffered for the form in which that purpose was expressed. His proud and sensitive spirit could not endure the abrogation of the ordinances, and the prompt resignation of his office was followed by a return home without leave sought and obtained. He had previously issued a proclamation in which he appealed to the colonists against the action of the ministry, and, on his arrival in England, he found that the government had visited this last imprudence with a formal dismissal from his post as ruler of British North America. His death, in July 1840, was hastened by the bitterness of outward failure, but he lived long enough to see the adoption of the principles laid down by himself in the masterly and historical Report on the affairs of British North America, which derived its literary form from the skill of his friend and associate, Mr. Charles Buller. Canada was henceforth to be completely under self-government, and to become, in its constitution, the model for nearly all the other colonial states established by Great Britain. To the inspiration of Lord Durham are largely due the social prosperity and political success enjoyed by these great and growing communities beyond the seas. He required that colonists themselves should not only make but execute the laws under which they were to live, and that the imperial government should only interfere with matters that closely concerned the interests of the mother-country. Municipal institutions were to be thoroughly established; the independence of judges was to be secured; and all officials, except the governor and his secretary, were to be responsible to the Colonial Legislature. He also proposed that other colonies in North America should, on their own request, and with the consent of Canada, be admitted to a federal union with that country.

A new system of government for Canada came into operation in 1841, under the auspices of Lord John Russell, as minister for colonial affairs, and of Mr. Charles Poulett Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, as the successor of Lord Durham. The Act of 1840 reunited Upper and Lower Canada as one province, with equal representation in the common Legislature, and practically granted the desired boon of responsible government. Kingston was at first chosen as the new seat of government, but, three years later, this was transferred to Montreal. At the close of 1846, the statesman who afterwards ruled India as Earl of Elgin, a man who had already done good service as governor of Jamaica, was appointed Governor-General of Canada. He was just married to Lord Durham's daughter, and he conveyed with him to his new post not

The new
Canadian
govern-
ment, 1840.
History
to 1867.

only the daughter, but the doctrines and the principles of colonial government that sprang from the dead statesman, and were embodied in the famous Report that contained all the seeds of the beneficial changes which followed. Those principles were applied by Lord Elgin with a firmness and impartiality which greatly contributed to render Canada a loyal and contented land. In the outset of his rule, he had to face difficulties arising from colonial hatreds and jealousies; from the obstruction of a "British party," which professed devotion to the interests of the mother-country; from the smouldering of the recent rebellion; and from the influx of vast numbers of Irish emigrants driven from their homes by famine. Holding himself aloof from parties, the new governor acted as a mediator and moderator between politicians of all shades of opinion, and he supported only such ministers and measures as had obtained the confidence and approval of the Assembly, or, in the last resort, of the great body of the people represented. At first all was harmony and peace. The old Tories of the British party were pleased by the possession of power. The Liberals, or the French party, welcomed a new ruler who declared, when he was sworn in, that he had adopted frankly Lord Durham's view of government. All were delighted with a young, vigorous, and genial Governor-General who could endure the hardest official work, and cheerfully face long journeys in the depth of a Canadian winter; who was ready with replies to sudden addresses, the best public speaker in the province, a man able freely to discuss affairs with the French Canadians in their own tongue. These days of calm were followed by a storm of trouble. The "old British" party fell from ministerial power at the end of 1847, and, for the first time in the constitutional history of Canada, the French or "rebel" politicians obtained the control of affairs. Lord Elgin had now to endure the bitter enmity of an Opposition lately deprived of a rule which they had come to regard as their vested right, and composed of men who esteemed him a traitor to the British cause in having given a fair field to the alien French. Around them were gathered all forms of Canadian discontent, and especially that element which hated the free trade inaugurated by the legislation of Sir Robert Peel and the abolition of the Navigation Laws. The anger of the British party rose to its height when the Governor-General, at the opening of Parliament in 1849, delivered his speech both in English and French, and when he declined to interfere against the Ministry which brought in the notorious "Rebellion Losses Bill," a measure for indemnifying persons in Lower Canada whose property had been destroyed during the outbreak. Lord Elgin refused to dissolve the Parliament, and the Bill was passed and received the royal assent. This event was followed by the disgraceful riots at Montreal in April 1849. The Governor-General was hooted and pelted when he left the House of Parliament, which was afterwards set on fire by the mob and burnt to the ground. The seat

of government was afterwards removed every four years alternately to Toronto and Quebec. A few days later, when Lord Elgin drove into Montreal to receive an address voted to him by the Assembly, he was received with showers of stones, and had a narrow escape from personal injury. He behaved throughout this crisis with perfect calmness and courage, insisting in his despatches to the government at home that no concessions should be made to violence, and declining to enter the capital with any military force, lest the rioters should seize an opportunity for causing bloodshed. When he expressed his readiness to resign office if such a course were deemed beneficial to the Queen's service, he was assured by Lord Grey, the minister in charge of colonial affairs, that he possessed the complete confidence of the crown, and that the Queen begged him to retain his post. Until he quitted Canada in December 1854, Lord Elgin displayed the same firmness, impartiality, and tact in the management of parties, alike resolved to let the country be governed by the expressed and deliberate will of the people, and to maintain the Imperial authority both against men who advocated annexation with the States, and "philosophic" politicians who believed that the natural end of a constitutional monarchy was development into an independent republic. In 1854 measures were passed for the resumption of the clergy reserve-lands, and for the abolition of feudal tenure in Lower Canada. The former Act really established the principle of religious equality. In 1858, Ottawa, by the choice of the Queen, to whom the matter was referred, finally became the capital of Canada. The rapid growth of population in the upper province, or Ontario, caused a demand from the Upper Canadians for representation according to numbers, and this demand was practically granted in the important change of system known as the Confederation.

