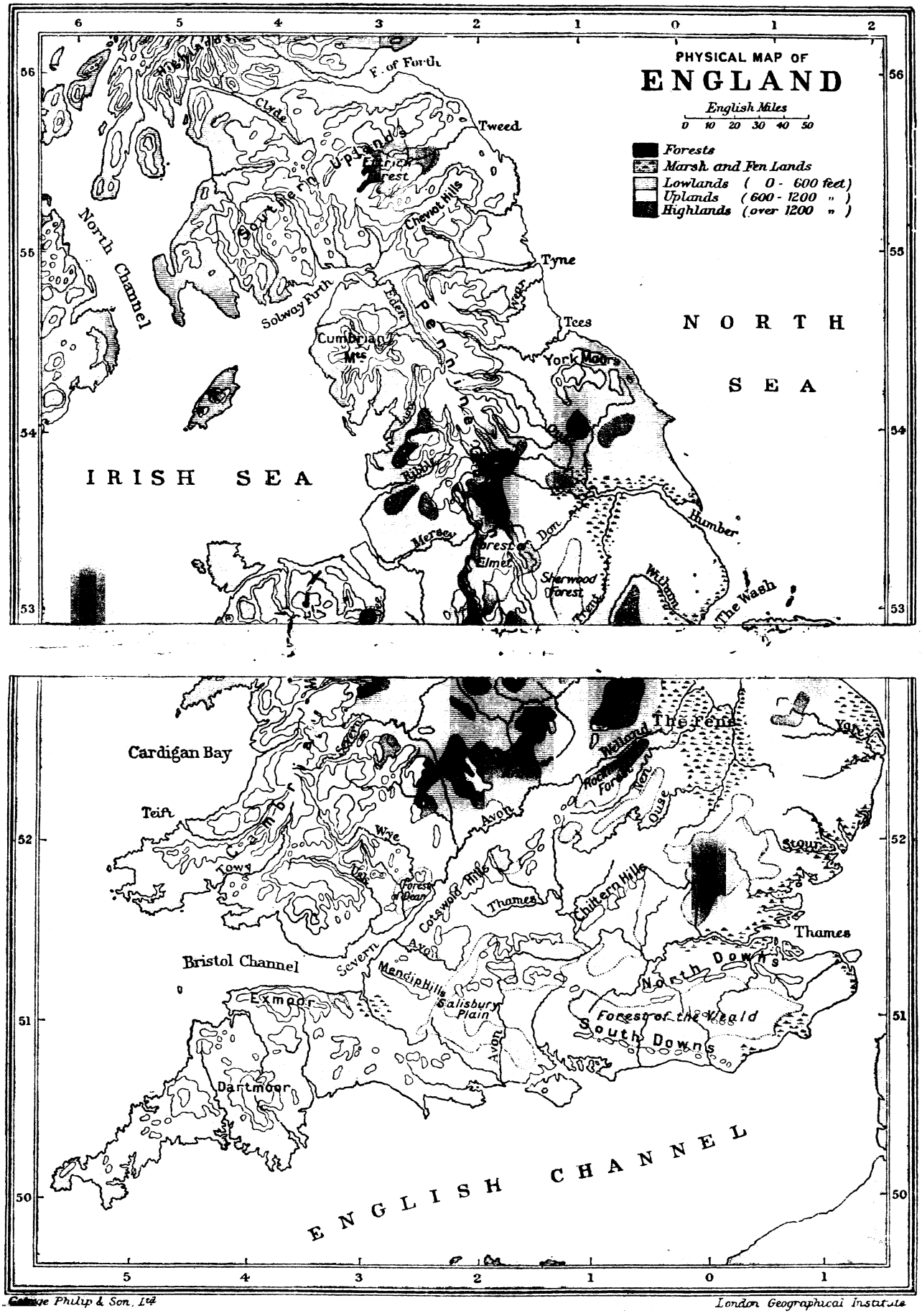
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PIERS PLOWMAN HISTORIES

JUNIOR BOOK VII

THE NATION AND ITS GOVERNMENT FROM 1485 TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

E. H. SPALDING, M.A.

PRINCIPAL, BINGLEY TRAINING COLLEGE
FORMERLY LECTURER IN HISTORY, GOLDSMITHS' COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

AND

PHYLLIS WRAGGE, M.A.

LECTURER IN HISTORY, DARLINGTON TRAINING COLLEGE

WITH EIGHTY-EIGHT MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS



From the Louterell Psalter.

"A faire felde ful of folke fonde I there bytwene
Of alle maner of men, the mene and the riche,
Werchyng and wandryng, as the worlde asketh."

The Vision of Piers Plowman.

LONDON

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PREFACE

A POET who lived more than five hundred years ago, at the end of the fourteenth century, tells how on a May morning he wandered forth into the Malvern Hills. Wrapped in a rough shepherd's cloak, he lay down and fell asleep. He dreamed that he saw eastwards, towards sunrise, a tower, and Truth was therein; westwards he saw a deep vale, wherein dwelt Death and wicked spirits; and between these there lay a Fair Field full of folk, of all manner of men, the mean and the rich, working and wandering as in this world men must.

There were ploughmen toiling on the land, men buying and selling, hermits living alone in cells, lawyers, priests, palmers, and idle folk. Amongst them he saw the king himself. But of all those whom he saw in his dream, Peter, the honest Ploughman —whom he called Piers Plowman—was the chief.

It was a vision of the life of his time; and when he awoke he wrote the great poem called "The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman." This poem has given the title to these history books, which tell, as it does, of all manner of men who have worked and wandered in this world of ours.

In Books IV. and V. we looked into the homes of men, and saw how they did their daily work, in cave and forest, in village and town, in monastery and church, in factory and mine. In Books VI. and VII. we watch a mighty Nation grow up out of many small beginnings in the distant past. But because we have little space in which to tell a great story, we have had to leave parts of it quite untold. Some of the big events of Scottish History we have tried to tell. But the story of Ireland we have not touched, because this is so difficult for English and Scottish people to understand, that it needs a whole book to itself.

E. H. S.

GOLDSMITHS' COLLEGE,
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THE NATION AND ITS GOVERNMENT

FROM 1485 TO THE PRESENT DAY

CHAPTER I. THE WORK OF A STRONG KING. 1485–1509

In the year 1485 England was a very disorderly country. A foreigner who came here about the year 1496 wrote, "There is no country in the world where there are so many thieves and robbers as in England; insomuch that few venture to go alone in the country, excepting in the middle of the day."

The country roads were haunted by beggars, who, if they were refused money, would snatch out knives, and rob and even murder. There were highwaymen, too, who made robbery a trade, and carried sharp long-handled bills with which to attack travellers. The only chance of catching them was to find the constable of the nearest village, and get him to raise the "hue and cry" by shouting "Hue, hue," or "Harow," or "Stop thief," and so make every man in the village leave his work to chase

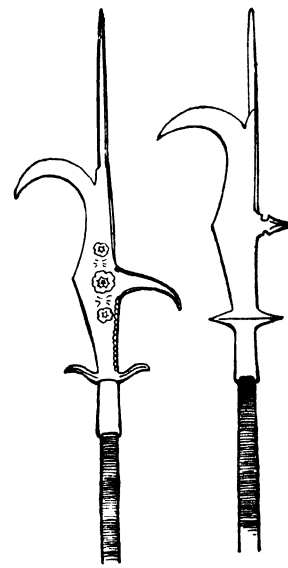


FIG 1.—Bills of Henry VII.'s reign.

Each had a handle, 6 feet long. The blade was a spear and a battle-axe combined.

the villain. But the constable was not paid, as our policemen are, but was just a farmer, or a blacksmith, or a miller, or an innkeeper, who had other work to do, and did not care to leave it to risk his life by running after thieves. And the people of the village were busy with their farming,* and no one punished them if they did not do their duty. For though there was generally, living in a big house not far away, a gentleman magistrate who should have punished them, he very often did not care. So the thieves got away into the woods.

The beggars were not the only thieves. All over England, for many years past, men had been robbing each other without being punished. Rich men had robbed their poorer neighbours of land, and cattle and houses; and poorer men had got rich men to help them rob each other. For the rich men lived in strong stone castles, or in big houses surrounded by walls and moats; and they filled these castles and strong houses with armed men. To each man they gave wages, food, clothing, and armour. To horsemen they gave long lances; to footmen they gave bows and arrows, or armed them with the long-handled weapons called bills or halberds. Each lord, moreover, gave to his own followers his special badge to wear in their helmets; one lord's badge was a falcon, another's a hound, another's a bear climbing on a ragged

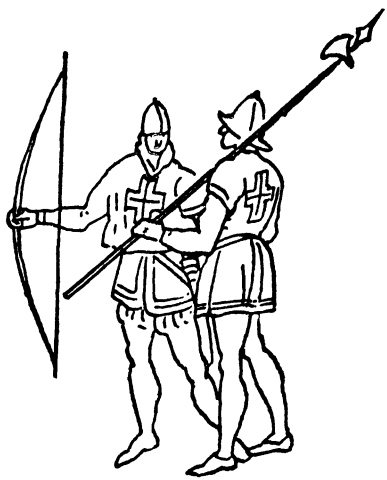


FIG. 2.—A longbow-man and a billman (or halberdier).
From a picture of Henry VIII 's reign.

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter I.

staff, another's a boar's head. Sometimes, instead of a badge, he gave them special articles of dress, such as a hat of a certain shape, or coat or scarf. Thus the followers of a lord were all known to each other. This custom was called the giving of "livery," for livery meant anything that was given, whether food, dress, or badge. Nowadays no one but the king may have an army, but then each lord had his army. This so frightened poor men living near, that many asked to wear the lord's badge, or his special dress, and promised to fight for him in all his quarrels if he would also fight for them. It thus came about that if a great lord wanted his neighbour's land or cattle, he sent his men to take them, and no one dared punish him. Or if any one of his liveried followers wanted another man's land and took it, the lord saved his follower from being punished. For if the thief were arrested and put on his trial, the armed followers of his lord would burst into the court, and frighten or bribe the judge or the jury, and thus cause them to say that the man was not guilty. For there was no one to look after the lords and punish them.

What England needed was a very strong stern king, who would keep these lords in order, and punish them, and who would stir up the gentlemen magistrates in the villages, and thus make the constables and the village people do their duty in catching thieves. But for thirty years and more, each king in turn had been fighting for his crown, and had had no time to do his duty. Now, however, Henry Tudor had come from France, and had slain Richard III. on Bosworth Field, and meant to have an end of all this disorder and violence.

Henry was an English prince only on his mother's side; his grandfather was a Welshman, whose family was not very rich. Perhaps because of this, Henry Tudor,

and his son, Henry VIII., and his granddaughter Elizabeth, cared for and understood the common people of England, and kept the richer men in order. Henry was a grave, stern, quiet man, who talked little and did much; he ruled England with a rod of iron, and people feared him, but did not love him. But he left England a better place than he found it, quieter, richer, happier, and more peaceful.

First, because the party of the Lancastrians had made him king, Henry married Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., because if he had not married her he would have had to fight the white rose party who wanted her to rule. At the Battle of Bosworth, the Lancastrians had worn a red rose, and the Yorkists a white rose. Henry, by his marriage, joined the parties of the red and white roses. Roses in those days were single, like wild roses, but if you look at the Tudor rose on the carving in the chapel at Westminster which Henry VII. built, or at the rose on any royal building between 1485 and 1603, you will see that it is a double rose, because the two roses are joined in one.

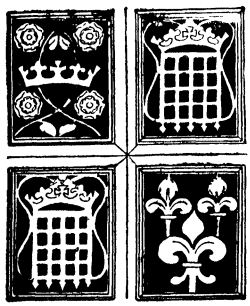


FIG. 3.

A piece of the carved screen in Henry VII.'s Chapel at Westminster Abbey, showing the double rose, the portcullis of the Tudor family, and the royal lilies of France. Although the Hundred Years' War was over, the Tudor Kings still claimed France.

The next thing that Henry did was to make Parliament forbid men to give badges and arms to any but their household servants, so that no one but the king should keep soldiers. Even he kept only a very few soldiers, called the Yeomen of the Guard, to protect his person. Henry also threatened to punish severely men who broke into the law-courts, and frightened or bribed judges and juries.

Now many kings before him had forbidden these

things, but all in vain. Henry, however, caused Parliament to make a law whereby a certain number of the King's Council should sit at certain times of the year in a room in his palace at Westminster, to punish those whom the ordinary law-courts could not or would not punish. This law was made in 1487, and it says, in its quaint old spelling, "The Kyng oure Sovereygn Lord remembreth howe by onlawfull . . . gevyng of lyveres signes & tokyns . . . by takyng of money by jurryes, by great riotts and unlawfull assemblez, the polacye and good rule of this realme is almost subdued . . . to the encres of murdres roberies perjuries and unsuerties of all men lyvyng and losses of their londes and goods." The room in which the Council sat for this work had stars on the walls and ceiling, and perhaps for this reason people soon began to call it the "Court of Star Chamber."

If any man, however humble, was injured by another man, and feared that he could not get the jury in the ordinary law-courts to say that the other man was guilty, he wrote a letter to the king, asking that the man who had injured him should be summoned before the Council in the Court of Star Chamber, to answer for what he had done. He sent the letter by messenger to Westminster; often the messenger took a week or two to arrive. When the letter reached Westminster, the great Lord Chancellor opened and read it. He then sent a king's messenger, bearing a royal letter sealed with the king's privy seal, to tell the accused man to appear in the Court of Star Chamber under pain of heavy penalties. However great and strong he might be, no man dared disobey, for if he did he might feel sure that some fearful fate would befall him. The king's messenger delivered the letter in a public place, so that all might know. Sometimes he delivered it in church at service time.

So the accused man came up to Westminster. When he appeared before the Court, the judges told him he might have eight days to write an answer, and explain what he had done. When they had read the answer, they sent to the place where the evil deed had happened, to question people who had seen it. Lastly, in a great and solemn silence the judges of the Court gave sentence, and if the wrong was proved, the wrongdoer païd a very heavy fine.

Here is a real letter, written in the year 1496, by a farmer named John Madeley, whose cattle and horse had been stolen by a powerful gentleman named John Fitzherbert. John Madeley's farm was in a little village named Quixhall in Staffordshire, and John Fitzherbert had a big house at Norbury a mile away.

"To the king our sovereign lord, and to all the noble and discreet lords of his most honourable Council.

"Sheweth meekly unto your Highness . . . your humble and true liegeman and orator John Madeley of Quixhall in your County of Stafford that . . . one John Fitzherbert of Norbury in the County of Derby, Esquire, the 9th day of the month of February in the 9th year of your reign came to Quixhall aforesaid with eight persons in his company to your beseecher unknown, and then and there broke up the doors of your said beseecher, and entered into his house, and there took out and drove away 6 kine * and an horse and then drove to Glaxton and there impounded † them by the space of 5 days, wherethrough the horse died (without any offence or trespass by your said beseecher to him done), and the kine kept . . . Please your said highness, of your most noble and abundant grace and your noble and sad discretions. . . . of your gracious and blessed dispositions, by the advice of

* Cows. † Shut them up in a fenced yard or field, called a Pound.

your said discreet lords to grant your gracious letters of Privy Seal to be directed unto the said John Fitzherbert, straitly charging and commanding him by the same upon his allegiance to appear . . . to answer to the premises . . . and this for the love of God, and in the way of Charity."

I have altered the old spelling, and put in punctuation marks, and left out some words to shorten it, but otherwise this is the very letter as it was written more than four hundred years ago.

John Fitzherbert said that it was all a lie, so the Court sent men to Quixhall to question the people of the place. By ill-luck we do not know the sentence, as the record has been lost. If he was proved guilty, John Fitzherbert was heavily fined.

Not many years later a lady, Margaret Kebell, wrote to the Court saying that she had been carried off by Roger Vernon with a force of one hundred armed men, and had been forced to marry him at Derby church against her will, and this because she was a very rich widow. We know that Roger Vernon, and his father and his uncle who had helped him, were heavily fined for this. I could tell you many other such tales. Thus men came to look to Star Chamber in their need; the strong were kept in order and the weak were helped, and for more than a hundred years men praised this Court.

Meanwhile in the villages the magistrates were beginning to do their duty, and to look after the constables, and see that "Hue and Cry" was raised once again. For Henry made the magistrates feel that if they did their duty he would trust them, but if not, he would have them up to answer for their doings in Star Chamber. So many thieves were hanged that the roads became dreadful with high gallows and corpses hanging on them.

Though Henry died in 1509, the work of the Court of Star Chamber still went forward. In the year 1518, Henry VIII.'s great minister, Wolsey, wrote to him, "For your realm, our Lord be thanked, it was never in such peace nor tranquillity; for all this summer I have had neither of riot, felony, nor forcible entry, but that your laws be in every place indifferently ministered without leaning of any manner." Thus the Tudor kings established peace.

THE COURT OF STAR-CHAMBER.

"There is yet in England another court, of the which, that I can understand, there is not the like in any other country. In the term-time . . . every week once at the least, (which is commonly on Fridays and Wednesdays, . . .) the Lord Chancellor and the Lords and other of the Privy Council, so many as will, and other Lords and Barons which be not of the Privy Council and be in the town, and the judges of England, specially the two chief judges, from nine of the clock till it be eleven, do sit in a place which is called the Star-Chamber, either because it is full of windows, or because at the first all the roof thereof was decked with images or stars gilded. There is plaints heard of riots. . . .

"And further, because such things are not commonly done by the mean men, but such as be of power and force, and be not to be dealt withal of every man, nor of mean gentlemen: if the riot be found and certified to the king's council, or if otherwise it be complained of, the party is sent for, and he must appear in the Star-Chamber . . . for that is the effect of the court, to bridle such stout noblemen or gentlemen which would offer wrong by force to any manner men, and cannot be content to demand or defend the right by order of law."

(From *The Commonwealth of England*, a book written in the reign of Elizabeth by *Sir Thomas Smith.*)

CHAPTER II. PARLIAMENT UNDER HENRY VII.

FOUR hundred years ago the most powerful person in England was the king. Because Henry VII. had brought peace to the land, poor men honoured the name of the king, and proud men feared it. All men looked to the king to right every wrong. To-day we still honour the name of the king, but we look to Parliament and to the king's ministers when some wrong needs setting right. We send a petition to Parliament signed by many thousands of people, or we have a great procession through the streets of London, and meetings in Hyde Park. This is because Parliament is now more powerful than the king.

Four hundred years ago, men thought very little of Parliament. It did not meet every year as it does now; for ten whole years at the end of Henry VII.'s reign it only met once; yet no one troubled or complained. Even when it did meet, it seldom sat for more than a few weeks, for the members were always in a hurry to get home again. At the present day Parliament sits for many months in every year, and men are so eager to be members that they will sometimes try for years to be elected. In those days they liked it so little that it was often difficult to find men willing to be members at all.

But even then the king could not make new laws, or alter old ones, without the help of Parliament; neither could he make people pay taxes unless Parliament granted them. When the king wanted to call a Parliament, his

minister, the Lord Chancellor, sent a letter called a "writ" to every duke, marquis, earl and baron in England, telling them to come to Westminster in forty days' time. He also sent a writ to the two archbishops, to every bishop, and to the abbots or priors of twenty-seven great monasteries. These all sat in the House of Lords. Then he sent a writ to the sheriff of every county telling him to cause the people of the county to elect two knights to represent them. The sheriff was also to tell the people of each city and ancient borough in the county to elect two citizens. These knights and citizens all sat in the House of Commons.

There were, in those days, no newspapers and no regular posts. The sheriff therefore had to wait till the people came together for market day, and then, in all the market towns, he sent round the crier with his bell, to tell the people to come to the election in a fortnight's time. The people listened, and then most of them went home and thought no more about it. For in the country places the only people who could vote were men who owned a fair amount of land, and even in the towns the richer townsmen were often the only ones to vote. There were no picture posters to tell the people what Parliament was going to do; there were no election meetings, with speakers to explain. It frequently happened that people who had votes did not trouble to use them.

When election day came, it usually happened that in some counties and in some towns there was no need to vote, because only two men could be found who were willing to be elected. Even when there were more than two the election was a simple matter, because no one greatly cared. Probably the sheriff and the candidates stood on the steps of the market-cross in the county-town, and the people who had troubled to come to vote

held up their hands when the sheriff called out the name of the man they wanted. The electors knew that they had to pay their members wages for the trouble of sitting in Parliament, at the rate of four * shillings a day if they were knights, and two shillings a day if they were citizens, so long as Parliament lasted; so they hoped that they would soon come back again, and not waste the electors' money by staying long in Westminster.

The elected members set off at once to attend Parliament, since no one knew what dangers and delays might occur on the long ride on horseback, by ill-kept roads and lonely woods and moorland, before they reached the king's palace. When they arrived, mud-bespattered and weary, they found the inns in Westminster packed with members fresh from all parts of England. These men did not know each other's names, and often hardly understood each other's speech. One man talked the Norfolk dialect, another talked Somerset, and another Yorkshire, and every county had its own accent, and often its own peculiar words. Most of the members probably eyed each other like new boys at school. A few only had sat in Parliament before, and these perhaps told the others what to do.

Westminster was in those days a very small market town, built on lands which belonged to the great abbey of Westminster, the richest monastery in England. The little town had a famous wool-market, but it consisted chiefly of a few rows of small wooden houses down by the Thames. Close by were stretches of corn-land, grass-land and wood-land. But besides the famous monastery with its wall and gateway, there were buildings which made Westminster different from an ordinary

* Multiply this by thirteen to know its value in our money, since money then was about thirteen times its present value.

market town. For here, between the Monastery and the river, stood the king's chief palace, surrounded by a wall, with four entrance gateways, and with gardens along the river-side, and landing-stairs for boats. It stood where the Houses of Parliament stand to-day, and here it was that Parliament was usually summoned to meet.

When the day came for the opening of Parliament, the members trooped to the palace. Passing through the north-western gateway, they saw a long open courtyard, with buildings all round and a fountain in the centre.* In front of them was Westminster Hall, the king's great banqueting-hall. Opposite Westminster Hall they saw a great clock-tower with a clock called Big Ben. The clock-tower now called Big Ben, at Westminster, has bells made of the very same metal. At the further end of the courtyard they saw the building in which was held the Court of Star Chamber.

This courtyard was called New Palace Yard, and was guarded by men armed with halberds, in scarlet coats embroidered on back and breast with the Tudor rose. These were the Yeomen of the Guard, the only soldiers of the king. The members next walked through Westminster Hall, and through many rambling passages and rooms in the palace, till they reached the Painted Chamber which looked out over gardens to the river. This was the oldest part of the palace, and was built by King Edward the Confessor. Through this they passed to the King's Great Chamber, where the whole Parliament was to assemble, and where the House of Lords was to sit. At the further end of this chamber was the throne for the king himself. Before it was the crimson woolsack, the seat of the Lord Chancellor. To the right and left of the woolsack sat the judges in crimson robes. Behind

* See the pictures on pages 109 and 183, and the plan, pages 82 and 83.

the judges, on the left, were the archbishops and bishops, and the abbots and priors, forty-seven in all. Behind the judges, on the right, and also behind the clerks, were the noblemen, not more than fifty or sixty in all. Below the woolsack knelt the clerks or secretaries, who kept records of what was said and done. The three hundred members of the House of Commons stood humbly behind a barrier at the lower end, and listened. Suddenly at the upper end a door was opened wide, and in came the king and his principal ministers of State. All stood up until the king was seated on his throne. Then the great Lord Chancellor arose and told the members why the king had summoned Parliament.

In the first half of Henry VII.'s reign the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Morton, was Lord Chancellor, and he usually made a speech which was really a sermon to the members on the duty of paying taxes to the king. The new members from the country must have felt greatly awed. Then the Lord Chancellor told the members of the House of Commons to go away and elect a Speaker to keep order in their House, and to speak with the king for them all.

In the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII., the House of Commons sat in the Monastery of Westminster close by, where the great Abbot always lent them the Chapter House or the Refectory, since there was no room for them in the palace. So they trooped by a side-gate into the monastery and were led by the porter to the Chapter House. As few members knew each other, they gazed blankly about, and wondered how they could elect a Speaker. But the king and the Lord Chancellor had thought of this, and had made a member promise to propose a man already known to the king. While the rest whispered and wondered what to do, this man

proposed the member named by the king, and without

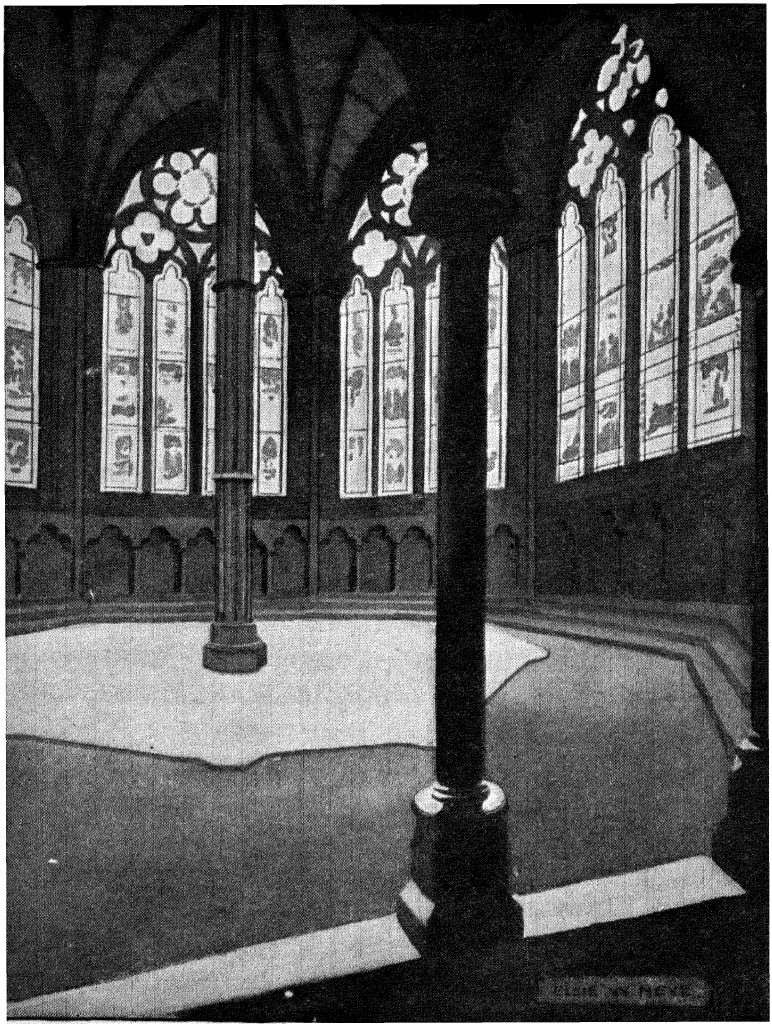


FIG. 4.—The Interior of the Chapter House of Westminster Abbey.

This was where the monks held their daily Chapter. It was used also for the sittings of the House of Commons up to 1547. The view is taken from the entrance doorway.

trouble he was elected. It was important to the king

to get the man he wanted, because the Speaker in those days was even more powerful than he is now. He was the only member of the House of Commons who spoke with the King about the conduct of the House, and he was often able to make the Commons do what the king wanted.

The newly elected Speaker led the Commons back again to the palace. Before him was carried the great gilt mace, which was the sign of his office. He told the Lord Chancellor that he had been elected, and asked that the House of Commons might be allowed its ancient privileges. The greatest of these privileges were that members should be allowed freely to speak their minds in the House of Commons, and that they, and they alone, should punish their own members for any wrong done or spoken while in the House. They asked too that they might be allowed to send their Speaker freely to speak to the king when need arose. These privileges the Lord Chancellor granted, in the king's name. At the present day, when a new Parliament has been elected, the Commons still choose a Speaker, and the Speaker leads them to the House of Lords and asks for these ancient privileges.

The Commons next went back to the Chapter House, and set to work to discuss the taxes that the king had asked them to grant, and the new laws which he wanted passed. The king and his ministers had prepared a set of "Bills," in each of which some new tax or some new law was proposed. The Speaker asked the Clerk of the House to read these Bills, since printing and paper were too expensive for each member to be able to have copies of the Bills, as he can now. The members listened and took notes; and then one or two, who had something to say about the Bill, tried to catch the Speaker's eye, and thus get permission to stand up and speak. Each Bill was read and discussed on three separate days, and

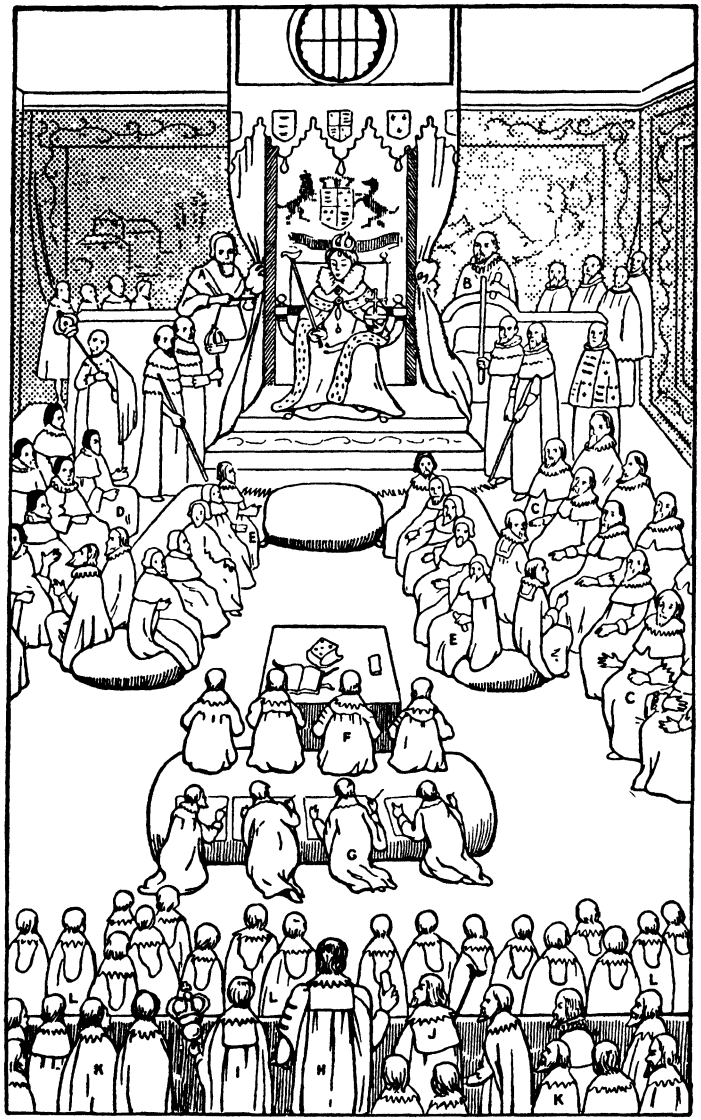


FIG. 5.—The Opening of Parliament in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

(From a print published in her reign.)

This shows the Speaker of the House of Commons asking for the ancient privileges. A. The Lord Chancellor. B. The principal Secretary of State (Sir Francis Walsingham). C. The Marquises and Earls. D. The Bishops. (Here too sat the Abbots and Priors in earlier days.) E. The Judges. F. Masters of Chancery. G. The Clerks. H. The Speaker. I. The Sergeant at Arms (of the House of Commons) carrying the Mace. J. The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod (of the House of Lords). K. Members of the House of Commons. L. Barons

after the third reading the Speaker asked the members to vote whether they would have the Bill or no, by calling out "Content," or "Not Content." The Speaker judged by the sound of their voices on which side the majority lay. But if the numbers were nearly equal, so that he could not tell by the sound, he asked those who were content, to sit still, and those who were not content to move towards the door; thus he was able to count them. This would nowadays be called "a division of the House." At the present time these divisions often take place many times in a day, but members now have to walk through a "division lobby," to show whether they are content or not content.

Besides the Bills which the king asked Parliament to discuss, the members sometimes brought Bills of their own, but unless they pleased the king there was no chance that they would become law.

When Bills had been read three times in the House of Commons they were sent on to the House of Lords which was sitting in the Great Chamber in the King's Palace. Here they were again discussed and voted on.

Lastly they were sent to the king to receive his royal assent. If the king disliked a Bill he wrote on it, "Le roy s'avisera," which is old French for "The king will think about it." But if he liked the Bill he wrote on it, "Le roy le veult," "The king will have it," and then the Bill became an Act of Parliament. This is what still happens, only now the king appoints great officials to do this work, and they always write, "Le roy le veult," because the king never now refuses his assent to a Bill passed by both Houses of Parliament.

The members worked hard all day for several weeks. They began their work early in the morning, sometimes at seven or eight o'clock; but they seldom sat after dark,

since candles were very expensive. After a few weeks of business many of the members began to grow impatient. They were country gentlemen, or merchants, and they were eager to get back to their sheep-farming or their trade. Sometimes these men petitioned the king to let them go.

So soon as the king's business was accomplished, he too was anxious for them to go; for there were generally some men who, if they had time and a chance, would say things in Parliament which the king would prefer that they should not say. So he summoned them to the Palace, thanked them for what they had done, and dissolved the Parliament.

Then the members hurried home. And on the next market-day after their arrival they stood up in the market-place, and told whoever cared to listen what Parliament had done.

CHAPTER III. CARDINAL WOLSEY, THE KING'S GREAT MINISTER OF STATE

FOUR hundred years ago the king chose ministers of State to help him rule England. There were the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord Marshall, and the king's Chief Secretary, and others. But the greatest minister of all was the Lord Chancellor. Each minister had his own work to do, under the king. Each minister knew that, so long as he pleased the king, all would be well, but that if he displeased him he would fall at once from power. Sometimes, when the king pleased, he called all his ministers together in a meeting called the Privy Council, or private Council. The king sat at the head of the table and asked his ministers what they advised. But sometimes the king only consulted the Lord Chancellor, and kept secret from the other ministers much of what he was doing. Some of the ministers were great noblemen; some were simple gentlemen, and on these the king preferred to rely; some too were bishops, since the king could pick for bishops whom he pleased. And the Lord Chancellor was usually a bishop or archbishop.

At the present day the king still has ministers of State; but it is the ministers who now rule England with the help and advice of the king, instead of the king ruling with the help and advice of the ministers. The king does not now choose ministers because they please

him, but because they are the men whom the largest number of members of the House of Commons will obey. The greatest minister of all is now called the Prime Minister. He calls the other chief ministers to help him rule, in a meeting called the Cabinet Council, or the Cabinet. The Prime Minister sits at the head of the table, and the king is never there. The Cabinet tell the king what they have decided to do, and ask his advice. Bishops and archbishops have not been ministers of State since the seventeenth century. Noblemen are often ministers, and sometimes a nobleman is Prime Minister; but most of our ministers are not noblemen at all, but men who have been lawyers, or merchants, or manufacturers, or country gentlemen, or working men.

One of the greatest Tudor ministers of State was Thomas Wolsey, who lived in the reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.

Thomas Wolsey was an honest poor man's son. He was born in the ancient town of Ipswich in Suffolk, fourteen years before Henry VII. became king. Ipswich was guarded by a high stone wall and a deep ditch, and was entered by gates which were closed at nightfall. The houses were huddled together into narrow streets and alleys, and were built of wood, with pointed overhanging gables. Thomas was sent to school; and he learned to read Latin so quickly and easily that when he was only eleven years old, he went to a college, far away in the ancient city of Oxford.

Oxford, like Ipswich, was a walled town, but it had, besides the narrow streets, many very large and beautiful buildings of grey stone. This was because for many hundred years Oxford had been a University, that is to say, a town of many colleges where young men who had left school went to study. Oxford is still a University,

and there are now many Universities, in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and other great towns; but there was in those days only one other University in England, and that was in the ancient town of Cambridge. The walls round Oxford have long ago crumbled away, but the old grey-stone colleges still stand there, and young men still go there to study. And you can still visit the beautiful college called Magdalen College, where Wolsey went. The college is built rather like a monastery, with a cloister and a chapel and a dining-hall, and a garden by the river-side.

Wolsey studied in order to be a clergyman, for he was not content to remain a poor man, but wanted to rise in the world, and the easiest way to do so in those days was to become a clergyman. All the books he studied were in Latin; they were so large that Wolsey could scarcely lift them, and they were written out by hand, for Caxton had only just begun to print the first books. Thomas Wolsey could not afford books of his own, but had to read them in the college library. While he was still a student and only fourteen years of age, Henry VII. became king.

When he had studied for some years in Oxford, Wolsey became a schoolmaster, and taught Latin to small boys. Then he became a parish priest in a little country village. Always he hoped to get on in the world, and therefore he determined to get into the service of the king.

At last, when he was thirty-five years old, he was fortunate enough to become the king's chaplain. Henry VII. had several palaces; sometimes he lived at the Tower of London, sometimes at the Palace of Westminster, sometimes at the Palace of Greenwich, and sometimes at Richmond Palace beside the river Thames, in Surrey. Wherever the king went to live, it was the

chaplain's duty to go with him, and to read every day to him in private the Latin service of the Mass. Now two of Henry's ministers noticed that Wolsey was not only very learned, but a man of quick and ready mind. They thought that he would be useful in the government of England, so they begged the king to try him. The grave and wise Henry VII. therefore sent him on one occasion to take an important letter from him to a foreign sovereign in Flanders, and to bring back a reply. He expected him to be away a week or more, because travelling was so slow.

But Wolsey took leave of the king at his Richmond Palace at noon, and riding fast to London, caught the boat which left at four o'clock in the afternoon for Gravesend. He hired horses at Gravesend for himself and his servants, and rode all night for Dover, only stopping to change horses at Canterbury. At Dover a ship was just about to sail, and all the passengers were aboard, but Wolsey was just in time. He crossed by the sailing ship to France, and rode fast to the Emperor's Court in Flanders. There he did Henry's business, and next day came straight back by the way he had gone, to Richmond. He arrived late at night, only three and a half days after he had started. Early next morning, when King Henry left his bedroom, to his great surprise he met Wolsey ; and thinking that he had not yet started, he reproved him. But when he heard the truth, and found that Wolsey had done his business very wisely, he rewarded him, and made him almoner at his Court. This meant that Wolsey had to see that the alms which the king gave to the poor were justly given. He also made him dean of the Cathedral at Lincoln. The dean is the most important clergyman in a Cathedral, and to do his work as dean, Wolsey ought now to have left the

Court. But there was an evil custom in those days whereby many clergymen were paid for doing work which they never did, in places which they never visited. So Wolsey stayed on at Court.

In 1509, the grave quiet Henry VII. died, and the young king, Henry VIII., succeeded him. He was hearty and outspoken, and the people of England were delighted

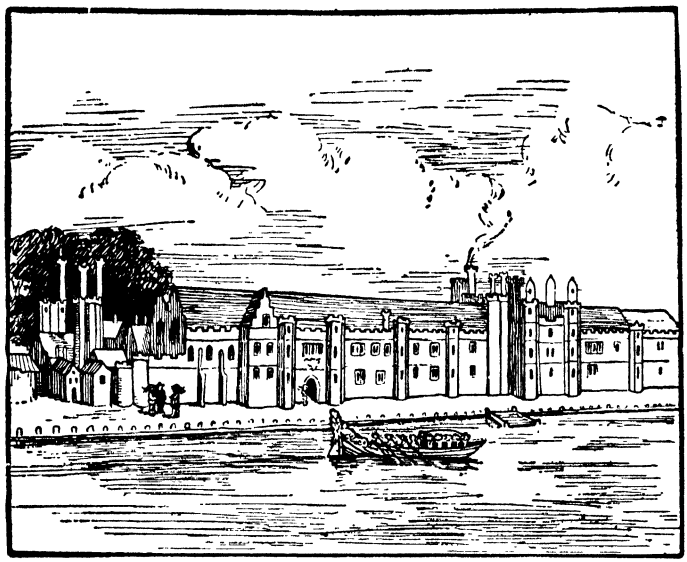


FIG. 6.—The ancient Palace of Greenwich.
Copied from an old print, of 1767, which was made from a much earlier drawing.

to have him for their king. London citizens knew him well, for he had been born and brought up in the Palace of Greenwich, and they had often seen him as a child pass up and down the river in the royal barge. They had met him too, as a boy, hunting, hawk on wrist, in the woods which lay close round London town. He was, they thought, the handsomest young man they had ever seen. "Above the usual height," wrote a foreigner, who

saw him, "his complexion fair and bright, with auburn hair combed straight and short, in the French fashion, and a round face so very beautiful that it would become a pretty woman." Another said, "He is as beautiful as a god."

They knew, too, that he was very rich, very clever, and very gay. He could speak three foreign languages, could play the lute and organ, and could draw the bow with greater strength than any man in England. He liked to wrestle and to tilt with the lance on horseback, and he liked the game of tennis. He had a young wife, Katharine, a dark Spanish lady, whom he dearly loved; and when the spring came, and the may was white on all the hedges, he liked to ride out with her, and with the gentlemen and ladies of the Court into the woods a'maying. He liked fine clothes, and dancing, and all jollity. But as yet he did not like the hard task of ruling England as a king should.

His father's old ministers were displeased at this. But there was one man who was always ready to urge the king to play, and always ready to do his work for him. This man was the almoner, Thomas Wolsey. Him, therefore, Henry promoted, first to be a member of his Privy Council, and at last, in 1515, to be the greatest minister of all, the Lord Chancellor.

Henry also made him Bishop of Lincoln, and Abbot of the Monastery of St. Alban's, and Archbishop of York. Besides all this, he was made parish priest in several villages in different parts of England. He never visited any of these places, and in all of them he paid other priests a smaller sum to do his work. But because of the evil custom that had arisen, Wolsey did not think this wrong. Thus he grew very rich.

In 1515, as if Wolsey were not great enough already,

the Pope, to do him honour, made him a Cardinal. The Pope was the ruler of all the Christian Church in the western part of Europe, but he was helped and advised, as he still is to this day, by a body of great Churchmen called Cardinals. When a Pope dies, the Cardinals choose one of their number to succeed him. Thus Wolsey now knew that he might one day be Pope himself. As a sign that he was Cardinal, the Pope sent him the Cardinal's hat, a very big one with a wide brim; and he now wore a crimson dress.



FIG. 7.—A Cardinal in full dress. The dress is all red. *From an old book published in* 1581.

Wolsey was henceforward, next to the king, the greatest man in England. The Archbishop of York had for several hundred years had a big house at Westminster, not a quarter of a mile away from the king's palace, just as the Archbishop of Canterbury had a palace at Lambeth on the opposite side of the river. Wolsey pulled down some of the older buildings in the Archbishop of York's house, and built new and finer ones. He also built himself a big country house not far from Richmond on the river Thames, and this he called Hampton Court. The great entrance courtyard of Wolsey's house at Hampton Court, and his kitchen, and other parts of his house, are there to this day.

Both of these houses were as splendid as kings'

palaces. Wolsey had in his household five hundred men, knights, gentlemen, priests, and serving-men. The knights and gentlemen were dressed in crimson velvet, with golden chains, the serving-men in coats of scarlet cloth, trimmed with black velvet bands. Every day, at certain times of the year, you might have seen him go from York House, to do his work as Lord Chancellor at the Westminster Palace. For the Lord Chancellor was not only the greatest minister, but also the greatest judge in the land; and the principal law-courts were held in Westminster Hall. He was also the chief judge in the famous Court of Star Chamber. This is how his secretary, Cavendish, described the daily procession. "After mass . . . he would issue out, . . . apparelled all in red, in the habit of a Cardinal . . . and upon his head a round pillion * with a neck † of black velvet set to the same on the inner side; he had also a tippet of fine sables about his neck. . . . There was also borne before him, first the great seal of England, and then his cardinal's hat, by a



FIG. 8.—Portrait of Cardinal Wolsey.
From a drawing made in his life-time.

* *Pillion*, a clergyman's round cap.
† *Neck*, the part of the cap which covered the back of the neck.

nobleman or some worthy gentleman, right solemnly, bare-headed . . . thus passing forth, with two great crosses of silver borne before him, with also two great pillars of silver, and his pursuivant at arms with a great mace of silver gilt. Then his gentlemen ushers cried and said, 'On, my lords and masters, on before; make way for my Lord's grace!' . . . And when he came to the hall door, there was attendant for him his mule, trapped all together in crimson velvet, and gilt stirrups. When he was mounted . . . then marched he forward with his train and furniture in manner as I have declared, having about him four footmen with gilt pollaxes in their hands; and thus he went to Westminster Hall door."

Wolsey was a very just judge. In the Court of Chancery, if a poor man could not pay a lawyer to plead for him, Wolsey made the lawyer do it without charge. In the Court of Star Chamber, he punished most severely those who still broke the law by keeping liveried retainers, or by oppressing other men.

In many parts of England at this time the people were suffering because the richer men found that it paid them better to feed sheep on their land instead of growing corn. They needed only a few shepherds to keep sheep, and so the poor had less work to do. In some villages the richer men even seized on the common pasture-land, and fenced it round, so that the other people of the village could no longer keep sheep or cows on it. Parliament had twice made a law to forbid the turning of ploughed land into pasture land, but men disobeyed. In 1517, therefore, Wolsey got the king to appoint certain noblemen and gentlemen in all the counties of England to find out who had been breaking the law. He meant to have the culprits punished by the Court of Star Chamber, but he was too busy with other matters to do very much.

Wolsey thought that men would perhaps lead better lives if they had wiser priests to teach them. He knew that many priests were very ignorant, because there were not enough good schools. He gained permission from the Pope to abolish a few little useless monasteries with less than seven monks or nuns. With their wealth he founded in his old home at Ipswich a school for boys who wanted to be priests. He also began to build a splendid college in Oxford, bigger far than any of the others, and called it Cardinal College. It is now called Christ Church College, and you can visit it in Oxford.

In all these ways Wolsey worked ungrudgingly for England. But yet the people did not love him. Great men said of him, "This Cardinal is king." They noticed that whereas at first he had said, "His Majesty will do so and so," in a year or two he began to say, "We shall do so and so," and at last he said, "I shall do so and so." They noticed that whereas the king himself was gracious to all men, Wolsey was very proud and insolent to all but the king. "He is the proudest prelate that ever lived," they said. Other men thought, "He is the richest man in all the realm, and yet he is a clergyman. A clergyman should be poor, like Christ, and not live like a king."

But whatever people might say, while the king was satisfied, all went well with Wolsey. As Henry grew older, however, it did not please him to see his minister so proud, and since he now wanted to rule England himself, he needed Wolsey no longer. At length, in 1529, when Henry had reigned twenty years, Wolsey angered the king. Henry took from him his office of Lord Chancellor and gave it to Sir Thomas More. Then he took from him all his great appointments in the Church. He only left him one office, that of Archbishop of York, and he sent him away from London to live in the north and do

only an archbishop's work. There for six months Wolsey lived, and he worked hard, showing to all men what a good archbishop he might have been, if he had not always before been too busy as Lord Chancellor.

Suddenly, at the end of 1530, some one accused Wolsey of high treason. He was arrested by the king's orders, and forced to travel south towards London. But he was nearly sixty years of age, and worn out with his hard life's work. On the journey he fell ill, and stopped to rest in the monastery at Leicester. As the grey light of a November morning crept into the room in the abbot's house where he lay, he said to his faithful servant: "If I had served God as diligently as I have done the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs." Soon after, he passed peacefully away.

CARDINAL WOLSEY

"This Cardinal,
Though from a humble stock, undoubtedly
Was fashioned to much honour from his cradle.
He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading:
Lofty and sour to them that lov'd him not;
But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
And though he were unsatisfied in getting,
(Which was a sin,) yet in bestowing, Madam,
He was most princely: ever witness for him
Those twins of learning, that he rais'd in you,
Ipswich, and Oxford! one of which fell with him,
Unwilling to outlive the good that did it;
The other, though unfinished, yet so famous,
So excellent in art, and still so rising,
That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
His overthrow heaped happiness upon him;
For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
And found the blessedness of being little:
And, to add greater honours to his age
Than man could give him, he died fearing God."

From the play of *King Henry VIII.*, written in James I.'s reign, by *Shakespeare* (and others).

CHAPTER IV. HENRY VIII. AND THE POPE

To explain how it was that Wolsey angered Henry, we must leave England for a time, and see what had been happening for many hundreds of years in the distant city of Rome. This was the very city from which the Romans had long ago gone forth and conquered all western Europe. It was also the city where, as men believed, the Apostles Peter and Paul had ended their lives. Thus all men thought of it as the greatest city on earth. Ever since the days of St. Peter there had always been, men said, a Bishop of Rome. When the barbarians destroyed the Roman Empire, and there was no longer an emperor in Rome, there still remained a bishop. It was one of the bishops of Rome, named Gregory the Great, who in the year 597 sent St. Augustine to convert the pagan English to Christianity. Gradually all the other bishops in the western part of Europe began to look on the Bishop of Rome as the greatest bishop, and to call him "Papa" or "Father," or as we say "Pope." Gradually, too, the Pope ceased to live like a simple bishop, and became a rich and splendid prince. He lived in a palace in Rome, near the great cathedral of St. Peter, and he was greater than a king, because in every country in western Europe men feared and obeyed him, and sometimes even kings and emperors dreaded to offend him. Moreover the people of every country in

western Europe paid money yearly to the Pope. Archbishops, bishops and priests paid him the whole income which came to them for the first year after they were appointed to their offices. Laymen paid "Peter's Pence": every household sent a silver penny to the Pope.