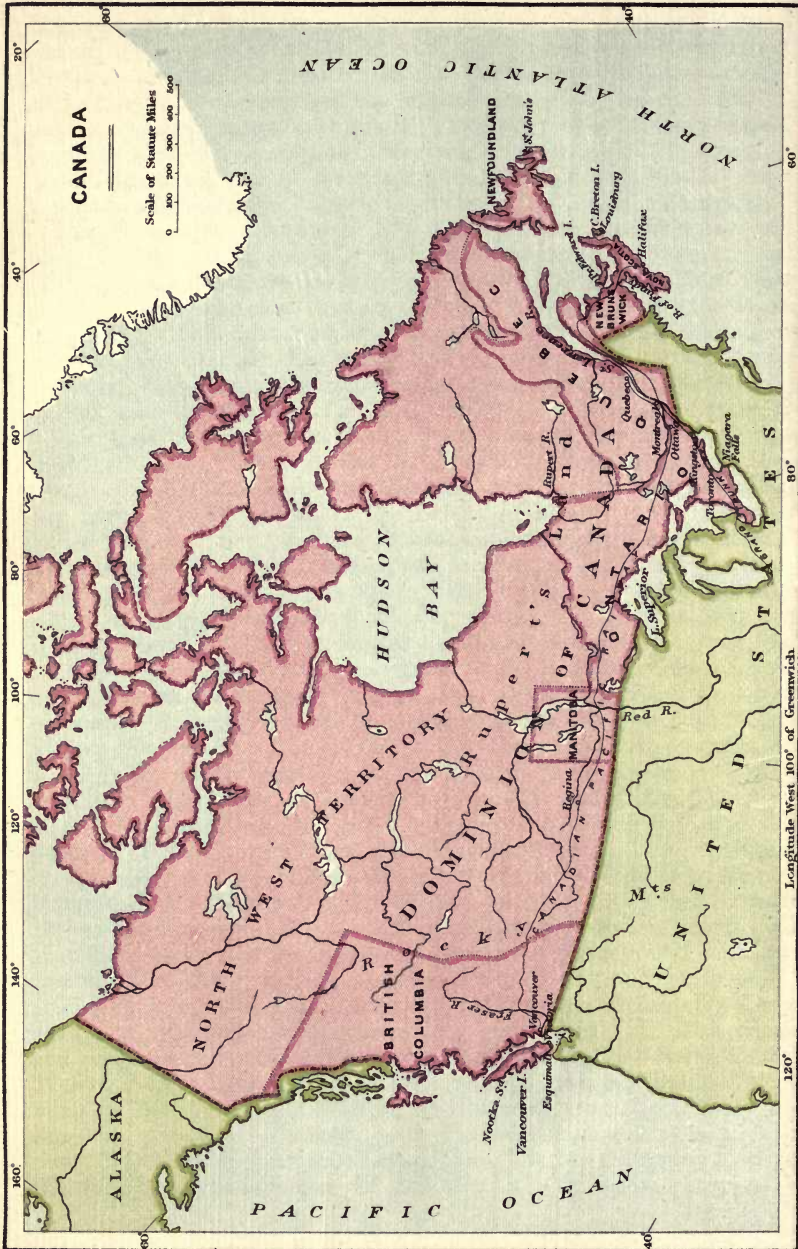
Since the days of Lord Durham, the principle of federation had been several times mooted among the Queen's subjects in North America. In 1849, a "North American League" held a meeting at Toronto to promote confederation. In 1854, the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia passed resolutions for a closer connection of the British provinces. In 1857, the Nova Scotians pressed the matter on Mr. Labouchere, the Colonial Secretary. In 1865, the Canadian Parliament at Quebec drafted a scheme of federation, and forwarded it to London for approval. In 1867, the imperial Parliament passed the Act for confederation of the North American colonies. By this measure, the provinces of Upper Canada or Ontario, Lower Canada or Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, were formed into one territory, called the Dominion of Canada. Lord Monck became the first Governor-General under the new arrangement, and the first Parliament of the Dominion met at Ottawa in November 1867. Provision had been made in the Act for the admission of any other provinces which might become desirous of joining

British
North
American
Federation,
1867.