But the Pope who ruled in 1527 had lost the power which former Popes had had. For in that year a great army of German, Spanish, and Italian soldiers marched to the city of Rome. They sacked the city, and murdered the priests and monks and nuns, and made the Pope himself a prisoner, by surrounding the castle to which he had fled Now this army belonged to the Emperor Charles V., who was nephew of Queen Katharine, wife of Henry VIII. of England. Just at this very time trouble arose in England between Henry and his wife Katharine.



FIG. 9.—The Pope.
Wearing a cope (or cloak) over a rochet (or short surplice), and wearing a triple crown.
From an old book, published in 1581.

In 1527, Henry VIII. was thirty-six years old. He was a tall, fine man, with golden hair and beard, and kingly bearing. When he rode through London streets he looked about him with a frank and open gaze, as if he trusted and liked the London citizens. When he rode through the country villages he spoke in a friendly way to the people whom he met. Thus the common people liked him, and called him "Bluff King Hal." In this way Henry learned much about his people which Wolsey had never known. With

his ministers he liked to be outspoken too; and though he was king, he was not vexed when they differed from him, and spoke their minds.

But in some ways Henry was not the frank and open person that he seemed. He once said, "If I thought that my cap knew my counsel, I would throw it into the fire." He hid from other men, and even from his ministers, many thoughts and feelings which lay deep down in his mind. Underneath his hearty manner lurked a fierce and obstinate temper, which sometimes showed itself. He believed that a king should have his own way in all things. Wolsey said of him, "He is a prince of a most royal courage and hath a princely heart, and rather than he will either miss or want any part of his will or appetite, he will put the one half of his realm in danger."

For fifteen years Henry had watched Wolsey govern England. He had moved about amongst his people, and had learned what they liked and disliked. He knew that for years they had hated Wolsey, and that they hated all rich Churchmen, seeing that they drew the revenues of rich bishoprics, abbacies, and even country parishes, as Wolsey did, and never did the work. He knew too that in London and other towns the merchants and the handicraftsmen thought the monasteries much too rich, and that in the country villages many of the lords and gentlemen thought so too. He knew that many men wanted the lands of the monasteries to use them for sheep-farming. Henry had his own thoughts about these things which he told to no one; for he had always honoured the Church and the clergy, and especially the Pope. In 1521, the Pope had given him the title of "Fidei Defensor"—Defender of the Faith—which you will still see on our coins.

But Henry honoured one person more than the Pope, and that was the King of England. And though he reverenced the Church, he wanted his own way in all things. Above all he wanted a son and heir to reign after him. A little son had been born in 1511, but had lived only three days, and Henry's grief had been great. In 1513, and in 1514 again, little sons had been born, and had died within a day. Henry had only one daughter, the Princess Mary, and no woman had yet ruled England as Queen. Henry believed that Katharine, his Spanish wife, would never have another son. He determined therefore to have another wife. In those days it was not possible for a king to put away his wife and marry another without the permission of the Pope, who was Head of the Church.

But when Henry, in 1527, asked the Pope's permission to divorce Katharine and marry another wife, the Pope, who was, as we have seen, a prisoner, dared not grant it, for fear of Katharine's nephew, Charles V. But he dared not refuse outright, for fear of Henry. So, to please Henry, he sent a second cardinal to England, to join Wolsey, and begin to try the case. He told them to hear what both Henry and Katharine had to say, but not to give judgment. So Cardinal Campeggio came to London.

There was in those days in London a monastery owned by the Black Friars, which stood just within the western wall of the city, close to the modern Blackfriars' Bridge. There, in the Hall of the monastery, in May, 1529, the court was held. The cardinals were seated in their crimson robes. The heralds cried, "Henry, king of England, come into the Court," and "Katharine, queen of England, come into the Court." Then Henry seated himself upon his splendid seat; but Queen

Katharine knelt before him, and spoke words very like these—

"Sir, I desire you, do me right and justice;
And to bestow your pity on me: for
I am a most poor woman, and a stranger,
Born out of your dominions; having here
No judge indifferent, nor no more assurance
Of equal friendship and proceedn g. Alas, sir,
In what have I offended you? what cause
Hath my behaviour given to your displeasure,
That thus you should proceed to put me off,
And take your good grace from me? Heaven witness,
I have been to you a true and humble wife,
At all times to your will conformable."

Henry was sorry to see her kneeling there. Twice he raised her up; but he would not promise to do her right and justice, and so she left the Court. Then said Henry, "She is, my Lords, as true, as obedient, and as conformable a wife, as I could, in my phantasy, wish or desire. She hath all the virtuous qualities that ought to be in a woman of her dignity, or in any other of baser estate." Still he determined to have the divorce.

The Pope, however, was unable to grant it. He now summoned Henry, the great King of England, to appear before him in Rome. When this news was spread abroad in England, many English lords and gentlemen and merchants were indignant with the Pope, for they believed that he was obeying the commands of the Emperor Charles, and they thought this an insult to England. But the poorer people were sorry in their hearts for Queen Katharine. Henry's wrath blazed fiercely against both Wolsey and the Pope. He resolved to humble Wolsey, the greatest Churchman in England. He resolved to frighten the Pope by showing him how ready were the lords and gentlemen and merchants who sat in Parliament to pass laws against the clergy.

So Henry summoned Parliament. From all the counties, cities, and ancient boroughs of England men came riding to Westminster in 1529, glad to attack the clergy. Many Acts of Parliament were passed. For example, they forbade a priest to hold several livings, and live away from his work, unless he had the special permission of the king. The clergy were so frightened that they scarcely dared protest; but the Pope was still a prisoner, and could not grant the divorce. Then Parliament made a law forbidding the clergy to pay their first year's income, called Annates, to the Pope. But still the Pope would not yield. About this time the old Archbishop of Canterbury died, and the gentle and learned Thomas Cranmer was made Archbishop. Henry's obstinate temper was by this time quite roused. He had already secretly married the Lady Anne Boleyn. He made Archbishop Cranmer declare the divorce lawful, in spite of the Pope. He publicly declared that he had married Anne, and on June 1st, 1533, he caused her to be solemnly crowned in Westminster Abbey. Thus he defied the Head of the Church.

Hitherto the Pope had done his best not to anger Henry; but for the Emperor Charles, he would long ago have granted the divorce. But now he excommunicated Henry, that is to say, he most solemnly declared that Henry was no longer a member of the Christian Church, that he might not go to church, or even have the Mass privately read to him; many people believed that if Henry remained excommunicated till he died he would most certainly go to hell.

By this time all Henry's reverence for the Pope had gone. He could not bear thus to be opposed. In 1534 he asked his Parliament to make a law declaring that the King of England and not the Pope of Rome was Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England.

When the news spread through England men gazed at each other aghast. By another new law any man could be forced to take an oath promising to be faithful to the king alone, and not to the Pope. Sir Thomas More,* one of the wisest and best men in England, refused to take such an oath; so too did the aged Bishop Fisher; and so did the priors of three great and famous monasteries. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were beheaded for high treason; and the three priors were hanged before a great crowd of people at Tyburn. This showed what men were to expect who opposed the king; few were brave enough to resist him. Henry knew his people well enough to be sure that they would not rise against him. Only the monks and friars he did not trust, because he knew that they, of all men, most honoured the Pope.

Ever since Wolsey's fall Henry had himself ruled England. He did not mean again to have so mighty a minister. But he took advice chiefly from two men, Archbishop Cranmer, and Thomas Cromwell. Archbishop Cranmer was a gentle and learned scholar; Thomas Cromwell was a man of ruthless and resolute character. Henry knew well how to make use of both these men in ruling the Church of England; for he wanted a strong layman to do the stern work of crushing the monks and friars, and he wanted a learned churchman to advise him in the work of giving to the English Church the Bible in English.

Thomas Cromwell had begun life as a poor man's son. He had risen to be the faithful friend and servant of Thomas Wolsey. From 1535 to 1540 Henry made use of him to dissolve the monasteries.† In 1535, Cromwell

* See P. P. Histories, Teacher's Story Book, Part III. The Story of Sir Thomas More

† See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter III.

sent round visitors to all the monasteries in the king's name, to find out exactly how rich each monastery was, and how far the monks were keeping the strict rules of their order. There were nearly 900 monasteries in England. The visitors reported on them all within a few months, and the reports gave a very bad account indeed. In 1536 Parliament passed a law dissolving 376 monasteries, those whose lands gave them an income of less than £200 a year. The people of the north of England still loved the monks, and they revolted at this, and marched south to urge the king to spare the monasteries. This march was called the Pilgrimage of Grace. But the people of the south never stirred. Then Cromwell bribed and frightened the abbots and priors of the larger monasteries. To those who would surrender up their monasteries he offered big pensions for life, but three great and noble abbots refused because they thought it wrong; they were seized and hanged.

At length, in 1539, Parliament passed a law granting to the king the property of all dissolved monasteries, and by 1540 none were left.

Meanwhile Henry, with Cranmer's aid, had given to his people the English Bible. Before this time, only Latin translations of the Bible had been allowed. Any one found with an English Bible might be burned alive. We have no space in this short book to tell how, all this time, the brave Tyndale had been making his translation of the New Testament and of fourteen books of the Old Testament into English, or how in 1536 he was burned alive by a foreign ruler for what he had done. Henry and Cranmer allowed a certain Miles Coverdale to revise and finish Tyndale's translation.

By 1538 the work was done. The king had seen it and approved of it. It was printed in great black-letter

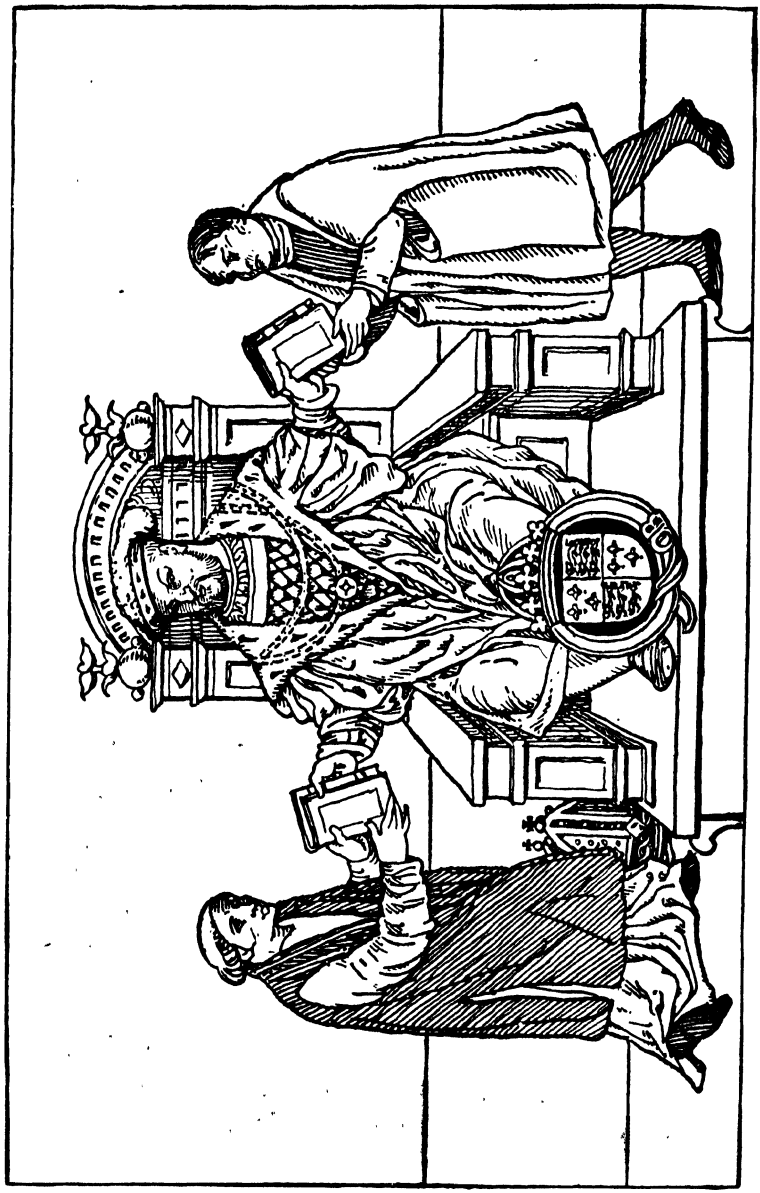


FIG. 10.—Henry VIII. presenting copies of the English Bible to Cranmer and Cromwell.
Part of the Frontispiece of the Great Bible.

type, in a huge volume, and was called the Great Bible. On the front page was a picture showing Henry seated on his throne, and handing a copy of the Great Bible to Cranmer on his right hand and to Cromwell on his left. Above was a figure of Almighty God blessing Henry. At the bottom of the picture Cranmer and Cromwell were shown giving the Bible to the people of England. The men of every parish were ordered to buy a copy of this Bible, and put it in their churches.

Now, though Henry had given his people the English Bible, he did not allow them to think as they pleased about religion. As he grew older he grew even more bent on having his own way. In 1540, Thomas Cromwell, his faithful minister, angered him; Henry sent him to the Tower, and soon after he ordered him to be executed for high treason. Moreover Henry hanged or beheaded faithful Catholics because they would not say that he was Head of the Church; but he also burned faithful Protestants if they would not say that they believed in the Mass.

Thus Henry had taken to himself the power which had been the Pope's, and no man, under pain of death by block, gallows, or fiery stake, dared deny that he was in all things supreme.

Yet he did much good to England, for he knew what England needed. He gave his subjects the English Bible. He kept peace within the realm. He built up the English navy. And he called Parliament together so often and trusted it so much, that in his reign men began to like to sit in Parliament. To his very last Parliament he said, "Now, since I find such kindness on your part towards me, I cannot choose but love and favour you; affirming that no prince in the world more favoureth his subjects than I do you, nor no subjects or Commons

more love and obey their Sovereign lord than I perceive you do."

He died in 1547, leaving his little son Edward to reign after him. He was the mightiest king that ever reigned in England.

THE TUDOR IDEA OF THE KING.

(*The King speaks.*)

"Upon the King! let us our lives, our souls,
Our debts, our careful wives,
Our children, and our sins, lay on the king;
We must bear all.
O hard condition! twin-born with greatness,
Subject to the breath of every fool, whose sense
No more can feel but his own wringing! *
What infinite heart's ease must kings neglect,
That private men enjoy!
And what have kings that privates have not too,
Save ceremony, save general ceremony?

. . .

The slave, a member of the country's peace,
Enjoys it; but in gross brain little wots
What watch the king keeps to maintain the peace,
Whose hours the peasant best advantages."

From Shakespeare's play of Henry V.

"Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm from an anointed king;
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord."

From Shakespeare's play of Richard II.

* Sorrow.

CHAPTER V. THE GROWTH OF THE ROYAL NAVY.* 1485–1603

ONE great thing which Henry VII. and Henry VIII. did for England was to build up the Royal Navy.

At the present day we need the navy for many purposes. The first is to protect the coasts of Great Britain and Ireland and the shores of the great dominions which make up the British Empire from any foreign foe that might be tempted to invade us. For the sea is a great barrier, separating the British Isles from foreign countries, and separating also the most important parts of the British Empire from the Continent of Europe. Most countries have not this barrier; and so, if you were to travel across the frontier between France and Germany, or France and Spain, or Germany and Austria, or between any other two countries in Europe, you would notice in the towns on either side of the frontier large numbers of soldiers living in barracks. For since there is often not even a river to mark the frontier, all these countries keep large armies to defend themselves from each other. But we need not keep so big an army as these continental countries because of our navy. If all the nations in the world would agree together never to invade each other again, these big armies on the frontiers would be needless, and could be disbanded; and we in

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter VI. The Rise of the English Seamen.

Britain should not need to keep as large a navy. The time is perhaps coming when this will be so.

But we need the navy for a second purpose. On land there are soldiers to defend us from foreign foes ; but there are also policemen to defend us from thieves and robbers of our own nation. At sea the ships of the navy act not only as soldiers, but as policemen. Nearly one-half of all the ships in the world that go to sea are British. Out on the lonely ocean these ships might be attacked by pirates and robbed and never heard of again if we had no navy. Even to-day, off the lonely coasts of Eastern Africa, and in the Chinese Sea, pirates are sometimes met with. Thus the warships are the policemen of the seas ; and the navies of all great countries, France, Germany, Russia and the rest, join in the useful work.

Now, before 1485 there had been small need for a royal navy in England for four hundred years. For ever since the days when the long ships of the Northmen ceased to sail the seas round Britain, and since the coming of the Norman kings, there had been no foreign enemy strong enough to land an army on our shores from the sea. What we call France, Spain, Germany, were poor distracted lands, which could not threaten England. It is true that whenever we were at war with France French ships came ashore on the south coast, and Frenchmen robbed the towns and villages which they found unprepared. But the towns and villages were expected to keep a sharp look-out from their church-towers, and ring their bells and defend themselves if danger came. If the king wanted ships to carry soldiers across the sea, he had the right to borrow merchant ships in any port. He had also the right to use, for fifteen days a year, a fleet which seven ancient sea-ports, called the Cinque Ports, were obliged by old custom to maintain in readiness.

Some kings, it is true, before Henry VII., owned ships of their own ; but it was not thought necessary that they should do this.

From the reign of Henry VII. onwards, however, there have always been royal ships, built and manned for war. Henry VII. and Henry VIII. saw that times had changed, and that a navy was needed. For now France had become a strong, united country, governed by a king who was not content to rule only France, but who wanted to conquer other lands. Spain, too, was growing very strong. For, from 1516 onwards she owned the two low-lying countries which we call Holland and Belgium, but which were then called the Netherlands. Moreover, after Christopher Columbus discovered the West Indies in 1492, the Spaniards gained a great dominion in the West Indies and in Central and South America, from which came much wealth in gold, silver, and precious stones. Standing on the Dover cliffs, on any clear day, you may plainly see along the horizon, 21 miles away, the coast of France, and sometimes the coast of Belgium ; and when Englishmen in Henry VIII.'s reign stood there and watched the Spanish ships sail through the Straits of Dover to the Spanish Netherlands, they must have seen that there was a new danger to England.

We had, in those days, no standing army always ready to fight. To defend the country we had only the militia of each county. In this all the grown-up men of each county, from 16 to 60 years of age, had to be ready to serve. Those who could afford it had to fight with lance and in armour on horseback ; those who could not, had to serve on foot, with bill or longbow. But the kings of France and Spain were training standing armies of men, armed with the new musket, and backed by large numbers of artillerymen with cannon. Henry VII. and



FIG. 11.—Map to illustrate the need for a Navy in Tudor Times.

Henry VIII. knew that if these kings once landed armies in England, it would be difficult for the ordinary long-bowmen and bill-men to drive them back. So they began to build a navy, to prevent, if they could, all danger of the landing of French or Spanish armies in England.

Another reason for building a navy was that English merchant ships were beginning to cross the seas in larger numbers than ever before, and they needed protection

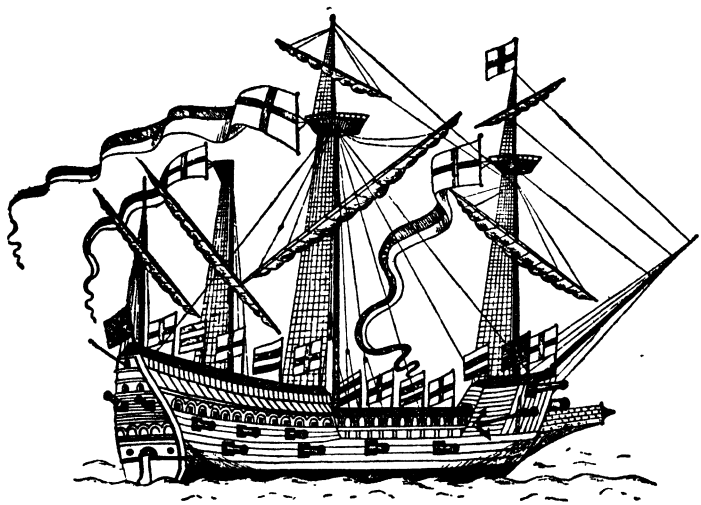


FIG. 12.—The *Ann Gallant*, 1546.

(From a parchment roll, with pictures of the king's chief battle-ships, made for Henry VIII.)

against pirates and foreign enemies. Henry VII. was very anxious for English merchants to grow rich and strong, for he knew that they would bring wealth to England. He, therefore, bought a piece of land at Portsmouth, and had it made into a dock for building royal ships; and from this time forward Portsmouth slowly grew to what she is to-day, one of the greatest naval stations in the world.

Henry knew that the Spaniards were building much larger ships than ever before, because they were needed

for the long voyage over the Atlantic to the New World. These ships, too, were real fighting ships, since they carried cannon in such a way that ship could fire at ship across the sea, instead of waiting to grapple each other and for men to fight hand to hand, as of old. Henry therefore built several ships on the Spanish model, with three or four masts, and portholes for cannon.* Besides the cannon there were bows and arrows, bills, pikes and armour stored on every ship. Henry VII. had not much money to spare, but he built five or six of these vessels. Moreover, he determined to encourage the merchants to build these big ships too, so that he could borrow them; he therefore offered to give a sum of money, called a "bounty," to every man who built a ship above a certain size, and the larger the ship the larger was the bounty. Thus, even before Henry VIII. became king, there were bigger and better English ships than ever before.

Henry VIII. from the very first took an interest and pride in ships, and he carried on his father's work. In the first place he made more dockyards for building royal ships. He bought more land at Portsmouth, and enlarged the dock which his father had begun. A few miles down the river Thames from London lay the little fishing villages of Woolwich and Deptford, the latter just where a small river from the Kent hills flows into the Thames. These little villages are now part of London. At Deptford Henry bought a meadow by the water-side, and built first a storehouse for timber, pitch, tar, oakum and ropes for his ships; then he caused men to dig the Deptford dock. This became the most famous dock for building ships. He made another dock at Woolwich.

Next he hired shipwrights to build his ships, and sent for the best men he could get from all the ports along the

* For explanation see P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., pages 57 to 59.

coast. He fed them on bread, beef, beer, fish, pease and oatmeal, and gave them shelter and beds to sleep on; from two to ten men slept in one bed. No man might refuse to serve the king.

Henry built altogether 46 new warships in his reign, some large, some very small. The largest ship afloat nowadays is 50,000 tons. We do not quite know how they measured ships in those days, but we know they thought a ship large if it was over 100 tons. The largest built by Henry was the *Henry Grace à Dieu*, of 1000 tons, built at Woolwich. So proud was Henry of this ship that when, in 1514, he went to launch it, he wore a dress cut like a seaman's, but made of cloth of gold, and he blew a great gold admiral's whistle when he went on board. Woolwich dockyard lay on the river only two miles and a half as the crow flies below the palace of Greenwich, and Deptford dockyard was less than a mile above the palace; so Henry must often have strolled down to watch his men at work, and make suggestions, in his bluff and friendly way.

Each ship carried sailors to work the vessels, gunners to fire the cannon, and soldiers to fight. Ordinary soldiers do not now fight on ship-board; we have special fighting seamen called "Marines." But in those days landsmen were shipped off to fight at sea; and the captains who commanded the vessels, and even the admiral who commanded the fleet, often knew nothing of seamanship. It was the working "Master Mariner" who managed and controlled the ship. One great nobleman, when he heard that he was made admiral, wrote to the king, and said, "I do thynke I shuld have doon his Majestie better service in some meaner office wherein to be directed and not to be director." But the day was soon coming when all this would be altered, and when

men trained from boyhood to the sea, should become admirals, captains, and mariners in the Royal Fleet. For while Henry was building ships, the merchants of England were not idle. Henry, like his father, gave bounties on the building of big ships; and now men began to venture further than before.

At the very end of his reign, in 1546, Henry appointed a body of six landsmen, to look after the building, repair, and manning of the royal ships. These landsmen were called the Navy Board; and this was the very beginning of what we now call the Board of Admiralty.*

After Henry died, the boy king, Edward VI., took great interest in the ships. He often went to Deptford, and we read that £88 6*s.* 2*d.* had to be spent on paving the village street, because it was "so noysome and full of fylth that the Kynges Majestie myght not pass to and fro to se the buylding of his Highnes shippes." His sister, Queen Mary, too, did not neglect her navy as much as some people have thought. In these two reigns the number of pirates on the seas grew apace, and so, too, did the number of merchant ships. But both these sovereigns were sad at heart, and busy with other matters.

When Queen Bess came to the throne there were only 22 royal ships of over 100 tons. But there were 400 known English pirates in the seas round Britain, and more merchant ships than ever before. Elizabeth did not build nearly so many royal ships as her father. But she taught many pirates to rob the enemies of England instead of fighting Englishmen; she encouraged fishermen to fish, and merchantmen to go on longer voyages. Above all, she saved England for ever from the dread of being conquered by Spain.

* See Chapter XXIX.

CHAPTER VI. THE CHILDREN OF HENRY VIII

EDWARD, MARY, AND ELIZABETH

On September 7th, 1533, there was born in the royal Palace at Greenwich a baby girl. She was the daughter of King Henry VIII. and of Queen Anne Boleyn. Her



Fig. 13.—View of the ancient town of Greenwich from the north-east.

From a picture by Jonas Moore in 1662. On the right is the old Palace, and behind the trees, on the left, is Greenwich Park, which was used by the Tudor sovereigns for deer-hunting.

christening was gorgeous, as befitted a royal princess. Cranmer,* the good Archbishop of Canterbury, was her godfather, and she was given the name Elizabeth. Men said that it was a pity she was not a boy, so that she might

* See P P. Histories, Junior Book III. The Story of Cranmer.

succeed her father as King of England, but that doubtless she would soon have a little brother. At first all went well with the little Elizabeth. She wore dainty and beautiful clothes, and her father the king would laugh and play with her. But when a year or two had passed, and no little brother was born, King Henry began to grow impatient. He thought he could not leave the kingdom which he and his father before him had made so great, to be ruled over by a girl, for as yet there had been no great queen in English history. He found some excuse to get rid of Queen Anne as a traitor, and even to have her beheaded. Thus, when she was only three years old, the little Princess Elizabeth was sent away from the palace and from the king's presence. She went to live in a country house in Hertfordshire. Here she found her half-sister, Queen Katharine's daughter, Mary. Mary was thin and small She was sad, too, for her father hated her, and her mother had died of grief. Nevertheless, she was sorry for the little half-sister who came to share her exile.



FIG. 14.—"LADI MARI DOUGHTER TO THE MOST VERTUOUS PRINCE, KINGE HENRI THE EIGHT. THE AGE OF XXVIII YERES."
From the National Portrait Gallery.

By 1536 Henry had married yet another wife, and

when Elizabeth was four years old, a little son was at last born to inherit the crown of England. Henry was so delighted that he forgave Mary and Elizabeth for being girls, and allowed them to come to Court for the christening. Princess Mary held the tiny, delicate-looking little baby in her arms at the font, and the little Elizabeth toddled by her side holding her hand.

The baby was christened Edward, and he grew up to be a little sickly, serious-faced boy. He learnt to hunt and hawk, to play prisoner's base and tennis, and he practised archery on the lawns of the different palaces where he lived. But he was happiest when he was at his books, and happiest of all when he and Elizabeth were allowed to have lessons together. They both learned Greek and Latin, French and Italian, and Elizabeth loved to translate French verses into English. But Edward liked best of all to study the Bible, of which he daily read about ten chapters.



FIG. 15.—Portrait of Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards Edward VI.

From the drawing by Hans Holbein, who was royal painter to Henry VIII., and died in 1543.

When Henry VIII. died, in 1547, Edward became king. He had learnt to love the Bible so well himself that it was one of his greatest joys to know that the simplest of his subjects who could read at all, could now read it for themselves in English, owing to the translation which had been made in his father's reign. Since Edward was still only a boy of ten years of age, his mother's brother, the Duke of Somerset, ruled England for him, for two years. The Duke of Somerset, and the Archbishop of

Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, taught Edward that it would be well for the services in church to be said in English, instead of in Latin, as of old. Quite early in his reign, therefore, Edward asked Cranmer to make an English Prayer Book. In 1548 Parliament passed a law to say that every clergyman was to use this new book in church. Many other changes were made in the parish churches of England.*

But when changes are made in old customs, to which men have been used for many hundreds of years, it is very often difficult to give satisfaction to any one. So it was in England in the reign of Edward VI. Some men hated the new service-book. The peasants in the distant county of Cornwall, who did not speak English, but Cornish, found the service as hard to understand as the ancient Latin prayers; and they liked it less than the Latin because they were not used to it. They said it was "no better than a Christmas game," and they rose up to fight for the old customs. Armed men were sent to put down the rebellion.

In 1549, Edward's uncle, the Duke of Somerset, fell from power, and the Duke of Northumberland ruled England in the king's name. Edward grew, month by month, more thin, white-faced, and delicate. All men knew that he could not live for long. He allowed the Duke of Northumberland to make even greater changes in the English churches, so that good Catholics were grieved at heart, and could not but wish for Edward's death. For they knew that the Lady Mary, his sister, loved the ancient ways in religion.

In 1553, Edward VI. died. Then the Duke of Northumberland tried to make Edward's cousin, the Lady Jane Grey, queen of England, because she was his

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter IV. The Changes in the Parish Churches.

daughter-in-law.* But the people of England rose up for Mary Tudor, because she was the daughter of Henry VIII., and they made her queen.

Mary Tudor loved her religion. She thought it right to bring back once more the old Latin services. She tried, too, to bring back the monks to the monasteries. She wanted a husband who believed as she did; so she married Philip of Spain, who, in 1556, became King of Spain. She hoped that he would help her in her work. She trusted, too, that God would give to her and Philip a little son to reign after them, who would keep England in the old faith. Soon after her marriage, Mary made the two Houses of Parliament humbly beg pardon of the Pope for all that had been done against his authority in the reigns of her father and brother, and made them acknowledge him once more as Head of the English Church.

Many English people were glad when the old services which their forefathers had used were restored. But the men who loved the new services, and the English Bible and Prayer Book, were very sad. Many of them left their homes, their wives and children. Some took to a roving life at sea, and plundered the merchant ships of Roman Catholic countries, such as Spain and France. Others sailed across the sea and lived in Germany and Switzerland. Here they found other people, who believed as they did. These men called themselves Protestants, because they protested against the power of the Pope and the wealth and worldliness of the great clergy who lived as Wolsey had lived.

But now, in England, sad things began to happen. Many Protestants who could not or would not leave England were seized, and shut up in prison. Parliament passed Acts whereby those who would not recant might

* See P. P. Histories, Teacher's Story Book, Part III. The Story of Lady Jane Grey.

be burned alive. Mary thought that all this was right in God's sight. But He did not give her her heart's desire—a little son. Moreover, her husband, Philip, was a cold-hearted man, who did not really love her. These sorrows seemed to break her heart. She gave fierce orders that Protestants should be sternly judged and punished. The Bishops Ridley and Latimer, and Archbishop Cranmer, were burned alive at Oxford. At Smithfield, in London, it became a common sight to see the faggots piled high round the stake, and brave men and women perish in the flames. Philip had left England. Mary was all alone. She had come to hate even her sister Elizabeth. She wandered wildly about Greenwich Palace, or sat moping like a mad woman upon the floor. Meanwhile 300 Protestants were burned. At length, in 1558, Queen Mary died, leaving one of the saddest names in English history.

When, on November 17th, 1558, the heralds rode through London to proclaim Elizabeth queen, the church bells pealed, and the citizens stopped work to prepare great bonfires in the streets for joy. Horsemen rode through town and village to spread the news, and everywhere men were glad. For Mary was dead, who was half Spanish by blood, and wife to a Spanish king, and the new queen was an English woman. Elizabeth was now a comely woman of twenty-five, with auburn hair, and dark piercing eyes. She had had a sad life during Mary's reign, and had for a time been a prisoner in the Tower of London. She was now to rule England for thirty-five years. Men whispered that she had the gracious and dignified bearing of her father, and was likely to rule as he had ruled. Elizabeth knew that she had a difficult task before her. To the lords and gentlemen who came to salute her, she said, "The burden that hath fallen

upon me maketh me amazed." She knew that in spite of the persecutions of Mary's reign, the towns of England, especially those along the sea coast of the south and east, were full of Protestants, and that, at the news of Mary's death, many other Protestants would return from across the seas. She knew, too, that in the country villages and manor houses and castles, men still loved the ancient ways, and called themselves Catholics. She knew that Protestants would kill Catholics and Catholics Protestants if she would let them. She determined that they should learn to live at peace together before she died.



FIG. 16.—Portrait of Queen Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was a woman who knew her own mind. She determined that she and not the Pope should be supreme governor of the English Church. So Parliament, at her wish, passed a new Act of Supremacy, in 1559, and ever since then the King or Queen of England has been head of the English Church. Elizabeth restored the English Bible of her father, and the English Prayer Book of her brother, and Parliament passed an Act of Uniformity, saying that every one was to come to church

every Sunday, or pay a fine of one shilling. But here she stopped. She would not let the Protestants destroy the images, stained-glass windows and organs which were still left in some of the churches. She made the clergy wear white surplices in church, and use many of the old symbols, such as signing a child with the cross when it was baptised. Some of the Protestants were very indignant at this. They wanted to purify the Church of everything which reminded them of Rome, and to make the services as simple as they possibly could. Because the queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury would not listen to them, or let them have their way, some of them even began to refuse to come to church, and held meetings for worship by themselves. Men soon called them Puritans in derision.

On the other hand, the Pope and the Roman Catholics began at this time to work hard to win England back to the old faith. Some of the nobles and gentlemen of the north rose in 1569, and tried to put the Roman Catholic Mary Queen of Scots upon the throne instead of Elizabeth, but they were put down with a strong hand. In 1570 the Pope sent into England a "Bull," or letter, excommunicating Elizabeth, and saying that she was no longer queen, and that her Roman Catholic subjects were no longer to obey her. One bold Roman Catholic nailed this Bull to the door of the Bishop of London's palace. He was captured and put to death as a traitor to the Queen.

This Bull made it very difficult for Elizabeth to rule her subjects in peace. She did not want to trouble Roman Catholics, as Mary had troubled Protestants. She did not want to ask what they believed, if only they would be loyal and obedient subjects, and come regularly to church. She once said, "I do not want to make windows into men's souls." But when the Pope called upon her Roman Catholic subjects to disobey her,

Elizabeth determined to show them that they would do it at their peril. From this time forward she allowed Parliament to pass very severe laws against the Roman Catholics. After 1571, any one who brought a papal Bull to England could be hanged for treason. This frightened many Catholics.

But some were only stirred by danger to greater efforts. Roman Catholic missionaries came over from Europe to rouse the people. The most famous of these were the Jesuits, who began to come to England in 1580. They were members of a great religious order, known as the Society of Jesus, who had promised to give up their whole lives to the work of bringing back the Protestant countries to the old faith. The Jesuits, like the monks, never married; they bound themselves to obey, without question, the head of their Order. Many were Englishmen. They came to England, dressed as merchants, or as travelling gentlemen, or in other disguises, that none might suspect who they were. At the risk of their lives, they went about the country, teaching and holding services. Roman Catholic lords and gentlemen received them in their country houses, and hid them by day in secret chambers in the walls, or in the great chimneys, or in attics in the roof. Only by night did they come out. Often it was not safe for even the servants to be told who they were. In obeying the Pope they were forced to be traitors to the queen; and the justices of the peace were ordered to hunt them from their hiding-places, and bring them to punishment. Many of them were captured, and some were put to death. Parliament now made the laws against the Roman Catholics even more severe. After 1581 any one who only tried to persuade another to become a Roman Catholic could be put to death; and any priest who performed Mass, and any one who attended it,

could be put in prison and heavily fined. Any one who stayed away from church could be fined as much as £20 a month. Many Roman Catholics, in consequence gave up their Church, and joined the Church of England. Others went openly to their parish church, and attended Mass in secret. But away in the north and north-west of England, where very many of the people were Roman Catholics, little was done to interfere with them. Elizabeth, herself, did not want them to be severely punished. For she was anxious that no one should be persecuted for being a Roman Catholic, so long as he was not plotting to overturn her power.

So, as time went on, moderate men on both sides began to trust the queen, and to realize that if they would be obedient to her laws, and would go to church once a month, she would not interfere with what they did in private. Some of them even began to grow fond of the English Prayer Book. Thus Elizabeth gave the country peace at home.*

Meanwhile, a danger loomed over England from abroad, which at length united all loyal Englishmen to serve the queen. This was the coming of the Spanish Armada, sent by Philip king of Spain, then the mightiest sovereign in the world. You have read how John Hawkins, and Francis Drake, and other English seamen sailed the seas, and fought with the galleons of Spain.† For many years they delayed the coming of the Armada. At last, in 1588, it sailed. At this time a ballad was sung in town and village—

"From mercilesse Invaders, from wicked men's device,
O God! arise and helpe us to quele our enemies.
Sinke deep their potent Navies, their strengthe and corage breake,
O God! arise and save us, for Jesus Christe his sake."

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter VII.
† See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter VI.

In Kingsley's "Westward Ho," and in Macaulay's "Ballad of the Armada," you can read how that great Armada was defeated.* The last years of Elizabeth were years of peace.



FIG. 17.—The royal barge of Queen Elizabeth Built in 1602.

Peace, security, and pride in the greatness of England, made men glad at heart. Elizabeth was now growing old and grey, but she was loved as few sovereigns have been loved before or since. Even grave Puritans in Parliament bowed before her will. "Most excellent and most gracious Sovereign," said her last Parliament to her, "no age either hath or can produce the like precedent of so much happiness under any prince's reign, nor of so continual gracious care for our preservation as your Majesty hath showed in all your actions."

But it was not only in her own day that men revered her. Fifty years after her death, Oliver Cromwell, who was no lover of kings, spoke of her as "Queen Elizabeth of glorious memory, we need not be ashamed to call her so."

* See also P. P. Histories, Teacher's Story Book, Part III. The Story of the Armada.

CHAPTER VII. VILLAGE GOVERNMENT IN THE DAYS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.*

In Chapter I. you read how England, in 1485, was a very disorderly country, chiefly because she needed a strong king, who could make the gentlemen magistrates do their duty, and who could put down the big households of armed retainers.

By means of the Star Chamber both these things had been done, and in 1603, when Elizabeth died, the country was far more peaceful than in 1485. The magistrates, or justices of the peace, were appointed by the king. They were not paid, but were proud to do the work, and to have the honour of writing J.P. after their names. A justice of the peace for a county could, if he liked, ride anywhere in his county to see that the laws were obeyed. But he needed men who lived in the villages to help him in his work.

Every English village, for many hundreds of years, had had its little village government. Each year the villagers chose one of their number who was fairly well-to-do—such as a farmer, or a miller—to be the village constable for the year. Outside his house was hung his staff of office, to show all men where he lived. If anything was stolen, men rushed to the constable's house, and it was his duty to leave his work, and raise the "Hue and Cry" after the thief. Then every man in the village had to stop working, and follow in pursuit. If the constable caught the thief, he put him in the cage or in the stocks,

* Read P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter V. The Life of a Country Gentleman in the Days of Queen Elizabeth.

or shut him up in his house till the J.P. could try him. But this constable was not paid for his work, as a policeman is, nor was he trained and drilled to do his duty. He was a busy man, with other work to do. He often neglected to raise the "Hue and Cry." Sometimes, when he raised it, the villagers would not leave their work and follow. But in the Tudor Period the justice of the peace looked sharply after him, and made him do his duty.

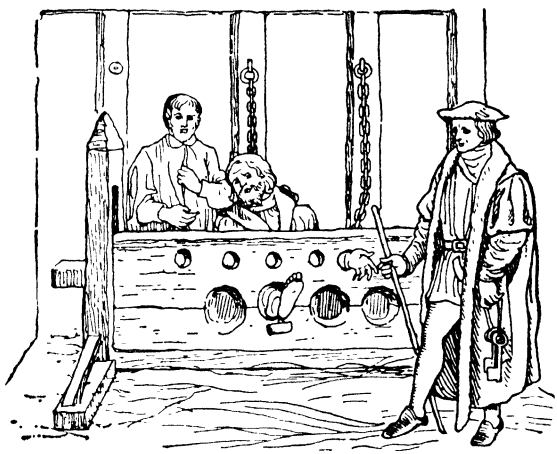


FIG. 18.—A man sitting in the stocks.
The constable with his keys, and his assistant the beadle, stand by.
From an old picture.

Besides the duty of catching thieves, in every English village, from Saxon times onwards, the people had had to mend their own roads. Every man had either to work for six days a year on the road, or send a cart, horses, and two men. At the present day roads are skilfully made with stone, or with wood, or with other material, and a good road is hard, smooth, and firm. Men who have studied the art of road-making plan the making and mending of these roads, and the labourers work for wages under their orders. In those days roads were made

merely of soft earth, which turned to mud in the winter. Carts, horses, and cattle cut deep trenches and holes in them. The village people, when they came to mend the road, ploughed it up with a great wooden plough, to make it level, and then put stones and rubbish into the holes. Often they left the work quite undone. Therefore, in Mary's reign, Parliament passed an Act ordering the people of each village to name one of their number every year to be Surveyor of the Highways. Like the constable, he must be fairly well off. The nearest justice of the peace was to look after him. The surveyor had to arrange the six days in the year on which the village people were to work on the roads, and on Sunday, in church, after the sermon, he had to stand up and tell the people to come. If any one refused, or did not do his share, the surveyor told the justice of the peace, and the man was fined. He had to tell each man what work to do on the roads. But the surveyor was only a farmer, or a miller, or a blacksmith. He was not paid for his year's work. He knew no more about road-mending than other people did, and often he did not greatly care. If his own hay-carts got safely home from the fields he thought the road good enough. Thus, even in Elizabeth's reign the roads were still very bad, and after her death, for more than a hundred years, they got worse rather than better.*

But what troubled men far more than the bad roads was the fear of beggars. England in those days had thousands of beggars; one man reckoned in Queen Elizabeth's reign that there were 10,000 of them. Some of them were poor men wandering about the country to find work, and begging for food and a night's lodging as they went; others were men who found it pleasanter to

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter XIII.

beg than to work, and who tried to move men's pity by going about in horrid rags. The trouble began when Henry VII. was king, and many gentlemen and well-to-do farmers took to keeping sheep instead of growing corn. Very few cottagers were needed to look after the sheep, and so the sheep-farmers sometimes pulled down cottages, and forced honest men to take to the roads. These men were often unable to find work, so they were obliged to beg. Then came the closing of the monasteries, and many of the monks, and nuns, and lay-servants of the monasteries, took to begging. At first these men and women generally meant to work honestly again as soon as they could. But some of them came to like a wandering life, and ceased to care for home and cleanliness and honest work. Such men as these came to lonely farmhouse doors, saying that they were shipwrecked mariners, or soldiers discharged from the wars. Sometimes they carried arms. A terrified housewife would give them a meal, or some money. An hour later, she would miss her fine linen cloths which were drying in the sun, or would find six fat hens taken from the farmyard, or, worse still, a good horse stolen from the field. The



FIG. 19.—Vagabonds.

Man, woman, and children, with their ass and dog. The woman is drinking from a leather bottle.

From a woodcut made in 1509

picture, from an old book published in 1567, was drawn to show the dreadful appearance of one of these knaves. Because it was difficult, then as now, to tell an honest beggar from a villain, a law was made forbidding any man to beg unless he had a written licence or permission to do so from a justice of the peace. But many bad men forged false licences and went on begging. Sometimes large companies of beggars tramped along the roads.



FIG. 20.

An old picture, published in 1567, to show an honest man, and a cheat who pretends to be poor and sick.

Parliament, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, passed laws to check the "sturdy beggars." All able-bodied men who refused to work, and all who were found begging without a licence, were to be severely punished. The constable had to arrest such people, and to keep them shut up in his house, or in the stocks or cage, until a justice of the peace could try them. The J.P. could order the constable to whip such a man very severely on his bare back, and then to pierce his right ear with a hot iron. He was then sent back to his native village, and if he was caught a second time, he could be sentenced to be hanged as a felon. Women were treated in the same way. The constable in every village was now busier than before, looking after beggars as well as thieves.

All this work in the villages was watched over by the nearest justice of the peace. He had taken a solemn oath when he was made a justice to do his duty, and he knew that if he did not do it, he would be summoned before the Court of Star Chamber and would be punished. To his house the village constable brought any thief, or unlicensed beggar, or drunken man, or woman, or other wrong-doer, whom he might catch. The J.P. sat in his big hall, and judged the accused person. Sometimes he ordered him or her to be whipped or put in the stocks forthwith. Sometimes he ordered a scolding woman to be put into the ducking-stool, and lowered into the river. If it was a serious case of wrong-doing, he ordered the constable to lock the accused person up in the county gaol till the next Court of Quarter Sessions should meet.

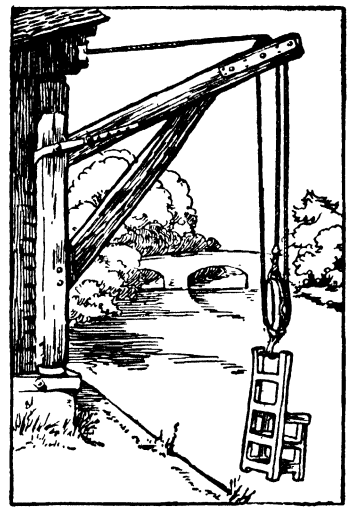


FIG. 21.—Ducking-stool at Fordwich, Kent.

The stool is now in the Museum, in the ancient town-hall.

Four times a year, all the justices of the peace of a county met at a Court called Quarter Sessions, in a hall in the county town. They sat in a row on a bench at the upper end of the hall. The Court was crowded with constables from every parish in the county, bringing prisoners to be tried; it was full, too, of witnesses and of men who had come to serve on juries. When the prisoners had been tried, and sentence given, each constable was asked to say whether the men of his village were doing their duty on the roads, and whether sturdy beggars were kept out. Thus the country-side was kept in order.

CHAPTER VIII. JAMES THE SIXTH OF SCOTLAND AND JAMES THE FIRST OF ENGLAND

WHEN Elizabeth had reigned only eight years over England, there was born in 1566, in the stern grey castle of Edinburgh in Scotland, a little boy named James

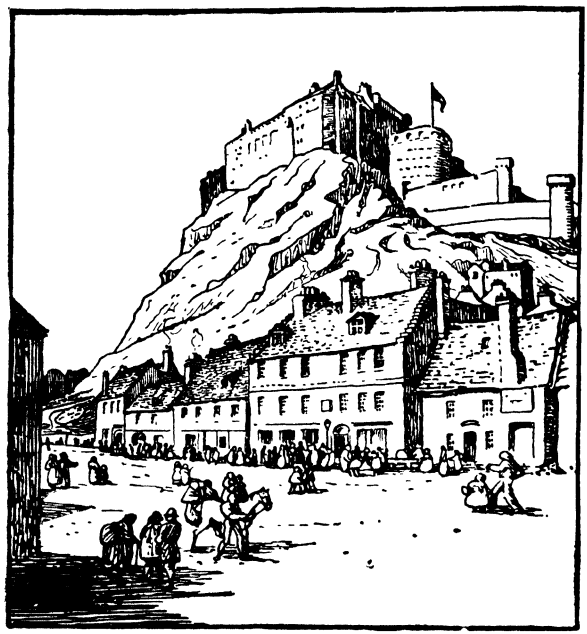


FIG. 22.—Edinburgh Castle.
The view is taken from the Grassmarket on the south-east. *Compare the bird's-eye view of Edinburgh, on pages* 102 *and* 103.

Stuart. The castle stood, and still stands, high up above Edinburgh town, on a great rocky hill with steep sides.