the Confederation. The Hudson Bay Company's territory, on the expiry of the charter in 1869, was included in the Dominion by purchase. In 1870, an insurrection of the Red River settlers, under the leadership of Louis Riel, was suppressed by an expedition led by Colonel (afterwards Sir Garnet and Viscount) Wolseley. The people had feared that the titles to their lands would be affected by the cession of the Hudson Bay Company's rights, and they were appeased by the creation of a province under the name of Manitoba, while the unsettled lands beyond were called the North-Western Territory. Manitoba at once became a part of the Dominion, and in 1871 British Columbia and Vancouver's Island also joined the Confederation. The admission of Prince Edward's Island in 1873 left Newfoundland, as she remains in 1892, the only province outside the great Dominion of Canada, now extending from sea to sea. The central Parliament involves in its structure principles adopted from the constitutions both of the mother-country and of the United States. The Senate, as far as possible, is made to resemble the House of Lords. The seventy-eight members, chosen from the various provinces in numbers according to population, are nominated for life, by summons of the Governor-General under the great seal of Canada. Each senator must be at least thirty years of age, a born or naturalised subject, and possessed of real or personal property to the value of 4000 dollars in the province for which he is appointed. The House of Commons, always to have sixty-five members for the province of Quebec, contains members for the other provinces increasing or decreasing in number according to the population as found at a decennial census. In 1881, the whole Chamber had 211 members, of whom ninety-two sat for Ontario, twenty-one for Nova Scotia, and sixteen for New Brunswick. The franchise for the whole Dominion is uniform, and consists of a vote given to every male of full age with a moderate qualification in real property or income. The votes are taken by ballot. The federal system of the United States is found in the possession, on the part of each province, of a separate Parliament and administration for its local affairs. The Governor-General is assisted by a Council, composed of thirteen ministers or heads of departments, known as the Queen's Privy Council. There is a good system of municipal government throughout the Dominion, and the administration of justice is based upon the English model, except in the province of Quebec, where the old French law is in force. Education is well provided for in universities, colleges, high-schools, and elementary schools. The Canadian Pacific Railway, from Montreal to Vancouver, the Grand Trunk Railway, connecting the maritime provinces and the north-eastern United States with the western railways and other lines, provide about 12,000 miles of iron-road. The countries of the Dominion now contain nearly 5,000,000 of people, and are rich, at different points, in minerals and timber, in fish and fur, in cereals and fruit, in sheep and horned cattle. The position occupied by the

Dominion of Canada in the world of commerce is indicated by the value of her trade, mainly carried on with the United States and Great Britain. In 1888 the total exports of the country reached the value of £18,000,000 sterling, and the imports exceeded £22,000,000. A series of canals, displaying engineering work of stupendous importance, conducts much of the internal traffic, and, by avoidance of the rapids on the St. Lawrence, and of the Niagara Falls and Rapids, enables large vessels to pass from the Atlantic to the upper end of Lake Superior.

New Brunswick, a land rich in coal, copper, iron, timber, stone, and fish, was discovered by Sebastian Cabot in 1498, and formed, with Nova Scotia, the French colony of Acadia from 1604 till 1713, when it came into British possession by the Peace of Utrecht. It became a separate province in 1784. The chief commercial town, St. John, has one of the finest harbours on the North Atlantic. Timber and minerals are the chief exports, which reach an annual value of about £1,000,000. There is a complete system of railways, and the cheapness of coal gives a good prospect of progress in manufactures. Nova Scotia, abounding in timber, coal, and other minerals, and possessed of rich fisheries, with good crops of cereals and apples, was first visited by the Cabots in 1497. It was colonised by the French in 1604, but was several times in British hands during the seventeenth century. The capital, Halifax, famous for its harbour, one of the finest in the world, was founded in 1749 by a sort of military colony, composed of disbanded officers, soldiers, and marines, sent out by Lord Halifax, then President of the Board of Trade. In 1750, the country was troubled by French inroads, and the hostility thus engendered between the two peoples caused the British to resort to severe measures. In 1755 occurred the incident poetically treated in Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The whole of the French settlers, numbering about 7000, mostly dwelling on the Bay of Fundy, were ruthlessly expelled. They were, in general, a peaceful community, but they steadily refused to take the oath of allegiance to British rule, and the peasants of Acadia were forced to seek another home. The population of the colony is about half a million. Traffic is well provided for by railways, and a good system of education is free to all classes. Cape Breton Island, which belonged to France from 1632 to 1758, came into British possession by the capture of the strong fortress of Louisburg, and was formally given up in 1763 by the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Prince Edward Island, first colonised by France, and held for many years as a fishing-station, was more than once taken by British forces and restored, and finally became ours at the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763. Most of the country is under tillage, and the people, of mingled Scottish, Irish, English, and French extraction, enjoy an excellent system of education, with free elementary schools. Until 1799, the territory was called St. John's Island; the present name was then bestowed in honour of Edward, Duke of Kent, who became



father of Queen Victoria. Hudson Bay Territory, deriving its name from the famous navigator, Henry Hudson, who discovered the land in 1610, had its first settlement formed by an expedition sent out in 1668 by the English-Russia Company. A fort was built at the southern end of Hudson's Bay, on Rupert River, and a company, headed by Prince Rupert, the Royalist leader in the Civil War, was formed in 1670, under a charter of incorporation granted by Charles II. This Hudson's Bay Company received thereby the exclusive privilege of trading in furs with the Indians living to the north and west. Part of the vast region bore the name of Rupert's Land. In 1783, a North-West Fur Company was founded by some merchants of Montreal, and many quarrels, carried on both by law and by the physical force of Indians engaged on both sides, arose between the rival corporations. In 1812, the Red River Company was founded by Lord Selkirk, and the new-comers were assailed by the agents of the North-West Company. In 1821, the two chief rivals were united, and the Hudson's Bay Company, in 1835, on the death of Lord Selkirk, acquired by purchase the Red River Territory. In 1838, under a license from the crown, the Company had the privilege of exclusive trading for twenty-one years to the east of the Rocky Mountains. In 1846, interference with the British rights of trade, proceeding from the United States, was ended by the treaty which settled the parallel of 49° north latitude as the boundary between British and American territory. The Company had taken pains to create a belief that the great region under their control was mostly unfit for tillage and settlement, but the investigations made by independent explorers, and the evidence given in 1857 before a Select Committee of the Commons, told a very different tale. Red River Settlement, in particular, which now forms part of the province of Manitoba, was proved to be, for a large extent, highly fertile, and recent experience has shown that the Dominion of Canada there possesses one of the finest wheat-growing districts in the world. The transfer of the Company's rights of rule to the Dominion has been already related. The historical corporation still exists and flourishes, possessing about 150 houses, forts, and posts, and extending its traffic, by means of 3000 agents, traders, servants, and explorers, besides Indian hunters, to Alaska and the southern borders of the Arctic Ocean. The great region known as the North-West Territories, containing more than 2½ millions of square miles, has the town of Regina as its capital. In 1884, an insurrection among the Indians, caused by difficulties as to the titles of their lands, and leading to a massacre of some British settlers, was headed by Louis Riel. An expedition of Canadian volunteers easily suppressed the movement, and Riel, tried and convicted, was executed at Regina in July 1885. The valuable colony of British Columbia, which, with Vancouver's Island, is nearly seven times as large as England, formed once a part of the Hudson Bay Territory. The discovery of gold, in 1858, in the valley of the Fraser