From the castle northwards you can see the shining waters of the Firth of Forth, and beyond, on the horizon, the blue mountains of the Scottish Highlands. Those

wild mountains, covered with purple heather and watered by lakes and rushing streams, were peopled, and are still peopled, by Scottish men of Celtic race related to the

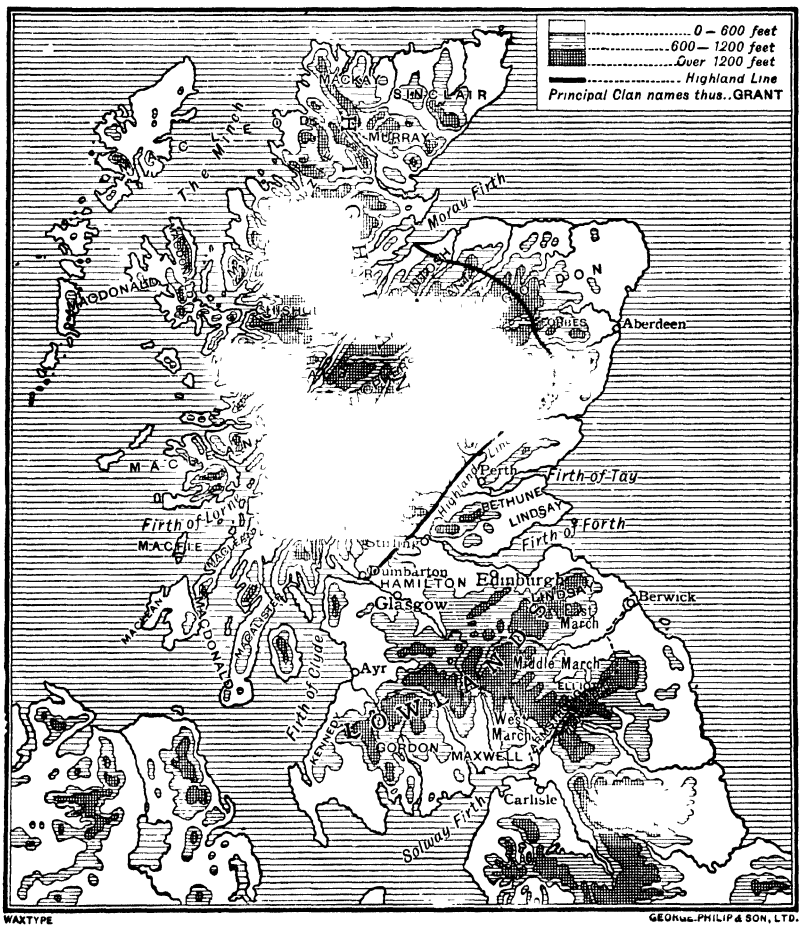


FIG. 23.—Scotland in the sixteenth century.

ancient Britons. These men and women spoke a language which no Englishman could understand, the soft Gaelic tongue,* which is still spoken in those mountains even

to-day. They lived together in huge families called clans; all the people of a clan bore the same surname, such as Campbell, Stewart, Macdonald, Mackenzie, Macleod, Frazer, Murray, Sinclair; and over each clan was a chief



FIG. 24.—A Highland Chieftain.
From a miniature-painting made in the seventeenth century.

whom everybody in the clan obeyed, and whose will was law to them. In the wild mountain valleys where they lived they could not grow much corn, but they tended cattle and sheep, and lived on venison, cheese and milk. They still wore a dress not unlike that which the ancient

Britons had once worn ; it was made of woollen cloth of several colours, striped and chequered, and called tartan. A Chief wore a long saffron-coloured shirt or tunic, with wide-hanging sleeves, a short gay embroidered coat, and a long flowing mantle of tartan ; in front hung a " sporran " or fur-covered pouch, and a dagger ; behind hung an immense sword or "clay-more." On his head he wore

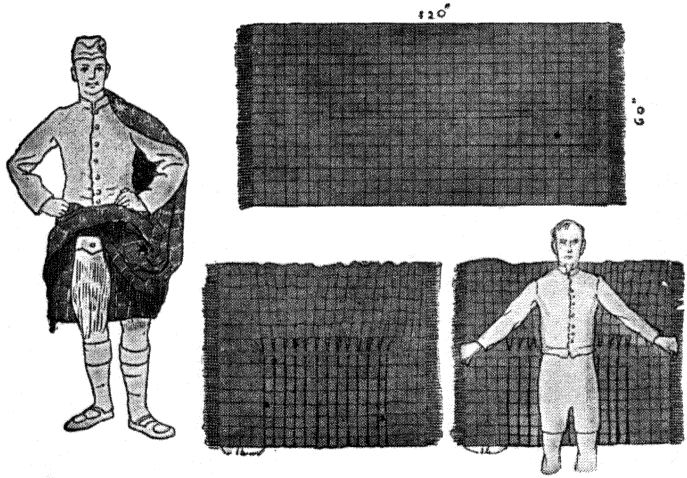


FIG. 25.—The old Highland belted plaid, as it is still worn by a few very old men.

It measures 120 inches by 60 inches. (1) the plaid is laid out flat on the ground, with an inch strap beneath. (2) The lower half is pleated by hand, leaving 14 inches unpleated at either end. (3) The wearer lies on his back, and draws the strap round his waist, so that the lower half of the plaid forms a " kilt " or small pleated skirt. (4) He then stands up, and with his right hand seizes the middle of the upper part of the plaid, and pins it over his left shoulder.

a "bonnet." The ordinary clansman wore merely a tunic, and over it a long strip of tartan, 120 inches long and 60 inches wide. The lower part of this he pleated, and strapped round him like a little skirt, and the upper part he caught up from behind, and fastened to his left shoulder with a brooch so that it fell round him like a cloak. This long strip of tartan was the famous Highland " belted plaid." At night, out on the lonely

moors, a clansman could unbelt his plaid, and use it a a warm blanket.

Looking south from Edinburgh Castle you can se lower hills, covered with grass, but lonely, and ofte mist-haunted, and not unlike the wild hills of northern England. Stretched between these southward hills anc the Highlands on the north, you can see from Edinburgh Castle, a green and narrow plain, into which the Firth o Forth brings the tides and the wild whistling winds from the sea. This narrow plain and these southern hills are called the Lowlands. In the Lowlands there lived, and still live, Scotchmen of a different race from the Highlanders. The Lowlanders are akin to the English, and speak the same language as the English. The men of the southern hills, like the Highlanders, tended mainly cattle and sheep, and obeyed the neighbouring lords and gentlemen rather than the king. There, too, there were clans, such as the Gordons, Maxwells, Armstrongs, Elliotts. Only in the narrow plain were there towns, and a life more like that of southern England.

This was the kingdom of Scotland over which the little boy James Stuart was to reign. It was a kingdom poor in worldly wealth. The stern climate, the bare hills, the wild life of the clans, made it hard for any thrifty man to grow rich. The people from the northern Highlands would often break from the hills and drive away the cattle of the hard-working farmers in the plain. The people of the southern hills preferred to rob the English if they could, and all along the English border, Scotchmen and Englishmen, gentlemen and farmers alike, led a lawless life. From the lonely hills and moors of the Scottish border a troop of horsemen would ride down into the English hills, and drive away cattle and sheep. Then the English would ride after them, and rob and slay in return.

The kings of England and the kings of Scotland for a long time past had done their best to stop this border warfare, but had failed.*

The Scots, though poor, were vigorous and hardy. Seven years before the little James was born, in 1559, the people of the Scottish Lowlands had listened to the preaching of the great John Knox, and had determined to destroy the monasteries, and to tear down images from the churches, and to put an end to the Latin service of the Mass and the power of the Pope in Scotland. In one short year they had done what it had taken thirty years to do in England. But the people in the Highlands remained Roman Catholic still.



FIG. 26.—Portrait of James VI. of Scotland, as a little boy.

From the National Portrait Gallery.

Now little James was born in trouble. His mother, the beautiful Queen Mary, had married a husband whom she did not love; and when little James was only eight months old she was accused of shamefully murdering James' own father. The child can never have known his mother, for when he was just one year old, a number of the nobles of Scotland took her prisoner and shut her up in a lonely castle on an island in the middle of a lake. They forced her to declare that she was no longer queen. Thus the baby James became king of Scotland. When he grew old enough to understand about his mother, she had escaped from Scotland, and gone to England, and was there held a prisoner by Elizabeth, who did not trust her.

While James VI. was a little boy Scotland was really

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book VI., pages 245–249.

being ruled partly by the wild Scottish nobles who had driven away his mother, and partly by the grave and stern ministers of the Scottish Church, who had driven away the Roman Catholic monks and priests.

James was early taught to read and write, and was very fond of reading. He must have soon found out that he was partly a Scotchman, partly a Frenchman, and partly an Englishman. For his mother's mother was a Frenchwoman, his mother's father was the Scottish king, James V., and his great-grandmother was Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. of England. Next he must have realized that, if Queen Elizabeth did not marry, it was very likely that he would one day be King of England, as well as King of Scotland.

The grave Scottish ministers taught James to be a Protestant, and not a Roman Catholic as his mother had been. And as he grew older men were amazed to see how fond the boy king was of reading learned books about religion. But they would have been more amazed had they known the angry thoughts that were in little James' mind. For he found that he was not king of Scotland in anything but name. Two sets of people checked and controlled him wherever he went and whatever he did. The nobles, with their bands of followers, surrounded him, and quarrelled and fought as to who should rule the king; the ministers of the churches claimed that he had no power over them, and that he might not even appoint bishops to rule the Church of Scotland, as Queen Elizabeth did for England.

Now James had no one in whom he could confide, until, when he was thirteen years of age, there came to Scotland one of his French cousins, Esmé Stuart. This man was tall and handsome, with a reddish golden beard. The Scottish nobles were rough and rude, but he was

courtly and winning in his ways. James trusted and loved him. He made him Earl of Lennox, and gave him the strong Castle of Dumbarton, and great wealth besides. This Frenchman with his graceful manners, and his French gold, made many friends among the lesser nobles, and freed the boy king for awhile from the great nobles and the ministers. He told James about the King of France, and how he really ruled his people, in deed as well as in name, and made laws as seemed best to himself. He fired James with the longing to be a king indeed.

For two years this Earl of Lennox ruled Scotland in James' name, and James was happy. But the ministers of the Church of Scotland, and certain great nobles, hated Lennox, because they saw that he was teaching James to be a king who would rule without the help of nobles or of ministers. One day in the summer of 1582, James had been out hunting in the wild mountains of the Highlands not many miles from the city of Perth. As he rode back to the city, some nobles came and asked him to go on a visit to the castle of Ruthven, three miles away from Perth. James went, all unsuspecting, and spent the night there. But in the morning, when he wished to ride away, the nobles roughly forbade him, and when he wept with grief and terror, one said, rudely, "Better bairns greet * than bearded men." They forced him to write a letter, ordering Lennox to leave Scotland, and James never saw his friend again.

But James never forgot this. Though he was only sixteen years of age, he had already learned from his French cousin to hold his tongue, to use smooth words, and to bide his time. In spite of all that had happened he resolved to be a king indeed. Ten months later he escaped from the power of the nobles who had captured

* Scottish for "weep."

him. From that time forward he set himself to do two things, to crush the power of the ministers in the Church and to crush the power of the nobles in the government. This, after many years of struggle, he did; and thus at length James had more power in Scotland than any king that Scotland had ever known.

But all these years James had thought with longing of the kingdom of England, where Henry VII. had long since crushed the nobles, and where the king appointed bishops who ruled the Church of England in his name. His heart's desire was to be King of England. There, he thought, he would be king indeed. There he would give laws to his people. There he would govern the Church.

For James had thought a great deal about what it meant to be a king. He wrote a book about it. He thought that a king was God's representative on earth. He thought it wrong for subjects to refuse to obey their king. He expected that the English people, who had loved the Tudor kings and queens so well, would think so too.

Up to the year 1587, the English Catholics had hoped that when Elizabeth died, James' mother, the beautiful Mary Queen of Scots, would be Queen of England. But in that year, when James was twenty-one years of age, news came that Mary had been beheaded at Fotheringay Castle. After that, lest any other relative of Queen Elizabeth should be made king in his stead, James worked secretly for years to make friends with powerful men in England and in Europe. His cousin Esmé Stuart had taught him, as a boy, to think that false promises and even lies were not wrong for a king. He made promises to Philip, king of Spain, and promises to the Pope, and promises to the Roman Catholics in

England, and promises to the Protestants in England. At last, in 1603, he got his heart's desire.

* * * * *

In the month of March, 1603, a horseman came riding hot-haste to Edinburgh from England with the news that the great queen was dead, and that James VI. of Scotland was James I. of England. In the spring sunshine James set forth, and travelled south to London. As he went through town and village people flocked to do him honour, and church bells clashed in welcome.

For the people of England were in a mood to welcome a new king. Much as they had loved Elizabeth, many men were hoping to get their own way now in matters of religion. The Catholics hoped that Mary's son would alter the laws by which their priests were hanged, and they themselves were fined if they did not go to church. The Puritans hoped that, since James was a Scotchman, he would make the English churches more like the Scottish churches. For they knew that the churches in the south of Scotland were very bare and plain, and that the people did not even have an organ played in church, or sing hymns, while in England there was singing in church, and fiddles or a barrel organ to lead it. In Scotland people went to church on Sunday and listened to a long, long sermon, and then went home again. In England there was often no sermon at all, and after service the people had sports, and dancing and ale-drinking on the village green.

But when the English saw their new king, the very sight of him must have disappointed them. They were used to Tudor sovereigns, who bore themselves royally. This is how one who knew him described King James: "He was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough, his clothes ever

being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches in great plaits and full stuffed ; he was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets ; his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger that came in his presence, insomuch as many for shame have left the room, as being out of countenance ; his beard was very thin ; his tongue too large for his mouth."

Soon they found that they had good reason to be disappointed. Ere long Puritans, and Roman Catholics, and the whole nation, looked back with regret to the days that were gone.

The Puritans, who had hoped the most from James, were bitterly disappointed. He summoned, to his Palace at Hampton Court, a meeting of Puritan clergymen and of Bishops. He listened to what the Puritans had to say, but all the time the thought was in his mind that these men wanted to behave like the Scottish ministers, and have no bishops in England, but manage everything themselves. They asked to have the Prayer Book altered, and to have less singing, and longer and better sermons in church. They asked that there should be no games on Sunday. They asked that a new translation of the Bible should be made and used in all the churches. But James was angry and suspicious ; he said there should be a new translation of the Bible, but he would not allow the services in church to be altered. He said of the Puritans, "I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land." Three hundred Puritan clergymen resigned their livings rather than obey.

The Roman Catholics were disappointed too. At first it seemed as if James were going to favour them. But very soon he allowed the laws against them to be enforced. This led a few desperate Roman Catholics, unknown

to the rest, to make the Gunpowder Plot,* by which they tried to blow up the king, his ministers and the members of both Houses of Parliament. All the Roman Catholics suffered because of this, for when the plot was discovered people would not believe how very few Roman Catholics had known of it. For more than two hundred years, till George IV. was king, people did not fully trust the Roman Catholics in England.

Some other folk were disappointed with King James besides the Roman Catholics and Puritans. These were the seamen, who for thirty years and more had been plundering the great gold galleons of Philip king of Spain, and winning glory for themselves and England in beating the Spanish ships at sea. James had determined that England should be at peace with Spain. He issued a Proclamation in 1603, saying that all ships that were out to injure Spain were to come home, and that attacks on Spanish galleons were to cease. But the English sailors, and the English people, gloried in the war with Spain, and it was only very sullenly that the ships came home.

But most of all James angered Parliament. The quarrel which began in his reign between king and Parliament, lasted till the Bill of Rights was passed in 1689.

James I.'s idea of the king's power is shown by the following words of his, uttered in the Court of Star Chamber in 1616 :—

"It is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do : good Christians content themselves with His will revealed in His Word. So it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or say that a king cannot do this or that."

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book III. Gunpowder Plot.

CHAPTER IX. THE BEGINNING OF STRIFE BETWEEN KING AND PARLIAMENT. 1603–1625

In 1604, when the first Parliament of James I. was elected, it was no longer difficult, as it had been in the days of Henry VII., to find men who were willing to be members. Many country gentlemen were now pleased to pay a visit to London, and proud to sit in Parliament. They wanted to see how the new king looked, and what the famous palace of Westminster was like. Some were even willing to serve as members without being paid wages.

Westminster had changed between 1485 and 1603. The king had ceased to live in the old palace, for after the fall of Wolsey Henry VIII. had taken from him his palace of York House, and had turned it into the royal palace of Whitehall. The old palace was now entirely used for the House of Lords, for the House of Commons, for the Court of Star Chamber, and for the other great Courts of Justice. As the members came to Westminster by boat from the City of London, they saw on their right, first a long line of noblemen's houses built close to the river-side; then they saw the new palace of Whitehall; last they saw the roofs of the old palace of Westminster, with the great Abbey Church standing out behind. Among the roofs they could see the beautiful chapel of St. Stephen's, which was now the Commons' House. For the Commons no longer sat



FIG. 27.—Part of the City of Westminster in 1647.

By Hollar.

Westminster Hall (called "the Hall" by the artist) is in the centre of the picture. In front of Westminster Hall is the gabled Star Chamber Building, with Westminster landing-stairs. To the left is St. Stephen's Chapel where the House of Commons sat; in this print it is called the "Parliament House." (In James I.'s reign the House of Lords was called the "Parliament House"; this stood too far to the left to be visible in this picture.) Between St. Stephen's Chapel and the river are gardens. On the right, the clock-tower in New Palace Yard, and the tower of St. Margaret's Church, can be seen, with the Abbey behind them. (*Compare the plan on page* 83.)

in the Chapter House as of old, but in this fair and stately building, with its great east window, looking towards the river. The boatmen took the boats to "Westminster stairs," the landing-stage, and the members entered New Palace Yard by a low pointed archway beneath the Star Chamber building.

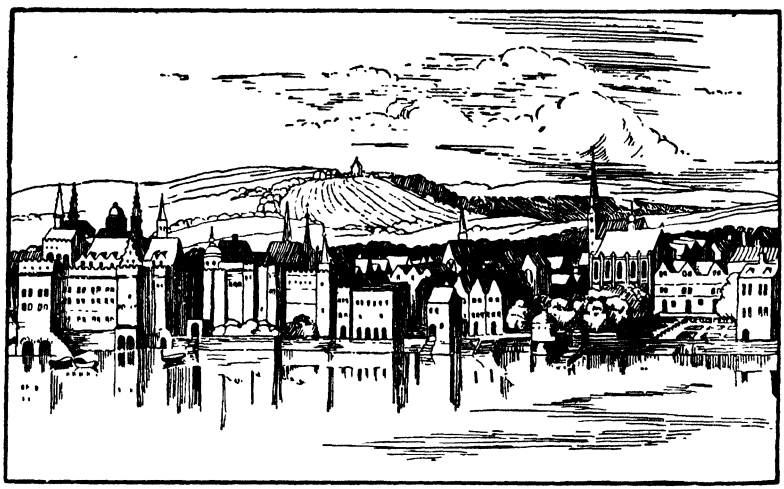


Fig. 28.—Part of the line of houses on the north bank of the Thames between London City and Westminster.

From a picture made in James I.'s reign.

On the left is the Savoy Palace; next are Somerset House, and Arundel House; and the Middle Temple with its famous Hall is seen on the right. The churches and other buildings in the Strand are visible behind, and the open country lies beyond.

At the present day, when a new king comes to the throne, the first Parliament of his reign has a special duty to perform. The House of Commons has to decide how much money the king shall have every year for his private income, to pay for his palaces, and his servants, and his food, and for everything else that he wants to buy. This sum, when it has once been voted, is not altered during the king's whole reign. But besides this,

the nation pays every year millions of pounds for the work of government: it pays for the navy, and the army, and the schools, and for the relief of the poor, and for countless other things. But this great sum of money does not now go to the king; it is paid to a big Government office called the Treasury, which has many secretaries and clerks. Every year the members of the House of Commons vote how much money shall be spent on these things. Thus, at the present day the king has a settled income which is never altered; but he has nothing to do with the vast sums of money which are spent on governing the country.

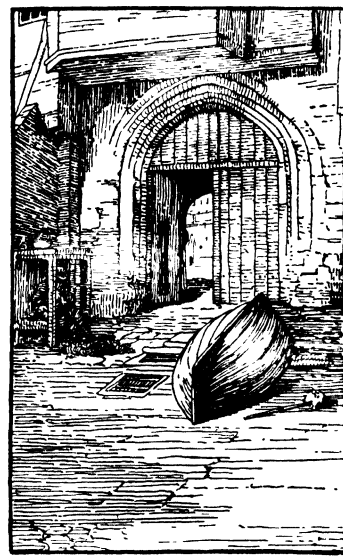
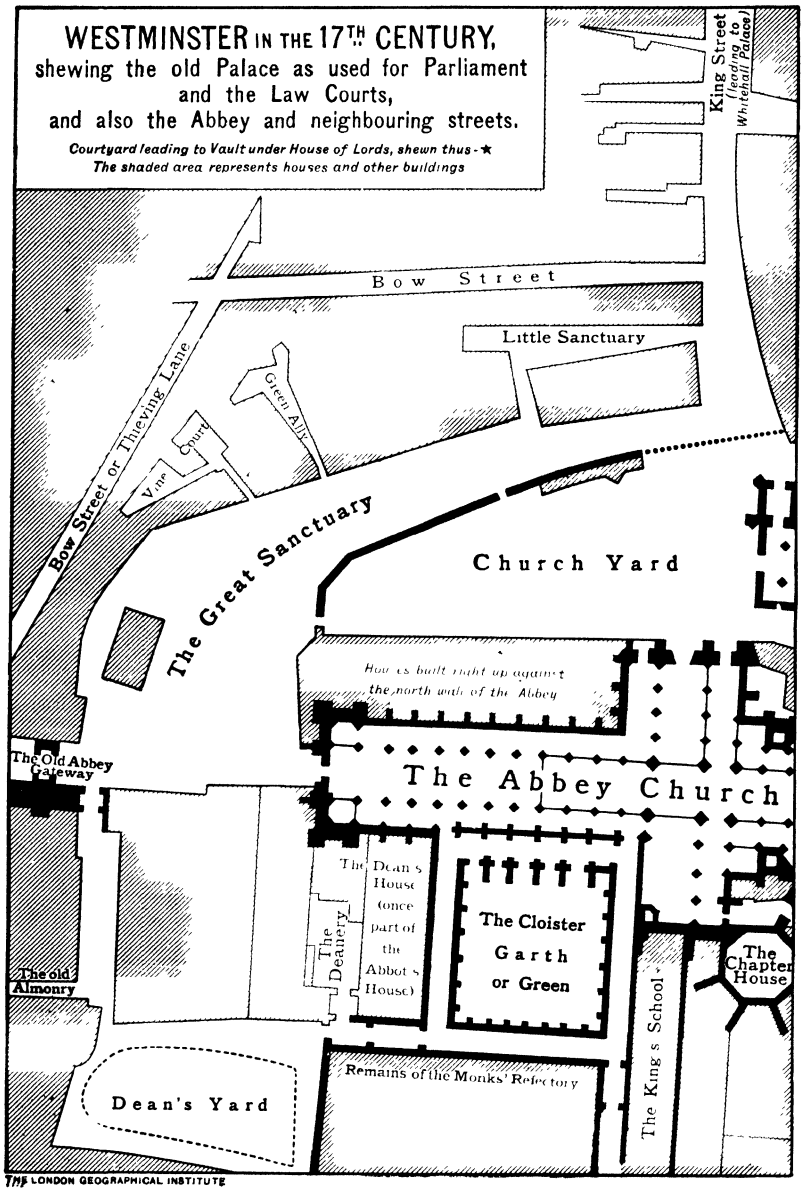


FIG. 29.—The Water Gate, Westminster.

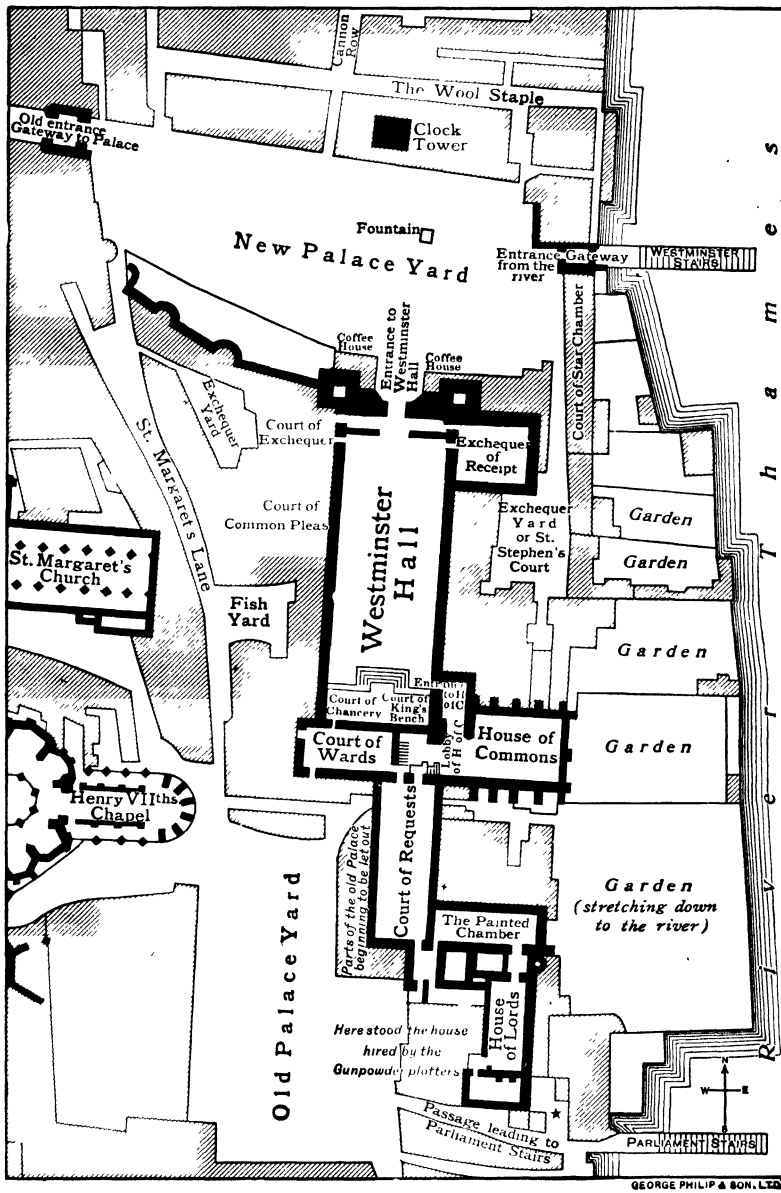
A low, pointed archway beneath the Star Chamber building, and leading from Westminster Stairs to New Palace Yard.

In the time of James I. it was very different. The king had a private income, but he had to spend it not only on palaces, servants, food, and clothing, but also on all the work of government. He had to pay for the navy, and for soldiers when he went to war; he had to pay the judges in the law courts, and for many things besides. Therefore, if Parliament did not grant the king enough money, he was too poor to govern properly; and again, if the king spent too much money on palaces, or food, or clothes and presents to friends, he had not enough money to govern properly.

When a new king came to the throne his first Parliament usually decided that, as long as he lived, money


WESTMINSTER IN THE 17TH CENTURY,
shewing the old Palace as used for Parliament
and the Law Courts,
and also the Abbey and neighbouring streets.
Courtyard leading to Vault under House of Lords, shewn thus-★
The shaded area represents houses and other buildings
King Street
(leading to Whitehall Palace)
Bow Street
Little Sanctuary
Bow Street or Thieving Lane
Green Alley
Court
Yard
The Great Sanctuary
Church Yard
Houses built right up against the north wall of the Abbey
The Old Abbey Gateway
The Abbey Church
The Dean's House (once part of the Abbot's House)
The Deanery
The Cloister Garth or Green
The Chapter House
The old Almonry
Remains of the Monks' Refectory
The King's School
Dean's Yard
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FIG



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30.

should be paid to him every time a merchant brought goods for sale into England, or took goods out of England. For every sovereign's worth of cloth, or tin, or iron, or pepper, or silk, or whatever the goods might be, the merchant paid a shilling to the king; and for every great cask or "tun" * of wine he had to pay three shillings. He might not have the goods carried away from his ship until the officers at the Custom House had seen them, and the money had been paid. Afterwards the merchant charged people who bought his goods a higher price than he would have done if he had not had to pay. The payment to the king was called "tunnage and poundage." When Henry VII., Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth came to the throne their first Parliaments granted them tunnage and poundage for life. If the king wanted more money than this he had to summon Parliament, and ask them to grant it; for it was an ancient privilege of Parliament to grant all taxes.

The members of the first Parliament of James I. came to Westminster in a generous mood. They voted to the king tunnage and poundage for life, and they granted him, besides, a large sum of money called a "subsidy." But they told him very plainly that they expected him to remember their ancient rights and privileges, and the power and dignity of Parliament.

But James I., with his French ideas, thought little of the power and privileges of Parliament. He once said, "It is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do, or to say that a king cannot do this or that." Very soon after 1604, however, he found that he had not enough money. He knew that Queen Elizabeth had once ordered the custom-house officers at the ports to take a little more

* A tun held 252 gallons.

money on certain wines than Parliament had granted in the tax on tunnage, and that no one had complained. He determined that he would order them to take a little more on currants, and on a new thing from America called "tobacco," which he was sorry to see that people were beginning to smoke. This was in 1606. There were no docks along the Thames in those days, but between London Bridge and the Tower stood a low building called the Custom House, and here the ships had to unload their goods. Most of the merchants were taken by surprise and quietly paid the extra amount. But there was one merchant named Bates who declared that nothing should induce him to pay one penny more than Parliament had granted. He ordered his servants, who had gone to the river Thames just below London Bridge to fetch the currants, to drive very quickly away with them, before the Custom House officers could do anything. But it was a serious matter to disobey the king's officers. So Bates' case was tried in the Court of Exchequer, which was held in a room leading out of Westminster Hall. The judges sat in their crimson robes and listened to all that could be said by lawyers for Bates and for the king; and at the end they decided that the king had the right to put extra taxes on goods coming into and going out of England. These extra taxes were called "impositions."

News travelled slowly then, but two years later, in 1608, many people must have noticed how the prices of all sorts of things were going up, not only of currants and tobacco, but of spices, and wine, and silks, and Indian calicoes and other things. James was making use of the power which the judges said he had, to put impositions on very many things at the ports. If this had gone on for very long, we might not at this day have had a Parliament at Westminster. For no king needed in those days

to summon Parliament at all unless he wanted extra money, and it seemed that James could now get all the money he wanted by these impositions at the ports. If Parliament had ceased to meet in his reign, Charles I. would never have needed to call it; and at last Englishmen would themselves have forgotten that such a body as Parliament had ever met.

But the bold members who had been elected in 1604 were members still; and in 1610, when they were summoned to Westminster, they rode up from all the towns and counties in England, determined to keep their ancient right of granting taxes. The House of Commons passed a Bill to say that impositions were in future to be unlawful; but the House of Lords refused to pass the Bill, and so it failed to become law. James had forbidden the Commons even to discuss the question, but they sent a letter to him in which they said, "We hold it an ancient, general, and undoubted right of Parliament to debate freely all matters which do properly concern the subject and his right or state." Then James determined to dissolve this first Parliament. This he did on January 14th, 1611, and except once for three short weeks, no other Parliament met till 1621.

This was the beginning of a struggle between the king and the House of Commons, which lasted for another thirty years, and which led to the great Civil War between Parliament and Charles I. During the ten years when he would not summon Parliament, James went on taking impositions; and he raised money in other ways, which Parliament would not have approved. The amount of money which he got from impositions increased so much that at last he got, in one year, £100,000. As long as the country was at peace, James got enough money for his needs.

But the time came when he wanted still more money. James had a daughter named Elizabeth, who had married a German prince, Frederick, ruler of a little country on the river Rhine. Frederick had offended the great King of Spain, and in 1620 he and his wife Elizabeth were driven from their happy home in Germany by a Spanish army. Elizabeth was so beautiful and gentle that she was sometimes called the Queen of Hearts; and James loved her dearly. He did not want to fight the King of Spain, but he wanted to show him that he could fight if he wished. So he summoned Parliament and asked for money to raise an army. It was ten years since the last important Parliament had met, and the members of the House of Commons were much afraid that James merely wanted to get money, and did not mean to go to war. So they used their privilege of free speech, and told the king that he ought to go to war at once with Spain. James told the Speaker to tell them that it was not their business. Then they voted that "Every member of the House of Commons hath, and of right ought to have freedom of speech," and much besides. James sent for the book in which the Clerk of the House of Commons had written these words, and tore out the page, in the presence of his council of ministers. Then he went down to the palace of Westminster, and dissolved Parliament. This was in 1622.

In spite of all these doings James had not lost entirely the affections of his people. In the last year of his reign, in 1624, he did a thing which won their hearts again; he declared war against the hated enemy Spain. He died in 1625 still believing himself to be much wiser and mightier than he was.

CHAPTER X. THE GROWTH OF DISCONTENT UNDER CHARLES I.* 1625–1634

In 1625, when James I. died, there came to the throne a man who looked every inch a king. Charles I. was tall and slender, with grave thin face. His very dress marked him as different from his father. In place of the clumsy quilted breeches and starched neck-ruffs of James I., he wore shapely breeches of silk or satin, a hanging cloak, a turned-down collar and cuffs of lace, and a large hat with ostrich feathers. Such graceful dress became the fashion in his reign. Charles, unlike his father, loved things beautiful and decorous. At his Court, lords and ladies soon learned that coarse and rude behaviour which had often been permitted by King James, would no longer be allowed.



Fig. 31.—Portrait of Charles I.
From a picture by Vandyke.

Charles was the second son of James I.; and until 1612, when his elder brother Henry died, he had been educated in the hope of one day being Archbishop of Canterbury. Charles dearly loved the Church of England; and in the churches, just as in his own Court, he

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter IX.

wanted stateliness and beauty. At this time many of the churches were ugly and bare, because the grave and earnest Puritans believed it wrong to care for outward show. By 1625, in London and the other large towns, most of the people were Puritans; and so were very many of the people in the country villages of the south and east. Thus, from the beginning, there was likely to be trouble between Charles and some of his people.

Charles had one great friend, George Villiers, who had the handsomest face of any man in England. He had begun life as the son of a simple country gentleman. James had made him Duke of Buckingham, and Lord High Admiral of England. This man had a proud and insolent manner, and spent money wastefully on dress and luxury; thus the Puritans disliked him very much. But Charles trusted him so much that he took his advice in everything. A second friend of Charles was William Laud, who in 1625 was Bishop of a diocese in Wales. He was a grave, earnest, and religious man, yet the Puritans soon hated him as much as they hated the Duke of Buckingham. For he, too, like Charles, disliked the ways of the Puritans in the churches.

Two months after his father's death the new king was married. His wife was a French princess, named Henrietta Maria, and was only fifteen years of age. Most French people were Roman Catholics. Soon after she came to London men learned that there were Roman Catholic priests amongst her followers, and that the king had given permission for Roman Catholic services to be held in a chapel in the Palace at Whitehall. Ever since Gunpowder Plot, the Puritans, and others besides, had had the utmost dread of Roman Catholics. They now began to fear that if the king and queen had children, these

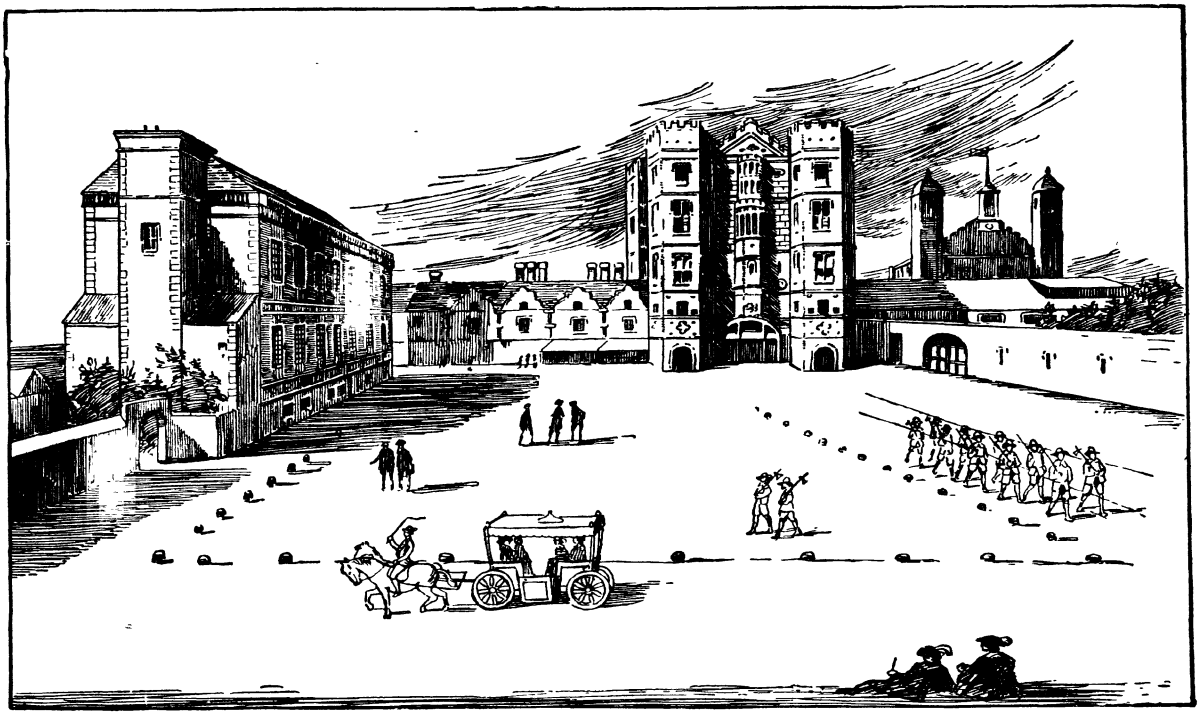


FIG. 32.—View of part of Whitehall Palace.

From the north, as it appeared in the reign of Charles I. On the left is the famous Banqueting Hall, built by Inigo Jones for James I. in 1622 From the second window on the first floor, Charles I. stepped to the scaffold for execution. The great gateway was built by Holbein for Henry VIII. Through it the road ran from Charing Village to Westminster Palace. Behind the low wall on the right was the tilt-yard, and beyond, St. James' Park. Behind the Banqueting Hall to the left was the rest of the Palace, stretching right down to the river.

would be brought up as Roman Catholics too. If this happened there would be a Roman Catholic king one day.

Meanwhile bad news reached England of the war with Spain. That country had sent an army into Germany, and just before James died, in mid-winter, twelve thousand English soldiers had been sent to fight the Spaniards; but there had been sent with them food for only five days, and men said that this was due to the bad advice given by Buckingham to the king. Ten thousand eight hundred of them died on the way, of hunger, cold and sickness, without ever seeing the enemy. It was a disgrace to England.

Thus it came about that when, in June, 1625, the first Parliament of Charles I.'s reign met at Westminster, the members already had feelings of distrust towards their young king. They grudged him money lest Buckingham should lead him to misspend it; therefore they gave him tunnage and poundage for one year only, instead of for life, as the custom was, and they would not grant him any other money. So Charles, in great indignation, dissolved Parliament and sent the members home again.

Soon a worse disaster happened in the war with Spain. We have seen how James I. angered the seamen by forbidding them to attack Spanish ships. Buckingham now determined to win great glory by sending a fleet to attack the Spanish port of Cadiz. But he did not look after his ships, nor did he trouble about good food, or strong, healthy men. Many men fell ill before the fleet sailed from Plymouth; when they got to sea, the ships began to leak, the ropes proved rotten, the food smelt bad, and the beer casks leaked. No wonder the men did not fight like Englishmen when they got to Cadiz. When some of these ships sailed back into Plymouth Sound, a Cornish

gentleman, named Sir John Eliot, watched them from the quay. He had sat in Parliament, and was a friend of Buckingham, but his blood boiled. He made up his mind that Buckingham should be punished for this.

In 1626, therefore, when the second Parliament met, the members demanded that Buckingham should be tried, and Sir John Eliot led them on. They refused to grant money till this was done. Charles, who loved Buckingham, dissolved his second Parliament without getting any money.

Charles was thus placed in great difficulty, because no war can be waged without money. Soon after this he quarrelled with his wife's brother, Louis XIII., king of France, and declared war upon him; Charles had now two enemies to fight. He believed firmly that he was in the right and Parliament in the wrong. Therefore in 1627 he determined to ask all the people of England to give him money. He sent for the judges, who were just then leaving London to hold the Assize Courts in all the county towns, and told them to explain to the people the difficulty that the king was in. But when a judge in the Assize Court got up in his great wig and red robes, the people, instead of giving the king money, shouted out, "A Parliament, a Parliament; else no subsidy." Now Charles knew that Queen Elizabeth had sometimes commanded her subjects to lend her money, and that none had refused. He therefore ordered all who usually paid taxes to lend him the money. Many people obeyed; but seventy-six gentlemen refused and were put into prison, and there they were kept without even a trial. Five of them demanded the reason, but they were told that it was by the king's command. One of these gentlemen was Mr. John Hampden, of Buckinghamshire. Poor men who refused to lend the money were seized and forced to go and

fight in France. All this roused great indignation. Englishmen had long been proud that, in their country, men could not be forced to pay money to the king without consent of Parliament, and could not be kept long in prison without any reason being given, and without being tried by a jury.

About this time news came that Englishmen had been disgracefully defeated in France. In those days, as you have read,* there was no standing army of soldiers living in barracks in time of peace, as our soldiers do, and constantly drilled to fight. When the king went to war abroad he got his soldiers as best he could, and usually he had to force men to serve. The village constables, who had to pick the men, took bribes to let men off, and so sturdy vagabonds and thieves, and poor and feeble men were often sent. When, in 1627, the troops from France came home again, because there were no barracks for them, farmers and citizens in many places were forced to take them to board and lodge in their houses. Some of the rough soldiers stole the farmers' eggs, and wrung the necks of their fowls, and grumbled at the food, and made the farm-kitchens filthy with their ways. If a farmer complained to the nearest justice of the peace, however, this gentleman told him that he had no power to punish soldiers, even by putting them in the stocks. For the soldiers were under martial law, which meant that only their own officers could judge them. This was of little use, because the officers often sided with their men. Sometimes the officers even caused ordinary men, who were not soldiers, to be hanged for disobeying them. All these things caused great discontent.

In 1628 Charles was obliged, through lack of money, to call his third Parliament. There came as members

* See page 43.

many famous country gentlemen. Sir John Eliot came riding up from Cornwall; John Hampden came from Buckinghamshire, and Oliver Cromwell came from Huntingdonshire. This Parliament drew up the famous Petition of Right, and forced Charles to sign it. By this he promised that no man should in future be compelled to pay "any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge without common consent by Act of Parliament." Further he promised that no man should be imprisoned without any reason being given merely because the king chose to command it. He also promised that soldiers and sailors should not be put to board in private houses; and, lastly, that officers in the army should not be allowed to try or condemn people in time of peace. When news came that the king had signed the Petition of Right, bells pealed out from the church towers of London, and bonfires blazed in the streets.

A few weeks later, in the summer of 1628, a fearful grief fell upon Charles I.; his friend Buckingham was murdered.

Although he had signed the petition, and the third Parliament had granted him some money, Charles soon disagreed with them again. In 1629 he dissolved his third Parliament, and did not call another for nearly eleven years.

In the years that followed, discontent grew rife. In 1628 Charles made William Laud Bishop of London, and in 1633 he made him Archbishop of Canterbury. Charles and Laud worked hard to put an end to Puritan ways. The Puritans thought that Sunday, or the Sabbath as they called it, should be very strictly kept; but Laud and Charles thought that it was good for poor people who worked hard all the week to have wrestling, archery, leaping, and even dancing on Sunday afternoon, if only

they first went to church in the morning. In 1633 Charles issued a Declaration of Sports allowing this, and ordered the clergymen to read it aloud in church one Sunday; many Puritan clergymen refused. Laud and Charles thought that a church building should be kept sacred; but Puritans thought it right to use the churches in all sorts of ways, as their forefathers had done for many hundreds of years. Thus even in Chaucer's day, in St. Paul's Cathedral in London people had met their friends, and merchants their customers; little children played in the aisles, and porters carried goods across from street to street. Laud made the people very angry by trying to put a stop to this in St. Paul's, and in all other churches. Laud thought it right to put pictures, and stained-glass windows in the churches, and to put a cross upon the Communion Table at the east end, and to put a railing in front of it; but Puritans thought it wrong to have these things in church, because they thought that outward things, however beautiful, would turn men's thoughts from God. When Laud made changes such as these, hundreds of Puritans left off going to church. Those who could afford it, sailed away from England to the wild forest land of North America, where they could worship God as they thought right. Others held secret services in fields and woods, and barns, and cottages.

Some bold Puritans, indignant with what was being done, wrote books against the bishops, or preached against them in sermons. But Archbishop Laud caused them to be summoned before the Court of Star Chamber, and there they were sentenced to terrible punishments. Three men were sentenced to be severely whipped, to stand for many hours in the great pillory at Westminster, to have their ears cut off, their noses slit, to pay a very

heavy fine, and at last to be imprisoned for life. The Court of Star Chamber, which had once defended the weak against the strong, thus became a hateful Court, where the strong injured the weak.

Thus, though Charles I. strove to rule England as a king should, all over England men grew wroth with him during the first ten years of his reign.

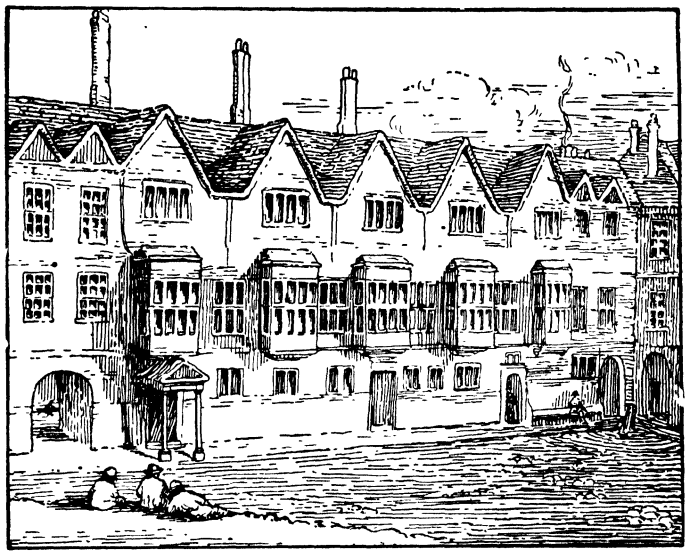


FIG. 33.—The Buildings in which the Court of Star Chamber sat, erected by Elizabeth in 1602.

From an old print published in 1808.

CHAPTER XI. SHIP MONEY IN ENGLAND, AND REBELLION IN SCOTLAND. 1634–1640

In the days when the Stuart kings were ruling in England, there lived along the north coast of Africa a race of fierce Moorish pirates. They obeyed no law, and respected no man's life, but sailed the high seas capturing whatever ships they could. They seized their merchandise and carried off their crews to terrible imprisonment. Now, King James I. and Charles I. after him, had let the navy, which the Tudor kings had built, fall into decay, so the Barbary Corsairs, as the pirates were called, soon began to despise English seamen. They found the English Channel, and even the river mouths, unprotected. They cruised about our coasts capturing defenceless merchant ships, and even sometimes landing in Devonshire and Cornwall, and plundering the farms along the shore.

King Charles I. did not like his country to be put to shame like this, so he called his Council together, and asked how he was to get money to rebuild the navy. Then they remembered that, in old days, when England was at war with other countries, the kings had made the men of the port towns give them a certain number of ships and men. They said that it must be right for Charles to do what other kings had done. The first time Charles did this, in the year 1634, men said little, and gave him the ships he wanted. But the next year, and the

year after, he did the same thing again. This time, moreover, he asked for help not only from people of the



FIG. 34.—Buckinghamshire in the days of John Hampden.

The spelling is old; thus Agmundesham stands for Amersham, and Alesbury for Aylesbury.

From a map published in 1646.

ports, whose ships were in danger of being attacked by pirates, but from every one in the country except the poorest people. Naturally men living inland had no

ships to give, so they were obliged to give money instead. It was really a new tax, and men called it Ship Money.

One day in the autumn of 1635, a man on horseback galloped away from Westminster, with a bag fastened to his saddle. He was a king's messenger, and in his bag he carried a number of "writs," or letters, sealed with the Great Seal of England, and addressed to the sheriffs of different counties. The letters told them to collect money to build ships for the year 1636. The messenger's horse was a good one, and in spite of the muddy roads, he galloped along at a fine pace. After a night's rest on the way, he came early next morning to Stowe, in the north-west of Buckinghamshire, where Sir Peter Temple, the High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, lived. Sir Peter welcomed him; but when he opened the writ, he shook his head. "It will be ill work, my friend," he said, "to raise this money for His Majesty."

When the messenger had gone on to take writs to other counties, the sheriff sat down and wrote letters to all the justices of the peace of Buckinghamshire. He asked them to come and help him arrange how to get the money. Then the constables in every village were told how much money every man and woman in their village was to pay; they, and some other men in the village, called assessors, were to collect the money. Before this happened, however, the news of ship money had spread through the county.

One of the leading gentlemen of the county was John Hampden, the squire of Great Hampden and Great Kimble. You remember that Mr. Hampden had already gone to prison in 1627, for refusing to lend money which the king asked for. He had been a member, too, of the Parliament of 1628, which had drawn up the Petition of Right. He

thought that things were going very ill with England. So it came about that when he heard that he was going to be asked to pay a new tax although there was no Parliament sitting, he sent for all his neighbours of Great Kimble and Great Hampden to come up to Hampden House. Mr. Thomas Lee, of Chequers, rode over on horseback, but the miller and the blacksmith, and all the farmers walked, and wished their boots were not quite so muddy. John and Jefferey Goodchild brought their old mother between them, and Widow Bampton and Widow Temple came together.