River, brought large numbers of new settlers, and the region was then made a separate colony. The total yield of gold has reached the value of £10,000,000, and the country is also rich in coal, silver, iron, and other minerals; in timber and fine pastures; in fruit and fish, including abundant salmon. Vancouver Island, with like products to those of British Columbia, had its first British settlement, about 1780, at Nootka Sound on the western coast. There were few inhabitants until after 1858, when it became a colony, being afterwards joined with British Columbia. Esquimaux, with a fine harbour, close to the capital, Victoria, is the station for the Pacific squadron, and is furnished with all the requisites of a first-class naval arsenal. Both these colonies, like the others included in the Dominion, have their own local Legislature, in addition to a representation in the common Parliament. They have now acquired fresh importance from the Canadian Pacific Railway, which has its western terminus at the town of Vancouver, on the mainland. In connection with the railway, steamers cross the Pacific to China and Japan, affording the swiftest communication between Great Britain and the east of Asia.

The great island called Newfoundland; a region of barren and almost unknown interior, famous for the rich fisheries on the great submarine elevations to the south, known as "Banks," was discovered by John Cabot in 1497. The first permanent British settlement was founded in 1623 by Lord Baltimore, at the head of a number of English Catholics. After a series of conflicts between the British and the neighbouring French settlers, the island became finally ours in 1713, by the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht, with a French right of fishing and curing fish on certain parts of the coast, which has proved a source of great trouble to the diplomacy of the two countries. In 1833, Newfoundland received a responsible government, by a system including a Governor, an Executive Council, a Legislative Council, and a House of Assembly. The people have hitherto (1892) declined to join the Canadian Confederation.

CHAPTER IV.

WEST INDIES AND SOUTH AMERICA.

Early settlements in West Indies. Barbadoes, the Bahamas, Trinidad, Jamaica. Troubles with the negroes. Lord Elgin in Jamaica. Governor Eyre and the revolt. Divided opinions in England. The Bermudas, Belize, British Guiana. The moral of the long story.

THE first connection of Britain with the West India Islands arose in the days of Queen Elizabeth, when Drake, Hawkins, and other adventurers attacked the Spanish possessions in those waters. The first

British settlement was made in 1623, at St. Christopher's, commonly called St. Kitt's, an island discovered by Columbus in 1493. ^{The West Indies.} Two years later, under a patent granted by James I. to Lord Leigh, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, a party of settlers landed at Barbadoes, and founded the capital, Bridgetown. In 1627, the island was granted by Charles I. to the Earl of Carlisle, and the proprietary rights were ceded to the crown, by purchase, in 1662. In 1641, the introduction of the sugar-cane from Brazil gave rise to the wealth of this most flourishing among the islands called the Lesser Antilles, lying between the mouth of the Orinoco and Porto Rico, now divided into the Windward Islands (of which Barbadoes is the most easterly), between Martinique and Trinidad exclusive, and the Leeward Islands, between Martinique and Porto Rico. Barbadoes, the see of a bishop and the head-quarters of the British forces in the West Indies, possesses the usual responsible government, an excellent system of education, supported both by old foundations and by annual votes from the House of Assembly, and the latest means of communication in a railway across the island, tramways, telegraphs, and telephones. The soil is mostly under tillage, and supports one of the densest populations in the world, much exceeding 1000 to the square mile. Barbuda and Nevis became British by settlement in 1628, Antigua and Montserrat in 1632. These and other small islands often exchanged hands during the wars between Great Britain and France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but came finally into British possession by the Peace of Breda in 1667, or by the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, or by the Peace of Versailles in 1783, or by capture in the great war ending in 1815. The Bahama Islands include San Salvador or Cat Island, which is believed to be identical with Guanahani, the first land seen by Columbus when he discovered the New World in October 1492. The first British settlement was made on New Providence in 1629, but French and Spanish attacks prevented any permanent occupation until 1718. After the war of independence a number of loyal Americans emigrated to the islands. During the civil war between the Federal and Confederate States, the port of Nassau was a great resort of the vessels called "blockade-runners," whence they endeavoured to elude the Federal ships, and make their way into Southern ports. The government includes a Council and House of Assembly. The British Virgin Islands and Anguilla were settled soon after the middle of the seventeenth century. Dominica, named from its discovery by Columbus on Sunday, November 3, 1493, was long a source of dispute between Britain, France, and Spain, but was finally secured by conquest in 1805. St. Lucia, after many changes between British and French masters, has remained in our hands since 1803. The charming island of St. Vincent became finally British in 1783, which year also saw the subjection to the British crown of Grenada and the Grenadines. Tobago, another of the discoveries made

by Columbus, after being settled and held, jointly or in succession, by the English, Dutch, Spaniards, and French, was finally conquered by Britain in 1793. Trinidad, discovered by Columbus in 1498, and seized by Spain in the year of the Armada, was held by that power until 1797, when the island was conquered by an expedition under Sir Ralph Abercromby. It is a crown colony, under the rule of a Governor, with an Executive and Legislative Council, and has imports and exports each amounting annually to about £2,000,000 sterling. The introduction of coolies from Calcutta and Madras has supplied labour greatly conducive to the prosperity of the island, which furnishes large supplies of sugar, molasses, rum, cocoa, and mineral pitch, the last being obtained from a famous lake, of unknown depth, on the south-west coast. The capital, Port of Spain, is one of the finest towns in the West Indies, spacious and well arranged.

The history of Jamaica, discovered by Columbus on his second voyage, in 1494, and taken from the Spaniards in 1655, has been already dealt with down to the time succeeding the emancipation of the slaves. The great philanthropic measure passed in 1834 had been at first, as we have seen, practically ruinous to all classes of the community in the chief of the British West Indian islands. The proprietors of land, with agents, managers, and middlemen, had been greatly reduced in means, and the emancipated negroes had been turned from well-fed and, as a rule, well-treated labourers, into ignorant, idle, and impoverished freemen. In 1842 Lord Elgin was appointed to the thankless post of Governor. That able man found himself confronted by great difficulties. There was a mockery of representative government, in which the local Legislature was a democratic oligarchy, chiefly composed of the overseers of estates, men who had no abiding pecuniary interest in the country. It was the task of the new ruler to restore hope in a sorely depressed community, and to strive at once for the moral improvement of the population, and for a revival of economical prosperity. He did good work with the financial position of the administration by a well-devised system of duties, and he aimed at moral and social progress for the emancipated blacks through the action of the planters who had lately been their owners. Under the auspices of Lord Elgin, machinery was first applied to the cultivation of the sugar-cane, and he hoped thus to create a demand for skilled labour which might cause the negroes to acquire needful education. When he quitted Jamaica in the spring of 1846, he had at least pointed out the right way towards the renewal of prosperous days for the fair "land of streams." It was, however, many years before such days began to dawn anew. The coffee-plantations relapsed into mere jungle; the bridges were broken down; the roads became almost impassable. The largest town, Kingston, presented the deplorable and discreditable sight of a place gone to decay. The coloured people began to obtain ascendancy in the official life of the island, and the white population

became stationary, and even diminished in numbers. In political and social affairs, the island was long in a troubled state. At the beginning of the Queen's reign, the House of Assembly was bitterly quarrelling with the official representatives of the crown, and the feeling that existed between the planters and the negroes became the source of repeated disturbance. There were disputes concerning the possession of lands which the owners of some large estates had allowed to run to waste, and in 1865 an outbreak occurred which drew the attention of all Europe to the West Indies. The negroes were regarded by too many of the planters as a race scarcely entitled to any legal rights, and it had long been a complaint of the emancipated class that justice was not equally administered in disputes between blacks and whites. Negro agitators took up the cause of real or supposed wrongs, and early in October 1865, an attempt to arrest one of these men, named Paul Bogle, led to serious results. He was charged with having promoted disturbances in behalf of a negro brought to trial before the magistrates at Morant Bay, a small town on the south-east coast. A forcible resistance was made by the blacks in favour of Bogle. The police were overpowered, and a large number of negroes assembled, three days later, in front of the court-house, where the magistrates were sitting. The local volunteers were drawn up; the Riot Act was read; some stones were thrown, and then some negroes fell under the bullets of the soldiers. A fierce attack made by the mob overcame the troops. The court-house was fired, and eighteen persons, including the chief magistrate, were killed, while thirty or more were wounded. An attempt at insurrection was promptly crushed by the arrival of a hundred regular soldiers sent by the Governor. This gentleman, Mr. Edward John Eyre, was the distinguished Australian explorer, who had afterwards been Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, of the Leeward Islands, and other colonial possessions of the crown. He had always borne a character for justice and humanity in his treatment of native races. He was now to earn a reputation for cruel and lawless severity in punishing the negroes of Jamaica for the part played by some of their class in what was rather a riot than an insurrection, much less an organised and general rebellion. The county of Surrey, containing Morant Bay, was now, with the exception of the city of Kingston, placed under martial law, and for some weeks British troops were employed in the work of indiscriminate hanging, flogging both men and women, and burning the houses of coloured people. Between 400 and 500 persons were put to death, and more than 600 were cruelly flogged. One thousand houses were burned during this reign of terror. The most prominent victim of the Governor's vengeance was a member of the House of Assembly, Mr. Gordon. This man of colour was a Baptist preacher of fair means and education, a strong supporter of the cause of the negroes, a thorn in the side of the British authorities, a leader of the Opposition in the Assembly,