They all stood in the great room where they came to pay their rents when the manor court was held, and Mr. Hampden, with his beautiful sad face and long auburn hair came in and spoke to them. He told them that if the king could take their money whenever he liked he would never have to call another Parliament to ask for more. Then the farmers said, "Hear him," and Constable John Goodchild said, for his part, he would gladly have a Parliament at Westminster, which might stop Archbishop Laud from filling the churches with crosses, and putting a stop to godly preachers, as Pedlar Tom said was being done up and down the land. Mr. Hampden said that Constable John was quite right, and the best way to make the king call another Parliament was to refuse to give him money. So they all stamped their feet, and promised that they would not give a penny.

A few weeks later Constable Goodchild and Constable Rutland were told to call all the people of Great Kimble to meet them in the parish church on January 9th, and there to arrange how much ship money each of them must pay. On the day named they all came to the church, and the constables made a long list of what each owed. Here are some of the entries—

	s.	d.
John Hampden Esquier	31	6
Thomas Lee Esquier	41	3
Widow Bampton	10	0
Jefferey Goodchild	16	6
John Goodchild	19	3
Widow Goodchild	5	6
Widow Temple	16	6
Thomas Rutland	16	6

But underneath they wrote, "We returne our warrant of their names herein written for refusing to pay such portions of money as are here within assessed.

Peter Aldridge, Thomas Lane } *Assessors.*
John Goodchild, Thomas Rutland } *Constables.*"

Now, when the king heard that John Hampden had refused to pay ship money, he was very angry. He knew it was not because he could not afford 31*s.* 6*d.*, but because he believed it was wrong that he should be asked to pay a tax which Parliament had not granted. Charles was determined that it should be proved that it was right, so he summoned Hampden before the twelve judges for refusing to pay.

There was great excitement in London when the case was to be tried. Westminster Hall was filled with people, all hoping that John Hampden would win his case. But most of the judges believed that kings were made by God to rule their subjects as they thought best; therefore, though five of them dared to say that ship money was an unlawful tax, seven said it was lawful, and so John Hampden lost his case. But it was not all in vain that he had refused

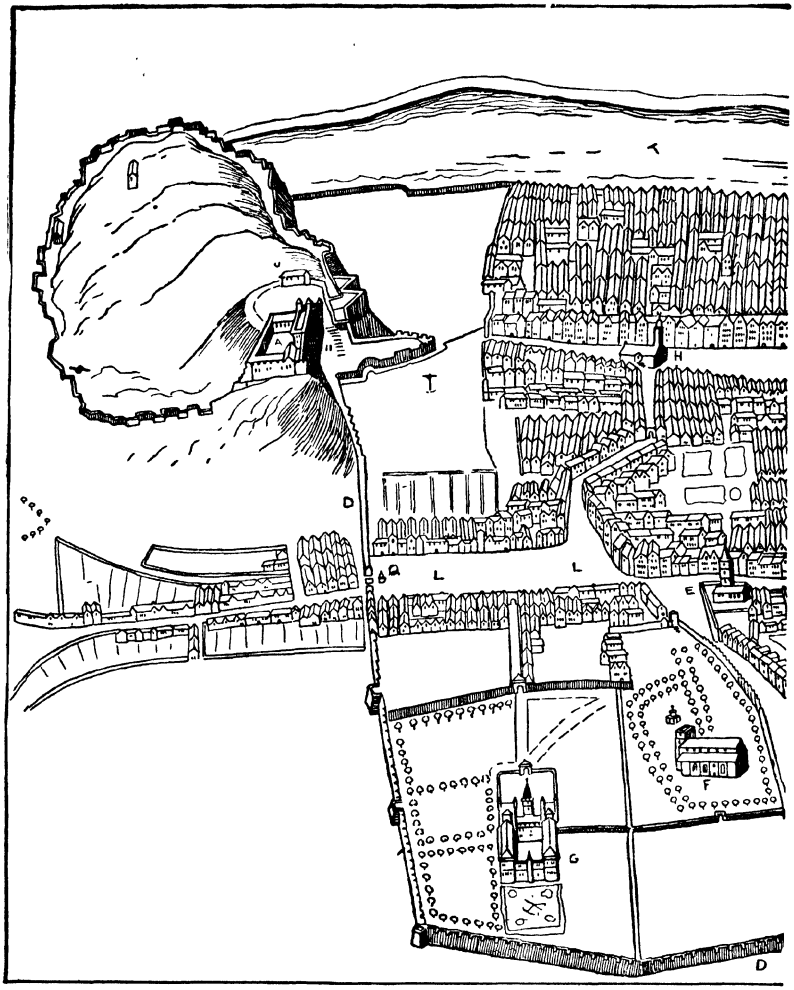
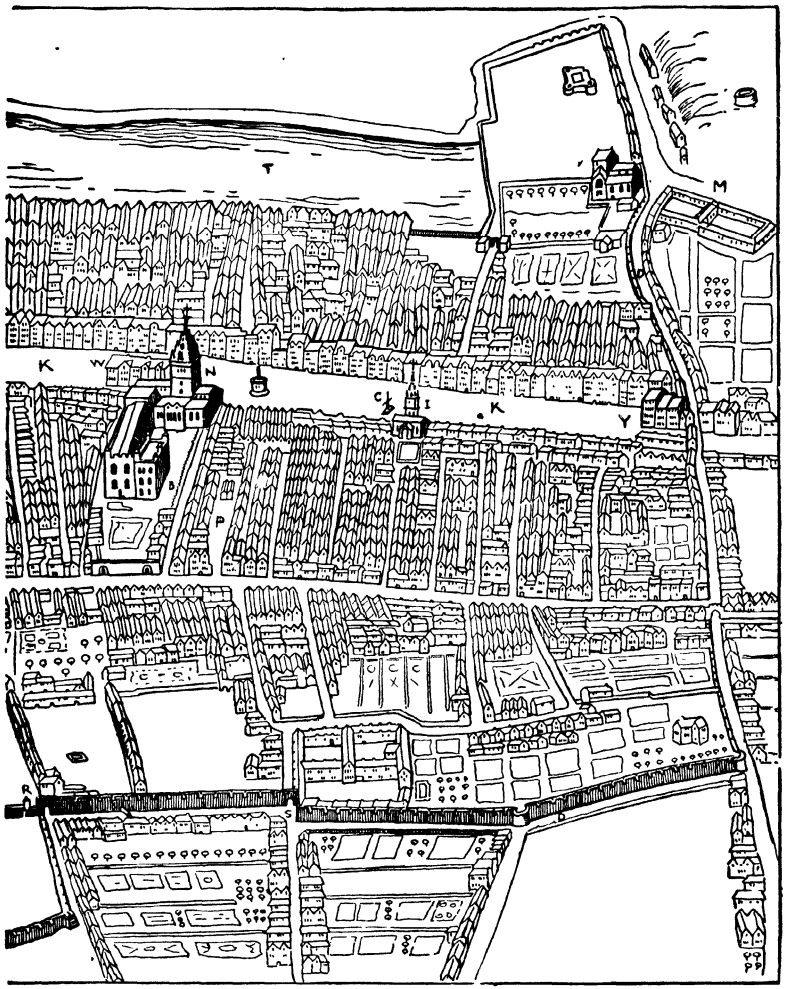


FIG. 35.—Bird's-eye view of Edinburgh in the seventeenth

The castle-rock lies to the west, and the hill slopes slowly downwards from west to east. To continuation of the High Street, and

A. The Castle.
B. The Parliament House.
C. The Market Cross.
D. D. D. The City Walls.
E. Maudlin Chapel.
F. The Greyfriars' Church and Churchyard.
G. Heriot's Hospital.
H. The Weigh House.
I. The Tron Kirk (built 1637–1647).
K. K. The High Street.
L. The Grassmarket.



century, showing the part enclosed within walls.

the east of the walled city lay the long street of houses known as the Canongate. It was led to Holyrood Palace on the east.

M. The Correction House.
N. St. Giles' Kirk, or the Great Kirk.
P. The Fish Market.
Q. The West Port (or Gate).
R. The Society Port.
S. The Potter-raw Port.
T. The lake which lay to the north of the hill on which the city was built.
U. The chapel in the castle.
W. The Tolbooth (used as a prison).
Y. The Nether-bolb Port This led to the street called Canongate, which was as long again as High Street: Holyrood Palace was at the further end.

to pay, for the trial made Englishmen think more seriously than ever before that their liberty was in danger.

But still they did not rebel, and perhaps they would never have done so, had it not been for the people of Scotland.

* * * * *

In the year 1633, about three years before John Hampden refused to pay ship money, King Charles went to visit Scotland, just as King George V. did soon after his coronation. Charles took with him Archbishop Laud, and they rode right up from London with a great cavalcade of courtiers and servants. As they got further north they noticed that the country became wilder and bleaker, and the people poorer, till when they reached Scotland itself they found them very poor indeed. Instead of having well-built houses, filled with shining pots and pans and clean sheets and napery, as English people were beginning to do, the Scots lived in very poor houses.

On Sundays the King and the Archbishop went to church, and they were sorry to see that the churches were almost as poor as the houses, no better than pigeon houses, they thought. For the Scots, like the English Puritans, cared more for fine sermons than for beautiful churches. The minister wore no surplice, but a long black gown and a white band round his throat. He did not use a Prayer Book, but uttered in prayer the thoughts which he believed that God put into his mind. The Scots believed, too, that God put into the minister's mind the sermons which he preached; and they thought the sermon even more important than the prayers. In Edinburgh, the rich ladies sent their maids to hear the prayers, and came in later to hear the sermon. When the minister had finished praying, the doors were thrown open, and all

the ladies of the town came in, and took the places their maids had been keeping for them. They settled down to listen to the sermon. The minister often preached for an hour, or an hour and a half, and all the Scots people listened very attentively. But Charles and Laud grew very tired of it, and longed for the music and the lights and the prayers and short sermons they were used to at home.

When Laud travelled further about the country he found that all the churches were alike. These things shocked the king and the archbishop very much, and when they went home they drew up a Prayer Book very like the English Prayer Book, and sent it to Scotland to be used in the churches.

This made the Scots very angry. They believed that the only right form of worship was the one which they used, and they did not see why they should now accept a Prayer Book from the English archbishop. One Sunday the people of Edinburgh heard that the bishop and the dean were going to use the new service book in the Cathedral of St. Giles. It was a summer morning, and the cathedral was filled with people dressed in their best. As soon as the dean began to read the prayers, the maid-servants who were keeping places for their mistresses, and the fishwives and shopkeepers, jumped to their feet and began crying out angrily, "The Mass is entered amongst us," for they thought that the Prayer Book service was just like the Roman Catholic Mass. They shouted all sorts of rude names at the dean, and a woman picked up a stool and tried to throw it at the bishop. Nothing that the bishop or the dean could do would make the people quiet, and at last the town councillors drove all the brawlers out of church. They locked the doors, but the women stood in the churchyard all through the rest

of the service, and hammered on the windows and threw stones.

As the news of the coming of the Prayer Book spread through the villages and towns of the Lowlands, the people were deeply moved. They stood about in little knots talking angrily and even weeping. As the weeks passed into months they determined to show the king what they thought. Some one wrote down on a piece of parchment a long promise binding every one who signed it to defend their religion "against all these contrary errors and corruptions . . . with our best counsels, our bodies, means, and whole power, against all sorts of persons . . . so that whatsoever is done to the least of us in that cause shall be taken as done to us all." This great promise was called the Covenant, and one dark February afternoon the parchment was taken to the old church of the Grey Friars in Edinburgh, and all the nobles and gentlemen of Scotland were called on to sign it. One of the first to sign was the young Earl of Montrose.* The light faded as one after another solemnly raised his right hand to heaven, and then signed his name beneath; but they went on by the dim light of candles until eight o'clock that night. The next day it was signed by ministers; and the day after the ordinary citizens and poor folk of Edinburgh were to sign. There were so many of these that there was no room in the old church, and the great parchment was carried out into the churchyard and laid on a tombstone, while the folk stood round very solemnly. Some of them even sobbed. After that, people travelled all over Scotland taking copies of the Covenant to the poorest cottages and the most distant villages, and persuading people to sign. Many of the people must have been much too ignorant to be able to do more than

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book III. Montrose.

put a cross in ink, but they did it with their whole heart none the less.

But since Charles still would not yield to his Scottish subjects, in 1639 they got together an army of strong, eager men, and prepared to fight. These Scots were first-rate soldiers. Charles called out the "trained bands" * of the northern counties of England. But they were poor fighters, and would much rather have been at home herding sheep and cattle, or following the plough. So there was no battle. The King made a truce, and called a Parliament, and asked for money to fight the Scots. But the members would talk of nothing but their own grievances. After three weeks, Charles sent them home again. This Parliament was called the Short Parliament, and it met in the spring of 1640.

Then Charles sent men to the villages in the south of England to force men to come and fight for pay. These hired soldiers were Puritans, and very unwilling to come. Therefore the English were soon beaten in the battle of Newburn, by the Scots.

Because the King was beaten, his Scottish subjects said that he must pay them all their expenses in the war, and also £850 a day so long as they had to remain in England waiting for the money. Charles had no money to give them, so he had again to call Parliament, and ask for a grant, not only to pay the wages of his own soldiers, but also to satisfy the demands of the Scots.

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., page 92

CHAPTER XII. THE SPLIT INTO PARTIES. 1640–1642

OCTOBER, 1640, was a busy time in England. The king had sent writs to the sheriffs, telling them to cause members to be elected for a new Parliament. In the towns on market days, farmers and shopkeepers stood about in groups discussing who would be the best man to send up to Westminster. Sometimes, as they sat over their ale and cheese in the inn, they would hear horses gallop up, and two gentlemen would come in. One was John Hampden, the other his friend, John Pym. They would step to the great log fire, and fall into talk with the farmers. They would bid them be sure to choose such Parliament men as would call the king's ill advisers to account, and prevent him from taking away the money and the liberty of his people. Then they would pass on to the house of the neighbouring squire, and have a like talk with him. Wherever they came, up and down the length of England, men cheered Mr. Hampden. There was scarcely a farmer, a shopkeeper, or a gentleman, who did not say they wished they might find as good a patriot to sit in Parliament for them.

When the elections began, town after town, and county after county, chose men who had refused to pay ship money, or who had voted in the last Parliament against the king. In the county of Buckingham the men of the borough of Wendover chose John Hampden. The men of Wycombe chose Sir Edmund Verney, a Buckinghamshire



FIG. 36.—New Palace Yard, Westminster.

This view is taken from the Water Gate leading from Westminster Stairs and the river. (*See plan, page* 83) The main entrance-gateway, leading from King Street and the royal palace of Whitehall, can be seen at the further end of the Yard, beyond the fountain.

From a print by Hollar, in 1647.

gentleman, who lived at Middle Claydon, in the north-west of the county. The men of Aylesbury chose Sir Edmund's son, Sir Ralph. Early in November, these three, and the eight other gentlemen who had been chosen by the county and boroughs of Buckingham-shire, said good-bye to their wives and children, and rode up to London in high spirits. Sir Edmund and Sir Ralph went together to their house in Covent Garden. From here, every morning before eight o'clock, they rode past the pleasant houses along the Strand, through the palace of Whitehall, and down King Street, to New Palace Yard. Here they dismounted and joined the throng of gentlemen in high-crowned hats and short cloaks, who were hurrying into the Commons' House. As they passed through the little lobby into the House they exchanged greetings with Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden, who always sat side by side near the entrance. When they had taken their seats, Sir Ralph drew out paper and pencil, with which to take notes of all that he heard. Those notes are still kept in Claydon House in Bucking-hamshire, where he lived. They tell of the earnest speeches which were made, and the great work which was done, in the first months of the sitting of the Long Parliament, as it was afterwards called.

In a few weeks, the House passed Bills saying that the king must never again take either ship money, or tunnage and poundage, without the consent of Parliament. They put an end to the Court of Star Chamber, because Charles and Laud had used it to prevent men from freely saying or writing what they thought. Because Charles had tried to rule without the advice of Lords and Commons, they said that in future not more than three years should ever pass without a Parliament being called. If the king did not send out the writs by a certain date, they might be

sent out by any twelve members of the House of Lords. Finally, because they thought that Charles would not have ruled so badly if he had not been badly advised, they imprisoned old Archbishop Laud in the Tower; they tried and executed the king's other chief councillor, the great Wentworth, who was now Earl of Strafford.

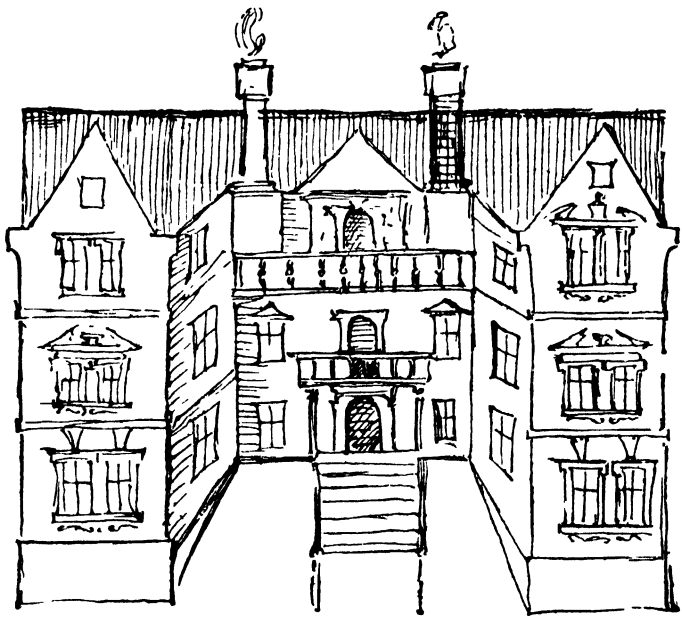


FIG. 37.—The north front of Claydon House, Buckinghamshire.

The home of Sir Edmund and Sir Ralph Verney, from a pencil sketch made in the seventeenth century. This shows the entrance courtyard, with a porch leading to the great Hall and to the kitchen In one of the great chimneys was a secret chamber, big enough to hold ten men, and quite dark.

Ever since Charles was a boy of fifteen, Sir Edmund Verney had been one of his servants, and he loved the king. Yet between the debates as he paced up and down Westminster Hall arm-in-arm with Sir Ralph or with Mr. Hampden, he agreed that it was well to take from him his evil advisers and the means by which he oppressed his people. There were many other gentlemen too, who

loved the king in this way. Yet, through all these months, none of them voted against the Bills which John Pym and John Hampden and others laid before them.

When winter had passed into spring, and spring into summer, however, the work of taking away the powers which Charles had used against the liberty of his people was almost done. Then men began to turn their attention to another question. Archbishop Laud was safe in the Tower, but there were still bishops sitting in the House of Lords who thought as he did about the Church. There were still, also, many churches where beautiful stained glass remained in the windows, and pictures and images of the Virgin Mary and other saints on the walls and in niches over the doors. Still, too, in many villages the people practised archery on Sunday afternoon, and danced on the green. Now many of the members of Parliament were Puritans, and thought these things very wrong. They believed, too, that people would pray more from their hearts if they prayed in their own words, than if they used the Prayer Book, which seemed to Puritans very like the Roman Catholic Mass Book. Most of them, moreover, hated the bishops because of the way in which they had treated Puritans.

So it came about that Bills were brought into Parliament to do away with the Prayer Book, and to take away images and stained glass and candlesticks from the churches, and to do away with the power of bishops. Before they were passed the plague broke out in London, and the members had to go home for a time; but some people were so moved by the Puritan ideas that they acted as though they had been already made into laws. Men broke into the churches, and tore down altar rails, and smashed windows. Tailors and weavers and other humble men began to preach. Now, there were few men in

those days in England who loved the bishops, and fewer still who liked the king's arbitrary rule; but there were many who loved the Prayer Book, which had been used by their fathers before them. Such men were terribly shocked when they saw the damage that was being done in the churches, and they shook their heads when they heard folk praying in their own simple words, instead of in the stately language of the Prayer Book.

Thus, when the members of the Long Parliament came up to Westminster again on October 20th, 1641, they were not so well agreed as they had been in the earlier months of the year. The debates in the Commons' House grew longer and more angry. Men would spring to their feet suddenly to answer one another. Sir Ralph found it more and more difficult to write down all that they said, and his notes are full of crooked pencil marks, where some one beside him jumped up suddenly, or brushed past him in a hurry and shook his arm. While this was happening in Parliament, the king wrote a letter, in which he said that he was resolved to die in defence of the Church of England. This brave declaration made many men who had once distrusted him, feel that their religion was safe in his hands. But it made Puritans think that he would never consent to do away with the Prayer Book or with bishops. Thus excitement grew.

On November 22nd, in answer to the King's letter, Pym read out to the members a declaration known as the Grand Remonstrance. This was a long statement of all the wrongs which Charles had done, and of the things which Parliament had done to set them right. Men like Sir Edmund Verney felt that this Remonstrance was an insult to the king. There was a hot debate. Instead of rising at one o'clock, or even at four in the afternoon, as

they had done in the earlier months of the Parliament, members sat on. The sun set. The light faded from the beautiful hall. Candles were brought in, and set on the table in front of the Speaker. At midnight the members still discussed and wrangled, their tempers growing hotter as they grew more tired. At length one speaker said something which made anger flare up. Men jumped to their feet waving their hats in the air. Many drew their sheathed swords from their belts. There was an uproar which only Mr. Hampden's presence of mind could quell. At last, at four o'clock in the early morning, they trooped wearily home to bed. One hundred and fifty-nine members had voted for the Remonstrance, and one hundred and forty-eight against. The House which had voted as one man against ship money, was now divided into two almost equal parts about the Church.

But it was not only in Parliament that men's tempers were growing high. Angry mobs of Puritan apprentices came down from the City to Westminster to hoot at the bishops as they went to the House of Lords. Courtiers went to Whitehall wearing their swords. More than once there was a scuffle in the street between these "Cavaliers," as they were called, and the short-haired "Roundhead" apprentices. Soldiers had to be set to protect Westminster Abbey. An armed guard waited always in the king's Presence Chamber. London citizens shut up their shops for fear of violence, and men began to whisper of war. In January the king went to the Parliament House with a band of armed men, and tried to arrest Mr. Pym and Mr. Hampden, and three other leaders of the Commons. But they were warned, and, escaping down Parliament Stairs, were taken by boat to the City, where the Londoners received them as heroes. "I do not see any of them," muttered the king, as he

strode up the Parliament House between the scowling members. "Mr. Speaker, do you see any of them? Where are they?" The Speaker fell on his knees before Charles; "May it please your Majesty," he said, "I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as this House is pleased to direct me." "Well," said the king, "I see all the birds are flown;" and he turned and walked gloomily to the door, as the members cried, "Privilege! Privilege!" For, you remember, it was one of their privileges that they, and they alone, should punish their members for any wrong done or spoken by them.

After that the king went away from London, not to return until he came back to die.

All through the spring and summer of 1642, men and women longed for peace, but knew that war was at hand. "For my part if I hear but a door creak I take it to be a drum," wrote Sir Ralph Verney's aunt. Men's hearts grew heavy, as they knew they must take sides. Sir Edmund Verney left Westminster to join the king at York. On his way, he stayed with an old friend of his, Lady Sussex. "Your father," she wrote to Sir Ralph, "I find is full of sad thoughts."

It was indeed a sad time for him. He was torn between his belief in Parliament and liberty, and his love for the king. "For my part," he said, "I do not like the quarrel; I do heartily wish the king would yield . . . but I have eaten his bread and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him." Then came a worse blow. His son, Sir Ralph, whom he loved very dearly, took the side of Parliament. "He hath ever lain near my heart," wrote Sir Edmund, "and truly he is there still"; but he was "infinitely melancholy" at the difference between them. Everywhere, up and

down the land, such separations were taking place, brother taking arms against brother, father against son, and friend against friend, while the women's hearts were torn between the two sides.

All the summer men were fortifying their houses and selling their plate and jewels, to raise men and horses for king or Parliament. On August 22nd, 1642, the king set up his standard at Nottingham. Sir Edmund Verney was standard bearer. It was a stormy evening as he and twenty others bore their great banner out from the castle into the field. Here the king and the Prince of Wales, and a small crowd of courtiers, soldiers, and townsfolk stood ready to meet it with a blare of trumpets. The little gathering threw up their hats and cried, "God save the King," as the great flag, bearing the royal arms and a hand pointing to the crown, floated upon the wind. Suddenly a great storm of wind arose, and blew the standard to the ground, and it was two days before it could be set up again. Men thought, sadly, that it was an evil omen. It was ill work rallying round a fallen banner.

Lines addressed by John Milton, to the Long Parliament in 1644, when many men were busy discussing deep matters of religion:—

"Lords and Commons of England, consider what Nation it is whereof ye are the governours: a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious, and piercing spirit. . . . Behold now this vast city: a city of refuge, the mansion house of liberty, encompast and surrounded with God's protection; the shop of warre hath not there more anvils and hammers waking to fashion out the plates and instruments of armed Justice in defence of beleaguer'd Truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas. . . . Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making."

CHAPTER XIII. THE CIVIL WAR.* 1642–1649

LONDON, in the late summer of the year 1642, was a strange place to live in. Merchants were carrying the silver dishes of which their houses were full to the mint, to have them melted down into money for the Parliament. Apprentices were practising musketry in the Artillery Gardens, and then bidding good-bye to their masters and friends, and marching out to join the Parliamentary Army. The House of Commons had scarcely half the number of members in it that had sat there in the early part of the year. Those who, like Sir Edmund Verney, loved the king and the Prayer Book, had gone to serve under the royal standard. Many of those who were Puritans, and those who loved liberty better than loyalty, were away from Westminster, raising men and money for Parliament. The Earl of Essex had left the House of Lords to serve as General in the army of the Parliament. John Hampden had been made a Colonel, and his cousin, Oliver Cromwell, who had been " very much hearkened to " in the debates of the last year, was Captain of a troop of sixty horse.

Every one believed that the war would soon be over. The king had but little money, and as long as he stayed at Nottingham few men came to his standard. Parliament, on the other hand, was levying taxes, and the rich townsfolk, who were nearly all on the Roundhead side,

* See P. P Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter X.

gave their money freely. You remember reading in Book V. that both sides tried to raise the trained bands of the counties, but that most of them were ill-drilled, and refused to fight away from their own counties. The trained bands of London were an exception. They had been well drilled every month for years past. The apprentices, who formed them, had seen the Puritan writers stand in the pillories in Palace Yard, had helped to hoot at the bishops, and had crossed swords with insolent cavaliers outside Whitehall Palace. The memory of these things made them hate the king's government, and they were ready to fight for liberty anywhere.

Other people besides the London trained bands flocked to join the Earl of Essex. Some of them were apprentices from the towns, glad of an excuse for a holiday. Others were gentlemen's servants, who had lost their places from age or misconduct. Some were men who generally loafed about outside ale-houses. They were glad enough to put on the orange scarf which was generally the badge of the Parliamentary army, to shoulder musket or pike, and to see new places and new people. There was plenty of fun to be had by the way. The soldiers thought it was quite fair play to ill-treat any one whom they believed to be a Papist or a Royalist. They stole the deer from their parks, broke open their houses, and carried off all they could find. Sometimes they forced men to give them whole loaves and cheeses, which they carried off on the points of their swords with loud laughter and rude jokes. Because they were fighting partly against the ideas of Archbishop Laud, they thought it right to break into churches. They threw down and burnt the altar rails, defaced the pictures broke the windows, tore up the surplices to make handkerchiefs. Once, when they came into Hereford Cathedral in service

time, they danced in the nave to the solemn singing of the choir.

The Earl of Essex hardly knew what to make of such an army. He himself had brought his coffin with him because he meant to die in the cause, but he could not make his men feel as he did, nor would they obey him when he gave orders that they were not to plunder Royalists or despoil churches.

In the mean time the king had marched over to the west of England, and there men had flocked to his banner. Though his foot soldiers were many of them pressed men, and much like those of the Parliamentary army, his cavalry were very different. They were most of them noblemen or the sons of noblemen. They had splendid horses, and had learnt to ride as children. What was more important was that they believed, as their fathers had believed before them, that a nobleman must have noble ideas. He must be utterly fearless in the face of danger or death, but he must dread dishonour with his whole soul. They believed that honour for them now lay in risking their lives and their fortunes for their king. So it came about when the two armies met, at the battle of Edgehill, north of Oxford, that the Royalists were not swept away as the Roundheads had expected. On the contrary, their cavalry carried all before them. They could not quite defeat the Parliamentarians, but they hoped to be able to do so by and by, when their foot soldiers were better trained. Captain Cromwell, as he watched the Parliamentary foot scatter before the Royalist horse, saw what was wrong. "Your troops," he said to Colonel Hampden, "are most of them old decayed serving men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; their troops are gentlemen's sons. . . . Do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will

ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour and courage and resolution in them ? You must get men of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go." What he meant was that Parliament must find soldiers who feared God and loved liberty, in the same way as the cavaliers loved the king and feared dishonour. The Earl of Essex and Colonel Hampden thought this a good notion, but did not see how to put it into practice, so Captain Cromwell went away to the county of Cambridgeshire, where he now lived, to do what he could by himself.

The people of the five eastern counties, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, and Cambridgeshire, were most of them strong Puritans. They determined that the king should not send an army into their counties, and they joined together in an Association, called the Eastern Association, to raise and support an army of their own to keep him out. In this army Cromwell now served. During the year 1643, more and more men came to join his troop, till at last he had a whole regiment, and was made Colonel. This regiment soon became very different from any other in the army. When men came to ask whether they might serve in it, the Colonel did not inquire whether they were gentlemen or no. He only cared that they should be " honest and godly." Once in the regiment, if they used an oath, or were found drunk, they were fined twelve pence. No one was allowed to plunder or steal. They fought for their religion, and loved what they fought for. " I have a lovely company," wrote Cromwell, in September, 1643, " they are honest, sober Christians : they expect to be used as men." So it came about that the people who lived in the eastern counties did not dread the soldiers as did people in the rest of England. If a troop of these " Ironsides " was

quartered in a village the men came and asked civilly for a lodging. They did not make the house dirty and disorderly with their ways. At night and on Sundays

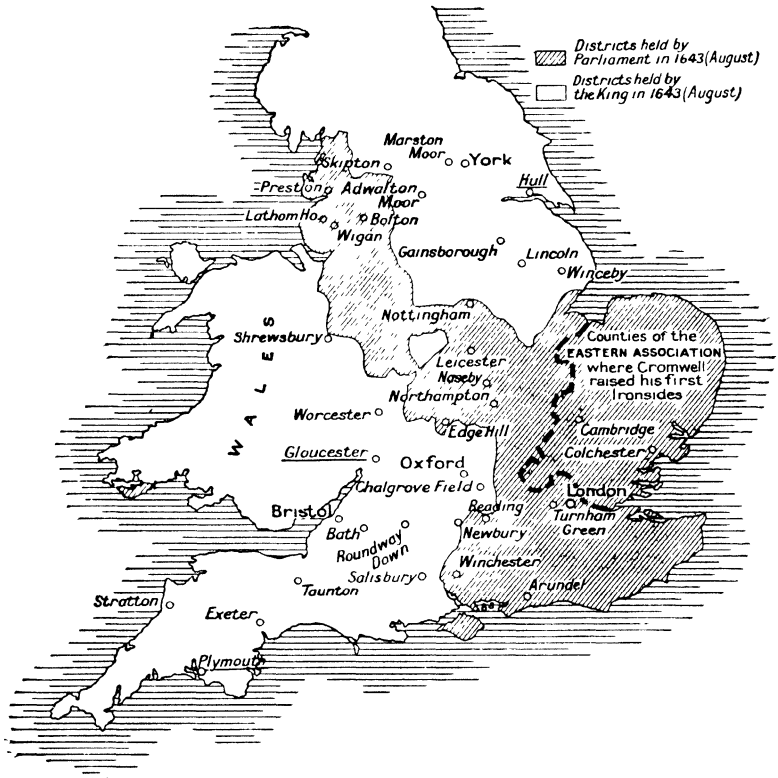


FIG. 38.—Map to illustrate the Civil War in 1643.
In the districts held by the King, the cities underlined remained faithful to Parliament.

they sang psalms and read the Bible with the family, and when they left they paid honestly for their food.

In August, 1643, the king held the west of England, and almost all the north, as you can see in the map. He had three armies on foot. One was in Yorkshire, one had marched from Cornwall, through Devonshire to

Somerset; and one, with Charles himself at its head, was besieging Gloucester. Charles knew that if only he could capture London he would be victorious. But London, with its walls and its trained bands, was not easy to take. He determined that all his three armies should march upon it at once, and so attack it from three sides. It was a wise plan, and might well have succeeded if the king could have taken Gloucester, and if the march of the northern army had not been blocked by Cromwell's Ironsides. When it was known that the Royalists were marching south, Cromwell led his men into Lincolnshire. There, in October, 1643, outside the little hamlet of Winceby, the two armies met. As the Puritans rode towards the Royalists they began to chant some of the great psalms which tell how the Lord of Hosts fights for His people. Suddenly Cromwell broke into a charge before which the enemy scattered. They fled through the village and through Horncastle town. Many were slain, many were taken prisoners; the rest rushed on, only to be swallowed up and drowned in the watery marshes of the fen country beyond. Cromwell had spoilt the king's plan of advancing on London, and had proved that his "men of religion" were a match for the Royalist "gentlemen of honour."

Still, however, Charles was not beaten, for the Parliamentary armies in the west and south were not like Cromwell's Ironsides. The next year the King determined to try again to bring his three forces against London. This time Parliament determined to stop the army from the north with a much bigger force than had fought at Winceby. Three armies were joined into one. Thus the Parliamentary force was made up partly of the Ironsides, partly of a force under Cromwell's friend, Lord Fairfax, and partly of the Scots, who were now

once more in England fighting against the king. On July 2nd, 1644, they met the king's northern army on Marston Moor, a great stretch of heathy country outside York. At seven o'clock on that summer evening a fierce battle began. As the sun set and dusk descended, it seemed as if the whole air was on fire with the flash and smoke from the Scottish guns. Again and again Cromwell charged at the head of his cavalry. The king's foot soldiers were mown like hay by the swords of the Ironsides. His cavalry gave way. About ten o'clock, as the last light faded from the sky, the Royalists were all scattered. "Give glory—all the glory—to God," wrote Cromwell.*

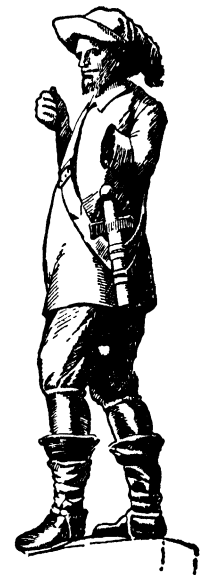


FIG. 39.—A pikeman of the New Model Army.

Drawn from the carvings on the handrail of the staircase at Cromwell House, Highgate, which was built in Cromwell's lifetime. The great pike in the right hand has been broken off.

People now began to ask each other why it was that the king could not be defeated in the west and south, as he was defeated in the north. Wise men saw that Cromwell and his "men of religion" could do what Lord Essex and his army of ordinary soldiers would never do. The Ironsides were fighting for all that they held most dear, and they meant to win. But Lord Essex was afraid to win too completely, because Charles was his king. Seeing this, in the winter of 1644 Parliament determined to make a new kind of army, which was to be as nearly as possible like the Ironsides. The command was taken away from Lord Essex and given to Cromwell's friend, Lord Fairfax, and after a little while Cromwell himself was made Lieutenant-General, and thus was put in

* See Cromwell's letter in the Appendix, page 287.

command of all the cavalry in the army. The New Model Army, as this force was called, could not be entirely made up of godly men, such as the Ironsides. But though perhaps at first only one in twenty believed that they were fighting God's battles, these few were so full of zeal, that the rest soon began to think as they did. Fairfax and Cromwell were very different men from Lord Essex, and drunkenness, swearing and plundering were as strictly punished in the New Model Army as they had been among the Ironsides. The men all wore red coats instead of the old orange badge, and thus, for the first time in history, there were British red-coats.



FIG. 40.—A musketeer of the New Model Army.

From Cromwell House, Highgate.

He wore over his shoulders the leathern belt, from which hung small tins of powder. In his right hand he carried a rest for the heavy musket. The sword has been broken.

The result of the formation of the New Model Army was soon seen. In June, 1645, the king was utterly defeated at Naseby. After that the Royalist cause was hopeless. Loyal men still fortified their houses and tried to hold them against Parliament, but one after another fell.

Now a new difficulty arose. You remember that the Scottish Church was very different from the English Church. The English Church is ruled by Archbishops and Bishops The Scottish Church is ruled by Ministers, and by elected laymen who are called Elders. The Scottish Church is called Presbyterian, from a Greek word Presbyter, which means elder. Parliament and the Scots now wanted to force all Englishmen to belong to a church of this kind, just as Charles

and Laud had wanted them all to belong to a church which used the English Prayer Book and had music and lights and pictures to beautify the services. In the army, on the other hand, were many men who thought that each congregation should be allowed to rule itself, and to worship as it thought right, and should not be ruled even by elected Elders. These men called themselves Independents, and a bitter quarrel began between them and the Presbyterians.

Charles had no longer an army, and all his money was gone; he himself was a prisoner, but in the quarrel between the army and Parliament he thought he saw a chance to regain his power. First of all he allowed the Scots and Parliament to think that if they would make peace with him he would set up a Presbyterian Church. Then he told the army that if they would help him he would allow every man to worship as he thought best. Thus, through the years 1646, 1647, and 1648, men waited, not knowing whether to obey king, army, or Parliament. The army, too, waited, trusting that the king would grant them the liberty to worship as they thought right, for they had fought for this.

Suddenly, in 1648, came news that the Scots had a third time marched into England. This time they had come, not as friends of the Parliament, but as friends of the King. For Charles had written to ask them to come to his aid.

At this news, Cromwell and the army lost all patience with the king. At Windsor the officers met in a solemn prayer-meeting. They vowed that if God gave them victory over the Scots, and brought them safely home again, they would bring "Charles Stuart, that man of blood," to account for all the blood that he had shed. Then the army started for the north. This time Cromwell

was in supreme command, for the first time in his life. He met the Scots at Preston, in Lancashire, in August, 1648, and cut them to pieces in a fearful battle which lasted for three days. Then the army marched south again.

They knew that many in the Parliament still reverenced the king; so, in December, 1648, they posted an army officer, called Colonel Pride, at the door of the House of Commons with a list of names. He turned away one hundred and fifty members of Parliament who were thought to be too loyal to the king.

Then they brought Charles up to London. Very solemnly they tried him in Westminster Hall, in January, 1649, and they condemned him to death.

On January 30th, 1649, Charles stepped out to execution from a window of the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall on to a scaffold which had been erected in the entrance courtyard of the palace. He was not a wise man and he was a bad ruler, but he was brave, and stately, and a king.

"He nothing common did nor mean
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye
The axe's edge did try;

Nor called the gods with vulgar spite
To vindicate his helpless might;
But bow d his comely head
Down as upon a bed."

A great crowd of soldiers and citizens stood silent in the courtyard below the scaffold. When the executioner held up the king's bleeding head for them to see, the soldiers shouted, but many of the people wept. It seemed to them, in that moment, that all the old things which they and their fathers had loved and reverenced had been swept away.

CHAPTER XIV. THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE.* 1649–1660

In February, 1649, the king was dead; and the House of Lords had been abolished. Three-quarters of the House of Commons had disappeared. Some, like Sir Edmund Verney, had been killed in the war; others who were Royalist, had fled to Holland with young Charles Stuart; others had been driven out by the army in December, 1648, for trying to make terms with Charles I. The bishops, too, were gone, and numbers of the clergy. Churches stood empty on Sundays, or were filled with crowds come to listen to preaching soldiers and to men of very humble station. Some of these, like John Bunyan, were God's saints, and taught men to be holy as well or better than the most learned bishops. Others were vain and ignorant men, not good enough themselves to teach others to be good. Men began to ask what was going to happen next. At first "the Rump," as people called the remains of the Long Parliament, seemed to have an answer ready. They said that the Kingship and the House of Lords were "useless, dangerous and fit to be abolished," and that England was a free Commonwealth, to be ruled only by the people's chosen representatives in the House of Commons.

But the Rump did not represent the people of England in 1649. It was nine years since it had been chosen.

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter XI.

Men's minds had changed in that time, and, moreover, less than a quarter of the members remained. Every one thought that writs would be issued for an election, and that a new House of Commons would sit at Westminster. Some men hoped that its members would make every one join the Presbyterian Church; some hoped that they would say that all were free to worship as they thought best. Others again thought that all the waste land of England should be given to the poor to plough and till, so that every man might have sufficient food and clothing, and no one have too much. Others said that no Parliament need sit for long, for Christ was coming back to earth with His saints to be King over His people. In the mean time, however, the Rump sat on, and no new law was made about the Church. Everything remained in confusion. Month after month passed. At length members declared war on the Dutch, being jealous because there were more Dutch than English merchant ships on the high seas. This meant that men had to pay heavy taxes to find ammunition and food and clothes for the sailors. Moreover, the Dutch stopped English ships bringing coal from Newcastle to London. Cookshops had to be shut up because there was no coal with which to bake. Many a child, in the early spring of 1653, went hungry and cold to bed, because there was no bread to be had, and coal cost three times as much as it should have done. Poverty and hunger added to the general discontent.

One day, in April, 1653, men who lived in King Street, Westminster, heard the tramp of soldiers' feet. It was a sound which had grown familiar in the last twelve years, but those who now had the curiosity to glance through their lattices saw an odd sight. The Lord General Cromwell was marching by, dressed



FIG. 41.—The interior of Westminster Hall.

As it appeared in the eighteenth century. Members of Parliament on their way to the House of Commons in the seventeenth century walked up the Hall, and then turned to the left, just before reaching the flight of steps. (*See the plan of Westminster.*) In the eighteenth century they went up the flight of steps, and through the small door under the window. To the right of the flight of steps sat the Court of Chancery, and to the left the Court of King's Bench. On either side of the Hall were book-shops for lawyers.

in a plain black suit, and a pair of grey worsted stockings. After him came some twenty or thirty red-coated musketeers, with guns over their shoulders. Down King Street they swung, and round the corner through the old gateway into New Palace Yard. Surely the Lord General was not going to Parliament in such shabby clothes, and with soldiers following him? The stall-keepers who sold food and drink outside Westminster Hall were all agog. It was as exciting as the day on which King Charles came to arrest the five members.

In Westminster Hall Cromwell left the soldiers, and pushed on with a stern face, through the lobby, into the House of Commons. There he sat down for a quarter of an hour. As he had expected, members were discussing a Bill which said that the present Parliament was never to be dissolved. Cromwell's face grew darker every moment. His heart was heavy. For months he had waited for the Rump to dissolve itself. He loved English liberty, and the rights of English Parliaments well. He had fought for them when he would rather have been at home watching the ploughing of his fields, and the draining of his lands. As for his own power, he knew it was the might of his sword and the obedience of his soldiers which had won it for him, not the will of the people. He disliked wielding power won merely by force of arms. Night and day he had prayed passionately to God that he might not be forced to use his soldiers to dissolve Parliament. Now it seemed to him that it was God's will that he should act.

Suddenly he got to his feet, and taking off his hat began to speak, at first calmly; then as his anger got the better of him he stamped to and fro. "It is not fit that you should sit here any longer!" he cried. "Call them in!"; and as the tramp of the musketeers echoed

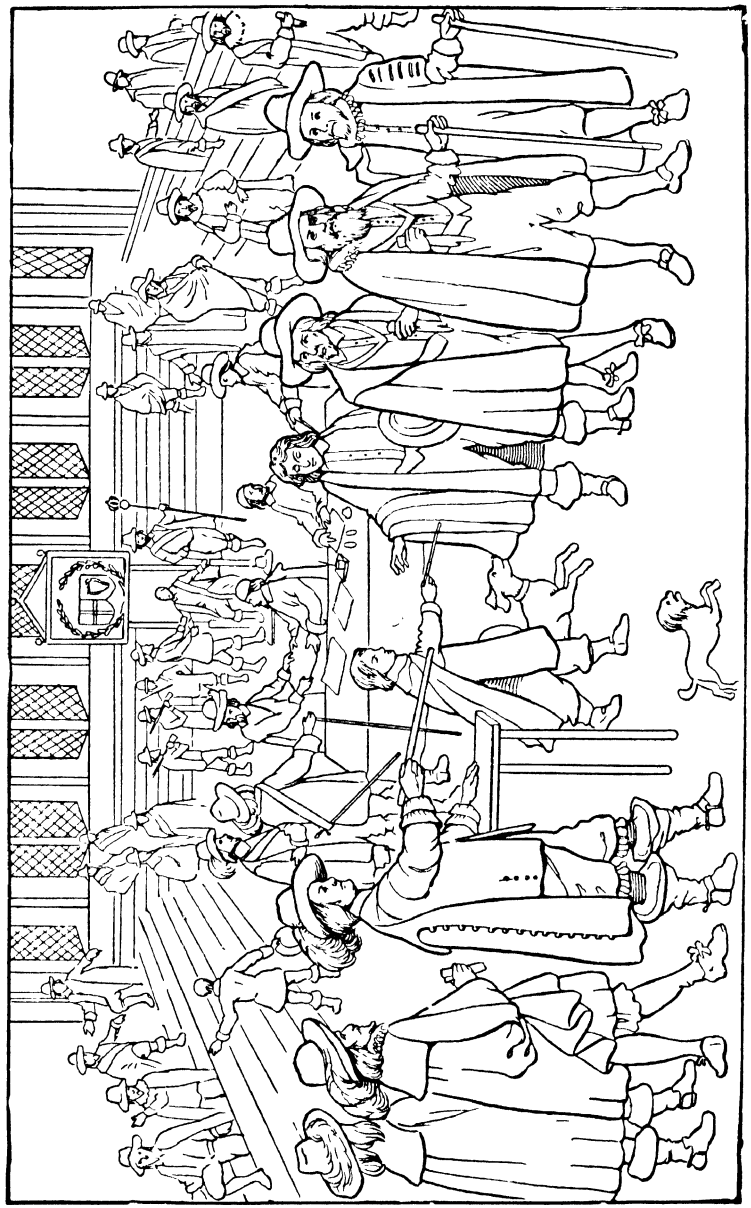


FIG. 42.—The Lord General Cromwell dismissing the Rump.

Drawn from a print made at the time. Cromwell stands in the foreground on the left, and Colonel Lambert behind him.

across the floor, "You are no Parliament," he shouted: "I say, you are no Parliament!" Members scrambled to their feet, astonished and indignant. But one soldier helped the Speaker down from the chair. Another carried off the mace—the sign of the power of the Commons, as the crown and sceptre are the sign of the power of the king. Members filed out, half sullen half frightened. Last of all, the Lord General and his soldiers came out and locked the door. After thirteen years the Long Parliament was dissolved. That night London was in high spirits. Some one for a joke wrote on the locked door of the empty Commons' House, "This house to be let unfurnished."

But difficulties had only just begun. Parliament was gone, and no writs had been issued for a new election, and who now had the power to issue them? There was no King, no Parliament, no Church. Only the army was left, and Englishmen do not like to be ruled by soldiers. Moreover, Cromwell and his soldiers knew that a free election would not secure the things that they had fought for. They had fought that all men might be free to speak, and think, and worship God as they thought right. But if men were allowed to vote freely, Royalists would choose members who would try to bring back Prince Charles as Charles II., and force all men to use the Prayer Book; Presbyterians would choose members who would persecute the Church of England and the Independents. Other people would obey neither king nor Parliament, because they were waiting for the coming of Christ, and the reign of the Saints.

At first the army tried to get all the Independents of England to help them to choose a Parliament, composed of men who, they thought, would uphold the Commonwealth and the right of all Christians to worship freely

This failed, however, and at last they drew up a document called the Instrument of Government. They said that England was to be ruled by a Protector and a House of Commons. They chose Oliver Cromwell, as the greatest man in England, to be Protector.

His government, from 1653 to 1658, is known as the Protectorate. It was different from the Commonwealth, under which England was ruled by the House of Commons alone. It was different also from the monarchy of the Tudors and Stuarts, because the Protector was chosen for his office instead of being born to it, and because he was bound by very strict rules to call a Parliament at least once every three years. He was bound also to allow it to sit for five months, and was obliged to share his power with it, as Henry VIII. and Elizabeth and Charles I. had never done.



FIG. 43.—Portrait of Cromwell.
From the National Portrait Gallery.

On December 16th, 1653, Cromwell, dressed in a black velvet suit and cloak, and with a plain gold band round his hat, went to Westminster Hall to be installed as Lord Protector. It was a great occasion. The judges were there in their scarlet robes, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London City in their chains and ermine. Whitehall and King Street were lined with soldiers, and many folk turned out to see the state coaches go by—used for the first time for thirteen years. But it was a silent crowd; men shook their heads over a government set up

by soldiers, with a soldier at its head. When a comet blazed in the night sky they said it was an evil omen. It was whispered that the ghost of Charles I. had been seen flitting through the palace of Whitehall, as though disturbed to see his Presence Chamber now occupied by the man who had helped to bring him to his death. Oliver himself was sad at heart and longed for his quiet country home.

Nevertheless he set to work with high courage. Before his first Parliament met he had set up committees of good and learned men to examine all clergymen who were to be appointed to church livings. They turned out any who were ignorant, or who were guilty of swearing or drunkenness or playing cards or dice, or who encouraged wakes and maypoles and stage plays in their parishes. Cromwell also tried to make it cheaper and easier for poor people to go to law, so that they might obtain justice against rich oppressors. He put an end to cock-fighting, not because he did not like people to have amusement, but because he knew that this was a cruel sport, and one which often led to gambling, and swearing, and quarrelling. The Instrument of Government had given freedom of worship to all Christians, except Roman Catholics and people who loved the Prayer Book and bishops ; but Cromwell was a friend to all good men. He allowed Jews, who had been banished from England since 1290, to return. He protected Roman Catholics and men who belonged to the Church of England, and allowed them to worship in private houses, so long as they did not plot to bring back Charles Stuart. Even so, men were not pleased. Royalists tried to murder the Protector and bring back Charles II. Oliver's aged mother, an old lady of eighty-nine, longed to exchange the magnificent rooms of Whitehall for the peace of her old Huntingdonshire home.

Every time she heard the sound of a musket she feared that her son was shot; and she could not rest content unless he came to see her at least once a day. Then, too, when Parliament met, instead of securing peace and good government for the country as Cromwell wished, it spent its time wrangling as to how power should be divided between itself and the Protector.

This made the nation even more impatient. The Royalists thought that the time had really come to rise against the government. They believed that most people were so tired of the Protectorate that they would gladly welcome back the king. Prince Charles was all ready to come over from Holland, and in the spring of 1655 strange things happened in Salisbury. On Saturday, March 10th, the judges had come to hold the Assizes. At midnight, on Sunday, the silence was broken by the loud clanging of the Cathedral bells. Windows opened all down the main street, and night-capped heads peeped out. Armed Royalists were marching by. They burst into the inn, flung open the bedroom doors, seized the judges and carried them off as prisoners. Next morning a gaping crowd stood in the market-place. The Royalists said they would hang the judges, and they tried to make the High Sheriff proclaim King Charles II. But the Sheriff refused, none threw up their caps for the king, and the Royalists thought it better to ride off to find a town where folk would be more ready to join them. On the way they were overtaken and captured by some of Cromwell's soldiers.

The rising was over, but it had shown Oliver that England was in a dangerous state. He dissolved his quarrelsome Parliament, and determined to make it impossible for men to rebel any more. He said that there were to be no horse-races, or bear-baitings,

because men used the opportunity of meeting in large numbers to make plots. Roman Catholics and Royalists were not to keep muskets or other arms. No clergymen of the Church of England were to keep schools, to preach, to use the Prayer Book, or even to live in gentlemen's houses as chaplains. To enforce these rules he divided England into eleven districts, and placed a Major-General with a body of horse-soldiers in each. In order to obtain money for the soldiers' wages, he made every Royalist pay a tax of one-tenth part of his yearly income. These were harsh rules. The fact that they were made by Cromwell, who was tender-hearted, and loved liberty, and hated tyranny more than most men, shows how hopeless he felt of saving the country in any other way.

The Major-Generals were strong men, and they used their power not only to prevent Royalist risings, but also to force men to be sober and industrious, as Puritans thought all men should be. Some men disliked this because they liked to be idle and rowdy; others disliked it because to be ruled by soldiers reminded them of the days before the Petition of Right, when men had been punished by the officers of Charles I. At last the Major-Generals were so much hated that the new Parliament, which Cromwell called in September, 1656, said that they were to give up their power. This Parliament also asked Cromwell to become King of England, because they knew that English people always love the old ways and old titles which their fathers and grandfathers have used. They thought that many people would obey King Oliver, who would not obey Oliver the Lord Protector. They thought, too, that Royalists would be less likely to try to murder Cromwell if he were a king whose son would succeed him the moment his father died, just as King

George became king the moment King Edward VII. died. But Oliver refused. He knew that many of the soldiers believed that all kings were tyrants, and a rebellion of soldiers against a king would be a far harder thing to put down than a rebellion of Royalists against the Protector. He allowed Parliament, however, to give him the right to choose who should succeed him.

Oliver Cromwell lived nearly two years after this, trying to win men to be loyal to his government, and to give to England the peace and liberty he had always loved. At last, on September 3rd, 1658, while a great storm of wind and rain raged through England, the Lord Protector passed away.

On his death-bed Oliver named his son Richard as the next Protector. But Richard, unlike his father, was a weak man, and he soon resigned his position. Then the army, who had loved and obeyed his father, determined to bring back Charles II.

Cromwell's idea of his position as Lord Protector is shown by these words spoken to his last Parliament in January, 1658 :—

"I reckon this to be the great duty of my Place, as being set on a watch-tower to see what may be for the good of these Nations, and what may be for the preventing of evil; that so, by the advice of so grave and wise a Council as this is, that hath in it the life and spirit of these Nations, the good may be attained, and the evil, whatsoever it is, may be obviated. We shall hardly set our shoulders to this work, unless it shall please God to work some conviction on our hearts that there is need of our most serious and best counsels at such a time as this."

CHAPTER XV. THE FOUNDATION OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN NORTH AMERICA

In the days when Queen Elizabeth ruled England, and English sailors at sea robbed the gold galleons of Spain, people believed that the whole of America was a land rich in gold. "I tell thee golde is more plentifull there than copper is with us. Why, man, all their dripping-pans are pure gold; and all the chaines with which they chaine up their streets are massie gold," one man would say to another. In 1585, Sir Walter Raleigh tried to settle a colony of Englishmen in North America; he named it Virginia, after the virgin queen; but because they found no gold, some of the colonists sailed home again, and the rest were lost in the forests and were never heard of again.

Little was known, indeed, of the great continent of North America, though in Henry VIII.'s reign, in 1534, some French sailors, with their captain, Jacques Cartier, had sailed some way up the great St. Lawrence river.

The men whom Cartier saw were North American Indians, tall men with red-brown skins, their long black hair adorned with feathers, and their faces brightly painted with yellow, red, and blue. They dressed for the most part in furs, with strings of shell-beads called "wampum" round their necks. There were hundreds of tribes of them with strange tribe names—Cherokees, Chickasaws, Shawnees, Micmacs, and others—wandering in the thick forest lands of North America. With bows

and stone-tipped arrows they hunted the bear, the moose or mighty deer, the beaver, the wild turkey, and other game. With stone axes they stripped the bark from birch-trees, and made long light canoes; or they sewed the bark together to make the covering for the pointed tents which they called wigwams. In the canoes, they paddled up the great rivers to the still smooth lakes which lay inland amongst the forests. The canoes were very light, and sped easily over the surface of river and stream; but where some waterfall or wild cataract broke the steady flow of the current the Indians landed and carried their canoes on their shoulders to the smooth water beyond. The Indian believed that a mighty spirit lived in every lake, and stream, and waterfall, and as he went he prayed to the spirit of the stream to help him, or dropped some offering into the watery depths. He thought too that birds, beasts, and reptiles could hear his prayers, and help or harm him, and that even the silent forest trees might know his thoughts. Some of the many tribes who haunted the great forests were merely hunters and fishermen, and moved from place to place, the women-folk carrying the wigwams, the men paddling in the canoes. Such were the Algonkins, who lived along the river St. Laurence. Others had learned to make clearings in the forest with their rough stone axes, and to plant and rear small crops of maize or Indian corn. Such were the famous Iroquois people, who lived further south and west. In these tribes the women tilled the ground, gathered the harvest, smoked the fish, cooked the meat, cured the skins, and carried all burdens when the tribe was on the march. The men made the bows and arrows, the tomahawks or stone war-hatchets, and the pipes for smoking the tobacco leaf; and they fished, hunted and fought with other tribes.

For war was the great sport. Every young Indian warrior prided himself on the number of horrid scalps, cut from the heads of warriors from other tribes, that he could hang around him. When summer came, war-parties set off paddling up rivers, or creeping stealthily through the forest, by paths which they alone knew, to burst with a wild war-whoop on the wigwams of some other tribe.

After Jacques Cartier's time, Frenchmen did not go again to North America until the beginning of the reign of James I. Then, in 1608, the famous seaman, Champlain, once again sailed many hundreds of miles up the great St. Laurence river, to where a little Indian village of wigwams stood upon a low cliff. Here Champlain and other Frenchmen founded a small port for trading in furs, and long afterwards this grew into the famous city of Quebec.

A year before the founding of Quebec, in 1607, an English company sent ships and men out to Virginia to seek once more for gold. Three ships, with 105 settlers on board, sailed in January, and after three months on the ocean, reached the great inlet known as Chesapeake Bay. More than half were gentlemen; the rest were tradesmen, artisans, and labourers. They built a wooden fort, and founded a city which they named Jamestown. Soon, however, their troubles began.

As the summer came on the climate proved intensely hot; the site of their city was marshy, and many died of fever. Their ships had gone away and left them with provisions for three months, but these were soon consumed. Some bold men paddled up one of the broad rivers which flow into Chesapeake Bay, to buy corn of the Indians, and found them at first very friendly. The Indian chiefs were smoking in clay pipes with long cane tubes the dried leaf of the tobacco.

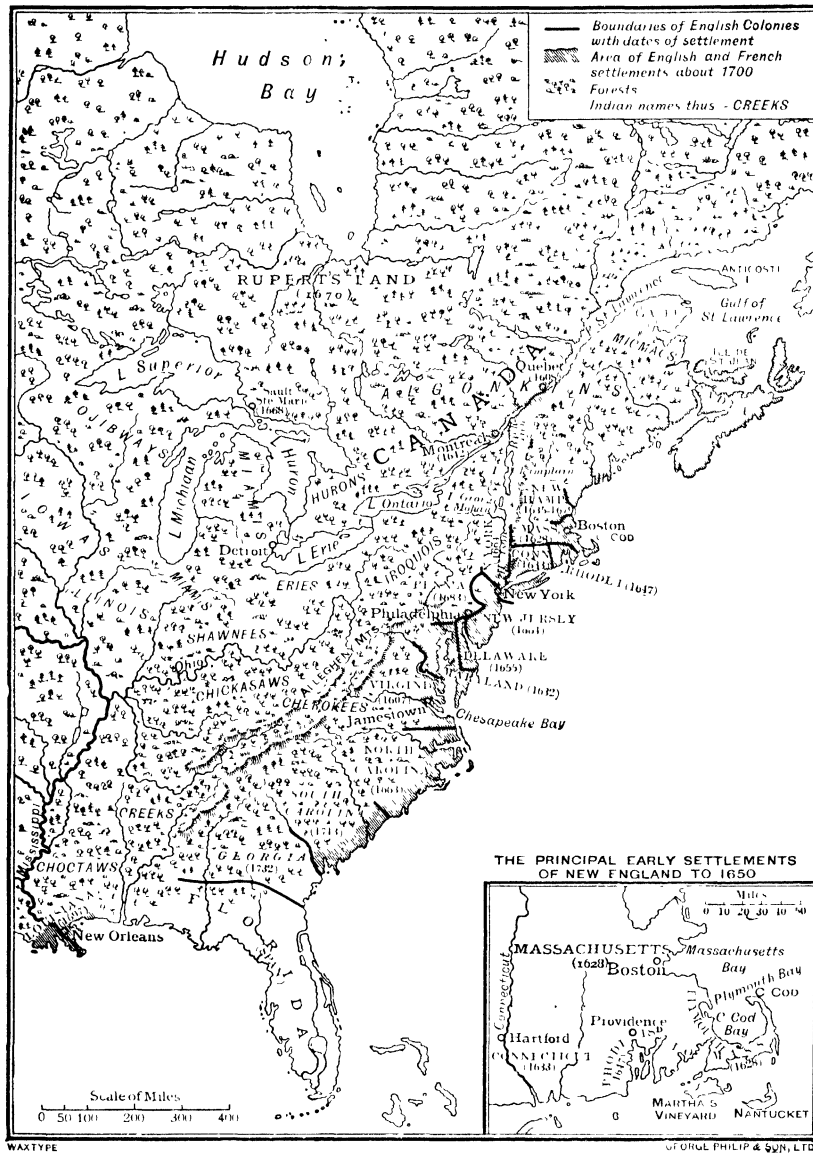


FIG 44.—Map to illustrate the French and English settlements in North America during the seventeenth century.

From time to time fresh ships came out to Virginia, bringing more settlers, and supplies of food; and in the year 1608 there came the first two Englishwomen. But no gold was found, and the settlers in Virginia, and the members of the Virginia Company in London, were bitterly disappointed. Everybody thought that money had been wasted.

The English who had gone out had not expected to have to till the soil. For a long time they got what food they could by fishing and shooting game, by buying maize from the Indians, and by depending on ships from home. The colonists were disorderly; they would not obey the governors whom the Virginia Company sent out, and one governor complained that "Every man, over-valuing his own work, would be a commander." It seemed as if the colony would again have to be given up.

But in 1613 an event of great importance took place. John Rolfe, one of the settlers, bethought him, since gold was not to be found, to plant a field of tobacco plants, and send the dried leaves home to England. Men at home were, he knew, beginning to smoke the leaf, and as yet it could only be purchased at a great price from Spaniards in the West Indies. In a few years every man in the colony took to growing tobacco, for they found that it was worth as much to them as gold. The Virginia Company granted each settler lands; and men began to leave the unhealthy city of Jamestown, and to go up the long wide rivers, and cut down the great forest trees to make space for tobacco plantations.

When news of this great change reached England more and more settlers came out. Some were sons of gentlemen or merchants, with money; they could afford to pay poorer men to cut down the great trees, and clear away the timber. These men therefore became the

owners of big estates for growing tobacco. Others were poor men, who had come out from England as servants to the wealthy men, or who had been sent out because they had got into trouble in England. These men could never become big "planters," like the rich men.

Labourers were needed so badly that in 1619 the king sent out a large number of "disorderly people" who had been sentenced to punishment in England for crime; these men worked for the planters for nothing, for a certain number of years. Still there were not enough.

In August, 1619, there sailed into Chesapeake Bay a Dutch armed vessel. The captain had on board some African negroes whom he had captured and brought across the Atlantic for sale. The planters bought twenty of them, as slaves to work in their tobacco fields. Soon they proved to be the best workmen there, because they could work in greater heat than Englishmen. From that time forward planters began to buy negro slaves, until in forty or fifty years there were many thousands of them in Virginia.

In 1619 a little parliament, elected by the big planters, was set up in Virginia, and was called the House of Representatives. The king in 1624 took away from the Virginia company their power over the colony, and from that time the governor was always sent out by the king.

After some years other colonies were founded near Virginia, which were very like it. In 1632, under Charles I., a colony was founded to the north, and named Maryland, after the queen. Under Charles II., a colony was founded to the south, and named Carolina after the king; afterwards it was divided into two, called North Carolina and South Carolina. All these colonies lay along the sea-coast, with hundreds of miles of forest land behind; and far away inland rose a chain of mountains,

called the Alleghany Mountains, beyond which no Englishman, even the boldest, had ever been.

Just at the time when the colonists of Virginia began to prosper with tobacco-growing, there sailed from Plymouth, in September, 1620, the famous ship *Mayflower*, with 102 passengers on board. There were 34 men, 18 wives, 20 boys and 8 girls, 3 maidservants and 19 menservants in all. These people were going to the New World, not to find gold or grow tobacco, but to find a place where they could worship God in the way that Puritans thought right. In later years they were known as the "Pilgrim Fathers."

For nine weeks they sailed, battling with the wind and tossed by the waves, far out of sight of land. At length they sighted Cape Cod, a headland which lay five hundred miles to the north-east of Virginia. The ship's captain was in a hurry to sail home again, so, though it was winter time and bitterly cold, he landed them on the shore of an immense bay called Cape Cod Bay. As soon as their feet touched dry land they fell on their knees and thanked God for safety. Then they sought for a place in which to build a village.

At length they chose a spot in which to settle, on the shore of a wide bay which led out of Cape Cod Bay; they named it Plymouth Bay, and here, on December 21st, the ship dropped anchor. All round the curving shore, the lonely forest came down to the water's side. The ground underfoot was frozen hard as a rock, and not even an Indian was to be seen. Between two low hills a little stream came hurrying to the sea, and here was to be their village of New Plymouth. First they cut down trees, and built a large common hall for all to live in for a while.

The crew of the *Mayflower* put on shore the furniture,

the farm implements, and the supplies of food which the Pilgrim Fathers had brought with them. Some of their furniture and their pots and pans can be seen to this day in New Plymouth, as these three pictures show. Then the *Mayflower* weighed anchor and sailed away to England, and the Pilgrim Fathers, with their wives, families and servants, were left alone with the forest. Happily for the little settlement there were just then few Indians near, for a great plague had that year destroyed large numbers of them. They saw no Indians till the spring. But with cold and exposure many settlers died that winter, and were buried in a little cemetery by the shore.

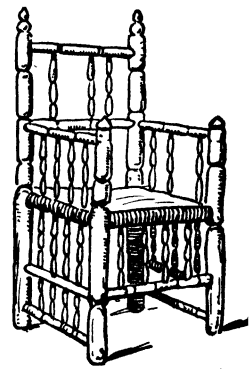


FIG. 45.

When spring came they marked out a village street, and gave to each family a plot of land on which to build



FIG. 46.

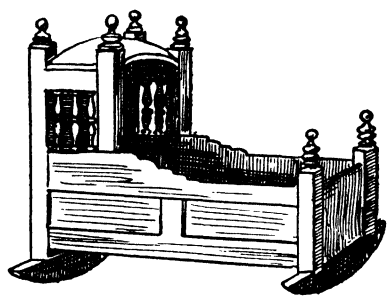


FIG. 47.

a house with garden round. These first houses were probably all built of rough tree-trunks laid lengthwise, their ends rudely crossed at the corners, and with only one room inside. Next they began to cultivate the land, for unless they planted corn in spring, they would starve the next winter. It was slow work cutting down the

forest, and at first but little could be grown; but there was game to be shot in the woods, and fish in the streams and little lakes, so there was no need to starve outright.

Next autumn more settlers came out, and the colony began to grow. Every settler was now allowed to have for his own one hundred acres of land, but it was of course a long time before so much forest land could be cleared. The settlers farmed in common, much as the people did in the old open-field villages in England, and they set aside a big piece of common pasture and waste land, on which the cows and sheep of all the village might graze. They built also a little wooden church where the Puritan service, without any Prayer Book, could be held.

One man was made their governor to represent the king, and a little parliament was set up to make laws.

Eight years after the Pilgrim Fathers went out another band of Puritans left England and settled about thirty-five miles to the north-west. They were fleeing from the doings of Laud, who was made Bishop of London in 1628, and Archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. In the twelve years of his power, between 1628 and 1640, twenty thousand Puritans left England. These were richer men than the Pilgrim Fathers, chiefly gentlemen, merchants, and farmers, and the land that they founded was called the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. There they began to build the city of Boston; and, in the country beyond, they cut down the forest and made many villages. In every village they founded a school, and built a Puritan church. They, too, had a governor to represent the king, and an elected House of Representatives which was a small parliament. At length, many years later, in 1692, the two colonies joined, and became the famous Puritan colony of Massachusetts.

Two other Puritan colonies were founded in the reign

of Charles I. to the south of Massachusetts, and were named Connecticut and Rhode Island. Another Puritan colony grew up to the north, called New Hampshire. These three, with Massachusetts, were called the New England Colonies.

The people of the New England Colonies had hard work to cut down the forest, with no negro slaves to help them. They lived a very simple life, kept Sunday very strictly, and had few pleasures. The Indians, whom they were driving away from their ancient hunting grounds, fiercely hated them, and sometimes leapt from the forest to make war on a lonely village. Thus the New Englander, godfearing, thrifty and hardy, built up a Puritan England in the New World.

Between the southern colonies where tobacco grew, and the New England Colonies of the north, Dutch settlers had come to live in the reigns of James I. and Charles I., in a land which they called the New Netherlands. They had founded a city on an island at the mouth of the River Hudson, and called it New Amsterdam. After Oliver Cromwell died, when Charles II. was king, this colony was taken from the Dutch. The city of New Amsterdam was called the city of New York, as it still is to-day. In the land which had been called New Holland, three colonies in time grew up, in which Dutchmen and Englishmen lived side by side, the colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware. Later in Charles II.'s reign, in 1683, the famous Quaker, William Penn, gained the king's permission to found the Quaker Colony of Pennsylvania, in the forests behind New Jersey. He named the chief city, Philadelphia, which means Brotherly Love.

Thus twelve English colonies in all were founded in the seventeenth century, down the eastern coast of North America.

CHAPTER XVI. WHIGS AND TORIES
1660–1685

In the summer and autumn of the year 1660 Englishmen were full of the desire to bring back all the old things in Church and State which had been swept away by the war and by the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The King came back in May. Soon the old squires, or their sons, and the old parsons, came back to the villages. In the spring of 1661 the freeholders of the counties, and the merchants of the towns, nearly all chose royalist squires to represent them in Parliament. The soldiers who had tried to make England godly and sober and free were paid off, and settled down in the villages as simple tradesmen and farmers. The Commons' House, where Hampden and Pym and Cromwell had debated, was now filled with young cavaliers, in curled wigs and brocaded coats. These men cared less for England than the old members had done. Their great desire was to avenge themselves on the Roundheads, but they also wished to prevent the king from ruling without a Parliament, as his father had done. At first it seemed as though they would succeed in both these aims.

Between 1661 and 1665 they made four laws, known as the Clarendon Code, which said that Presbyterians and Independents were not to be ministers in the church; they were not even to hold services in private houses or

* See P. P. Histories, Book V., Chapter XII. How the King came Home.

barns, or to keep schools within five miles of a town. The Puritans were determined to have their services in spite of the laws. They began to hold them in different places each Sunday lest they should be caught. Sometimes they chose a loft, sometimes the back room of an inn, or an open field. They placed sentries round the place. The minister came in disguise; sometimes he had to enter by a trap door or window. Often in the middle of the service, the tramp of feet would be heard; the sentry would rush in to say that the sheriff or a justice of the peace was coming. The worshippers would escape by a side door if they could, but often the minister and the chief people were carried off to gruesome dungeons. If Puritans living in towns wanted their children to go to a school where they would be taught to believe as their fathers believed, they had to make them tramp five miles into the country over the muddy roads, because no Puritan schoolmaster might come within five miles of any large town. The Puritans, too, were not allowed to help in the government of their town as mayors or aldermen, although they were often amongst the wealthiest and most important citizens. These laws were also binding on Roman Catholics. Henceforward, those who would not conform to the Church of England, were called Nonconformists, or Dissenters; and the Puritans were often called Protestant Nonconformists, to distinguish them from Roman Catholics.

In the mean time no one feared the king. Men have called him "the Merry Monarch," for he was always gay. When his ministers of state wished him to discuss business, they would find him playing in the tennis court. If he was persuaded to come to a meeting of the Privy Council, he would spend the time chasing a moth round the room, or playing with his spaniels. But all the time, under his

careless manner, Charles II. hid schemes more dangerous than any Charles I. had ever made. He and his brother James, Duke of York, had learnt in their exile to love the Roman Catholic religion of their mother. They had also seen how their cousin, the King of France, ruled his people. In France the people never dared to disobey the king or the priests. In the gay state-rooms and tennis courts of Whitehall, Charles II. was really planning to force his people to be Roman Catholics, and to make himself as powerful as Louis XIV. of France.

The English people still hated the Roman Catholics with an unreasoning hatred. They thought that they were dangerous and violent people who would kill all Protestants if they were given the opportunity. When the fire of London came in 1666,* most men believed it was the work of Papists. Charles knew that people thought this, and he was much too clever to say that he was a Roman Catholic himself. But without telling his ministers, he promised his cousin, King Louis, that if he would give him large sums of money, he would declare himself a Roman Catholic, and would help France in a war against the Protestant Dutch. In March, 1672, moreover, without asking leave of Parliament, he issued a declaration saying, that Roman Catholics and Protestant Nonconformists were not to be punished if they disobeyed the Clarendon Code. This was called the Declaration of Indulgence. Charles hoped that the Puritans would be so grateful to him for freeing them from persecution, that they would not notice that he was at the same time protecting Roman Catholics. He also hoped that they would not mind his taking away, by his royal power, laws which had been made by Parliament.

But the Declaration of Indulgence made many men

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book III. The Plague and the Fire of London.

suspicious about the king, and his brother the Duke of York. In the coffee-houses, where people went to read the newspapers and discuss affairs, there was much excited talk. One said it was certain that the Duke of York was a Roman Catholic, and that Papists were favoured at Whitehall more than Protestants. Another shook his head because the king had raised an army. What if he should use it to destroy the liberties of Englishmen? Another asked why Protestant England should join with the Papist King of France to make war on the Dutch? All men knew that the French were Roman Catholics, and that all the French peasants were so poor that they had to wear wooden shoes. It seemed to them that if Englishmen were forced to become Roman Catholics they too would become as poor as Frenchmen. A very small thing was enough to set all the apprentices of London shouting, "No Popery, no wooden shoes!" The Nonconformists themselves were so frightened that, instead of being pleased by the Declaration of Indulgence, they were very angry about it. A law was passed, in 1673, saying that none but members of the Church of England should help in the government of the country by holding any office under the king, or be officers in the army or navy; it was called the Test Act.

About this time men began to talk much about a certain nobleman, Lord Shaftesbury by name. In Cromwell's days he had been Puritan; but since the king came home he had gone to the English Church, as many other Puritans had done, and had become one of the king's chief ministers. He suspected, however, that Charles meant to favour Roman Catholics, and therefore he helped to get the Test Act passed. The king dismissed him from his office in 1673, but this made him a hero with the Londoners. As he drove about the city in his rumbling

coach, a crowd of apprentices would follow him as a body-guard. Men would cheer as they caught sight of his haggard face and restless eye peering through the windows. In 1675 he and some of his friends took a room in the King's Head Tavern at the corner of Fleet Street and Chancery Lane. There in the evenings they drank coffee and smoked, and talked of how the king was breaking the law by favouring the Roman Catholics. People of all kinds flocked to hear their talk. City aldermen, wealthy nobles, old friends of Cromwell and the Protectorate, country squires staying in town for the session of Parliament, scoundrels who were ready to rob or murder for pay, came night after night. By and by they began to wear bunches of green ribbon in their hats, and to call themselves the Green Ribbon Club. Amid the savoury smell of tobacco and freshly roasted coffee Shaftesbury talked of Popery. "Popery and slavery," he said, "go hand in hand." The king, he reminded them, had no child. The Duke of York would be king when Charles II. died. He was a Roman Catholic. He would force England to become Papist, and then Englishmen would be as poor and as oppressed as the French peasants, with their canvas clothes and wooden shoes.

One day, in 1678, came terrible news. In the Club and in the coffee houses every one was talking of a certain Mr. Titus Oates. They said he had been to the Privy Council, and also to Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. Godfrey was one of the justices of the peace for London, whom all Londoners loved, because he had stayed in London all through the Plague time, and kept men from robbing and murdering one another. Mr. Oates had told him of a terrible Popish plot. The Roman Catholics, he said, had planned to murder the king, to burn down the city, and

to massacre every one who refused to become a Papist. We know now that most of this story was a wicked lie by which Titus Oates, who was a selfish knave and scoundrel, hoped to get fame and money. But in 1678 men half believed what he said. A few days later came news that the good Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey had been found murdered in a field near St. Pancras Church. Men said the Roman Catholics had killed him because he knew about their plot. His body was brought into London with a solemn procession. For two days he lay in state in the streets, and weeping crowds came to look their last on him.

The members of Parliament were filled with horror. In 1678 they passed an Act to prevent Roman Catholics from sitting either in the House of Lords, or in the House of Commons. This law, and the Test Act, both remained in force till the reign of George IV., in 1829. Thus for more than 150 years no Roman Catholic might serve his country as an officer in the army or navy, or as a minister of the king, or even as a Customs House officer, or other official, neither might he help to make the laws, or grant the taxes which he had to pay.

The members of the Green Ribbon Club were very busy. They wanted to make a law to exclude the Duke of York from becoming king when his brother died. They thought that then Parliament would choose a king who would be a Protestant, and who would never dare to thwart the wishes of the Commons, to whom he owed his power. They partly believed the stories told by Titus Oates, but they pretended that they believed more than they did. They thought that if Englishmen were sufficiently frightened of the Roman Catholics they would elect men to Parliament who would pass an Exclusion Bill to say that James should never become king. So they pretended to be

terribly frightened, and this made other people frightened too.

Men went about London in fear of their lives. Gentlemen wore silk armour under their clothes lest Popish assassins should stab them in the streets. Great ladies carried cases of pistols in their muffs. Wax images of the Pope were carried through the streets at night, and burnt in a great bonfire just opposite the Green Ribbon Club. The members came out and stood on the long balcony, smoking their pipes, and joining in the shouts of the mob. The leaping flames lit the dark street, and the figures of wild men showed like black gnomes against the lurid light. All the cruel laws against the Roman Catholics were put into force again. Their houses were searched for Popish books and papers; their priests were thrown into prison, or forced to hide in secret cupboards and rooms; those who lived in London were driven away from their houses and shops to try and find a home and a livelihood in the country. If they attempted to celebrate Mass even in secret, they might be interrupted by the arrival of the justice of the peace, and carried off to damp dungeons full of fever and vermin.

In 1679 the king called a new Parliament. The Green Ribbon Club worked hard to persuade people to return members who would vote for a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from becoming king. This they called the Exclusion Bill. They wrote papers about the danger of having a Roman Catholic king. Post boys carried these down into all the towns and counties of England, and gave them to every one to read. Members of the club drove about the country in their great glass coaches, and made speeches on market days to all the squires and farmers. Sometimes they took Mr. Titus Oates with them, that people's feelings might be stirred by seeing the very man

who had discovered the Popish plot. They offered men great sums of money if they would vote for supporters of the Exclusion Bill; and when the Elections to Parliament began they treated people to quantities of ale, so that the country was full of excitement and disorder. When the votes were counted it was found that nearly all the members chosen were friends of the Green Ribbon Club.

Men thought now that England was saved from having a Roman Catholic king. Members came up to Westminster in high spirits. The Exclusion Bill was introduced into Parliament. The Green Ribbon Club worked harder than ever. Its members went down to the House of Commons, and told men what to say in their speeches. When an important vote was to be taken, they fetched them from strolling in Westminster Hall or smoking in the coffee houses. They printed Lord Shaftesbury's speeches, and saw that they were sold in every London bookshop, and carried down into the country towns and villages. They went into the coffee houses at night, and led men to talk against the king and the Papists, until the Government became so angry that they said that all coffee houses were to be closed. It seemed as though the Exclusion Bill must be passed. But the Green Ribbon Club had reckoned without the king. Charles II., without seeming to watch men, knew well of what they were made. He knew that English people soon get tired of an excitement such as that over the Popish plot. He saw that when it had died away men would begin to think that the Green Ribbon Club was as great a tyrant as the Court. He knew that people would soon say that it was wicked to prevent the direct heir to the Crown from becoming king, and that the English Church might be just as much in danger from Nonconformists as from Roman Catholics. He determined, therefore, that, until

this happened, he would continue to call Parliaments, but that he would never let them sit long enough to pass the Exclusion Bill. In July, 1679, therefore, he dissolved Parliament. Members went home very angry that they had not had time to do what they wanted. They found that, after a little while, people began to say to one another, "Kings are made by God. Can it be right to thwart God's will by keeping the Duke of York from the throne?"

That autumn writs were sent out for a new Parliament, which met the next year. The members of the Green Ribbon Club were still very powerful. They brought in a second Exclusion Bill, but the House of Lords refused to pass it. By this time there were many people who thought the Green Ribbon Club quite wrong. They began to call them by the nick-name "Whig," because they said they were Nonconformists, and no better than the Presbyterian Scots, who were called Whigs. To this the Whigs replied that the new party, who pretended to be defending the Crown and the English Church, must be Roman Catholics at heart; and they called them Tories, using the name by which the native Irish Roman Catholics were called. These two names, at first given in scorn, were soon adopted by the two parties as badges of honour; and for the next hundred years Whigs and Tories played a very important part in English history. The Whigs strove to make Parliament more powerful than the King, and to give freedom of religion to all Protestants. The Tories supported the power of the King and the privileges of the English Church.

Epitaph on Charles II.

"Here lies our Sovereign Lord the King,
Whose word no man relies on,
Who never said a foolish thing,
Nor ever did a wise one."

Written by the witty Earl of Rochester, who died five years before Charles.

CHAPTER XVII. THE REVOLUTION. 1685–1689

DURING the last years of the reign of Charles II. the Tories became more and more powerful. Men began to think that the Popish plot had been a lie. Every Sunday clergymen and bishops told the people in their sermons that it was wicked to resist the king, or to try to keep the Duke of York from the throne. At last some of the Whigs in despair tried to kidnap Charles and his brother, but their plot was discovered and only made people hate them more than ever. In 1685 King Charles died, and the Tories gladly welcomed the Duke of York as King James II.*

In 1671 James' first wife, an English Protestant lady, had died, and had left him with two little daughters, the Princesses Mary and Anne. Two years later James had married a young Roman Catholic princess, called Mary of Modena. This lady, like the wife of Charles I., had been allowed to have Mass celebrated in her private chapel. As long as Charles II. lived, the doors were kept closed and no one was present but herself and the Duke of York, and their Roman Catholic servants. On the second Sunday after James became king, many noblemen and gentlemen went, as was customary, to pay their respects to the king and queen. As they passed along the passages of St. James' Palace, and into the ante-chamber, they smelt a strange aromatic smell, and heard sweet

* See P. P. Histories, Teacher's Story Book, Part III. The Story of King James II.

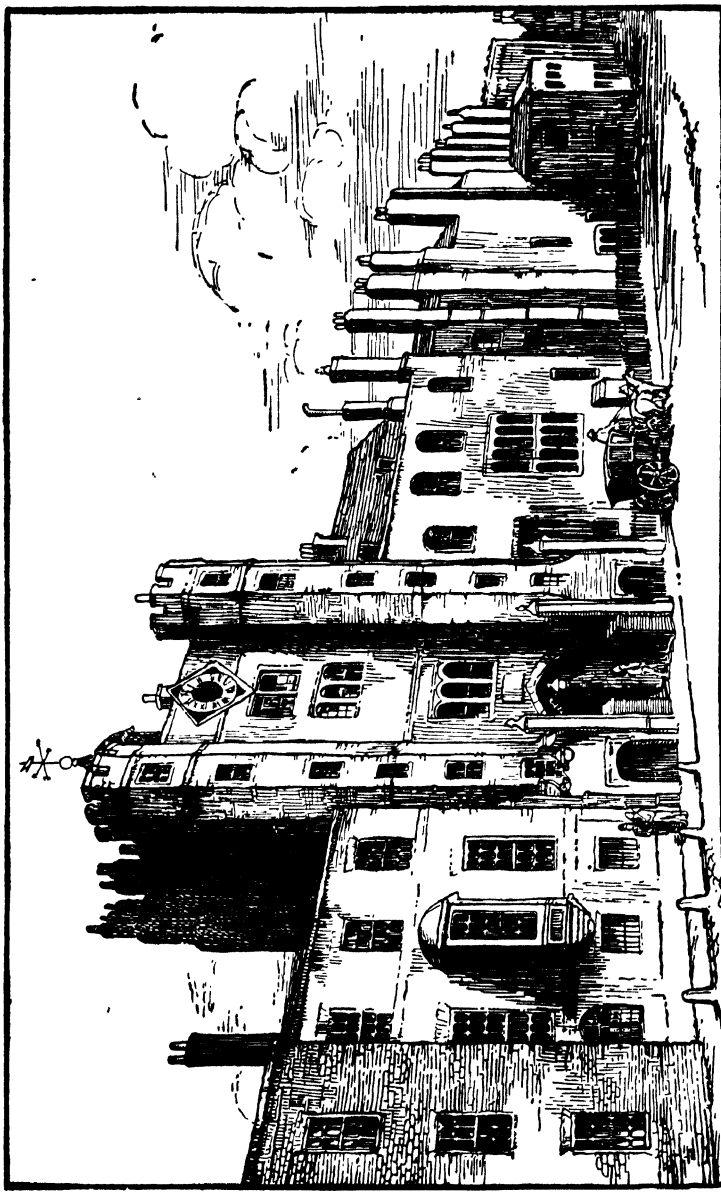


FIG. 48.—St. James' Palace from the north-east.
The picture shows the great entrance gateway, built in Tudor times.

voices singing. They found that the doors of the queen's chapel were wide open. Mass was being sung. Clouds of fragrant incense rose from the swinging censer. The stately priest, in gorgeous vestments, moved backwards and forwards before the altar. Some were curious, and craned their necks to see a sight which had not been seen openly in England for one hundred and twenty-seven years. But many were shocked and angry, and left the palace without waiting to see the king. A few days later there was more consternation. People passing through Whitehall Palace saw masons at work, and heard the ring of trowels upon stone. The king was building a new chapel in the palace for the celebration of Mass. On Easter Day a gorgeous Roman Catholic service was celebrated in Westminster Abbey itself, and on November 5th, the king gave orders that there were to be no bonfires to celebrate the failure of Gunpowder Plot. The streets remained dark, but men began to ask each other anxiously what all this might mean.

In the mean time the Protestant Nonconformists were still obliged to hold their services in secret. They met at dead of night, or at early dawn, to preach and pray and sing, and listened anxiously for footsteps of the justice of the peace or his spies. Their ministers still dared not appear in the streets undisguised. Their rich merchants were still not allowed to help to govern the towns. Tory churchmen thought that this was quite right, and they would gladly have seen Roman Catholics treated in the same way. But though James owed his throne to the Tories, he had no intention of pleasing them by allowing his Roman Catholic friends to suffer. He thought that it was his duty before God to force all Englishmen to become Roman Catholics. Unlike

Charles II., he did not try to hide what he was doing from his people. To make it impossible for them to rebel he determined to have a standing army of his own. After Charles II. came home in 1660, the army of Oliver Cromwell had been dismissed, for Englishmen had a horror of hired soldiers who merely lived to fight. The old English way had been for men to be soldiers only in time of war. But Charles II. had been allowed to keep one regiment of paid soldiers for his guard. They were called the Coldstream Guards. Year by year Charles II. had raised other guards, the Life Guards, and other regiments, both of horse and foot. When he died, there were 4000 soldiers. James added many more to their number. Soon the white tents of 16,000 red-coated and blue-coated soldiers were to be seen on Hounslow Heath, a wide and desolate open space, some miles to the west of London. By and by it was known in London that, in defiance of the law, many of the officers in this army were Roman Catholics. Later came news that Roman Catholics had been placed at the head of two colleges in Oxford, though this, too, was against the law, and that Mass was sung daily in the college chapels.

In December, 1686, strange figures were frequently seen in the London streets; Benedictine monks, like those who had lived at Westminster long before, with shaven heads, and black cowls and habits, walked openly in the neighbourhood of St. James' Palace. White-cowled Carmelite monks carried rosaries and crucifixes about the city. Tories and Whigs alike began to take alarm. Angry mobs broke into the Roman Catholic chapels at Coventry, and Worcester, and in London. When the trained bands were called out to disperse them they refused to fire on the mob. Merchants were so frightened of a new civil war that they would not carry

on trade. Their ships rode idle in the Thames; the Exchange, where they did business, was empty.

James at last saw that he could not force his people to do as he wished, so he determined to bribe the Whigs to support him. In 1687 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence, like the one which had been issued by his brother. He hoped in this way to make the Protestant Nonconformists his friends, for they were all Whigs. They knew that the king was breaking the law. They knew too that he only wanted their friendship to help him to make England a Roman Catholic country; but they had suffered so much that at first some of them accepted the Indulgence. Sometimes you may see the date, 1687, on very old Nonconformist chapels still standing.

The bishops and clergy of the Church of England were greatly distressed when they heard of the Declaration of Indulgence. They were more distressed still when they were told that on a certain Sunday in June the king expected them to read it aloud to their people in church. One Friday Londoners saw barges on the river, and coaches in the streets, carrying bishops and other clergymen to Lambeth Palace. It was whispered that they were going to discuss with Archbishop Sancroft what was to be done about the Declaration of Indulgence. Darkness had fallen, and men were going to bed, when the stillness of the streets was broken by the cries of hawkers. Lattices were flung open and heads popped out. The hawkers were crying, "The Bishops' Petition to the King, one penny." Many people ran downstairs in their nightgowns, and bought the sheet of paper. On it some one had hastily printed a petition which the bishops had drawn up at Lambeth and had taken to James. It said very politely that the clergy could not read the

Declaration, because the king had no power to dispense with laws made by Parliament. James was very angry when he read the petition. When he heard that it had been printed, and that every one was reading it, he determined that the bishops should be tried for libel. To libel any one is to write down a statement insulting to the person's character. James said it was insulting to his character as a king to say that he had no power to dispense with the laws.

By this time the Nonconformists were as indignant as the Churchmen about the Declaration. They had decided that they had no right to accept liberty from a king who broke the laws of England. On the day that the bishops were to be tried, London streets and coffee houses were filled with Whigs and Tories, Churchmen and Nonconformists, all in friendly but excited converse. Barges crowded the Thames. Westminster Hall, where the trial took place, was packed with spectators. The trial lasted all day. Crowds waited patiently in New Palace Yard. Night fell, morning dawned. Still they waited. At ten o'clock the tired jury gave the verdict "Not guilty." A mighty shout went up in Westminster Hall. It was echoed by the weary crowds outside, and heard more than a mile away at Temple Bar. The news passed from barge to barge along the river, and was spread from coffee house to coffee house. People wept and laughed. Nobles scattered gold amongst the crowd. As the bishops came out of Westminster Hall men fell on their knees to receive their blessing. When the tidings reached Hounslow Heath the very soldiers cheered.

Hitherto Englishmen had borne James' rule with patience, for they hoped that when he died his Protestant daughter, Mary, would become queen. But in those June days when the bishops were waiting for their trial,

a little son was born to the king and queen. Because he was a boy, the crown would pass to him instead of to Princess Mary. With a Roman Catholic mother and father he would almost certainly be brought up as a Roman Catholic.

The nation could bear no more. On the day that the bishops were acquitted, a boat put off from the mouth of the Thames and made for Holland. In it was a man dressed as an ordinary seaman. He had once been an admiral in the king's navy. He wore a plain seaman's dress so that no one might guess who he was, for he was carrying a dangerous letter. It had been written by four Whig nobles, a bishop, and two gentlemen, to Prince William of Orange, the husband of the Princess Mary. Prince William belonged to a very famous family, and was the ruler of the little Republic of Holland, which France had attacked in the reign of Charles II. The letter asked him to come over and save England from his father-in-law. Prince William was a Protestant. His great desire was to protect the Protestant countries of Europe from Roman Catholic kings. When he received this letter he began secretly to prepare a fleet in which to come to England. On November 1st, 1688, his six hundred ships set sail. It was a gallant sight to see their white sails spreading in the wind. They slipped past King James' fleet, which lay off the coast at Harwich, and in two days were speeding between the white cliffs of Dover and of Calais. Their drums and trumpets could be heard by the watching crowds on either shore. As the sun dipped they rounded Beachy Head. One by one the lights twinkled from their mast heads far across the sea. On November 5th, a famous day in English history, they sailed into the lonely harbour of Torbay, in Devonshire. For a few weeks James hoped to resist, and to

prevent William from coming to London. Then the officers of his army began to desert. His younger daughter, the Princess Anne, fled from Whitehall to Prince William's friends. In the west and north, in Cheshire and in Yorkshire, the people rose against the king, crying, "No Popery! A free Parliament! The Protestant religion!" In London, the citizens broke into

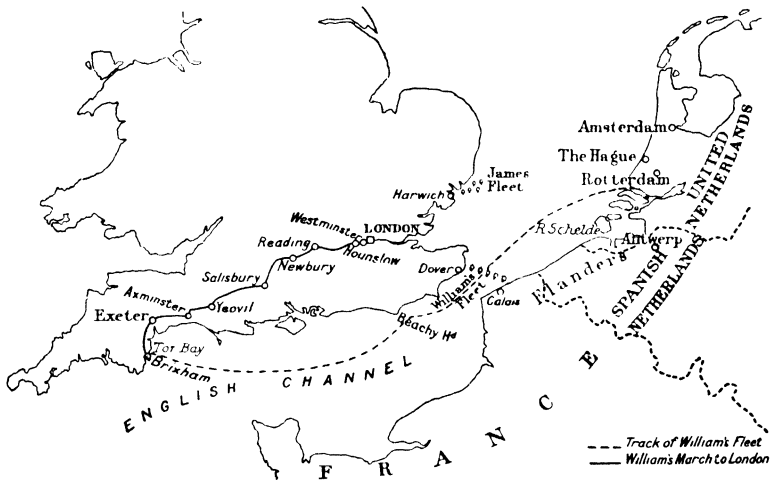


FIG. 49.

Map to illustrate the coming of William III.

the houses of Roman Catholics, and hooted the priests in the streets. Every day newspapers in praise of the Prince of Orange were printed and sold in hundreds. On December 9th, James sent his wife and his little son over to France. A fortnight later he lost hope and followed them.

When William and Mary became king and queen, Parliament became once for all more powerful than the king. William was king because the nation had asked him to be, not because he was so by birth. He could not

say, as Charles I. and James II. had done, that whatever he did, he could never cease to be king. He knew that the Crown had been given to him by Parliament, and that if he displeased Parliament it could be taken away again. So it came about that he always ruled in accordance with the laws. The nation was determined that no king should ever again be able to rule as the Stuarts had ruled. Even the Tories felt that if they were to protect the Church which they loved, they must take away some of the powers of the king. In 1689 Parliament passed the Bill of Rights. It said that in future no one who was a Roman Catholic should be King of England. No king was to be allowed to dispense with laws made by Parliament. No king was to keep an army in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. In 1689 the Mutiny Act was passed, allowing William to have an army for six months. When the six months came to an end he still needed soldiers for his foreign wars. He had therefore to let Parliament meet again, and this time a Mutiny Act was passed for one year. Since 1689 England has never been without a standing army, but the Mutiny Act is still only passed for a year at a time. The king is now obliged to call Parliament every year, to obtain its leave to go on keeping up the army.

Now Charles II., in the first part of his reign, had not ruled without a Parliament, but he had kept one Parliament for seventeen years, until it had quite ceased to represent the people. Lest this should happen again, a Triennial Act was passed in 1694, saying that there must be a general election at least every three years. This was later altered to every seven years, and in 1911 by the Parliament Act, it was again altered to five years. To-day therefore no Parliament can sit for longer than five years without an election, so that if people become

dissatisfied with the rule of one party in Parliament, they soon have the opportunity of voting for another.

Because the Whigs and the Tories had joined together to call in William of Orange, they began to hate and fear one another less than they had done before. In 1689 a Toleration Act was passed, giving nearly all Protestant Nonconformists leave to hold services in their own chapels, and to live in towns. Now that the Stuarts were gone, men were less afraid of the Roman Catholics. They found that they were really harmless and peaceful people, who only wanted leave to worship in their own way. The penal laws against them were not done away with, but they were not so often put into force. Thus Roman Catholics and Nonconformists and English Church people gradually learned to live peaceably side by side.

The coming of William of Orange, and the great Acts passed from 1689 to 1694, are sometimes called the Revolution. English people should be proud that these great changes were carried out without the shedding of blood. It is heroic to be ready to give up peace in order to gain liberty, but it is also a fine thing to have the patience and self-control which made Englishmen work for freedom without cutting each other's throats.

THE ENGLISH ATTITUDE TO THE ANCIENT FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

"To avoid the evils of inconstancy and versatility, . . . we have consecrated the State, that no man should approach to look into its defects or corruptions, but with due caution, that he should never dream of beginning its reformation by its subversion, that he should approach to the faults of the State as to the wounds of a father, with pious awe and trembling solicitude."

Words written by the great Whig statesman, Edmund Burke (born 1729, died 1797).

CHAPTER XVIII. AN ELECTION TO PARLIAMENT IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In 1702, when William III. died, the Princess Anne, daughter of James II., became queen. It was now nearly 100 years since James I. came to the throne, and in that time men had learned to take greater interest in the election of a new Parliament. Now that there were two parties, Whigs and Tories, each man could take a side, and wear Whig or Tory colours in his hat. The election seemed like a game of football or of cricket; and even those who had not votes could take some part in the fun.