ever contending for the blacks against the whites. A warrant was issued for Gordon's arrest at his place of business in Kingston, and, learning this fact, he surrendered himself to the commander of the troops. At Kingston he was safe from martial law, and the Governor placed him on board a man-of-war which transported the prisoner to Morant Bay. He was there tried for high treason by a court composed of two young naval lieutenants and an ensign in one of the Queen's West India regiments. By this tribunal he was found guilty and sentenced to death. The decision was approved by the commanding officer at Morant Bay, and affirmed by the Governor. On October 23rd, Gordon was hanged, the victim of judicial murder in all points worthy of the Stuart age. His removal from Kingston to Morant Bay was illegal; his trial before a court composed of both naval and military officers was illegal; there was no evidence to connect him with conspiracy or insurrection. The report of these events caused a great stir in England. The Aborigines' Protection Society, the Anti-Slavery Society, and other bodies, appealed to Mr. Cardwell, the Colonial Secretary. Governor Eyre was suspended from his functions, and a commission of inquiry was despatched to Jamaica. The President was Sir Henry Storks, Governor of Malta, and the other members were Mr. Russell Gurney, Recorder of London, and Mr. Maule, Recorder of Leeds. After a long and searching investigation, these gentlemen reported that the punishments inflicted were excessive; that death had been inflicted with needless frequency; that some of the floggings were barbarously cruel; and that the burning of houses was wanton and cruel. In judging of the whole case, two strong parties, of opposite views, were formed in England. Mr. John Stuart Mill, embracing the cause of humanity, denounced Governor Eyre, and with Mr. Mill were found leading philosophers, Herbert Spencer and Huxley, and Radical politicians. The admirers of forcible and energetic measures, who contended that Eyre had saved Jamaica from ruin at the hands of negro rebels, followed the lead of Thomas Carlyle, with whom were ranked Tennyson, Dickens, Ruskin, and Kingsley. Mill and his followers formed a body styled the Jamaica Committee, with the avowed purpose of doing justice on Governor Eyre. He had been removed from his post when the commissioners reported, in April 1866, that, though he had displayed vigour and skill in staying insurrection at the outset, yet that martial law was too long maintained, and that no proof existed of Gordon's complicity in the outbreak. The matter ended in England with some vain attempts of the Jamaica Committee to bring Eyre to trial. The grand juries threw out all the bills of indictment, and, in 1872, a vote of the House of Commons, carried by a large majority, repaid to Mr. Eyre the expenses incurred in defending himself against the several prosecutions. On one of these occasions, Lord Chief-Justice Cockburn, in charging the grand jury, at the Central Criminal Court, in 1867, defined the limits of martial

law, and stated his view that there was no evidence against Gordon worthy of consideration. During the quarter of a century that has elapsed since these events, Jamaica has remained at peace, and is now enjoying a revival of prosperity, due to the cultivation of other tropical products than sugar, and to the introduction of Chinese and coolie labourers. The Governor is assisted by a Privy Council, and by a Legislative Council of fifteen members, nine elected and the others nominated. There are seventy miles of railway, and education is rapidly extending.

The Bermudas, discovered in 1522 by a Spanish navigator, Juan Bermudez, were long known as the Somers Islands, from the first founder of a settlement, Sir George Somers, wrecked on the coast in 1609. A regular colony was formed in 1612, since which time the islands have remained in British hands. The government includes an Executive Council and an elected House of Assembly. The chief island of the group, with Hamilton as capital, is a strong and important naval and military station, garrisoned by about 1500 men, and furnished with a great iron floating-dock, towed out from London in 1868, and capable of receiving a vessel of 3000 tons. The beauty of the scenery, and the charms of the climate, a healthy and perennial spring, attract numerous visitors shunning the rigorous winter of Canada and the northern parts of the United States.

Honduras, transferred by Spain to England in 1670, and afterwards often claimed and assailed by the Spaniards, became finally a British possession in 1783. The country is about the size of Wales, and contains large forests of the finest timber, including cedar, pine, logwood, and mahogany. The people are mainly negroes and Caribs, the descendants of emancipated slaves, ruled by a few hundred whites, as a crown colony, with a Governor and Legislative Council. The settlement, formerly a dependency of Jamaica, became a separate colony in 1862.

The great and fertile region of Guiana, discovered by the Spaniards, but made known to Europeans by the visit of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1595, was first settled by the Dutch, towards the close of the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century, several attempts at colonisation were made by British adventurers, but the climate and hostile natives caused the settlement to be abandoned. In 1669, a colony, with land granted by Charles II. to Lord Willoughby, and then purchased from his heirs, was exchanged for the Dutch settlement of New Amsterdam, afterwards called New York. The Dutch settlements on the rivers Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo were captured by a British squadron in 1781, passed into French hands in 1782, and were restored to Holland at the peace of 1783. From 1796 until 1802, the territory was again in British hands, and in 1803 it became finally a crown colony. In 1831 Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo were united under one government as British Guiana,

ruled by a Governor with the aid of a "Court of Policy" of nine members, five of whom are chosen by a body of life-electors appointed by the taxpayers. For the purposes of taxation, a Lower House of six members is combined with the Court of Policy. The Governor has a veto on the choice of representative members, and power thus lies mainly in his hands. The success of this wealthy colony is largely due to the labour of Chinese and of the coolies brought from India. The planters are thus made independent of the negroes, and the use of steam-machinery and other improvements enables them to produce large exports of the finest sugar. The forest-trees are of the grandest appearance, and the flora includes the magnificent water-lily, first discovered in the River Berbice, by Sir Robert Schomburgk, in 1837, and appropriately named the *Victoria Regia*, in honour of the youthful sovereign who had just succeeded to the throne of a vast and varied empire.

The Falkland Islands were discovered by the great Elizabethan **Falkland Islands.** navigator, John Davis, in August 1592. French, Spanish, and English settlements were, from time to time, made on the group, which possesses some good harbours, and soil covered with valuable pasture. In 1770, the right of Great Britain to the islands was established by treaty with Spain, and they became a crown colony in 1833, for the protection of the whale-fishery. Their position in the route of vessels rounding Cape Horn, on the voyage to or from the British Isles, makes them serviceable as a place of refuge in stormy weather, and as a victualling station for ships in lack of stores. The chief industry lies in the rearing of sheep and oxen, and the exports of wool, hides, tallow, and frozen meat exceed the annual value of £100,000.