In those days very large numbers of men had no power to vote. The most important members of Parliament were those who were elected by the counties; every county in England elected two members, and every county in Wales elected one. But only those who owned land enough to bring them in 40 shillings a year, might vote for county members. No farmer who rented land—however sensible, or thoughtful, or thrifty he might be—could vote, unless he happened also to own a little piece of his land. There were very many merchants, and shopkeepers, and skilled craftsmen, too, who had no vote at all. Besides the members for the counties, there were members who sat for certain cities and boroughs. At the present day, cities and boroughs are allowed to send members, if there are a large number of people living in them; the largest towns have the greatest number of members. But in 1702 some of the larger towns had

no members at all; for example, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Sheffield, had none. But many tiny villages, which were not towns at all, were called "Boroughs," and sent two members each to Parliament. The map shows how very unfairly the different parts of England were treated; the south of England had far

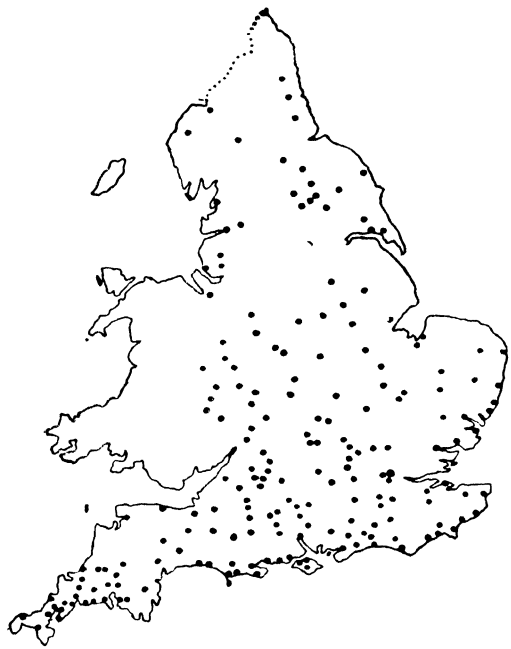


FIG. 50.
Map showing the boroughs which returned members to Parliament before 1832.

more "boroughs" than the north, and Cornwall, where there were hardly any towns at all, had the most.

Some of these "boroughs" were tiny villages, inhabited only by poor fishermen, or small farmers, who had to work so hard to get a living that they had no time to think about Parliament at all. They usually allowed some rich lord or gentleman who owned land in the place, to name their member of Parliament, so that

they did not need to have an election. Such tiny places were called "Pocket Boroughs," because it seemed as if the rich man had put the votes of all those poor people in his pocket. But many of the "boroughs" which are marked on the map, were thriving towns, full of busy people. In some of these larger boroughs, most of the people, even the poor, had a vote; but in very many others only the mayor, and aldermen, and members of the corporation could vote. In these large boroughs there was very often an election, and exciting scenes took place.

At the present day, before an election, many meetings are held. We see pictures and printed notices posted upon the advertisement boards in streets, and under archways. Many foolish and untrue things are said by men of each party about the other; the pictures are often both silly and false. All this is now done in order to persuade men to give their votes to some one candidate. But at the present day, no man may give money to another to get his vote; no man may threaten another, or give him presents. If he does, he may be punished. For all this is called bribery and corruption.

In the eighteenth century, directly the writs went out for the election of a new Parliament, bribery and corruption began in the large boroughs, and even, sometimes, in the counties. In boroughs where the Mayor and corporation only could vote, they often sold the right to sit for them in Parliament to the two men who would give them the largest sum of money. Sometimes they got £1000 from each member, sometimes much more. Sometimes they wrote to a man called a "Borough-monger," in London, who made a regular business of selling seats, and paid him to sell the right of sitting to some one. In boroughs where a large number of people voted, each man's vote

often had to be bought. The candidates or their friends came round to electors' houses, and promised to pay them £1 or £2 directly the election was over. Since the voting was not secret then as it is now, the candidate would be sure to know whether a man kept his promise. Very good men often bought votes in this way, or bought a whole seat from a borough-monger. These were evil customs, because the voters did not stop to think who was the best man, or which was the wisest party in Parliament. But at the present day our pictures, and placards, and party speeches, when they are full of falsehood, are just as evil as was the old custom of bribery.

Besides bribing the voters, the candidates often bribed the people who had not votes. They wanted a jolly crowd at election time to come and cheer for them; so they promised plenty of beer to those who would wear their colours, and shout.

At the present day, before an election, the names of the various candidates are sent in writing to the returning officer, whose duty it is to manage the election. This sending of names is called the "Nomination." The actual voting takes place on one day only, between eight o'clock in the morning and eight at night. Then the votes are counted, and at ten or eleven o'clock that night the names of the elected members are declared. In those days an election might last for six weeks.

First came nomination day. A great wooden platform, called the "Hustings," was erected in the market-place of a town, and the returning officer came in solemn procession, followed by all the candidates and their chief friends. A vast crowd assembled in the market square, for the candidates were to make speeches from the hustings. If it was a county election, the election took place in the county town, and gentlemen and farmers

who owned land, rode in on horseback from all the

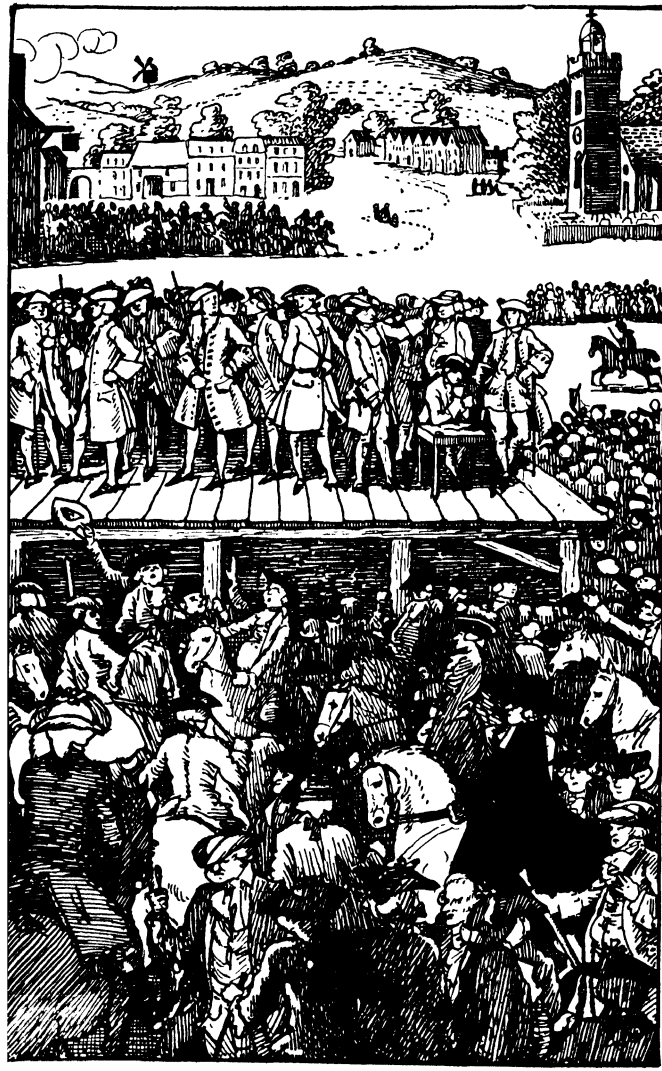


FIG. 51.—The Kentish Election in 1734.
Adapted from an old print.

country round. The picture shows the election for Kent

in 1734, held in the little town of Maidstone. The returning officer is sitting at a table, and the candidates are standing on each side. One candidate is speaking, but the men of the other party in the crowd are shouting so loudly that not very much can be heard. The Tories in the crowd are wearing oak-leaves in their hats, in memory of Charles II. Some of the Whigs are carrying sticks, and there is a Whig clergyman in a long black coat on horseback. In the distance, another procession is starting from the inn.

Three or four days after the nomination day, the voting began. This took place publicly, usually upon the hustings. At the present day men vote secretly, by ballot,* and in polling stations. Each voter is given a paper, containing the names of the two candidates, with a square space after each. He puts a cross in the space after the name of the man for whom he votes. He folds the paper up, and puts it in a ballot-box. When the votes are counted, no one knows who put the cross on any one paper. In those days a man had to walk up the wooden steps to the platform. Then he had to take a solemn oath, upon the Bible, that he was the man he said he was. Then he had openly to write his name, or put a mark if he could not write, on a big sheet of paper, under the name of the two men for whom he voted. The election sheet of 1754 for the borough of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk is shown on page 174. There were only 28 voters in the whole borough. Richard Raymont and Thomas Johnson could not write. You can read the names of three of the candidates, but the name of the fourth candidate is torn away. Everybody could see on this paper how a man voted. Sometimes, therefore, men were too frightened to vote as they pleased.

* See the illustration of a ballot sheet on page 247.

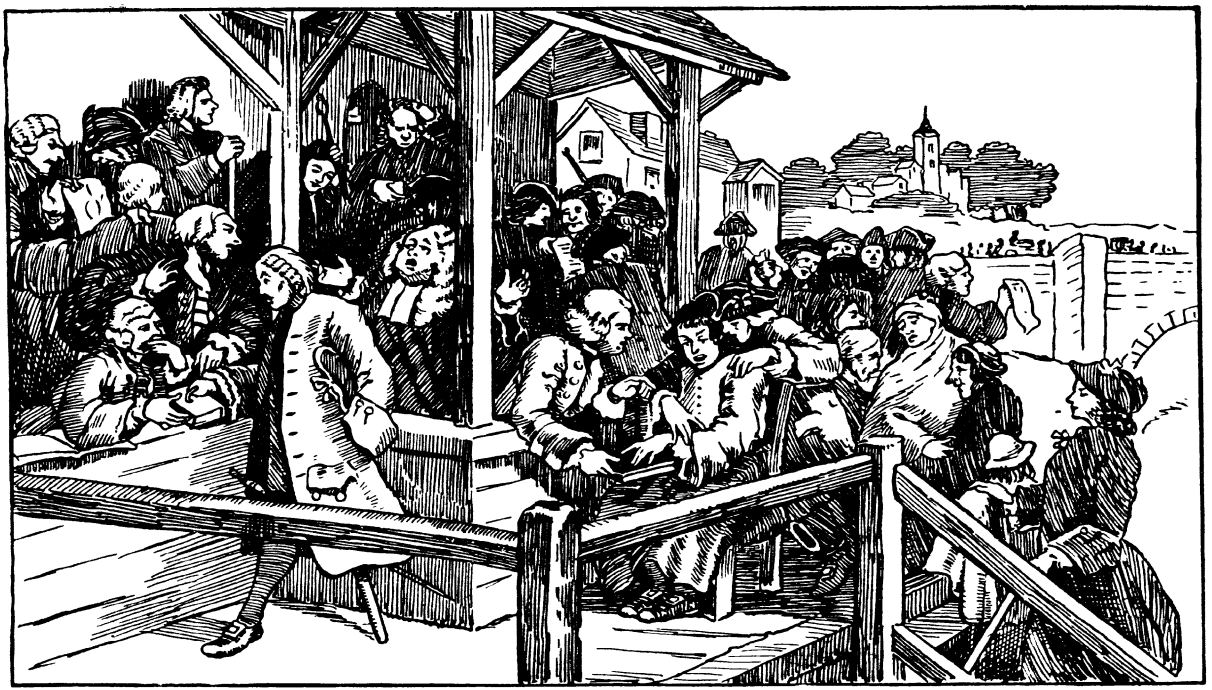


FIG. 52.—A mocking picture of the Hustings in 1754.

By Hogarth.

This picture shows voters coming to the Poll. On the left, a man with a wooden leg and an iron hook for a hand, is taking an oath upon the Testament which the lawyer in the wig holds out to him. Other lawyers in wigs stand behind. In the middle of the picture, an idiot is being carried up on a chair to vote, and is taking his oath. Behind him a dying man is being carried up to vote. A young blind voter is coming up the steps. Behind, a man holds out a paper to show the crowd the numbers of those who have already voted for one party or the other.

For while the voting was going on, fearful excitement and violence often arose in the market-place, and in the

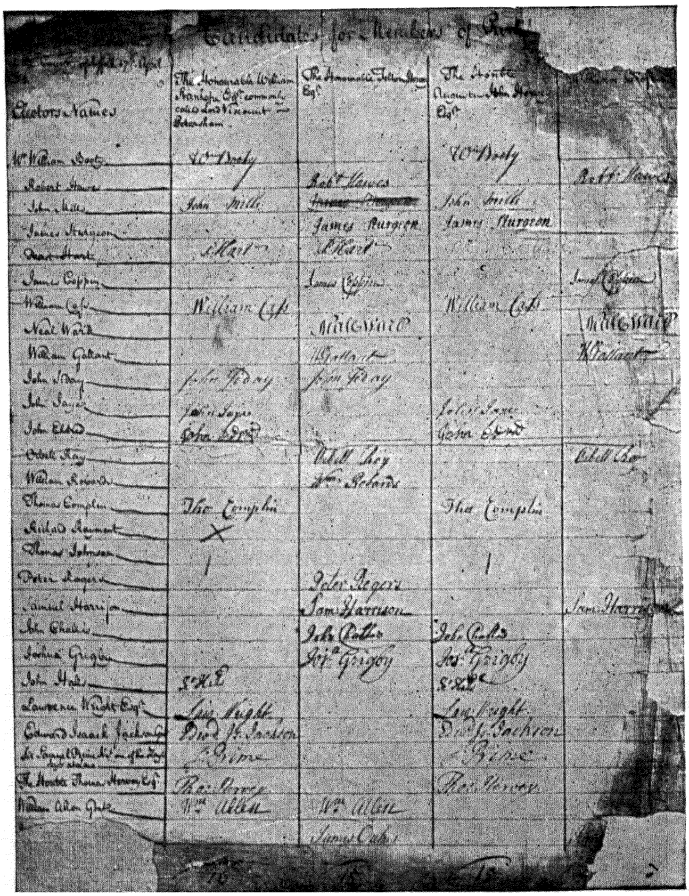


FIG. 53.—Election Sheet of 1754 for Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.
Reproduced by permission of the Borough Council.

streets of the town. Men got excited by watching the election game. Often they drank too much beer. They brought great sticks into the market-place, and at last they began to fight. Sometimes voters were too scared to vote at all.



FIG. 54.—An election riot in the eighteenth century.
Drawn from a picture of one of the Middlesex elections, held at Brentford in 1768.
One of the candidates was named Proctor and the writing on the flag refers to him.

At length, when it seemed as if every one had had a chance of voting, the returning officer counted up the votes. On the Bury election sheet he wrote at the bottom of each column how many people had voted. But in county elections there were often many hundreds of voters. When the returning officer came to the edge of the platform and declared the result of the poll, there was often a free fight in the crowd between the two sides. But sometimes the people waited to listen to speeches from the two successful candidates. These men bowed very low, and promised to serve the people faithfully in Parliament. Little boys clambered up on rails and lamp-posts to listen, and the people shouted, "Hear him! Hear him!" or "Huzza," and waved their hats.

When it was all over, people went home again, and most men forgot all about Parliament till the next election time. Sad to say, moreover, many members forgot all about their promises, and went up to Westminster to serve themselves.

Queen Anne reigned from 1702 to 1714. As princess Anne she had seventeen children, but every one of them died before she became queen. Thus her life was a sad one. During her reign England was united to Scotland. A great European war was waged, in which England won many famous victories under the Duke of Marlborough. When Anne lay dying she perhaps wished that her brother James might succeed her. But she knew that Parliament had long since decided otherwise.

CHAPTER XIX. SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER

On September 18th, 1714, a fleet of ships sailed up the lower reaches of the Thames and landed at Greenwich wharf. The greatest noblemen and gentlemen in England, in rich clothes and costly full-bottomed wigs, stood on the shore to welcome the new-comers. The streets of the little town, and the road which led up to the palace, were full of sightseers. If you had been standing with the gentlemen on the wharf you would have been bewildered, as the strangers disembarked, to hear them speaking in a language you could not understand. You would have noticed, too, that they did not look like English people. One of them was evidently a very great person, to whom every one paid deference. He was rather short and heavy-looking, with dull eyes, and a broad, flat nose. Yet every one bowed low before him. Those of the crowd who were near enough to see him, murmured, "The King, the King." He was indeed Prince George of Hanover, the great-grandson of James I. He had come over from Germany to be King of England. King William and Queen Anne had both died without leaving any living children, and rather than let the crown pass to James II.'s Roman Catholic son, Prince James Edward, Parliament had offered it to this German prince.

Many of the Tories were glad that Prince George should become king, because he was a Protestant. But

there were still some Tories who thought that the Stuarts had a divine right to rule, in spite of the Bill of Rights. They had tried to make Prince James Edward king, as James III. Men called them Jacobites, from the Latin name Jacobus, which is the same as our English name James.

Naturally, King George did not like the Jacobites. Some of them plotted so secretly that it was difficult to tell whether they were traitors or loyal Tories. The king found it simplest to distrust all Tories. He turned his back on several of them when they came to visit him at Greenwich Palace the day after he landed. They soon began to find the Court a dull place. The king was surrounded by Whigs and by Germans. The Whigs taunted the Tories openly. The Germans tittered and turned their backs when they passed. The Tories could not understand what they said, in their harsh-sounding language, but they were sure it was something rude. They began to think that their own stately houses and parks would be better than this dreary life. One after another they left the Court, shut up their town houses, got into their great coaches, and rolled down to their country homes. There they and their sons after them, lived quietly until King George's great grandson became king.

So it came about that all King George's ministers were Whigs. They had much more power than the ministers of the Stuart kings had ever had. King George loved his German home better than he loved England. He could not speak a word of English. It was very dull to him to sit and listen to Whig nobles, discussing the affairs of a country which he did not care about, in a language which he did not understand. He found it much more interesting to talk to his German friends, and to go home to Hanover whenever he had the opportunity. The

ministers used to meet without him, sometimes in St. James' Palace, and sometimes in a part of Whitehall called the Cockpit. These meetings were called Cabinet Councils. There Bills were drawn up for discussion in Parliament, and plans were made, much in the same way as they had been made at the Green Ribbon Club. But the ministers in the Cabinet were governing for the king, while the Whigs of the Green Ribbon Club had attacked the King's Government.



FIG. 55.—Kensington Palace in the eighteenth century.
From an old picture.

Meanwhile, King George I. lived at St. James' Palace when he wanted to be near London, and at Kensington Palace when he wanted country air. The old palace of Whitehall had been burned down in William III's. reign; and the palace of Greenwich had been turned into a home for aged seamen, though George I. had stayed there when he landed. Kensington Palace stood in the village of Kensington, and was separated from London by a mile and a half of very lonely country road. When the Cabinet ministers drove out there to see the King, they ran the risk of their

coach wheels sticking fast in mud, or of the coach being stopped and robbed by armed and mounted highwaymen. This was another reason for deciding things for themselves.

The Bills which the Whig Cabinet laid before Parliament were nearly always passed without any trouble, for there were many more Whigs than Tories in the House of Commons. This was because many of the pocket boroughs belonged to Whig lords and gentlemen, while in other places much money was spent in bribing the corporation or the townsfolk to give their votes for the Whig candidates.

The borough of King's Lynn, in Norfolk, belonged to a Whig gentleman called Sir Robert Walpole. Ever since 1702 no one had thought of proposing that any one but Walpole should be member for Lynn. He was a well-known figure now at Westminster. As he got out of his coach in Palace Yard, or strode up Westminster Hall, people would nudge one another, and say, "There goes Bob Walpole." They liked the look of him. He was stout, smiling, and handsome, with a rosy face and bright eyes. He had a jolly laugh, too. Some one once said of him, "He laughs the heart's laugh." He was friendly with everybody, and men said it was impossible to offend him. He spoke much in the House, and members listened to him attentively. What he said was always clear and sensible. He had a wonderful memory. By degrees the king began to trust him more than he trusted any of the other Whigs. In 1715, and again in 1721, he made him First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.

This made Walpole very busy. He had to find out just how much money it would cost each year to govern the country, how much it would cost to feed and pay the

soldiers and sailors and to pay the multitude of custom-house officers who took money from merchants at the ports, how much must be spent on buying votes at election times and in Parliament, and how much on bribing people to give information about Jacobite plots. Then he had to consider by what taxes he could best raise this money without making people discontented. He had to be careful not to put heavy taxes on land, for many of the squires were Tories, and if King George's Government made them pay too many shillings for every pound's worth of land they possessed they would become Jacobites. At the same time Walpole did not want to make the merchants pay heavy taxes on such things as tea, tobacco, wines, raw cotton, raw silk, and other things which they brought into the country, nor on cloth and other manufactured things * which they carried across the seas to sell, for most of the merchants were Whigs, and friends of the Government. The best plan seemed to him to keep all taxes low. This he tried to do by not going to war, for war costs a great deal of money.

But the other Cabinet ministers, and Parliament and the people, thought war a fine thing. They remembered the glorious English victories of Queen Anne's time. They forgot how much money the war had cost. Thus another hard task that Walpole had was to persuade people that it was better for England to be at peace. He had first to go to St. James' Palace and persuade the king, and this he had to do in Latin, because the king could not speak English, and Walpole could not speak German. Then he had to go to the Cockpit and meet the Cabinet ministers and persuade them. Finally, he had to make long speeches in the House of Commons and

* P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapters XIII., XV., XVI.

convince the members. If he failed to move them by his speeches, he would catch them in the entrance lobby of the House of Commons, or in Westminster Hall, or take them home to his house to supper. There he would argue with them, and perhaps even try to bribe them to vote as he wished.

Sometimes ministers would not be persuaded, but spoke openly in Parliament against Walpole's plans, or tried behind his back to encourage the king to go to war. Then Walpole asked King George to take away their offices from them. For he knew that it was good for the country for ministers to act together, and not speak against each other. In spite of all his hard work and anxiety, Walpole remained jovial and good-humoured. Sometimes the House sat late into the night. Then the sleepy link-boys, waiting with their torches by the coaches in New Palace Yard, would hear Sir Robert's jolly laugh. Members would stream across the yard. Coachmen would come out of the taverns by Westminster Hall. Whips would crack, coaches rattle across the stones. A party of friends would be driven with Walpole to supper at his house in Arlington Street. There he would laugh and talk till dawn, then go up to his great four-post bed, and fall asleep before his servant could draw the curtains. He said himself, "I put off my cares when I put off my clothes." All Saturday he would go hunting in Richmond Park. He was so important a person that the Commons would not sit without him. Ever since his day Parliament has taken a whole holiday on Saturday. That is why people can visit the Houses of Parliament now on Saturdays, even during the months when Parliament is sitting.

When King George I. died in 1727, men thought that Walpole's power would come to an end. George II. tried

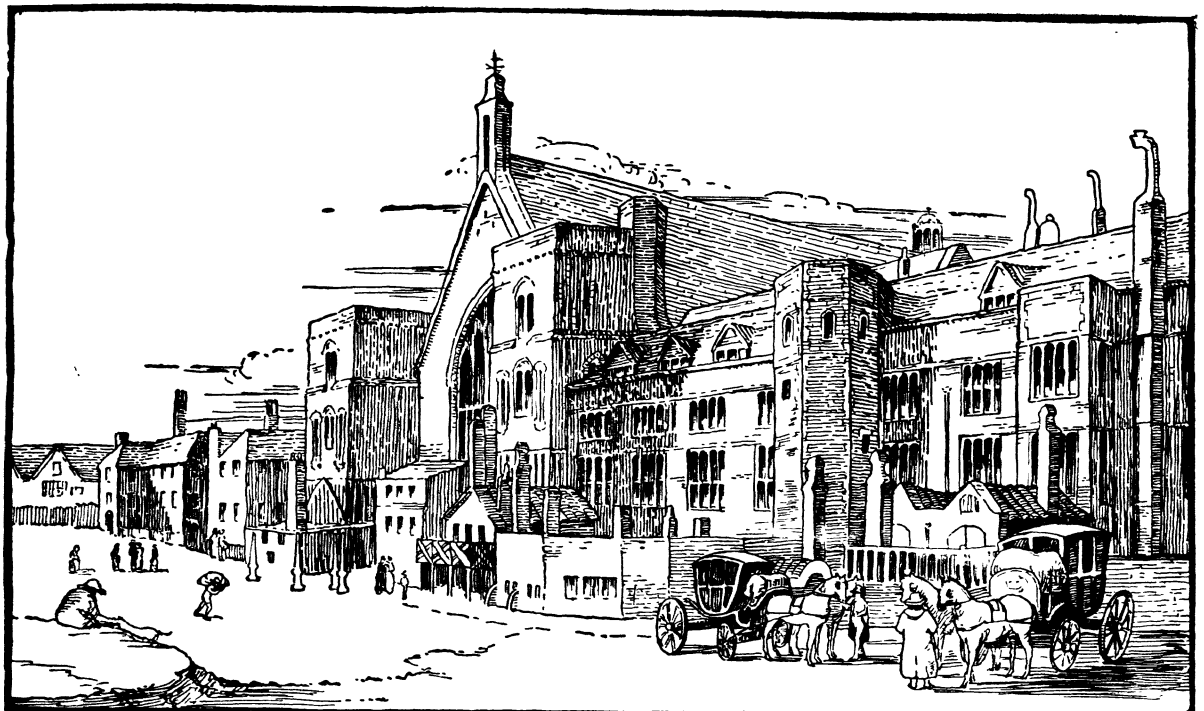


FIG. 56.—Westminster Hall and other parts of the ancient Palace of Westminster.

Seen from the entrance to New Palace Yard. *From a water-colour sketch made in* 1780. The gabled building in the distance, on the left, is the old Star Chamber building, beyond which flowed the river Thames. To the right of the entrance to Westminster Hall, and built right up against it, was Oliver's Coffee House, and to the left, the Exchequer Coffee House. The palace buildings to the right of the picture were probably built by the Tudors.

at first to rule without Walpole, but in a very few days he found that no other minister knew how to rule so well. So Walpole came back to power, and very soon George II. loved and trusted him as much as George I. had done. He was so grateful to him that one day he thought he would like to give him a present. He offered him a house which stood in a street near St. James' Park. But Walpole would not have it for his own for ever. He asked the king to let it always be used by the minister who was First Lord of the Treasury. If you walk up Parliament Street and Whitehall to-day you will pass on the left a street called Downing Street.* No. 10, Downing Street is the very house which George II. offered to Walpole. Ever since his day it has belonged to the First Lord of the Treasury, who is nearly always Prime Minister of England. Another thing which the King wished to do for Sir Robert was to make him an Earl, so that he might sit in the House of Lords. But Walpole refused. He wanted to govern by persuading people that his Government was wise. He thought he could do this better in the House of Commons than in the House of Lords.

Walpole knew that it was not always enough to persuade the House of Commons that he was right. There were numbers of people—merchants, and artisans, and tenant farmers—who had no Parliamentary vote. If he passed a law which displeased them he might have to use soldiers to force them to obey it. This Walpole was determined should never happen during his ministry. One of the things which he was most anxious to do was to put a stop to smuggling. In order to avoid having to pay heavy taxes on the wine and tobacco which they brought into the country, men used to try to smuggle these things in without the knowledge of the king's

* See the plan on page 263.

customs officers. They would bring boats at dead of night to some lonely cove, where others would meet them with trains of pack-horses. By the dim flicker of lanterns, or sometimes by the light of the moon, they would carry their casks and packets ashore through the breaking surf. Then they would load the pack-horses and gallop over lonely moors and silent roads to some tavern thirty or forty miles from the shore. The inn-keepers were always friendly, and would sometimes turn



A Representation of ye Smugglers breaking open ye KING's Custom House at Poole

FIG. 57.

away honest guests who wanted a night's lodging so that the smugglers might use the inn. Sometimes the customs officers would lie in wait near the coves which the smugglers haunted, and catch them just as they came ashore. Then there would be a fierce battle. In ten years, two hundred and fifty customs officers were cruelly beaten, and six were murdered. To prevent this smuggling, Walpole, in 1733, introduced an Excise Bill. By this Bill wine and tobacco might be brought

into England free of duty and be put into warehouses. The tax was to be paid when the goods were taken out of the warehouses to be sold. When a tax is paid on goods which are already in the country, it is called an Excise. The House of Commons was willing to pass the Excise Bill, but the people hated it. They thought that Walpole meant to put an excise on everything that was bought or sold. They said that in this way the king would get so much money that he would never have to call Parliament. They thought that excise officers would be allowed to walk into any man's house at any moment, and ask questions as to where he bought his clothes, and his tea, and his bacon. Crowds went about the towns shouting, "Liberty, Property, and no Excise!" They burnt Sir Robert's effigy in the streets. Londoners sent a huge petition to Parliament. There were so many signatures to it that the papers on which it was written were carried in a line of coaches which stretched from Temple Bar to Westminster. When Walpole saw how much the people hated the Bill he refused to go on with it. He knew that the Act could not be carried out without the help of soldiers. He said, "I will not be the minister to enforce taxes at the expense of blood."

Now, though Walpole worked manfully and cheerfully for many years, yet men grew suspicious of his power. They said that never before had one minister been so much greater than the rest; they called him a "Prime Minister," and many were jealous of him. It became more difficult for him to persuade the House of Commons to vote as he wished. Newspapers were full of complaints; in the coffee-houses men talked against him.

At length, in January, 1742, a majority in the House of Commons voted against him. True to his

principle that he must govern with the consent of Parliament, Walpole went to George II. and resigned his office. The night the news became known a few people lighted bonfires in the streets, but the king fell on Sir Robert's neck and wept, and asked him to come and see him often.

Though Walpole lost his power in 1742, his work will never be forgotten. For he was the first man who ever ruled Great Britain as Prime Minister, with the help and support of the House of Commons; this is how our Prime Minister rules to-day. Walpole, too, was the first who called together a cabinet of other ministers to help him, just as the Prime Minister does still. Lastly, Walpole knew that he must give up his power as soon as he no longer satisfied the House of Commons, and this is a lesson which Prime Ministers ever since have been obliged to remember.

"Let the laws of your own land,
Good or ill between ye stand,
Hand to hand, and foot to foot,
Arbiters of the dispute.

"The old laws of England—they
Whose reverend heads with age are gray,
Children of a wiser day;
And whose solemn voice must be
Thine own echo—Liberty!"

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY (born 1792, died 1823)

CHAPTER XX. THE STRUGGLE WITH FRANCE FOR NORTH AMERICA

You read in Chapter XV. of the kind of life which Englishmen lived in the little states between the Alleghany Mountains and the sea. To the north of the English colonies lay the mouth of the great St. Lawrence. Up this river it was possible to sail far into the heart of wilderness and forest, to a chain of great lakes, whose silent shores were haunted by bears and beavers, and by the tawny-skinned Red Indians. You remember that on the northern shores of the river the Frenchman Champlain had begun to found the colony of Canada only a year after the first Englishmen had settled on the eastern coast. The only way to reach Canada was by the river St. Lawrence. If you had sailed up that river, in the days of George I. and George II., you would have passed, now and again, a place on the northern shore where the thick forest had been cut down. Here a little village of wooden houses, each standing in its own patch of land, faced the river. In each village a church stood among the houses. Beyond the houses and the church were long strips of corn land, and here and there a patch of fallow ground, where a few lean cows and sheep were pastured. Two houses were rather bigger than the rest. One belonged to the priest, whom every one feared and obeyed. The other belonged to the lord of the village. The lord had very little money, for he was too proud to

work on his land, as the peasants did. But he had stately manners, and a dignified bearing, and his servants and all the village folk treated him with great respect.

His eldest son lived at home, but his younger sons used to travel far into the forests where the Redskins lived, taking muskets, powder and shot, blankets, bales of blue and red cloth, linen shirts, knives, scissors, needles, copper kettles, looking-glasses, and glass beads. These and many other things they exchanged with the Indians for the fur of bears and beavers and other wild animals. The fur was sent over to Europe and made into rich robes for the stately nobles of old France.

In this way the French came to know the Indians well. They did not talk about them as savages, as the English did. They liked to make the Indians their friends. When they went to see them they painted their faces red and blue just as the Indians did, smoked the peace-pipe with them, and joined in their strange dances. Of course the Indians liked this very much. They admired the Frenchmen too. Some of the Redskins became the friends of French priests, and learnt from them to be Christians.

Unlike the English, the French, although they were so scattered, felt that they were all part of one great Empire under the French king. The chief cities of French Canada were Quebec and Montreal. But, in the year 1697, while William III. was reigning in England, a new city, called New Orleans, was founded, at the mouth of the great river Mississippi ; and a new French colony began to grow up round it, called Louisiana, in honour of the great king Louis XIV., who was then reigning in France. This new colony lay on the north shore of the Gulf of Mexico, and had a very warm climate. Many thousands of miles of forest lay between it and the older

colony of Canada, and through this forest flowed the shining waters of the river Mississippi and the river Ohio.

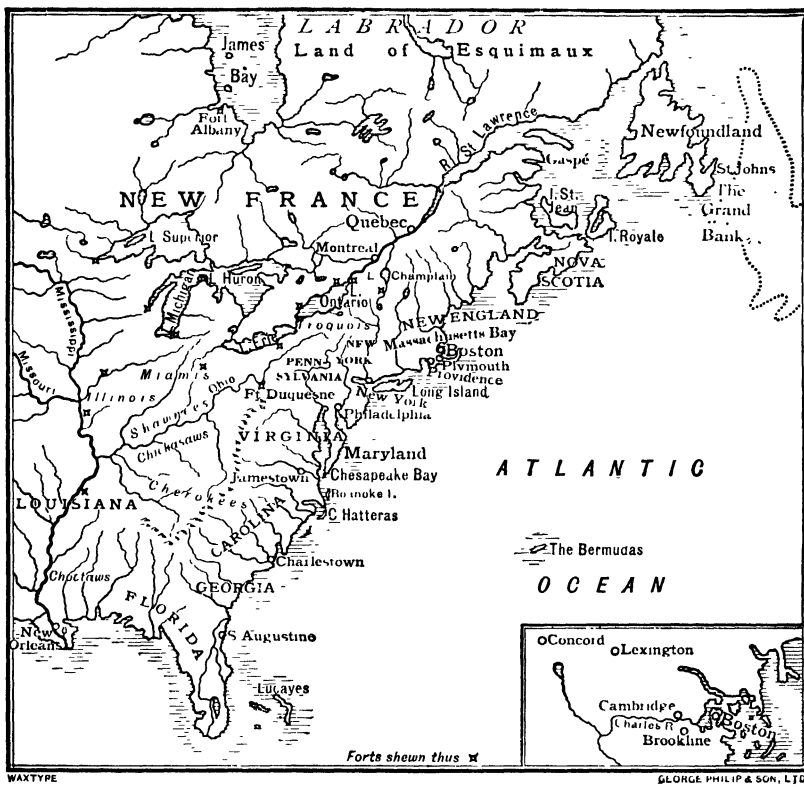
As yet only the tribes of Indians lived in this vast forest land. But, away to the east, beyond the Alleghany Mountains, lay the twelve English colonies which had been founded in the seventeenth century. After 1732, there were thirteen, for in that year yet another English colony was founded, south of Carolina, and was named Georgia, after George II. As yet the English were far too busy cutting down the forest, and tilling the land between the Alleghany Mountains and the sea, to trouble about the forest land to the west of the mountains. But the Frenchmen knew that the day would come when the busy, hardworking English colonists would have cut down their forests, and made farms of all the land east of the mountains. Then they would certainly want to cross the Alleghany Mountains, and take the land beyond.

The Frenchmen thought that if they made friends of all the Indian tribes who lived along the rivers Ohio and Mississippi, to the west of the Alleghany Mountains, these warriors would one day fight for them, and drive the English back. They therefore began to trade with them. They set to work also to make many strong forts from the shore of Lake Erie to the mouth of the River Mississippi, and these they filled with soldiers, and with cannon and stores.

Meanwhile the English colonists near the sea planted tobacco and corn, and went to church and to market; and nearer the mountains they cut down the forest, and ploughed up new land. They troubled but little about the French and the Indians on the other side of the mountains. The only people who were anxious were the English Governors.

Governor Dinwiddie, of Virginia, was very indignant

at the news which reached him of the new French forts, for he believed that the land beyond the mountains belonged to Britain. In 1753 he sent a young Virginian gentleman, named George Washington, over the mountains to the forest land of the River Ohio. It was



WAXTYPE GEORGE PHILIP & SON, LTD.

FIG. 58.—Map to illustrate the struggle of France and England for North America, and also the War of American Independence.

Washington's duty to visit a new French fort which had been built near one of the sources of the river, and to tell the French officer in command that he had no right whatever to be living there in British land. Washington carried his message over the mountains and

through the forests and up the rivers, and on the way he noticed a point where two smaller rivers joined to make the great river Ohio. Washington, unlike most young Virginian gentlemen, knew a great deal about the wild life of Indians in the forest. He saw at once that that would be a strong place in which to build an English fort. He went back to Virginia, and told Governor Dinwiddie what he had seen.

The next year, Dinwiddie sent him a second time, with a party of men, to build his fort. They set to work to throw up first a great mound of earth so as to form a square enclosure; inside the enclosure they meant to put wooden buildings. One day, as Washington and his men were at work, the sentries, posted at the edge of the clearing, heard a crackling in the shaggy forest. Suddenly a crowd of Frenchmen, with guns and swords, burst through the thick undergrowth. They far outnumbered the English, who fled back through the forest and over the mountains, to their Virginian homes. The French built a fort on that very spot themselves, and called it Fort Duquesne. Thus, in 1754, very bad news reached England from her North American colonies.



FIG. 59.—A French soldier of the Eighteenth Century.
The coat was blue, and the breeches and gaiters white.

At first, when he read the letters from Governor Dinwiddie telling of these disasters, the Duke of Newcastle, who was Prime Minister of England, took little notice of them. But, early in 1755, he determined to

send help to the Virginians. One spring day a gallant fleet sailed out of Cork harbour, carrying General Braddock and two regiments of English soldiers. General Braddock had been told that when he landed in Virginia colonial volunteers would flock to join his army, and would bring him waggons and oxen to carry his food and tents and guns across the mountains. But the Virginians still cared more for their plantations than for fighting the French. Very few men joined him. At first he could get neither waggons nor oxen. Then he had a weary march over nearly two hundred miles of forest and mountain, making his road as he went. Very soon Braddock found that his English soldiers, with their long powdered hair, and high-pointed caps, and scarlet uniforms, were absurdly dressed to march through thick green forests and over mountains, in broiling summer weather. Indians, hidden behind tree-trunks, could take deadly aim at those bright uniforms. Now and again a man would fall, pierced by a musket shot or an arrow. On July 9th, he was within nine miles of Fort Duquesne. Suddenly the forest on all sides seemed alive with fire. Bullets whizzed through the air. Men and horses fell groaning, riddled with shot. No enemy could be seen. To be shot down by an unseen foe maddened the Englishmen, who were only used to fighting on open



FIG. 60.

An English foot-soldier (grenadier guard) and a cavalry soldier (heavy dragoon) at the end of George II.'s reign. The coats were scarlet. The hair was long and powdered and fastened in a loop behind.

ground. At first they held close together and fired into the thickets. As their comrades fell around them some broke and ran, others huddled into little knots and fired wildly, shooting friends instead of Indians or Frenchmen. The officers tried to rally the men, but they were shot down like leaves. Braddock had five horses killed under him, and was at last mortally wounded. At length the whole army turned and fled. They carried their dying general back for sixty miles over the road they had made, and buried him four days later under the falling leaves of the forest.

The autumn and winter that followed were full of horror. Soldiers straggled back to the homesteads of Virginia, and over the log fires told tales of terror and defeat. The Indians quite ceased to fear the English. They crossed the mountains boldly. Columns of smoke went up from many a burning farm where they came. Cattle and sheep lay slaughtered in the fields and sheds. Men, women, and children were slain and scalped.

When the news reached England, terror of the French seized men's minds. It was whispered that they were preparing a great fleet to invade England herself. One day in the House of Commons, the members listened spell-bound while a certain Mr. Pitt described what it would be like when the French sacked London. Ever since he was quite a young man he had been much listened to in the House. His slight but graceful figure, his eagle eye, the rich notes of his voice compelled attention. Now members sat white and aghast as he spoke in thrilling tones which echoed to the roof. He described the horror of hearing French guns in the Thames. He said that if such a fate should befall London it would be the fault of the king's ministers. They had no plan. They were always changing their minds. Each tried to throw responsibility on

another. When they should have been organizing armies they went out of town to see their friends. Ministers cowered before him, but when the nation read in the newspapers some account of his great speech, they said it was too true. They clamoured to have Mr. Pitt for Prime Minister.

At length, in June, 1757, Pitt became Secretary of State, and practically Prime Minister. Then he worked as perhaps no English minister had worked before. He passed over old generals and admirals and put young men in command. He sent for them to his house in St. James' Square. They went in trembling at the thought of speaking to so great a man. His high courage and the lightning of his eye thrilled them with hope and patriotism. "No one," they said, "ever left Pitt's closet without feeling himself a braver man." He fired the discontented Scots with zeal by creating two Highland regiments, led by the chiefs, and dressed in the tartans of their own clans. At his word the great cities of England vied with one another to raise huge sums of money to pay soldiers and sailors to defend our shores. He sent sixty thousand seamen and eighty-six thousand



FIG. 61.—Portrait of William Pitt.
From the National Portrait Gallery.

soldiers to America, to seize the St. Lawrence, to capture Fort Duquesne, and to drive the French for ever out of Canada. Every order he gave was clear. He expected his generals and admirals to be as exact and as prompt in action as he was in organization.

In November, 1758, General Forbes, with five hundred Highlanders, took Fort Duquesne, and renamed it Pittsburg. "I have used the freedom of giving your name to Fort Duquesne," he wrote to Pitt, "as I hope it was in some measure the being actuated by your spirits that now makes us masters of the place." In 1758, James Wolfe * helped to take Louisburg at the mouth of the St. Lawrence. In September, 1759, he captured Quebec. By the end of 1760 the city of Montreal was captured, and thus the French were driven from their last stronghold in Canada. In three years Pitt had raised Englishmen from panic and despair to patriotism and pride. He had laid the foundations of the British Empire, and made England the greatest sea power in the world.

Fortunately, in her triumph Britain was wise and just. Though French Canadians were henceforth subjects of the King of England, they were allowed to keep their own laws, their own language, and their own Roman Catholic faith.

The following words were written by an officer in Wolfe's army, the day after the famous battle whereby the British won Quebec, and in which the gallant French commander, Montcalm, was mortally wounded:—

"The Sieur de Montcalm died last night; when his wound was dressed, and he settled in bed, the Surgeons who attended him were desired to acquaint him ingenuously with their sentiments of him, and being answered that his wound was mortal, he calmly replied, 'he was glad of it': his Excellency then demanded, —whether he could survive it long, and how long? He was told 'about a dozen hours, perhaps more, peradventure less.' 'So much the better,' rejoined this eminent warrior; 'I am happy I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec.'"

* P. P. Histories, Teacher's Story Book, Part III. The Story of General Wolfe.

CHAPTER XXI. THE UNION OF SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND.

In the year 1660, when Charles II. came back to England, Scotland was still a poor and backward country. Edinburgh and Glasgow were her two biggest towns. They were among the most beautiful cities in Europe. But their streets were dirty and ill-paved. Refuse from the houses was thrown out into the open gutters, and only half cleared by men with wheelbarrows. Pigs rooted all day in the filth. The houses, sometimes eight or ten stories high, were dark and poorly furnished. Many had wooden boards in the windows instead of glass. Beds were hidden in the sitting-rooms. The servants slept under the kitchen dresser or in a drawer, and went about the house all day barefoot.

When the Scottish Parliament sat, fashionable people came to Edinburgh. The one hundred and forty-five nobles, and one hundred and sixty commoners, brought their wives and servants. Lodgings were let. Shops were full of purchasers. The streets were thronged with sedan chairs. Every day the citizens might see the king's High Commissioner, who came to represent the king himself, rumbling in his great coach up the High Street to the Parliament House. Here nobles and commons sat together, instead of being divided into two Houses as they are in England.

When the session was over the members went home. A few wealthy people drove in coaches. The rest rode

on horseback. The town was quiet again. A few ships rode in Leith harbour, carrying coarse woollen "plaiding,"

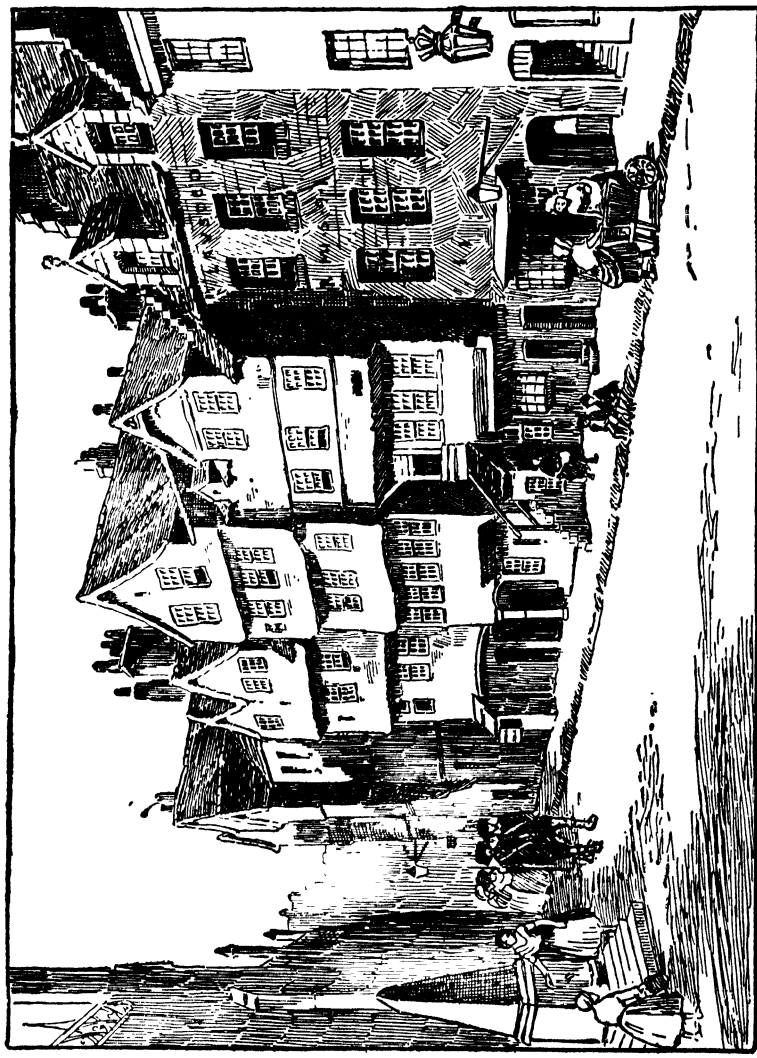


FIG. 62.—The upper or western end of the High Street, Edinburgh.
From a book published in 1848.

linen yarn, and salt, to the continent. Now and again a pedlar, or a train of pack-horses, would pass through,

taking similar goods to sell in the markets and fairs over the English border. Now and again came a Highlander with a drove of black cattle. But the Scots had nothing else to sell. They were not allowed to trade with the English colonies in America; they had to pay customs on goods they sold over the border; for England still counted Scotland as a foreign country. So they made very little money. There were hardly any pennies or small silver coins in the country. Poor folk who wanted to buy a pennyworth of bread, or a pinch of tea, often could get no change for the coin they offered. Very few Scots had ever seen a golden sovereign.

In the country, even in the Lowlands, the people lived in mud cottages thatched with heather. Often they had neither doors nor windows. Even the minister's house or "manse" was a poor little place. It had earthen floors and wooden walls. In his tiny study the minister sat writing his long sermons, while down below, the house was full of the whirr of his wife's spinning wheel, the clatter of cooking and washing in the kitchen, and the lively voices and stamping feet of children. Round the village were a few patches of corn land where year after year the people grew a scanty crop of wheat or barley. There were hardly any trees, or hedges, or hayfields. Beyond stretched miles and miles of lonely moor, or bog, crossed only by rough pony tracks. Amongst the mountains of the Highlands there were sometimes no tracks at all. Round the towns there were better roads, but there were no stage coaches such as carried Englishmen from place to place. Post horses took letters from Edinburgh to Berwick. A traveller who wished to go elsewhere could hire a horse and man for twopence a mile.

All good Scots loved their Church better than they

loved anything else in the world. Large numbers of them, as you know, were Presbyterians. Others thought the Church should be ruled by bishops, and were called Episcopalians from the Greek word Episcopus, which means bishop. But Presbyterians and Episcopalians alike loved simple services and plain churches. They hated the English Prayer-Book and loved the Bible devotedly. Scottish children learned to read it very young, and knew it so well that they came to use its stately language in their everyday speech. They also learned to say the "Shorter Catechism"—a number of long and difficult questions and answers about the dealings of God with man, and about man's duty to God and his neighbour. On Sundays they were taken to church in the morning and the afternoon, and listened to two long and learned sermons. When they came home they had to sit very still and learn Scripture. They were not allowed to go for walks, or to sit with their coats off. They ate a cold dinner because no one was allowed to cook on the Sabbath. During church time Elders went round the town or village peering through windows and keyholes to see that no one had stayed at home without leave.

In those days many English country folk could not read at all. But in numbers of towns and villages in Scotland there was a little school. Sometimes it was held in a barn or cattle byre for want of a better room. The children went barefoot, and had to sit or lie on the floor to do their lessons because there were no benches; but they worked hard, and grew up shrewd men and women.

There were so few roads, and travelling was so difficult, that the Highlands and Lowlands were still like different countries. The Highlanders still lived in clans. They owed absolute obedience and loyalty to their chiefs.