Here ends the story, up to nearly the close of the nineteenth century, of the colonising and conquering career of Great Britain, which has gained for her an empire such as no other nation ever won. In every quarter of the globe, and in the islands of the trackless sea, our flag floats to assert the dominion of the British name. Year by year, with swift steps, spread the use of our language, the spirit of our free institutions, the prosperity achieved by the qualities that command success alike in peace and in war—valour, endurance, enterprise, self-reliance, perseverance, and industry. The revolt and loss of the American colonies made the one important break in a course of continued triumphs, but this rude pruning only gave new vigour to the parent oak, and our country never showed herself, in comparison with her contemporaries, so rich, so great, so formidable to foreign princes, so absolutely mistress of the sea, as in the mighty struggle which followed closely on the rupture with her children beyond the Atlantic. Then, in that great parting of mother-land and offspring, a new commonwealth was founded which, now embracing within her vast domi-

nions citizens sprung from many a European state, still looks with affection and respect on the country that gave birth to Shakespeare, still, with the eye of her travellers, regards reverentially the tombs of the illustrious dead enshrined in Westminster Abbey. Whatever be the future of the great and growing communities which, endowed with self-government, yet acknowledge, in due measure, the imperial control of Britain beyond the waters of the western and the southern seas—whether complete independence, or consolidation into the empire under a system of confederate rule, be the destiny that lies before them—the glory must be ever ours of having sent forth from our midst the founders of new nations, turning deserts into cities and gardens, and spreading through the world the blessings due to freedom, energy, virtue, and religion.