Next to their chief they gave their devotion and loyalty to the Stuart kings. They were Episcopalians. They hated the very name of Oliver Cromwell because he had taken from them their king and their bishops. They rejoiced to welcome back Charles II.

But in the Lowlands most men were Presbyterians. They mistrusted Charles II. They thought he was a Roman Catholic. His first Scottish Parliament passed an Act bringing back bishops, and preventing the elders of the congregation from choosing their own ministers. This made the Presbyterians very angry. In the southern and western shires many of the ministers left their parishes rather than submit. New men were put in their places, but the people would not go to church. Instead, they gathered on lonely moors, or in barns, or mills, and other hiding-places to pray and preach and sing. These meetings were called "Conventicles." Heavy fines were extorted from people who refused to go to church. When they would not or could not pay, soldiers were sent to live in their houses. Their poor little cottages were hardly big enough to hold their own families. They did not seem like home with three or four rough men sleeping in the kitchen, and smoking or drinking round the fire. Often there was not enough home-brewed beer and oatmeal bannock to feed extra mouths. The little children watched with round, hungry eyes, while the soldiers swallowed the supper which should have been theirs.

Men called these people Covenanters, because they renewed the promises which had been made in the Covenant of 1638. In 1675 a law was passed, saying that any one who had any dealings with people who refused to go to church should be fined. Some timid people gave up speaking to their covenanting neighbours over the garden wall, or in the street; they refused to sell them

food or clothes. But the Covenanters only grew the bolder. Conventicles were still held on the hills and moors. In mist and rain, in snow or sunshine, the men in blue "bonnets" and wearing the belted plaid, and the women with plaids over their heads, would wend their way, Bible in hand, to the secret place where the minister had arranged to meet them. They wept when he prayed that the Lord would deliver His people from their persecutors, or as they sang the Scottish version of the forty-fourth psalm—

Yea, for Thy sake we're killed all day
counted as slaughter-sheep.
Rise, Lord, cast us not ever off;
awake, why dost Thou sleep?
O wherefore hidest Thou Thy face?
forgett'st our cause distress'd,
And our oppression? For our soul
is to the dust downpress'd.

They believed that heaven was fighting hell on their behalf.

They declared that Charles Stuart was no longer their king. Several times they rose in rebellion. The Government began to regard them as traitors. In 1684 soldiers were given power to hunt them out, and to put them to death if they would not declare for the king and the Church. Now the conventicles were in danger of being broken up by rude bands of mounted soldiers. The Covenanters crept by secret ways, with Bibles in their hands and swords at their sides. They placed scouts round the chosen places of meeting, to give warning if an enemy were seen. But, for all their care, many a time the soldiers came upon them in the midst of psalm or sermon; they seized the leaders, and asked rudely if they still defied the Government. If they said "Yes" they were put to death there and then, if "No" they were dragged off to imprisonment and trial.

When James II. became king matters grew even worse. He tried to restore Roman Catholicism in Scotland just as he tried to do in England. Now it was not only the wild Covenanters who were shocked. Sober citizens of Edinburgh held up their hands in horror. For Mass was said in a chapel of the palace of Holyrood, and Roman Catholic books were printed in the city. Whether they thought the Church should be ruled by bishops or by elders, all Lowland Scots feared King James, and welcomed the accession of William of Orange in 1689.

It was now the turn of the Highlanders to suffer. William did not like bishops, and the first Scottish Parliament of his reign passed an Act bringing back Presbyterianism. But the Highland parsons would not leave their people. Many a Sunday they continued praying and preaching inside their little churches. Outside, the new Presbyterian minister prayed and preached in the churchyard, with no one to listen but the birds and the silent gravestones. But even more than they hated the Presbyterian ministers, the Highlanders hated the new king. None but a Stuart, they said, should ever rule over Scots. In their turn they tried to rebel against the Government. In 1689 and 1690 there was fighting among the mist-covered hills, because the chiefs refused to take an oath to be loyal to William. At length, in August, 1691, an order was issued that every chieftain must come before a sheriff by January 1st, and swear to be loyal, or suffer the "utmost extremity of the law." One by one the chiefs swallowed their pride, came down from their hills, and took the oath. Only Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe delayed. At last at the end of December he too set out, and travelled through the wintry weather to Fort William. But he found no sheriff there. The commander of the Fort bade him travel on to Inverary, forty miles away, across the

snow-covered, trackless mountains. When he reached the sheriff it was already January 6th. Twenty-six days later a troop of a hundred and twenty Highland soldiers appeared at the head of the wild valley of Glencoe. They asked for free quarters with the clan. The hospitable Macdonald received them gladly. They slept, ate and drank together for a week. On February 13th, before the first glimmer of the winter morning, a shot rang through the air, and a cry went up. The soldiers in the chieftain's house had killed their host and beaten his wife to death. More shots were fired. Men, women, and children fled through the dark. At the head of every path leading out of the valley they came on armed men. Some of them escaped over trackless moor into the mountains, but thirty-eight were shot down. Among the corpses on which the morning light gleamed palely were two women, two little children, and one old man. This was what the Government called "the utmost extremity of the law." Men since those days have called it the Massacre of Glencoe.

When Englishmen heard what had happened they were ashamed. They began to cast about in their minds for some way by which Scotland might be made a more contented, a less dangerous, and a wealthier country. Wise men on both sides of the border said that this could only happen if Scotland and England were joined into one great country, with one Parliament, and with the same laws about trade and taxation. They thought that in this way Scotland would gradually come to share in England's wealth and peace. In 1707 when William III. was dead, and Anne, who was a Stuart by birth, had become queen, the Act of Union was at last passed by the Parliaments of both countries. By this Act Scotland ceased to have a Parliament of her own. She sent sixteen

elected nobles to sit in the English House of Lords, and forty-five Commoners—thirty from the towns and fifteen from the counties—to sit in the English House of Commons. The Scots were to pay the same taxes as English people. They were to trade with England and her colonies, paying only the English customs duties, and not the much heavier ones which foreigners had to pay. They were to use the same money and the same weights and measures. Scotland kept her own law courts and her own Church. The white cross of Scotland was to be joined with the red cross of England on the national flag. This was the beginning of the Union Jack. In the year 1800, when Ireland also was added to England, a third cross was added to the Union Jack.

At first the proud Scots hated to feel that they were no longer a separate nation. Edinburgh ceased to be the centre of fashion. Year after year the Parliament House was deserted. Lodgings stood empty. No fashionable lords and ladies were carried through the streets in sedan chairs. In due course members were chosen to sit in the English Parliament. After their weary journey up to Westminster they met with jeers and stares. Londoners thought their strange speech, and their stranger clothes, a joke. In the English House of Commons they seemed at first to be of no importance. Men hardly listened to their speeches. When they were listened to they were not understood, because of their Scottish speech.

When Anne died and George I. became king, matters were even worse. The Highlanders saw no reason why they should be ruled by foreigners. Twice they rose in rebellion. In 1715 they marched into England to place on the throne Prince James Edward, the son of James II. But when they came to Preston they were driven back.

You know the story of how they rose for Bonnie Prince Charlie, the Young Pretender, in 1745.* After that stern measures were taken. The Government took away all their weapons. For forty years they were not even allowed to wear the Highland dress.

But slowly and surely all this time the union had been doing good. Fine roads had been made through the Highlands. Trade improved. Spinning schools were set up in the villages. French weavers settled in Edinburgh and taught the Scots to weave fine cambric. Trade began with America. In the country, hay and cabbages, turnips and potatoes were grown. By degrees the Scottish members became at home in the British Parliament, and Englishmen and Scots forgot to look upon each other as foreigners or foes.

PART OF "THE COTTER'S SATURDAY NIGHT."

"November chill blaws loud wi' angry sough;
The short'ning winter-day is near a close;
The miry beasts retreating frae the pleugh;
The black'ning trains o' craws to their repose;
The toil-worn Cotter frae his labour goes—
This night his weekly moil is at an end,
Collects his spades, his mattocks, and his hoes,
Hoping the morn in ease and rest to spend,
And weary, o'er the moor, his course does hameward bend.

"At length his lonely cot appears in view,
Beneath the shelter of an aged tree;
Th' expectant wee-things, toddlin' stacher thro'
To meet their dad, wi' flichterin' noise an' glee.
His wee bit ingle, blinkin' bonnily,
His clean hearth-stane, his thriftie wifie's smile,
The lisping infant prattling on his knee,
Does a' his weary carking cares beguile,
An' makes him quite forget his labour an' his toil."

ROBERT BURNS (born 1759, died 1796).

* P. P. Histories, Junior Book III. Prince Charles Edward.

CHAPTER XXII. GEORGE III. AND THE DECLINE OF PARLIAMENT
1760—1770

In the very year when the French were driven from their last stronghold in Canada, the hot-tempered, good-hearted little George II. died. His grandson, a young man of twenty-two, became King George III. It was a hundred years since the people of England had been so glad to welcome a new king.

George I. and George II. had been Germans; George III. was English. In his speech to his first Parliament he said, "Born and educated in this country, I glory in the name of Briton;" and just at that very time hundreds of thousands of his subjects, at home and across the seas, gloried in the name of Briton too. No wonder they sang "God save our lord the King," as they had never sung it before!

Since George had lost his father while still a boy, his mother had trained him. She had taught him to put duty before ease. She had made him very careful and exact; when he wrote a letter, he put at the top not only the date of the year and day, but even the hour and the minute at which he began to write. She had taught him, too, that it is a proud thing to be a king; and she had told him that George II. was not really king in England, because he let first Robert Walpole, and afterwards William Pitt, rule for him. "George, be a king,"

she had often said. One thing she had not taught him, however, and that was that a king should know the people whom he rules, and understand what they feel.

When George III. came to the throne, William Pitt was ruling Britain. He it was who, as all men believed, had won Canada from the French. In the House of Commons, when he stood up to speak, men sat spell-bound by his commanding figure and eagle eye, and by his wonderful musical voice. When the other ministers came to a Cabinet meeting, scarcely one dared utter a word against him, though many hated him because his ways seemed proud and haughty. When he was carried in his sedan chair through the streets, dressed in crimson velvet with lace-frilled sleeves, men gazed at him with awe as the greatest man in Britain. George III. saw that he must get rid of William Pitt if he was ever to rule as a king.

The war with France was still raging, and George knew that, while there was war, the nation would never allow him to dismiss Pitt. He determined therefore to have peace, though Pitt was determined to continue the war. One day in 1761 Pitt summoned a Cabinet meeting, and said that he wished to declare war against Spain as well as France. He was accustomed to obedience from other ministers. There was silence; then, one after the other, every minister except his own brother-in-law opposed him. These men, who hated Pitt and were jealous of him, had listened to the king, and it was now the turn of George to rule. Pitt at once went to the king, and gave up his office of Secretary of State.

Pitt belonged to the party of the Whigs, who ever since 1714 had ruled England. The Tories had, all these years, had no chance, since George I. and George II.

believed that all Tories were Jacobites. Very many Tories were country gentlemen, and they now began to come up in crowds to London once again. The famous Dr. Samuel Johnson,* too, was a Tory, and many an evening in his favourite coffee-house, he talked loudly against the Whigs. George III. now made some of the Tories his ministers. He determined to put an end to the long war and to have peace.

Now, in the eighteenth century, as we have seen, the members of the House of Commons were people of a very different character from those who sat there in the reign of Charles I. Many of them had bought their seats in Parliament. They thought it no shame to sell their votes in Parliament to the king. Rather than let the war go on, George III. told his ministers to spend freely on buying the votes of members. Some members were promised big salaries without any work to do. Some members were paid £200 for a single vote. There had never before been such buying and selling of votes in Parliament. So the Peace of Paris was passed in 1763. Then the king went down to the House of Lords to dissolve his first Parliament. As the custom was, the members of the House of Commons crowded the lower end of the House of Lords, behind the bar. The king stood up in his ermine robes, and made a speech. He said, "I am glad that the Peace of Paris has been passed on terms so honourable to my Crown, and beneficial to my people."

George III. believed that he had won Parliament to vote for peace in the only possible way. But he did not know that there were people walking up Fleet Street, or sitting in coffee-houses, or working in shops and counting-houses, who thought differently about the peace.

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter XVII.

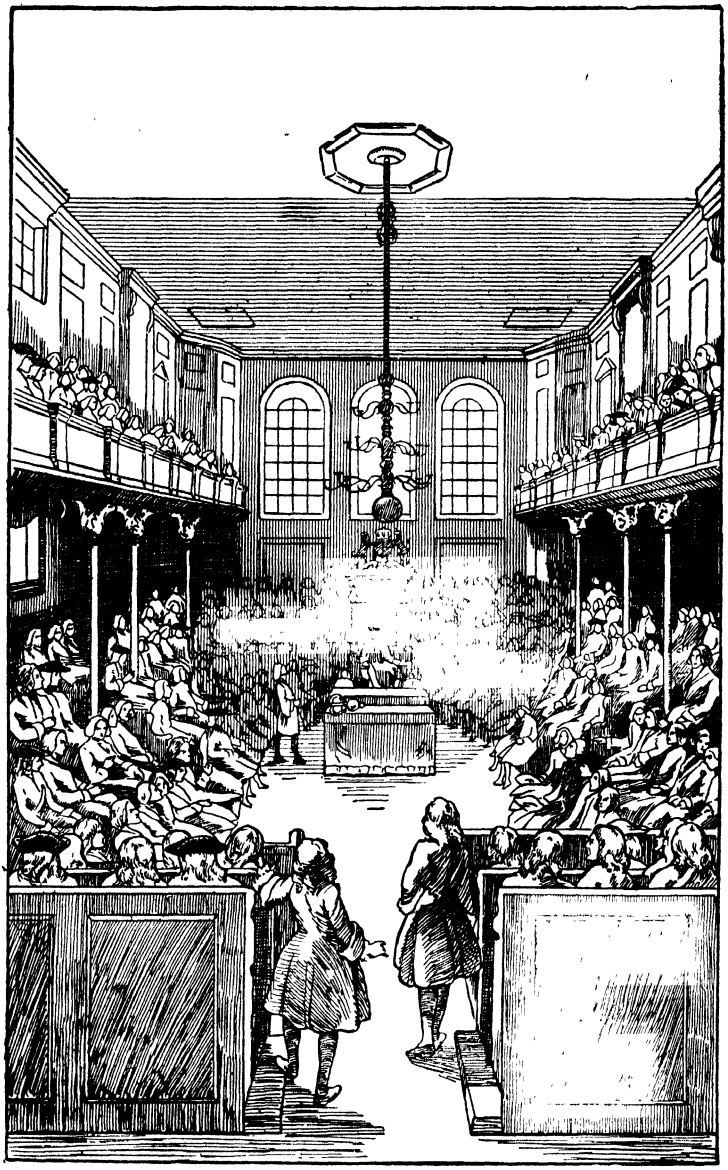


FIG. 63.—The Interior of the House of Commons in the eighteenth century.

The picture shows the Speaker in his chair, and the mace lying on the table before him. The beautiful chapel of St. Stephen's was much altered in the eighteenth century. The vaulted roof was hidden by a flat ceiling; the frescoed walls were covered with wood panelling; and the great east window was broken up into three small rounded ones.

He did not think of the newspapers that were beginning to tell far and wide what was going on in Parliament.

As the king read his speech, there stood amongst the crowd of gentlemen of the House of Commons a member named John Wilkes. He was the editor of a weekly newspaper, called the *North Briton*. He listened to the speech, and then went home to his house in Clerkenwell, and wrote a very bold, bitter, and scornful article about it, and had it printed in his newspaper. At the present day, when the king makes a speech in Parliament, everybody knows that his ministers have written it. John Wilkes blamed the ministers for what they had said in this speech, instead of attacking the king, just as any newspaper writer might blame ministers at the present day.

Many people read the famous copy of the *North Briton* in which the article by Wilkes was printed. It was passed from hand to hand in the coffee-houses all the week. It was read by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London. The Spitalfields silk-weavers borrowed it to read. The working tailors, and hat-makers, talked about it as they sat at work. The coal-heavers and sailors came off the ships in the Thames, to hear what it was all about. For they learned that John Wilkes, and forty-eight other people, even the printers who had set up the type, had all been sent to prison by order of the king's ministers.

Excitement was at its height when fresh news came. John Wilkes and the printers had been let out of prison. But the next news was that the House of Commons had expelled John Wilkes from their House, and had ordered that the common hangman should publicly burn a copy of the *North Briton* in Cheapside. Thousands of people assembled to see this done. When the moment came for the blaze. they snatched the paper from the

hangman's hands, and bore it in triumph away. The House of Commons could not cause a free newspaper to be burned, for the people determined that it should not be done.

After this John Wilkes went to France, and stayed abroad for four years. Though he had been let out of prison he had not yet been tried for what he had written. Because he refused to come home and be tried, he was declared an outlaw; he knew that if he ever came back to England, he would have to go to prison. Meanwhile most people forgot about him. They ceased too, for a time, to think about the doings of Parliament, and went on with their ordinary work.

In 1768, however, John Wilkes determined to come home and interest people once again in the doings of the House of Commons. The fact that he would be sent to prison did not stop him, for he was a brave man. Bad as prisons were too, in those days, a rich man like Wilkes could always pay for a separate room, and have books, ink and paper, and people to see him.

Wilkes came back, and was elected member of Parliament for Middlesex. Immediately, however, he was tried for what he had written in 1764, and was sent to prison in the great King's Bench prison, which then stood south of the Thames in St. George's fields. The working people of London admired a brave man, and they thought this very unfair play. The day Parliament was opened, an immense crowd of them gathered outside the prison. Wilkes from the prison yard could hear their shouts. Suddenly he heard shots, then screams and yells. He was told that the king's ministers had sent soldiers to guard the prison, and that the crowd had rioted. Later he learned that a man had been shot dead. He seized pen and paper, and wrote to a newspaper, saying that

the king's ministers had planned "the bloody massacre of St. George's fields."

By writing this letter, and getting it printed, Wilkes once again attacked the government of George III. At the present day countless newspapers constantly attack the Government. But George III. thought this an attack on himself, and therefore the king's friends in the House of Commons voted that John Wilkes should



FIG. 64.—Courtyard of the King's Bench Prison in the eighteenth century.
From an old print.

a second time be turned out of Parliament. They ordered the voters of Middlesex to elect a new member.

This was a serious matter. John Wilkes, by writing his letter, had committed no crime. Were the electors of Middlesex not to be allowed by the House of Commons to elect whom they pleased? They determined to have John Wilkes; a second time therefore in February, 1769, they elected him. A crowd of people from London went to the election. The House of Commons again refused to have Wilkes, and ordered a third election. The

electors chose Wilkes a third time ; the House of Commons said that he could not be elected. A fourth election was held. Wilkes had 1143 votes, and the other candidate only 296. But the House of Commons ordered the gentleman with 296 votes to take his seat as member for Middlesex.

When this news spread over England people saw that the House of Commons cared only to please the king. It no longer represented the people of Great Britain. Now, for the first time in English history, great meetings were held in many parts of the country to show how indignant men were at what Parliament had done. In Westminster Hall 7000 people came together. For the first time since Oliver Cromwell died men began to say that the method of electing the House of Commons must be reformed. So great was the excitement that some even said that every man should have a vote, and that a fresh Parliament should be elected every year.



FIG. 65.—The Speaker, in his wig, wearing his black silk gown trimmed with gold lace.
From a book published in 1808.

Just at this time, however, in 1770, bad news began to come from America. Men forgot about doings in England. It was another sixty years before Parliament was reformed.

CHAPTER XXIII. THE AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE

In the year 1763, the British colonies in America were prosperous and happy. Mr. Pitt's great war had put an end to the fear of the French and Indians. Some of the places which a hundred and fifty years earlier had been lonely settlements in clearings of the forests, were now thriving towns. In Boston, and some other towns, streets of gaily painted houses, some of timber, but some also of brick, stood in gardens bright with flowers. No one was very rich, but no one was very poor.

In the country, prosperous farmsteads stood in their own orchards, laden with pink and white blossom in the spring, and with rosy apples and brown-coated pears in autumn. There was not a farmer or a labourer who had not his gun, for in America the country people might shoot any wild creatures that they liked; thus they were skilful marksmen. They were skilled, too, in using the axe, and the great wood-saw, the pick and the shovel; for the farmers were constantly clearing new land, and it was hard work to cut down the forest trees, and clear away the mighty roots, and thus get it ready for ploughing and for sowing corn.

All these good people thought very little about Britain, though they still talked of the old country as "home." The English king appointed the Governors of the colonies, but the colonists settled for themselves most of the things

which concerned their everyday lives. They felt very loyal to King George III., and they thought Mr. Pitt one of the greatest heroes that ever lived. But they only obeyed the laws which the British Parliament made for them when they felt inclined.

The war with Canada had cost a great deal of money



FIG. 66.—The old State House (or Government House), Boston.

As it appeared at the time of the American War of Independence. (*Adapted from an old print, by Paul Revere, who was a Boston printer.*) The State House is still standing but it is now surrounded by high modern buildings. The sundial is now replaced by a clock, but the lion and unicorn are still left, as a sign that the building once belonged to the British Crown.

and even after it was over English statesmen did not think it safe to leave America without any soldiers. The Indians might still attack them, and perhaps France might try to recover her lost possessions. Parliament, therefore, said that in future the colonies must help to pay for their own army. In order to raise the money for this a Stamp

Act was passed in 1765. This Act said that every shopkeeper who made out a bill, every landlord who drew up the lease of a house, every editor who printed a newspaper, in fact, every one who wrote or printed anything which he wanted the law to recognize, must use paper which had a Government stamp on it. The stamps cost sums of money varying from 3*d.* to £10 each; it was hoped that the money which the Government received for them would amount to £100,000 a year.

When the colonists heard about the tax they were very angry. They had not forgotten their Puritan great-great-grandfathers who had left England in the days of Charles I. They were not represented in the British Parliament. It was as bad for that Parliament to tax them as it was for Charles I. to try to make John Hampden pay ship money.

A certain Mr. Oliver, of Boston, had undertaken to sell the stamps in his town. Hour after hour he sat in his office waiting for people to come and buy, but no one appeared. One day he heard shouts, and, looking through the window, he saw a great crowd coming up the street. They were carrying a figure or effigy which they had made in his likeness. They passed the office, and went on up the main street. With shouts and groans they hanged the effigy on a tree in the centre of the town. Then they came pouring back. They pulled down the stamp office brick by brick. They burst into Mr. Oliver's house, breaking windows, tearing carpets and curtains, and smashing furniture. They seized Oliver himself, dragged him through the streets to the tree, and made him promise not to try any more to sell stamps. In other towns the same kind of thing happened. Even the quieter people were determined to show their indignation in some way. They bound themselves together not to buy anything which was brought to America from British ports.

In those days American people bought from England nearly all the stuff of which their clothes were made. Now, the wives and daughters of gentlemen and farmers, instead of spinning linen thread for sheets and pillow-cases, set to work to spin thread to be woven into dresses for themselves and coats for their brothers and fathers. They felt they were doing it for the sake of liberty.

When the news of what the colonists were doing reached England there was great dismay. Some men called the Americans rebels, and said they must be punished. Others said that the colonists were in the right to refuse to be taxed by a Parliament in which they were not represented; Englishmen should never submit to such treatment. George III. thought that the colonists ought to be punished. For more than a year he and his ministers tried to enforce the Stamp Act. At length, in the spring of 1766, it was repealed.

George III. hated the ministers who repealed the Stamp Act, and very soon dismissed them and chose others. In 1767, the new ministers persuaded Parliament to place new taxes on goods sent to America. One of these taxes was on tea. Again people bound themselves together not to use the goods. No one would drink any tea. There were more riots. The British Government sent soldiers to Boston, but this only angered people the more. One day, in 1773, a number of men, dressed up as Red Indians, boarded three English tea-ships in Boston harbour, and threw overboard their whole cargo. Then the king was more angry than ever. The Assembly of Massachusetts, which sat at Boston, was dissolved. Boston port was closed, for British warships prevented merchant ships from entering. This was very terrible. Numbers of people who lived in the town made their living by building, loading, and unloading ships. They

were all thrown out of work, just as people are thrown out of work to-day by a strike. Moreover, much of the food of the people of Boston was brought to the town by sea. Now there was no mutton or beef to be had, and no hay to feed the horses. For a few days men, women, and children stood about the streets idle, hungry, and indignant.

In the mean time more British soldiers had been landed in Boston. The Americans hated them. They refused to give them board and lodging. Women and children drew away their skirts when they passed them in the streets as though they were unclean. In farms, villages, and towns far and near, men were silently drilling and collecting guns, gunpowder, and bullets. It might become necessary to meet these British red-coats in battle. Some men were even beginning to say that if Britain would not respect the liberties of her colonies, they must fight for independence. In 1774 the colonies all chose men to represent them, and sent them to discuss what was to be done in a "Congress" at Philadelphia. This Congress was like a Parliament of all the colonies. Such a thing had never been known before in America. Only twenty years earlier the States had been too jealous to help one another against Indian raids. Now they were joining together to resist their mother country.

The commander of the British troops determined to put an end to these rebellious proceedings. He despised the colonists, and believed that they could not really fight trained soldiers. He thought that if he seized some of the guns and stores which they had collected, they would give way at once. On April 19th, 1775, he sent eighteen hundred English soldiers to capture the stores at Concord,* a village of wooden houses, twenty miles

* See Map page 191.

from Boston. As the troops moved out from Boston by night, they were seen by a man posted in the old church tower which still stands in the north of Boston old town, near the river Charles. You can see this tower in the picture, and also the old brick and wooden houses, some of which were there in colonial times. The man posted on the tower had promised his friend, Paul Revere,* that if the British marched towards Concord he would show two lanterns from the tower. Paul, as he paced up and down on the opposite bank of the river, saw first one lamp, then another gleam out. In a twinkling he was on his horse, galloping with the news along the lonely road. The clatter of hoofs on village streets roused folk from their beds.



FIG. 67.—The old church tower and wooden houses at the north end of modern Boston.

This was the tower from which Paul Revere's friend showed the lanterns.

From house to house, from village to village, the whisper ran, "The British are marching to Concord." Silently the farmers rose and dressed, shouldered their guns, and marched away to fight. At Lexington, a

* Read Longfellow's poem called "Paul Revere's Ride."

village two miles from Concord, they stood at bay. The trained British soldiers drove them back, marched on to Concord, and destroyed the stores. But the Americans were not disheartened. All day long from distant towns and hamlets armed farmers and artisans came trooping towards the road by which the soldiers must return. They hid themselves in farmhouses and behind hedges and barns. As the tramp of the British was heard returning along the road they fired. The bullets went cruelly home. Two hundred and fifty British soldiers were killed or wounded. Hot and weary the survivors straggled back into Boston as the sun went down.

The news of Lexington spread like wildfire through the northern states. Farmers left their ploughs and their cattle. Townsfolk left their trades. In a few days a great army was drawn up on the Common outside Boston. It was a strange sight; the men had come in their ordinary homespun or leather clothes.

Congress now chose George Washington to be Commander-in-Chief. He was a gallant gentleman, tall, dignified and modest. The farmers and tradesfolk, who were unused to obey any one, obeyed him without question. He would take no money for commanding the army. He was proud to have left his beautiful Virginian home, his wife and his work, to fight for the freedom of his country. But he had a difficult task before him. His troops could shoot admirably. They could dig and throw up entrenchments far better than the British. But they were not soldiers by profession. It was easy for them to leave their farms or their shops for a short time. But they very soon wanted to go home. Then, too, they were not used to obey, and often defied their officers.

In 1774 Congress had sent messages to Great Britain,

appealing to King George and the people to see that American grievances were redressed. They said that they were loyal subjects of the king, and had no wish to be independent of Britain. But George III. was still obstinate. So it came about that on July 4th, 1776, Congress voted that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." This great resolution was called the Declaration of Independence. July 4th, 1776, was the birthday of the United States of America. Soon it was decided that the American flag should bear thirteen stripes, alternately red and white, and in the top right-hand corner thirteen white stars on a blue ground. The number thirteen stood for the thirteen united colonies. To-day there are still thirteen stripes on the American flag, but there are forty-five stars, because the American people have spread farther and farther west until they have reached the Pacific Ocean, and, in a hundred and twenty years, hewn out of forest and wilderness thirty-two new states.

But even after the Declaration of Independence and the making of the flag, there were still seven long years of fighting before Great Britain would acknowledge the independence of the United States. At last France determined to help the colonists. She gave them money and she lent them ships. This made things so hard for Great Britain that in 1783 she gave up fighting, and acknowledged the independence of her greatest colonies.

CHAPTER XXIV. THE REFORM OF PRISONS

FOUR years before George III. came to the throne, in the year 1756, an English country gentleman, John Howard by name, made a voyage to Lisbon. On the way, his ship was chased by French pirates, and he was captured and carried off to a horrible dungeon in France. While he lay in the dark and dirty prison, John Howard thought of the thousands of men, women, and children who at that very time were in prison in England. Never before had he known what a prison was really like. After he was freed, and came home to England, he never forgot his thoughts and feelings in that French prison.

John Howard believed that every country must have prisons, since there are weak people in every country who would break the laws of the land if they were not afraid of being punished. Prisons are used partly for men and women to live in who have been accused, and are waiting to be tried; but they are chiefly used to punish people after they have been tried and found guilty. At the present day the Government owns all the prisons, and feeds and clothes the prisoners. Every prison has a doctor who takes care of sick prisoners. Inspectors are sent round by the Government. Strict rules are made, and the prison buildings are kept very clean.

In the eighteenth century prisons were very different. The Government did not own them; counties and towns owned their own prisons, and sometimes private people

owned them in order to make money. No inspectors were sent round. There were no rules about cleanliness and health.

In many towns the ancient city gateways were used for prisons; in the towers which flanked the gate, and in the room over the arch, men and women lay chained upon the cold stone floor or bare boards. The West Gate at Canterbury was a prison. London had once used Newgate, its north-western gate, in this way; but in John Howard's day, the gate itself was too small, and a bigger prison, called Newgate prison, had been built close by. In other places the prison was in some old mouldering fortress, where the damp dripped from the walls, and the owls hooted in the roof, and the rats scuttled away into holes in the floor. Or again, the prison was in a building on a narrow bridge over a river. Other prisons were in new buildings, with courtyards, where prisoners could walk and take the air, such as the King's Bench prison south of the river Thames, not far from Westminster. Seamen who were impressed for the navy by the press-gang were kept in prison ships, moored in the river Thames.



FIG. 68.
Old Newgate, once used for a prison.
From an eighteenth-century print.

There were in those days two kinds of prisoners, beside those who were merely awaiting trial. Some were imprisoned because they could not or would not pay their

debts, others for some crime or other wrong-doing. By law, debtors should have been in separate buildings, or separate rooms. They were allowed to buy their own food, and see their friends. If they were too poor to buy their food, the law said that their creditors must pay 4*d.* a day to feed them. But there were no inspectors, and the law was hardly ever kept. In London there was a separate prison for debtors, close by Ludgate and the

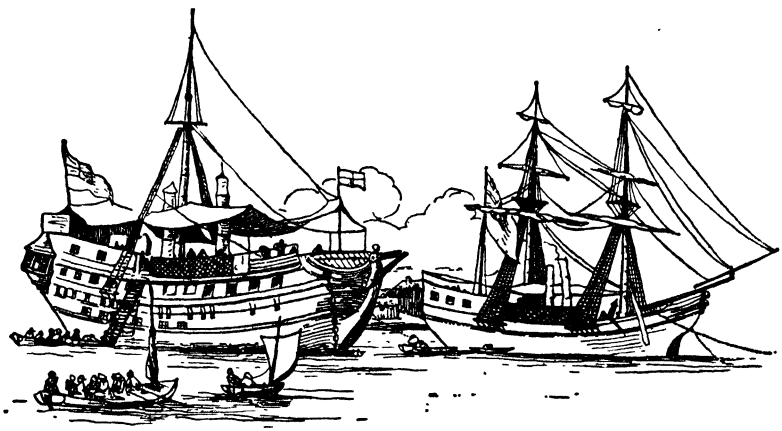


FIG. 69.—Prison ships moored on the Thames for impressed seamen.
These ships were moored close to the Tower. (The two funnels are chimneys for the fires which warmed the ship.)
From a book published in 1808.

little river Fleet, and called the Fleet Prison. But in many places poor debtors, and hardy criminals, and people who were merely waiting to be tried, were all mixed up together. The law said that the criminals and other wrong-doers were to be given one pennyworth of bread a day ; this was not enough to feed them, but very often they were given even less. The creditors, too, hardly ever paid 4*d.* to keep the debtors. Poor prisoners of all kinds would have starved if they had not been allowed to beg. In the wall of every prison was a little

window, with heavy iron bars; through the bars skinny arms were stretched out to the passers-by, and sad voices cried, "Remember the poor debtors," or "Remember the poor prisoners." Kind-hearted people dropped a penny into the trembling hands, and hurried on.

John Howard knew of all these things, but what he had suffered in the French prison made him determine to know more. In 1773, two years before the American War began, he got his chance. He was made, in that year, High Sheriff of the County of Bedfordshire, where he lived, and it now became his duty to see that people who had been tried and condemned were punished as the judge had ordered. He determined therefore to travel round to all the gaols in his county, to see how the work was done. He saw sights which made his blood run cold.

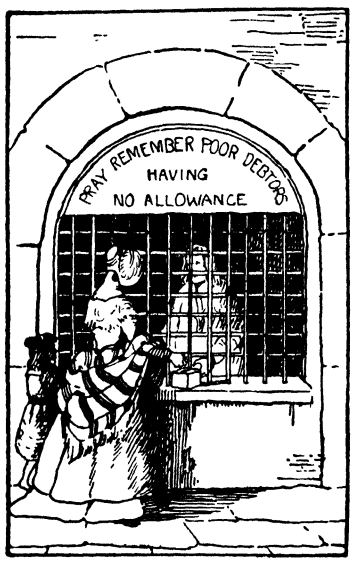


FIG. 70.
From a print of 1844.

He found that men, women and children were herded together, to eat and live in one room. In many cases he found the sleeping-rooms below the level of the ground, with bare earth floors often half covered with pools of water. The prisoners slept on boards, or on old dirty straw, or on the damp bare ground. Many lay slowly dying of fearful diseases. He found that some debtors had to pay three shillings to the gaoler when they were admitted, two and sixpence a week for a bed, and six and tenpence when they

were discharged. Some could never leave the prison again, because they had no money to pay this fee.

The next year John Howard determined to travel all over England to see if other gaols were as bad as those in his own county. This was no easy matter. His post-chaise jolted over the bad roads till his bones ached, and there was always the danger of being stopped by highwaymen. He soon found that he could not use a chaise. The foul dungeons made his clothes smell so vilely that he could only bear them in the open air. So he rode on horseback for many miles in all kinds of weather. The very papers on which he took notes, smelt so strongly that he had to spread them before the fire to air when he got home. He found that the Bedfordshire gaols were no worse than others. He therefore went up to London to tell the House of Commons what he had discovered.

When the members of the House of Commons had heard what he had to tell they were very indignant. They passed two Acts. One of these said that all prisons must be whitewashed once a year, and that a pump of pure water must always be provided. The other said that people who had been discharged were not to be detained in prison because they could not pay the fees to their gaolers. John Howard was so pleased when these Acts were passed, that he himself paid for enough copies of them to be printed for every gaoler in England to have one.

Unfortunately, the gaolers took very little notice of the Acts, and the magistrates did not trouble to see that they were enforced. But John Howard did not despair. He travelled all round England again three times, in 1775, 1782, and 1787. He travelled on the Continent of Europe to see the prisons there; and he found that few foreign countries had such shameful prisons as England. He spent £30,000 in travelling and in printing. In 1790 this

brave man caught the deadly gaol-fever, while visiting a prison, and died.

In spite of John Howard's work, for a long time little was done. But in February, 1813, a Quaker lady, Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, determined to visit the women prisoners in the great London gaol of Newgate, to see what help she could give them. No woman had ever dared to do such a thing before. The prisoners were so wild and lawless that the Governor of the gaol was afraid to go in amongst them. The gaoler asked Elizabeth Fry and the friend who went with her to leave their watches behind lest the women should snatch them. They refused, for they knew that to trust people who have done wrong is one of the surest ways of helping them to begin to do right. But, with all her courage, Elizabeth Fry was not prepared for the sight which she saw when she entered the ward. There were three hundred women of all ages, many of them with babies and little children. The moment the door was opened the sound of swearing, fighting, and singing reached the visitors' ears. Most of the prisoners were in rags As they caught sight of the ladies they gathered round them and began to beg clamorously.

At first Elizabeth Fry only thought of how she could provide decent clothing for these poor creatures. In those early spring days her little daughters helped her to make green woollen dresses for them. She was afraid that they were so wild that it was useless to try to improve them. But as she continued her visits, her sweet, grave face, and beautiful voice, seemed to make peace in the place. The women became quieter and gentler when she came in; they ceased to beg; their faces softened into smiles. Elizabeth Fry grieved most for the poor little half-clad children shut up there with their mothers, without fresh air, or good food, or

anything to do. She saw that many people were not really wicked when they came into prison, but that they learned to be so because there seemed nothing to do in the prison but gamble, fight, and swear.

One day when she went into the ward, silence fell, and the women gathered round her as usual. She asked them if they would like to have a school started for the children and young women. At her words their dull faces brightened. She asked them to choose a teacher from among themselves, and she promised to get leave to use an empty cell as a schoolroom. On her next visit she found that they had chosen Mary Connor to be their teacher. She was a young woman who had lately been sent to prison for stealing a watch. The next day the school was opened. A few months later a gentleman who visited the prison found the scholars neat and quiet; several of them had learned to read and write, and many could say their letters.

As she came to know the women better, Elizabeth Fry found that no one had ever taught them the greatest thing of all. She determined, therefore, to teach them something of the love of God. One day she gathered them round her and read to them, in a low and solemn voice, the parable of the vineyard from the twentieth chapter of St. Matthew. "And about the eleventh hour," she read, "he went out and found others standing idle, and said unto them, Why stand ye here all the day idle? They say unto him, Because no man hath hired us. He saith unto them, Go ye also into the vineyard; and whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive." These poor women were like the labourers who were hired at the eleventh hour. When she had finished reading, some of them asked her who Christ was. No one had ever spoken of Him to them before. As the months passed

she read to them and prayed with them often. She saw their faces soften, and heard their voices grow gentler. At last she determined to find occupation for them, and to ask them if they would obey certain rules.

One Sunday afternoon Elizabeth Fry visited Newgate with the Sheriff of London and the magistrates. She called the women round her and proposed her plan. The prisoners were to be divided into groups of twelve, and each group was to choose its own monitor to keep order. They were to be provided with knitting and sewing to do for the prisoners in Botany Bay. They were to promise to keep certain rules—not to play cards, swear, or quarrel, not to idle at the prison grating, to come to their work with clean hands and faces, to attend Scripture reading every morning and evening. A matron was to be appointed to take care of the work and to see that the rules were kept. The keeper of the prison allowed Elizabeth Fry to have the laundry whitewashed and turned into a workroom, and the women were provided with clean blue aprons to wear.

It was not only among the prisoners of Newgate that Elizabeth Fry worked. She travelled about the country, and even into Russia, France, and Germany, persuading the governors of gaols to try to make their prisoners decent and orderly, to give them occupation and to teach them.

In those days, men and women who were committed to prison for very long periods of years, were often transported by ship far away from home and country, to Botany Bay, in Australia. Elizabeth Fry cared for them too. She went to see them before they embarked, and gave them clothing and a Bible each. She persuaded the Government to take better care of them at the end of their long weary voyage.

In Elizabeth Fry's time many other changes had still

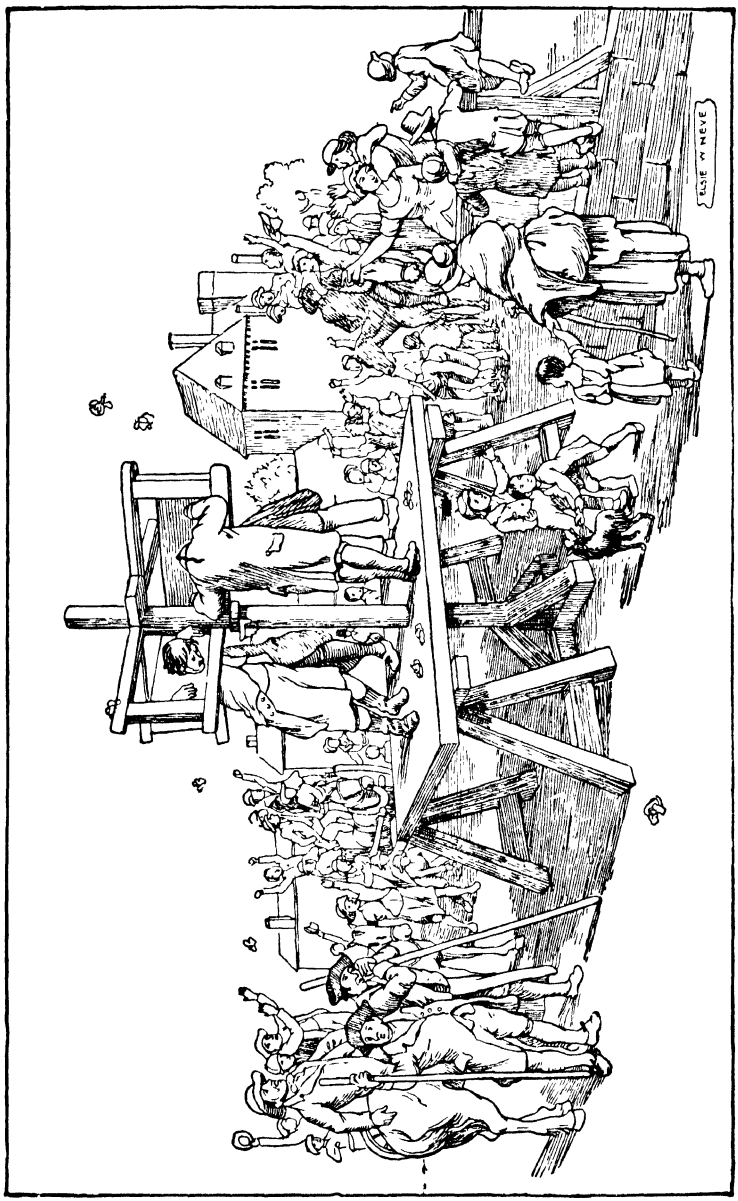


FIG. 71.—Four men standing in the pillory.

From a book published in 1808.

to be made. Up to 1837 the cruel old punishment of putting men to stand in the pillory could even yet be used. Our picture was drawn in 1808, but as late as 1830 a man was punished in this way in London. People could still be hanged for stealing, and the great Sir Samuel Romilly died broken-hearted in 1818, because he had tried in vain for many years to persuade Parliament to alter such a wicked law.

Since those days much has been done by men and women whose names history will never tell. Since Elizabeth Fry's time, many of the old unhealthy prisons have been pulled down, and new ones have been built, with separate cells. There are yards for exercise, and proper food and water. All prisons now belong to Government. Gaolers are not allowed to take fees, and prisoners are allowed to earn money by doing work.

The names of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry will never be forgotten. Men and women are still carrying on the work that they began. The day will perhaps come when there will be no need for prisons.

THE DUNGEON.

"And this place our forefathers made for man!
This is the process of our love and wisdom,
To each poor brother who offends against us—
Most innocent, perhaps—and what if guilty?
Is this the only cure? Merciful God!
. . . .
With other ministrations thou, O nature!
Healest thy wandering and distempered child:
Thou pourest on him thy soft influences,
Thy sunny hues, fair forms, and breathing sweets,
Thy melodies of woods, and winds, and waters,
Till he relent, and can no more endure
To be a jarring and a dissonant thing,
Amid this general dance and minstrelsy;
But, bursting into tears, wins back his way,
His angry spirit healed, and harmonized
By the benignant touch of love and beauty."

Part of a poem written by Coleridge in 1798.

CHAPTER XXV. THE REFORM OF PARLIAMENT. 1815–1832

GEORGE III. reigned over England for sixty years, from 1760 to 1820. He was eighty-two when he died.

During these sixty years, great changes had passed over the country.* The population had nearly doubled. In a large number of villages the old open fields had been enclosed, and many of the little farmers who owned their own lands, had sold them. In some cases poor gentlemen had done the same. There were now, in many a village, only a big landowner, some tenant-farmers renting land, and labourers without any land. The old village industries, too, the spinning and weaving in cottages, were fast going.

On the other hand, in the midlands and north of England, factories and big towns were rapidly growing up. In 1769 James Watt had improved Newcomen's steam-engine; he had afterwards made it pump water and raise coal from coal-mines; he had made it work blast-furnaces for smelting iron, and turn immense machines for spinning and weaving cotton, linen, silk, and wool. Therefore great numbers of people had left the south and south-east of England, and had gone to live near the coal-fields in Lancashire, Yorkshire, and the midlands.

Some of the people in these towns had grown very rich. Men whose fathers and grandfathers worked on

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapters XX. to XXIII.

farms and in cottages, now lived in large houses, and paid hundreds of workmen. Other men, less fortunate, were very poor. They lived in little houses, built in great haste, in narrow crowded streets. Food and clothes were very dear; wages were very low; men, women, and children seldom had enough to eat.

Many of these great changes had happened during the long years when England and other countries in Europe were at war with France. From 1793 to 1815, with only one short break, that Great War had raged. Nelson had fought and died at Trafalgar.* Wellington had won victory after victory in Spain. Napoleon Bonaparte had at last been defeated at the Battle of Waterloo. During those years, armies trampled down cornfields in every country in Europe, and men in all those countries had to defend their homes. In Britain alone there was no fighting, so that Englishmen and Scotchmen could grow corn, and so could manufacture guns, ammunition, clothes, and other things which foreign countries needed. No wonder factories grew up, and farmers became wealthy with growing corn. No wonder that, during those years, Cabinet and Parliament were too busy with war to trouble much as to how men were living and working at home.

But when peace came in 1815, many men hoped for a change. The workers thought that they would now be better off; Parliament would perhaps spare time to think of them. Soon, however, things grew worse. Thousands of men who had served in the army and navy were dismissed, and wanted work. The factories where guns, ammunition, and soldiers' clothes were made, turned off numbers of men. Foreign countries began to grow their own corn and manufacture their own goods once again. Coal mines, iron mines, blast furnaces, cotton mills,

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book III. Nelson.

dismissed men, women, and children. Farmers, too, dismissed their hands. Bread was so dear that starving people cooked and ate weeds.

The people were very ignorant, for there were very few schools, and few had time to go to them. They behaved therefore as ignorant people might be expected to do. In some of the villages hungry labourers set fire to corn-ricks and farm buildings, to punish the farmers; but the farmers could not help matters, for many of them were ruined and were leaving their farms. In many manufacturing districts the workmen came in gangs to the factories, and broke the new machines, thinking that machines had flung them out of work. The miners rioted too.

Then it sometimes happened, that a man in a factory or mine would tell his fellows that it was Parliament, not the owner of the factory or mine, who could help them. "Parliament alone," he would say, "can order that all men shall have work, and proper wages, and can cause bread to be sold cheap." When they stopped to eat their bit of bread for dinner, such a man would hold a meeting, watching carefully lest the foreman should come by. In many places secret societies of workmen were formed to discuss how Parliament could be made to alter things. Sometimes big meetings were held which grew riotous and disorderly. Once in London, in 1816, an immense meeting of hungry men was held in a place called Spa Fields. They were eager to hear what could be done. Then a headstrong person got up and offered to lead them, if they would come and take whatever they wanted out of shops and houses. They followed him, and there was a fearful riot in the streets Once, in 1819, in a big field called St. Peter's Field, near Manchester, 60,000 people came together to hear what a certain country gentleman,

named Mr. Hunt, had to say. Hunt had become quite famous by going about the country and addressing meetings, and telling starving people that Parliament could put things right. The Manchester magistrates were terrified to think what this great meeting might do. They sent for soldiers to help them, and when Mr. Hunt began to speak, these soldiers were sent to arrest him, and to scatter the crowd. Fearful confusion followed; a few people were killed, and others were wounded. The angry people called this the "Battle of Peterloo."

Now Hunt and others like him believed that a Parliament could put things right. But they thought it must be a Parliament which working men had helped to elect. They wanted the vote for every grown-up man in the country, and they wanted a new General Election every year. These men were called the "Radicals." They hoped by these enormous meetings to frighten Parliament into passing such a Bill. Instead, however, they frightened Parliament into trying to stop men from holding meetings at all. Mr. Hunt was put into prison for two and a half years, and in 1819 six Acts were passed to put down such doings. Everybody had been thoroughly frightened by the Radicals, and the consequence was that not till nearly fifty years later did working men get the vote.