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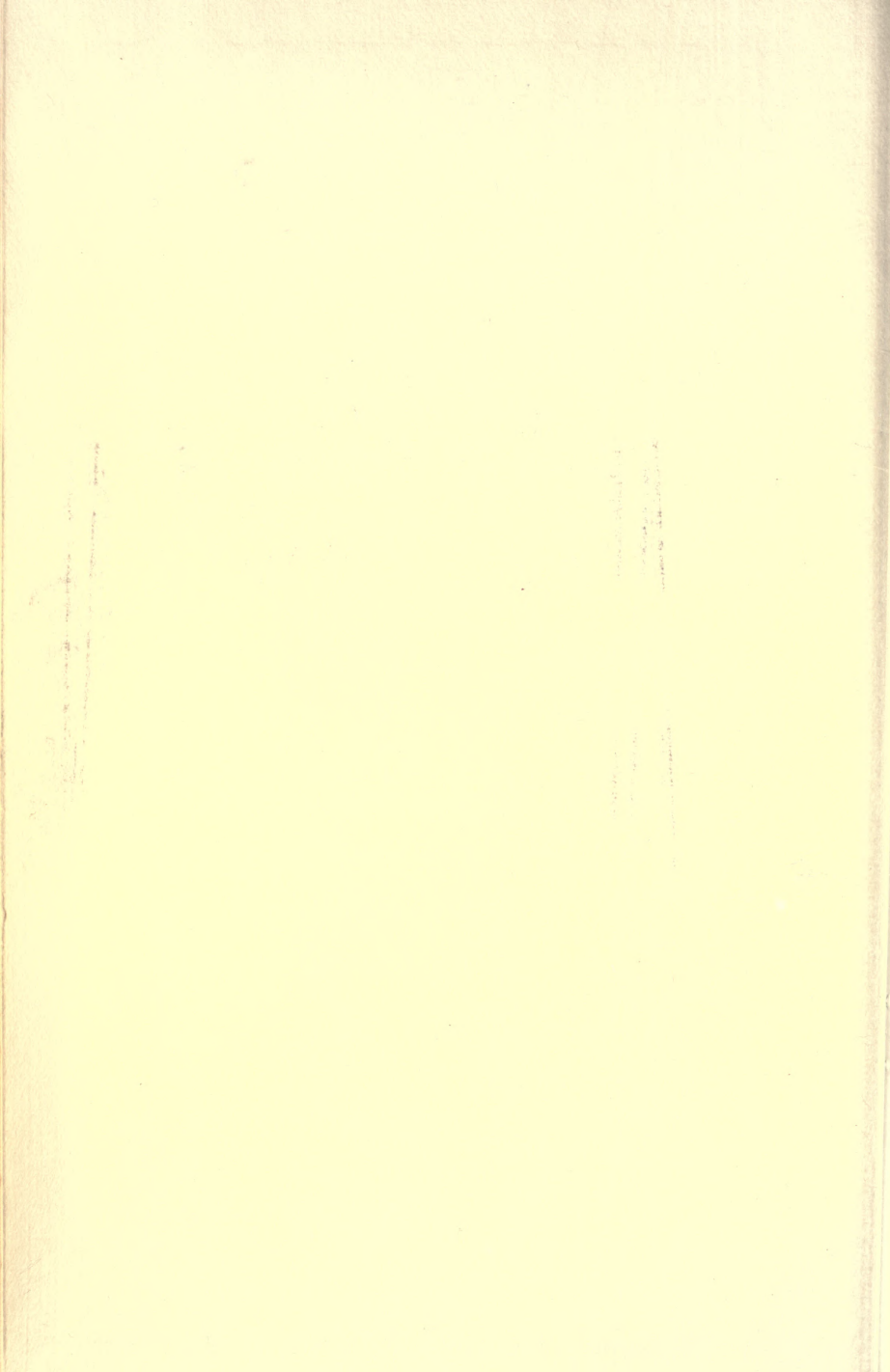
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- Man's obligations do not tend toward the past. We know of nothing that binds us to what is behind: our duty lies ahead. *C. Richet.*
- Man's only true happiness is to live in Hope of something to be won by him, in Reverence of something to be worshipped by him, and in Love of something to be cherished by him, and cherished—for ever. *Ruskin.*
- Man's own heart must be ever given to gain that of another. *Goldsmith.*
- Man's own judgment is the proper rule and measure of his actions. *Thomas à Kempis.*
- 5 Man's philosophies are usually the "supplement of his practice;" some ornamental logic-varnish, some outer skin of articulate intelligence, with which he strives to render his dumb instinctive doings presentable when they are done. *Carlyle.*
- Man's second childhood begins when a woman gets hold of him. *J. M. Barrie.*
- Man's spiritual nature is essentially one and indivisible. *Carlyle.*
- Man's true, genuine estimate, / The grand criterion of his fate, / Is not—Art thou high or low? / Did thy fortune ebb or flow? *Burns.*
- Man's unhappiness, as I construe, comes of his greatness; it is because there is an Infinite in him, which, with all his cunning, he cannot quite bury under the finite. *Carlyle.*
- 10 Man's walk, like all walking, is a series of falls. *Carlyle.*
- Man's word is God in man. *Tennyson.*
- Man's work lasts till set of sun; / Woman's work is never done. *Pr.*
- Manche gingen nach Licht und stürzten in tiefere Nacht nur; sicher im Dämmerchein wandelt die Kindheit dahin—Many have gone in quest of light and fallen into deeper darkness; whereas childhood walks on secure in the twilight. *Schiller.*
- Mancher wähnt sich frei, und siehet / Nicht die Bande, die ihn schnüren—Many a one thinks himself free and sees not the bands that bind him. *Rückert.*
- 15 Mandamus—We enjoin. A writ issuing from the Queen's Bench, commanding certain things to be done. *L.*
- Manebant vestigia morientis libertatis—There still remained traces of expiring liberty. *Tac.*
- Manège—Riding-house; horsemanship. *Fr.*
- Manet alta mente repostum, / Judicium Paridis prætæque injuria formæ—Deep seated in her mind remains the judgment of Paris, and the wrong done to her slighted beauty. *Virg., of Juno's vengeance.*
- Mange-tout—A spendthrift (*lit.* eat-all). *Fr.*
- 20 Manhood begins joyfully and hopefully, not when we have made a truce with necessity, or even surrendered to it, but only when we have reconciled ourselves to it, and learned to feel that in necessity we are free. *Carlyle.*
- Manhood, when verging into age, grows thoughtful, / Full of wise saws and modern instances. *As You Like It*, ii. 7.
- Manibus pedibusque—With hands and feet; with tooth and nail.
- Manibus victoria dextris—Victory by my right hand. *M.*
- Manifold is human strife, / Human passion, human pain; / Yet many blessings still are rife, / And many pleasures still remain. *Goethe.*
- Mankind are earthen jugs with spirits in them. 25 *Hawthorne.*
- Mankind are unco' weak, / And little to be trusted; / If self the wavering balance shake, / It's rarely right adjusted. *Burns.*
- Mankind at large always resemble frivolous children; they are impatient of thought, and wish to be amused. *Emerson.*
- "Mankind follow their several bell-wethers; and if you hold a stick before the wether, so that he is forced to vault in his passage, the whole flock will do the like when the stick is withdrawn; and the thousandth sheep will be seen vaulting impetuously over air, as the first did over an otherwise impassable barrier." *Carlyle, quoting Jean Paul.*
- Mankind in general agree in testifying their devotion, their gratitude, their friendship, or their love, by presenting whatever they hold dearest. *Burns.*
- Mankind is a science that defies definitions. 30 *Burns.*
- Mankind suffer to this hour, and will for long, as is like, because they do not know what to make of the fire of Prometheus. He dared to purloin from the gods and commit into the hands of ordinary men an element (fire), which, as the result has shown, only gods and their wise-hearted offspring can with safety handle. *Ed.*
- Mankind will never lack obstacles to give it trouble, and the pressure of necessity to develop its powers. *Goethe.*
- Manliana—A Manlian, *i.e.*, a harsh and severe sentence, such as that of Titus Manlius, who ordered his son to be scourged and beheaded for fighting contrary to orders.
- Männer richten nach Gründen; des Weibes Urteil ist seine Liebe; wo es nicht liebt, hat schon gerichtet das Weib—Men judge on rational grounds; the woman's judgment is her love; where the woman does not love, she has judged. *Schiller.*
- Manners are not idle, but the fruit / Of loyal 35 nature and of noble mind. *Tennyson.*
- Manners are of more importance than laws; upon them in a great measure laws depend. *Burke.*
- Manners are stronger than laws. *Pr.*
- Manners are the happy ways of doing things; each once a stroke of genius or of love, now repeated and hardened into a usage. *Emerson.*
- Manners are the root, laws only the branches. *Horace Mann.*
- Manners are the shadows of virtues, the 40 momentary display of those qualities which our fellow-creatures love and respect. *Sydney Smith.*
- Manners carry the world for the moment, character for all time. *A. B. Alcott.*
- Manners easily and rapidly mature into morals. *Horace Mann.*
- Manners make laws, manners likewise repeal them. *Johnson.*
- Manners make the man. *M.*









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