In the meanwhile, however, many thoughtful people who were no friends of Radicals began to wish, as men had wished in the days of John Wilkes, that Parliament could be reformed. They saw that the way in which the House of Commons was elected was now more unfair and ridiculous than ever. Hardly any but rich landlords voted in the election of members for a county, because there were now very few small owners of land left. In the boroughs there was more bribery than ever. Then, too, even in 1700 some

big towns had returned no members to Parliament. These towns, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, Wolverhampton had now become immense; and many former villages had become towns. By far the largest number of people had now gone to live in the north, and north-west, where there were the fewest boroughs.* The very wealthiest employer in these big new towns, if he did not happen to own freehold land, had not a vote any more than his workmen had. If he was very rich indeed, and was ready to pay £6000 or £7000, he could sometimes buy a seat for himself as a member of Parliament; but rich employers were busy men, and could not often spare time to leave their work.

Now many people who thought that it would be dangerous to give starving working men the vote, thought that all men who were fairly well off should have it. They thought, too, that big towns should have members, and not little villages, and that big counties should have more members than small ones.

In 1820 George III. died, and his son, the Prince Regent, became George IV. There was in the House of Commons at that time, a young man named Lord John Russell, a son of the Duke of Bedford. Lord John Russell set to work to persuade Parliament to pass a Reform Bill. The members of Parliament did not want a Reform Bill. When Lord John Russell got up to speak, most of them walked out of the House of Commons. The Tories told him that it was both absurd and wrong to try to alter the way of electing a Parliament which their wise forefathers for hundreds of years had used. Many of the Whigs said the same. Thus things went on all through the reign of George IV. At last, in 1830, William IV. came to the throne.

* See the map on page 168.

It happened that this was a time of such poverty and misery as England has seldom known. At the present day we can scarcely picture what it must have been like. Thousands of families were living in damp cellars beneath the level of the ground, or in tiny garrets in the roof. Grown-up men were earning in some cases only 5*s.* a week. In the country districts the labourers once again were burning ricks and farm buildings.

Many men blamed the ministers and the House of Commons for all this. People who were shocked at the poverty and violence thought that if the House of Commons were differently elected it would pass laws to set things right, and would force the ministers to keep order, and protect property. These people were not Radicals; they thought it would be dangerous to give starving working men the vote. But they wanted everybody who was fairly well-to-do to have a vote.

In 1830, when William IV. came to the throne, there had been Tory ministers for forty-six years, just as in 1760, when George III. came to the throne, there had been Whig ministers for forty-six years. The Prime Minister at this time was the great Duke of Wellington. He loved Britain, and would have died to serve her. But he, and many other noble-minded Tories like him, thought that it would ruin the country to alter the ancient ways of electing members of Parliament. The young Lord Ashley, afterwards the Earl of Shaftesbury, who gave his life to caring for poor children in factories and mines, thought so too; he said he feared to see his country crumble before his eyes. A young man named William Gladstone, who just then came into Parliament, had the same fears. But, in 1830, many other members who for long years had voted for the Tories, voted against them, and the Duke of Wellington's ministry was turned out.

The king sent for Earl Grey, who was leader of the Whigs. But Earl Grey told him that he would not be his Prime Minister, or choose other ministers to serve him, unless he would allow Lord John Russell to bring in a Reform Bill.

Thus it came about that the first great Reform Bill was brought into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell in the year 1831. All the members listened quietly while he explained his Bill; but when he read aloud the names of the tiny boroughs which had always sent members to Parliament, and which were to send them no more, the silence was broken by peals of laughter. Members were not going to vote for a Bill which seemed to them so absurd as that, and when the vote was taken the larger number voted against it.

Then Earl Grey asked the king to dissolve Parliament, and have a general election to see what the people of England would say. Londoners showed their joy at the news of a general election by illuminating the town. They were glad that the king asked their opinion. All over England people who had always been bribed or frightened into giving their votes, now voted as they thought right. The Duke of Newcastle found that, in his pocket borough of Newark and two other boroughs, where the people had always voted as he told them, they would do so no longer the men whom he named were defeated. Many other owners of pocket boroughs found the same. The result was that in the new Parliament most of the members were prepared to vote for a Reform Bill.

A second Reform Bill was therefore brought in, and the House of Commons passed it. But the House of Lords voted against it by 199 votes to 158. When this was known, the people of Birmingham muffled their church bells, and tolled them as if for a funeral, and an immense meeting was held, in which people voted that

they would pay no taxes if the Bill were not passed. Two of the London newspapers were printed with black edges, as if some royal person had died. In some parts of the country the starving people broke into riots. The king prorogued Parliament, but he summoned the next session in four days.

Then a third Reform Bill was brought in. The House of Commons passed it in 1832; and the king had to warn the House of Lords that if they did not promise to pass it, he would have to make enough new peers to carry it through. The House of Lords therefore gave way, and the Reform Bill was passed.

It took two members away from fifty-six little old boroughs, and one member from thirty others, and gave members to forty-three new ones. It gave more members to the very big counties. In the boroughs, it gave a vote to everybody who owned or rented a house worth £10 a year. In the counties, it gave a vote to other people besides forty-shilling freeholders—to people who leased land for a long period of years, or who paid £50 a year in rent.

Nevertheless there were some who felt that the battle of reform had but just begun.

"It is not to be thought of that the flood
Of British freedom, which, to the open sea
Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
Hath flowed, 'with pomp of waters unwithstood,'
Roused though it be full often to a mood
Which spurns the check of salutary bands,
That this most famous stream in bogs and sands
Should perish; and to evil and to good
Be lost for ever. In our halls is hung
Armoury of the invincible knights of old:
We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
That Shakespeare spake: the faith and morals hold
Which Milton held. In everything we are sprung
Of earth's first blood, have titles manifold."

WORDSWORTH (written in 1802).

CHAPTER XXVI. THE REFORM OF PARLIAMENT. 1832–1884

When, in 1833, the first Parliament was elected after the passing of the Reform Act, thousands of people who had never voted before went to the poll. Shopkeepers, merchants, manufacturers, doctors and lawyers, in the towns which sent members to Parliament, found themselves more important than before, because of their votes, and so did the tenant farmers in the counties. Many large towns had an election for the first time in history. Young men who wanted to get into Parliament found it much more difficult than before. For rich lords and gentlemen no longer had pocket-borough seats in Parliament to give away; and the "borough-mongers" who were accustomed to sell the seats for very corrupt boroughs had now none to sell.

When Parliament met, it was noticed at once that most of the members were older and more experienced men; they had won their seats by gaining the good opinion of the voters. It was noticed, too, that there were now fewer Tories and more Whigs than before; for the well-to-do middle-class people, who had newly got the vote, were more often Whig than Tory.

There were many people, however, who were bitterly disappointed with the great Reform Act. In the first place, it had not done away with the bad old method of voting in public. Many had hoped to see the secret

vote by ballot established by law; but a man still had to go openly upon a platform to vote. Thus he could still be frightened or bribed into voting as some one else pleased; at election times there were still scenes of fearful violence and disorder. In the second place, thousands of working men had hoped that the Reform Act would give every man the vote, and not merely the people of the middle-class; they believed that if only working men had the vote, no one would any longer be badly paid, badly fed, or badly housed, and that there would be plenty of work for all. These men watched with angry eyes the elections of 1833. When Parliament met it was found that, besides all the Whigs and Tories, there were a few members who thought that working men should vote, and that voting should be by ballot. These men always sat together in Parliament; and, like Mr. Hunt and the men of 1817, they called themselves Radicals.

Now, there were two great reasons why it was a good thing for the country that in 1832 working men did not get the vote. The first was, that most of them were then terribly poor, the second, that many of them were fearfully ignorant.

Ever since about the year 1800, working-class people had been growing poorer; matters got worse and worse until the year 1842.* Food was growing steadily dearer, because corn, meat, butter, cheese, sugar, tea, coffee, everything in fact that came into the country at the ports, had to pay a tax. There was smuggling in every village and creek round the coast, but smugglers could not bring in the big articles of food. Wages at the same time steadily went down. Men and women worked fourteen hours a day, and more, in factories and mines. Deep down in coal-mines little children and women went

* P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter XXV.

on all fours dragging trucks. This life made men and women brutal. They drank and fought. They would not have been able to vote wisely.

Then, too, not half the children in the country ever went to school. Even the children who did, scarcely learned anything at all.* In many places there was only a Dame School kept by a poor old woman; in other places there were schools kept by very ignorant men; or there were schools where boys and girls taught each other. In 1839 it was found that one-third of all the grown-up men in the country, and nearly one-half of the grown-up women, could not even attempt to write their own names. It was said that many of the poorest people had never heard of God. A famous working man who was born and brought up in a country village at this time said that the labourers "were obstinate, suspicious, and stupid, because they were so ignorant." It was better for our country that these poor people did not just then get the vote.

From 1832 to 1867 Britain was ruled chiefly by men of the middle-class. On the whole, they ruled wisely and well. The leader of the Tories during the first part of this time was Sir Robert Peel. His grandfather, at the time when George III. came to the throne, had been a small yeoman farmer of Lancashire; but when the great inventions in the cotton industry came in, he made a fortune, and so his son and grandson went to Parliament. Sir Robert Peel was a quiet, silent man with a great and noble mind. He was not ashamed to change his opinion. Before 1832 he had opposed the Reform Bill, for up to this time Tories had generally opposed all change. Sir Robert Peel now began to think that what Britain henceforth needed was slow and careful progress. He taught

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., pages 229–236.

other Tories to believe this. Gradually the party that he led dropped the rigid name of Tory, and took the name "Conservative" instead.

The chief man amongst the Whigs at this time was Lord John Russell, who had won the Reform Bill. He, too, like Sir Robert Peel, wanted slow progress. But he did not want the same changes as Sir Robert Peel did, and so he led a different party. Gradually the party that he led dropped the name Whig, and called themselves "Liberals" instead.

The men of these two parties did many good things for Britain. The Tory Lord Ashley, afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury, got Parliament, in 1833, to pass an Act forbidding men to employ children under nine years old in cotton, wool, and linen factories. In 1842 he got them to pass an Act, forbidding women and girls, and all boys under thirteen, to work in coal-mines. The Whigs in 1835 got Parliament to pass an Act abolishing the selfish and idle government of the towns, and so began to give England good local government again.* But perhaps the greatest change of all was made by Sir Robert Peel, who became Prime Minister in 1841. By this time the girl Queen, Victoria, had been reigning for four years, and was twenty-two years old. Poverty and misery were at their height. These years are sometimes called "The Hungry Forties." Sir Robert Peel determined to find out the cause of all the hunger and misery, and if possible to put things right. He found that many men were out of work, because of the heavy taxes which merchants had to pay for bringing into the country things which were needed at the factories, such as raw cotton. He thought that if no tax were paid on raw cotton, the employers would be able to afford to make

* See Chapter XXVII.

more cotton goods, and thus to employ more men. He thought it would be the same with many other raw materials. So he persuaded Parliament to take off hundreds of such taxes; factories began to open again, and work to revive. He found, too, that the heavy taxes on all kinds of food stuffs were making food dear; gradually he persuaded Parliament to take off taxes on many such articles, for example, butter, cheese, bacon, and other things. Instead of these taxes, he made people pay income tax, which we still pay to-day. Farmers and landlords thought that he would ruin the country. In 1846 he had his greatest fight, when he persuaded Parliament to take off the tax on corn, and so made bread cheap.

Many men hated Sir Robert Peel for this, and after 1846 he was never Prime Minister again. In 1850 he was riding near Buckingham Palace one day, when he was thrown from his horse and killed. He had lived long enough to see the beginning of a great change.

For just about the time Sir Robert Peel died, wages began slowly to rise, food began to be cheaper, and there was more work to be done. Many of the most thoughtful working-men had joined trade unions. They no longer set fire to ricks and barns, or broke machinery. Henceforward, though there were many strikes, there were no more of the terrible riots that had frightened people so much.

In Sir Robert Peel's ministry there had been a young man named William Ewart Gladstone. This man loved and admired Sir Robert Peel, and approved of all that he had done. But after Peel's death he gradually left the Conservative party, and finally joined Lord John Russell as a Liberal. In the years that followed, Mr. Gladstone watched the working people, and made up his mind that they ought soon to have the vote.

the Prime Minister, called it "A leap in the dark." But Mr. Disraeli, in the House of Commons, spoke these brave words: "I think England is safe in the race of men who inhabit her."

Great changes swiftly followed. In 1870, when Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister, men began to see that all the people must now be educated. Therefore, an Act was passed to compel ratepayers to build schools where

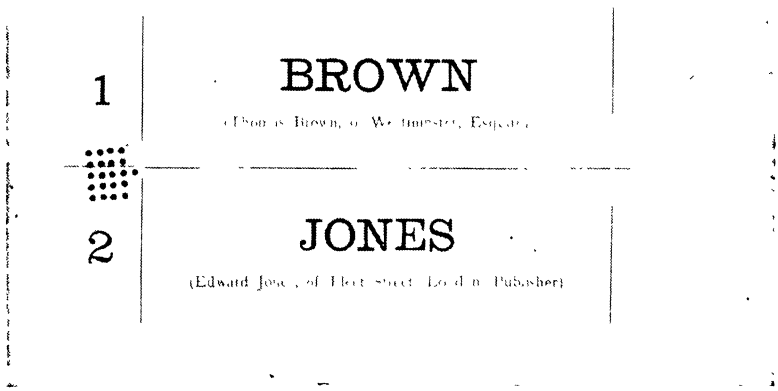


FIG. 72.—A modern ballot paper.

The voter puts a cross in the square space opposite the name of the candidate for whom he votes. The little dots are holes, punched to show that the ballot paper is a real one; otherwise men might forge voting papers, and bring them into the polling stations in their pockets. The number of holes, therefore, varies.

there were none; and in 1876 another Act said that all children over five must go to school. In 1872 it was seen that poor men were afraid to vote if every one knew how they voted; therefore the secret vote by ballot* was established. Lastly, in 1884, when Mr. Gladstone was for the second time Prime Minister, a third Reform Act was passed, to give the vote to every male householder in town and country alike, and to every male lodger who paid £10 a year in rent.

* See page 172.

the Prime Minister, called it "A leap in the dark." But Mr. Disraeli, in the House of Commons, spoke these brave words: "I think England is safe in the race of men who inhabit her."

Great changes swiftly followed. In 1870, when Mr. Gladstone was Prime Minister, men began to see that all the people must now be educated. Therefore, an Act was passed to compel ratepayers to build schools where

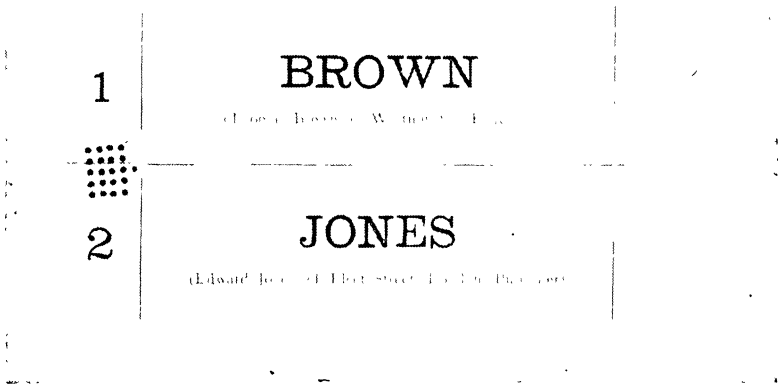


FIG. 72.—A modern ballot paper.

The voter puts a cross in the square space opposite the name of the candidate for whom he votes. The little dots are holes, punched to show that the ballot paper is a real one, otherwise men might forge voting papers, and bring them into the polling stations in their pockets. The number of holes, therefore, varies.

there were none; and in 1876 another Act said that all children over five must go to school. In 1872 it was seen that poor men were afraid to vote if every one knew how they voted; therefore the secret vote by ballot* was established. Lastly, in 1884, when Mr. Gladstone was for the second time Prime Minister, a third Reform Act was passed, to give the vote to every male householder in town and country alike, and to every male lodger who paid £10 a year in rent.

* See page 172.

CHAPTER XXVII. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the year 1830 bad news reached England from Russia. The fearful disease called cholera had been brought from Asia and was spreading fast. It was a dire plague, which seized on those who lived in dirty houses, badly drained and badly aired ; those who were attacked died in a few days, or even in a few hours. In 1831 it was raging in a Russian port in the Baltic Sea to which English vessels traded ; and in November of that year it broke out in the British seaport of Sunderland, on the river Wear. This was a time when all the northern and midland towns of England, and London too, were crowded to overflowing with poor people, living in the utmost want and squalor.* In Sunderland they were living one hundred and fifty in one house, and sleeping five in a bed. Cholera seized on the people of Sunderland, and in 1832 it spread to many towns in England, and raged in the east end of London. Fifty thousand people, or more, died of it.

The cholera was followed, in the years between 1830 and 1840, by other diseases ; typhus, from which no one ever recovered, typhoid fever, and small-pox broke out, and influenza, which was then a very dangerous complaint. People began to ask each other why these diseases raged year after year, more fiercely perhaps than ever before.

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter XXV

At last thoughtful people began very slowly to see what was wrong. Parliament had been reformed in 1832. But the local government, which every town and village in the land must have, had grown worse instead of better since Queen Elizabeth's reign.

In her reign, as we saw in Chapter VII., every village in the kingdom had its parish constable and its surveyor of roads serving without pay. Every Easter Monday or Tuesday, in the vestry of the church, the people met to name fresh officers. The neighbouring justice of the peace looked after them, and the queen's Government looked after the J.P. In towns it was much the same, except that in a town there were sometimes several divisions or parishes, and each parish had its own separate set of officials. In very important towns, called boroughs, there were also a mayor and town council, which looked after the whole borough.



FIG. 73.—The Fleet Ditch, in West Street, Smithfield, as it appeared in 1844.

This worked well so long as boroughs, towns and villages were very small. But since the Tudor and Stuart times the population had enormously grown. In 1760 there were about 6½ million people in England and Wales; in 1831 there were nearly 14 million. Tiny villages had grown into huge towns. Little country places round London had become parts of London itself. The unpaid parish officers could not do their work. The narrow streets, built in great haste to house new-comers, were in bad condition; filth lay in the gutters, and evil smells arose. There were in those days no proper drains; there were no clean dust-bins to put rubbish in, and the dustman did not come regularly to carry it away. People heaped their rubbish at their back doors for many months at a time. In many places there was no good water-supply; in towns where there was a river or stream, the water was poisoned by all the filth that went into it. Thus even in London City, the Fleet Ditch, the remains of what had once been the Fleet River, was a black stream choked with refuse, and overhung by crumbling buildings, as the picture shows.* Many houses had no good water laid on in pipes; two or three houses often shared a pump in the yard, the water of which came from a well. There were pumps left even

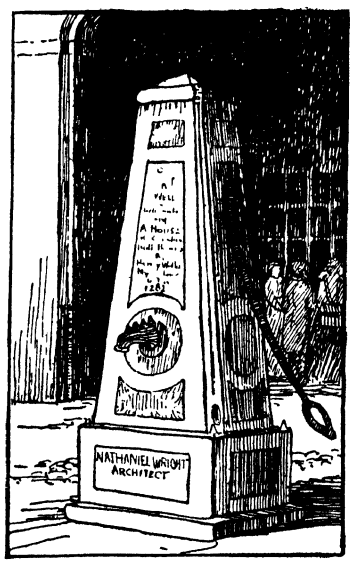


FIG. 74.—A pump in Cornhill, in the year 1800.

* At the present day the water of the Fleet flows through a drain-pipe under Farringdon Street to the Thames at Blackfriars Bridge.

in London streets, and the water was often very impure.

Besides the disease which raged, another evil thing was the unsafe condition of the streets by day and night, owing to the difficulty of catching thieves. Long before this, in the seventeenth century, it had been found that the unpaid constable must be helped by paid men. So the constable's assistant, the beadle, was paid a little more, and was made into an important person in the parish. He wore a cocked hat, and a gold-laced coat, and carried a staff. On Sunday he kept order among the children in the church. By day he kept order in the streets and lanes. But he was not drilled and trained as our policemen are; and he would never go out of his own parish to catch a thief. By night the parish paid a watchman, usually a very old man. He wore a heavy coat with capes, carried a lantern and a staff, and every hour walked round the streets crying the time of night and the weather. "Twelve o' the clock, and a frosty night"; or "One o'clock and a murky morning," he would cry. Then he would sit down and go to sleep in his little watch-box. Meanwhile thieves and other villains did as they pleased.



FIG. 75.—The parish Beadle.

From a book published in 1808.



FIG. 76.—The parish Watchman.

By Rowlandson, 1821.

In many towns matters were made worse by the

ill-lighting of the streets. In older times each householder had been required to hang a lamp in front of his own house. But many towns had tried to improve matters by public lamps. At first these were lighted by whale oil; the lamplighter had to use a flight of steps to clean and fill every lamp, and as the lamp burned only a few hours, it either went out altogether in the middle of the night, or had to be refilled. After the year 1804 it was possible to use gas to light street lamps, but in most places this came but slowly into use.



FIG. 77.—Lamplighter, refilling an oil lamp.

From a book published in 1808.

Who could blame the parish officers for not putting these things right? They were ordinary folk, untrained for their work; they did not know what was wrong.

In the big boroughs, the mayor and town council might have seen to things. In London, Bristol, Liverpool and a few other boroughs, they did their best. But in most boroughs, since Elizabeth's reign, the town council had ceased to care about the welfare of the town Two things they thought of: one was to sell to rich men the right to sit in Parliament as members for the borough; the other was to eat good dinners together every now and then What was wrong was that for two hundred years or so, in many boroughs, the townspeople had lost the

right to vote for members of the town council. Their great-great-grandparents had perhaps been too busy to go to borough elections. By 1834 in many boroughs only certain families sat on the town council; a man sat there because his father and grandfather had done so before him. He knew that they had never done any work for their borough. They had left the parish vestries and the parish officers to do the work. He naturally did the same.

* * * * *

Very slowly, after the passing of the Great Reform Bill, local government improved. The first change was made by the Whigs, in 1835. They put an end to the bad old system of having town councils which did no work in the borough. By an Act passed in 1835, the ratepayers of every borough were to elect their own town council, once in every three years. This was a great change, and to this day, town councils are elected in this way. It was only very slowly, however, that the people of the boroughs took much interest in their town councils. But gradually the new councils began to do good work, and the people in many towns grew proud of them, as they are at this day.

The next thing that happened was the coming of policemen in place of the old beadle and watchman. This had happened already in 1828 in London, when Sir Robert Peel was a minister. They were called "Bobbies" or "Peelers" after him. Gradually in one place after another policemen were to be seen. At last, in 1856, they were established everywhere, in town and village. By 1850, too, all the bigger towns had gas-lamps in their streets, and this helped the policemen to keep better order by night.

Meanwhile, however, people were very slow to believe

the doctors when they told them the danger of bad drains, bad water, and evil-smelling streets. In 1848 another fearful outbreak of cholera came, and many people died. Some were so ill-taught that they believed that God had sent the cholera to punish them for their sins. Parliament passed a "Public Health Act" in 1848, to try to persuade people to improve their streets, water, and drains. But even in 1866 in London the whole of the drainage was poured straight into the river Thames. Fish could not live in that dark, evil-smelling stream. In that year the cholera came again to London, and many died. Then in 1871 Parliament determined that there must be Inspectors sent out to see after things, and a Government Office in London to keep an eye on all England. This office was called the Local Government Board.

Now it is a good thing to have a Government Office and inspectors to look after these things. But it is a better thing for people in country towns and villages to see for themselves that things are rightly done. Every county, every town and every village in the land should be proud to govern itself as far as may be.

After 1835, in the boroughs which had town councils, the people if they chose could elect the right men to govern their borough. In 1888 an Act was passed, to say that the people in every county could elect men to govern their county. By this Act, every county in the land was given a little Parliament of its own, called the County Council, which is elected for three years at a time. In 1894 another Act, called the Parish Councils Act, was passed, by which every village could have a little Parliament of its own, sometimes called the Parish Council, and sometimes called the Parish Meeting. Thus all over the country we have now County Councils, Borough Councils, and Parish Councils. It is our own fault

now if the work of local government is not properly done.

We all know the policeman, the lamplighter, the road-mender and the dustman. We know the fireman too. All householders and lodgers help to pay for them out of the rates, for they serve us all. We should all be proud of the way in which they do their work.

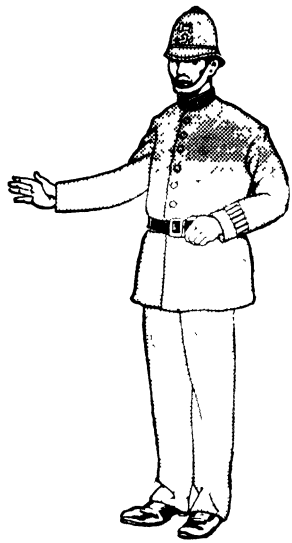


FIG. 78.—A Constable of the Metropolitan Police.

CHAPTER XXVIII. THE POST

BESIDES the policeman, the road-mender, the lamplighter and the dustman, there is another figure that we all know well, whether we live in country or in town, and that is the postman. Once a day, even among lonely hills and moors, he tramps along, blowing his whistle as he comes near a solitary cottage or farm, to collect and deliver letters and parcels.

When Henry VII. came to the throne, there were no postmen, and very few people ever received a letter even once in their lives.

In the days of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary and Elizabeth, very slowly this began to alter. The change began in the towns which lay along certain very big roads, such as the road from London to Scotland, which ran through York and Berwick, and the road to Dover, which ran through Canterbury. In these places the king, in Henry VIII.'s reign, began to keep, at the principal inn, horses stabled, in readiness to carry his messages. Suddenly into the town a royal courier would ride, booted and spurred, with his horse all weary and mud-bespattered, and with the king's letters strapped in a wallet behind. At the sound of his horn the ostlers at the chief inn would rush to the stables and bring out a fresh horse. The courier would dismount, mount afresh, and be off. These king's horses were called "Post-horses," because they were posted at certain points all along the road, so that the

couriers could ride on all day, only stopping for food and drink. Private people were sometimes allowed to send letters by the Post, and the inn-keeper was also allowed to let out the post-horses for hire if the king did not want them. This custom was the very beginning of what we call the Post. There were only a few roads along which the couriers rode, even in the days of James I., and all other letters had to be sent by a friend or special messenger, or by the slow-plodding carrier with his heavy cart.

In the days of the early Stuart kings, however, people grew more eager for news. More carriers' carts went about the country roads, carrying letters among other things. In the reign of Charles I., moreover, royal posts were established along more roads than before, and every one was allowed to send letters by them on paying the fixed fee.



FIG. 79.—A postboy.

A picture from the title-page of one of the earliest newspapers, "The London Post," 1646–1647.

Along all the principal roads, from 1635 onwards, post boys rode once a week, carrying letter bags from London, and delivering them, and picking up others at towns on the way; and once a week post-boys rode back towards London. Letters went out from London on Tuesdays, and letters came in to London on Wednesdays. After 1647 they even went twice a week. The post-boy wore a loose cap, a short coat, a leather-belt and high boots to the knee. He wore spurs on his heels,

and carried a horn and a bag for his letters. The letters for long distances were handed on at certain points on the road to other post-boys, so that they could be carried without stopping, and could go 120 miles in twenty-four hours. Many towns, too, which were not on the most important roads now received letters by post; for branch posts were set up. Boys and men, on foot or on horseback, were sent along the branch roads from the principal post-towns, carrying letters to the market towns, which they delivered on market days; thus even people from the country might now find a letter waiting for them on market day at the inn. The fee for carrying letters was 2*d.* for a single sheet sent 80 miles or less, 4*d.* for 80 to 140 miles, and 6*d.* for a yet longer distance. There were no envelopes in those days, and no stamps. A letter was written on a stout single piece of paper, often as big as a half-sheet of foolscap. Then it was folded up and sealed, and the address was written outside on part of the same sheet. Here are some addresses of letters written in the reign of Charles I., by Sir Simonds d'Ewes: *

To my loving wife the Ladie D'Ewes
at Alburie these deliver.
Hartfordshire.

To the wor[ll] (=worshipfull) my verye loveing
Father Paul D'Ewes Esquire
at Southbridge neare Godleming
these I pray dd (=delivered)
Surreye.

Sometimes, if the letter was important, the writer added "Haste, post, haste" outside. The person who received

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter VIII., for his boyhood.

the letter had to pay for it. It was, however, rather cheaper than sending it by carrier, and much safer. Sir Ralph Verney had to send his letters from Buckinghamshire to London by carrier, and we read in one of his letters that the carrier's son, "that careless drunken rogue, dropped his letters about Acton, and an Aylesbury waggoner perceived them in the cart-rut when his wheel was just going over them, and brought them hither." In Charles II.'s reign the royal posts were made even better. Letters were sent to Kent every day from London, and to other parts of the country every other day, at the old rates and charges.

* * * * *

A hundred years later, strange to say, the posts had not improved; they had in fact grown worse.* The post-boys of the eighteenth century were no longer proud of their work, as servants of the king. Some of them were only fourteen years of age, and almost all were idle and slow. In the year 1783 they were carrying the mails at the rate of only three or four miles an hour. Sometimes they opened letters and parcels, and stole the things inside; sometimes they were the friends of highway thieves, and let them stop them, and carry away their mail-bags. Sometimes they were attacked and robbed.

In 1783, therefore, a Bristol gentleman persuaded the Government to start royal coaches, specially for carrying the mails, and from that year onwards mail coaches ran to carry letters along all the chief roads. Each coach had a guard behind, armed with a loaded blunderbuss and two pistols, and carrying a horn. The coaches were drawn by four horses, and were smartly painted with the royal arms and initials, and the name of the cities between which they

* See P. P. Historics, Junior Book V., Chapter XIII.

ran. Guard and driver wore the royal livery with gold-laced and cockaded hats. The mails were in a locked box behind, in charge of the guard, and only a few passengers were carried. At first they went only seven or eight miles in an hour, and put up for the night. But as the roads were made better,* they went faster; and at last, in 1836, they were running at the rate of

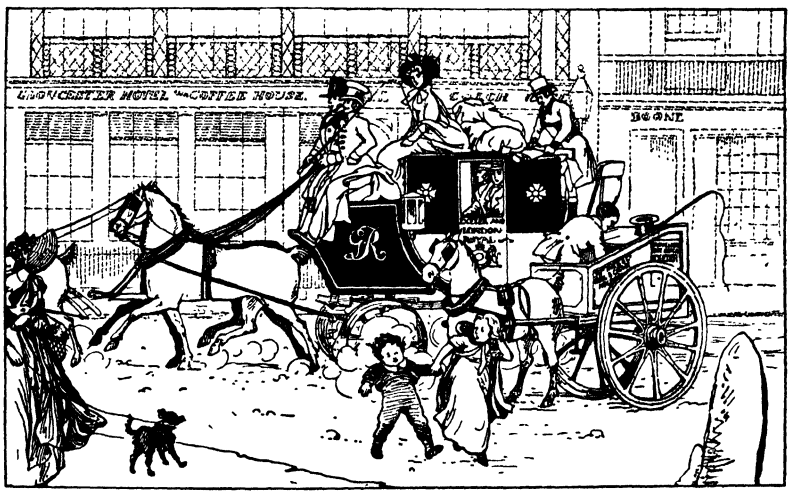


FIG. 80.—The Exeter Mail Coach.

Preparing to start from the Gloucester Coffee-house in Piccadilly, with the west country mails. Guard and coachman wore scarlet coats with blue collars and cuffs, and the coach-wheels were scarlet.

Adapted from a picture published in 1828.

nearly ten miles an hour all through the twenty-four hours.

People who wanted to send letters by the mail coach now had to take them to a post office. There were no red pillar-boxes in which to post them as there are at the present day. But in all the large cities there were by this time postmen, dressed in uniform, who delivered the letters from door to door, and who collected the money

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter XIX.

which the people who received the letters had to pay. In the evening, after the post offices had closed, some of these postmen went round the streets with a big bag and a bell; people who still had letters to post could give them to the postman, but they must give him a sum of money for his pains. The picture, drawn in 1821, shows a lady posting a letter in this way.



Fig. 81.—A postman receiving a letter for the post.
By Rowlandson, 1821.

Two years after Queen Victoria came to the throne, in 1839, nearly ninety-nine millions of letters were delivered in one year in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. But only the fairly well-to-do could afford to receive them. It cost 9*d.* to send a letter from London to Birmingham, and 1*s.* 1*d.* to send one to Edinburgh. But railways were beginning to be built. The first telegraph was set up. Further changes were soon coming.

In 1840 the penny post, for letters of half an ounce, was set up all over the British Isles, and the first postage stamps were made. From this time forward the sender of the letter paid for it in buying the stamp, and the person who received it paid nothing. The mail-coaches gradually died out, and the mail-trains took their places. In 1871 the halfpenny post came in, and postcards began to be sent.

During the last great European War, between 1914 and 1918, owing to the increased cost of carriage, the rates of postage were raised. A letter now goes for three-halfpence and a post-card for one penny. Yet each year about three thousand five hundred millions of letters are delivered in England, Scotland and Ireland. Moreover, we have now one postage rate all over the British Empire. For three-halfpence a letter can now travel to New Zealand, twelve thousand miles away on the other side of the world.

THE POST-BOY OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

"Hark! 'tis the twanging horn! . . .
He comes, the herald of a noisy world,
With spatter'd boots, strapped waist and frozen locks,
News from all nations lumbering at his back."

WILLIAM COWPER (born 1731, died 1800).

CHAPTER XXIX. WESTMINSTER AT THE PRESENT DAY

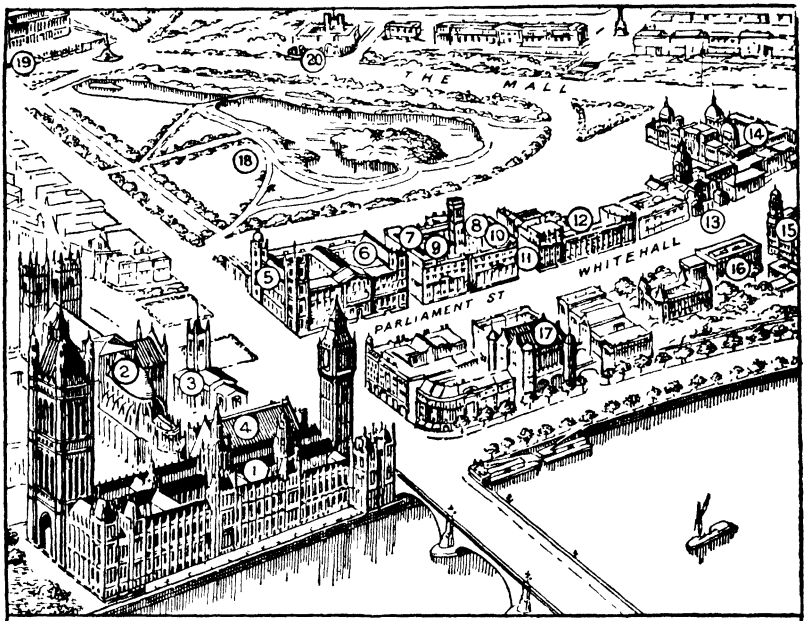


FIG. 82

IN the midst of the great county of London there is a famous bridge, which spans the river Thames at Westminster. It was built in the reign of George II., and many great men have passed over it. On this bridge the poet Wordsworth stood and mused, early on a September

morning in 1803, while the clear sunshine lay upon the ancient roofs of the palace of Westminster, and on the great Abbey Church which rose behind. Since Wordsworth's day, many of the venerable buildings on which he gazed have passed away. But other buildings have arisen where the old ones stood, and the view from Westminster Bridge is still stately and fair.

Just above you to your left rises the great clock tower of Big Ben, booming out the hour; it is a part of the famous building which we call the Houses of Parliament. This building stands on the site of the ancient palace of Westminster, which was burned down in 1834; Westminster Hall is almost the only old part still left.

Beyond the Houses of Parliament rises the glorious Abbey Church. There, our kings and queens are still crowned; there the bodies of our most famous men are laid to rest; and there, twice every day, song and prayer are raised as of old. The smaller parish church of St. Margaret's nestles in the shadow.

If now we leave the bridge and walk straight forwards, we see on our right, almost opposite St. Margaret's, a wide and stately street. This is Parliament Street which further on is called Whitehall. In the days of Elizabeth and Charles I., and for long after, a narrow lane of wooden gabled houses, called King Street, ran along the left-hand side of this great roadway; the rest was thickly covered with houses. It was called King Street, because it led under two great gateways past the King's Palace of Whitehall. A small piece only of that great Palace is now left. You can see it on the right, far up the street. It was once the great Banqueting Hall of the palace of Charles I.

At the present day, along the left side of the street, is a long row of huge stone buildings most of them newly built. These are the offices of the different departments

of our Government. For it is not enough for Parliament to make the laws and grant the taxes; people must be appointed to see that the laws are carried out, and that the money is properly spent.

The first office on your left as you look up Parliament Street is the Ministry of Health.* Next to it is the Board of Education, the Government Office that looks after the schools, and sends His Majesty's Inspectors round. Beyond it is the Home Office, which looks after the police and the prisons; and behind the Home Office is the India Office, from which letters and orders are sent to the Viceroy of India. Next comes the Colonial Office, with the Foreign Office behind it. The Colonial Office sends letters to the various British Colonies and possessions, to the West Indies, Gibraltar, Aden, and other parts of the world. From the Foreign Office letters are sent to all foreign countries. If a British subject abroad is wronged in any way, the Foreign Office sees that justice is done.

Beyond the Colonial Office and the Foreign Office is a narrow street with a famous name. It is Downing Street, where the Prime Minister always lives, in No. 10, the house which George II. gave to Robert Walpole.

Further on is the Treasury Building. In some ways it is the most important of all, for were it not for the work done at the Treasury, no taxes would be collected, and no money could be spent on government.

Beyond the Treasury, and nearly opposite to the old Banqueting Hall, stand the barracks of the King's Life Guards. Further still, on the left side of the street is the Admiralty, and on the right side, the War Office. The Admiralty sees after the business of our navy. The War Office looks after the army.

* The Ministry of Health formerly known as the Local Government Board. See Chapter XXVII.

Each of these big offices has a king's minister at the head of it, and there are other ministers besides, with other offices. From time to time the Prime Minister sends for all the principal ministers, to meet at his house in Downing Street. This meeting is called the Cabinet; it is most solemn, serious, and secret, for in it the greatest matters of government are discussed.

Meanwhile at Buckingham Palace, or at Windsor, or at Sandringham, or at Balmoral, lives the King. He is the descendant of Cerdic, the Saxon war-leader who landed in England more than 1400 years ago. He descends from Alfred, from William the Conqueror, from Edward I., from Henry VII., from James I., and from George III. The story of his long descent is the story of our nation's life. The King of England never dies. Long live the King.

"O man that servest men by right of birth,
Our hearts' content thy heart shall also keep.
Thou too with us shalt one day lay thee down
In our dear native earth,
Full sure the King of England, while we sleep,
For ever rides abroad through London town."

From a poem by Henry Newbolt called "The King of England."

UPON WESTMINSTER BRIDGE

"Earth has not anything to show more fair:
Dull would he be of soul who could pass by
A sight so touching in its majesty:
This City now doth like a garment wear
The beauty of the morning; silent, bare,
Ships, towers, domes, theatres, and temples lie
Open unto the fields, and to the sky;
All bright and glittering in the smokeless air.
Never did sun more beautifully steep
In his first splendour valley, rock, or hill;
Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep!
The river glideth at his own sweet will:
Dear God! the very houses seem asleep;
And all that mighty heart is lying still!"

WILLIAM WORDSWORTH.

CHAPTER XXX. THE BRITISH EMPIRE

We have traced in these books the rise of a Nation in a land which, two thousand years ago, lay covered with forest, marsh, and moor. We have now to see how this island people, like a strong young mother, gave birth to other nations, which help to form the British Empire. It would take many books to tell this story; only a little of it can be told here.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, a large part of what we now call the British Empire was wild unexplored land, known only to wandering native tribes. Even in Canada there were perhaps not more than 150,000 subjects of the king. But from that time onwards the British began, more steadily than before, to leave their mother-land and settle in new homes. Two causes drove them on. One was the spirit of adventure, the love of battling with wild nature. In old days, men who loved adventure could take to the forests, like Robin Hood. In Tudor times they went to sea, and robbed the gold galleons of Spain. In the eighteenth century they fought with pirates, or explored the unknown Pacific*; at home they wandered as vagabonds on the heaths and moors, and in the woods. But as these last gave place to ploughed fields, and factory towns, men who loved freedom and adventure went as settlers to the New World, because they heard tales of a life wild and stirring, such as they could not have at home.

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book III. Captain Cook.

A second, and greater cause of colonization, however, arose from poverty at home. When the Great War was over, and peace came in 1815, numbers of men were thrown out of work. It seemed as if there were too many people to find work at home. Government began to try to help them to leave the mother-land. Many a little farmer, ruined in England or Scotland, sold all he had to pay his passage abroad. After 1840, many and many an Irishman did the same. As better and swifter vessels crossed the seas,* it became easier for men to leave their motherland. Until the year 1880, however, by far the largest number of these people went to the United States, and so ceased to be British citizens. Thus it was only in the last part of the nineteenth century, that the young nations of the British Empire grew to manhood.

* * * * *

There were, in eastern Canada, in the year 1800, five British colonies. Along the river St. Lawrence, where the French had long ago settled, lay the colony which we now call Quebec, which had been taken from France by Britain in 1760. There were fifty Frenchmen to one Englishman in that colony. French peasants ploughed the land ; French lords lived in the big houses ; and there were French Roman Catholic priests, just as of old.

Further up the river St. Lawrence lay a newer colony, which we now call Ontario. It was in a land of thick forests, which the French had never cut down. After the American War of Independence was over, and the old colonies called themselves the United States, many thousands of loyal colonists who wanted still to be subjects of the king fled from their homes. They paddled up the rivers through the forests in canoes, and they settled to the north of Lake Erie and Lake Ontario.

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book V., Chapter XXVIII.

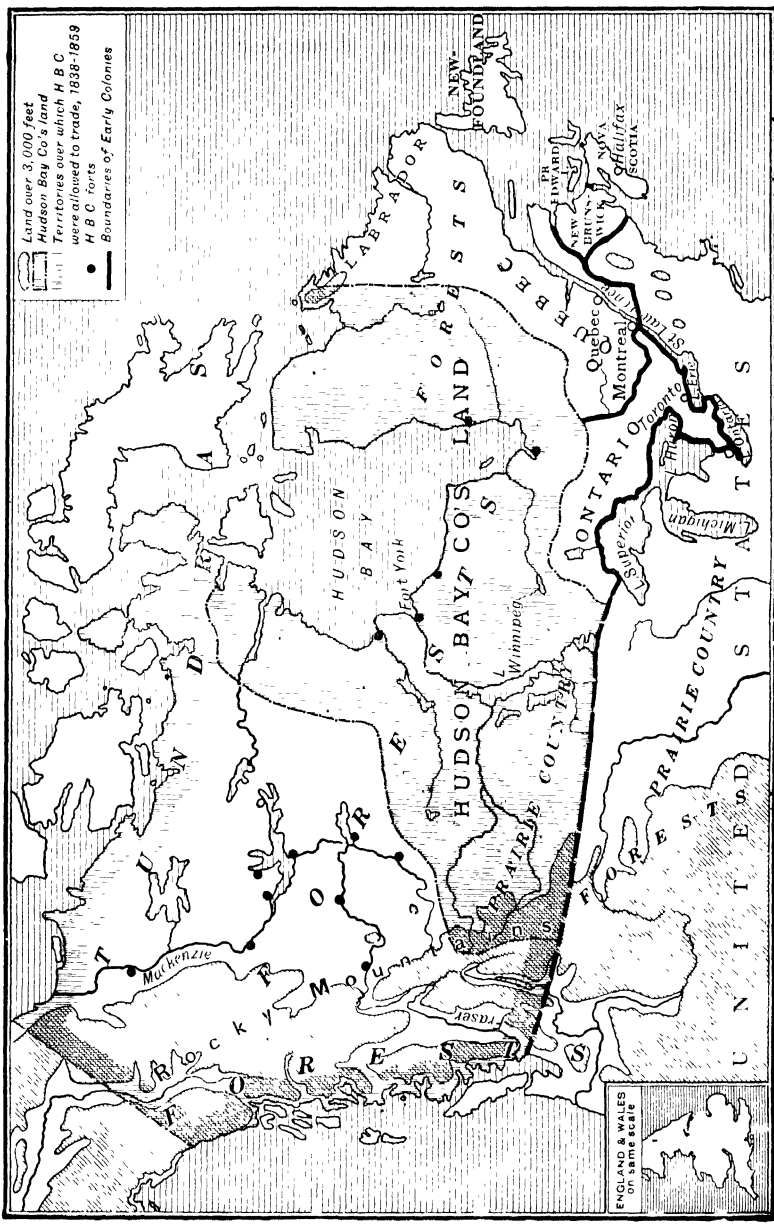


FIG. 83.—Map to illustrate the development of Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century.

They had hard work to cut down the trees, for in winter the ground was frozen hard, and covered with snow. They had left comfortable homes in the old colonies, and they had to build for themselves rude huts of the trunks of trees. Very slowly they cleared the land for corn, and made rough roads. Small villages grew up. Their chief town was Toronto, but even this, at first, was entirely built of wood. After 1815, Englishmen and Scotchmen from the mother-country came to settle, and at length Ontario became a very rich flourishing province.

At the mouth of the river St. Lawrence lay three other colonies, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Here also, among the forests, loyal colonists fleeing from the United States had settled. They too grew rich and prosperous; Scotchmen and Englishmen came out to join them. These, with Quebec and Ontario, were the five earliest colonies of Canada.

Britain treated them well. She had learned a bitter lesson from the rebellion of her older colonies. The British Parliament in the nineteenth century did not try to tax them. In time they were all granted little Parliaments of their own, very like the British Parliament, with two Houses, like the House of Commons and House of Lords. In most other ways they governed themselves much as Englishmen do at home.

But all this time, to the west and north, lay a wild and sparsely peopled land. Northward of Lake Ontario, there stretched for 600 miles to the shores of Hudson Bay, a vast unending forest of tall fir trees, larch trees, pine trees, and the birch trees from which Indian canoes were made. Westward for two thousand miles it stretched, to the very shores of the Pacific Ocean. In the forest lived many fur-bearing animals, the beaver, sable, ermine, fox, mink, otter, skunk, and others. Here the wandering tribes of

Indians lived, and trapped or shot these animals. To the south of this great forest, however, and far to the west of Lake Superior, there stretched a vast flat plain, covered with a waving sea of grass. From this plain, northward through the mighty forest, flow great rivers, some into Hudson Bay, others through frozen lands into the Arctic Sea.



FIG. 84.—Two Blackfoot Indians of Western Canada.

From a modern photograph.

This immense grass-covered plain reaching out far beyond the horizon was called the "Prairie." Here roamed great numbers of immense animals something like enormous bulls, but covered over head, neck, shoulders, and fore-legs with thick brown shaggy hair—the buffaloes. They moved in herds of hundreds, thousands, or sometimes millions at a time, and were shy and timid beasts. Here lived packs of white-skinned prairie wolves, which fought with and ate the buffaloes. This too was the home of the wild tribes of prairie Indians, who rode on horseback, and shot the buffaloes with bow and arrow. Of the skins they made magnificent fur robes. They dried the leather, and with it made coverings for

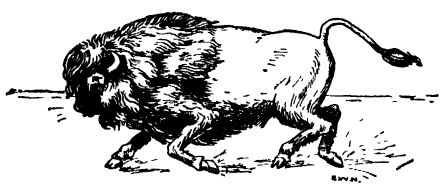


FIG. 85.—A wild buffalo.

their wigwams and canoes, or strings for their bows. Of the horns they made their cups. On the flesh they fed the whole year round.

Further west than the prairie lies a mighty barrier of mountains, five huge ranges, many of them covered with forest, and the loftiest capped with snow. The highest range is called the Rocky Mountains. From their



Fig. 86.—Modern Indians of the Prairie with their Wigwams.

From a photograph.

summits spring rivers which cut their way through narrow winding valleys headlong to the Pacific Ocean. These huge ranges the Indians dreaded to cross, for they believed that they were haunted by spirits. But in 1793 a Scotchman named Mackenzie crossed them, and reached the Pacific Ocean.

To this great region of the north and north-west few white men went in the first part of the nineteenth century ;

for in the five colonies of the east it was long believed that the land was of little use, except to Indians, and to those who wanted furs.

Long before this time, however, in the reign of Charles II., a vast stretch of this north-western land had been granted to an English company who traded in furs. The Company sent ships out which landed the traders on the shores of Hudson Bay. Hence, they were called the "Hudson Bay Company." Here they built forts to protect themselves from Indians, and to guard their stores. For they had brought out many things which Indians loved, such as vermilion, and beads, and muskets, and blankets, and bales of coloured cloth. They had also brought great stores of food. From the Hudson Bay coast, parties went inland, and built other such forts; here too they stored goods and food. In each fort lived traders, whose duty it was to make friends with the Indians, and to buy of them furs of all kinds, in exchange for the goods they had brought; money would of course be of no use to Indians. Since Charles II.'s reign a large number of these forts had been built in the lonely prairie and forest country of the north-west, and a vast territory was known as the Hudson Bay Company's Land. Any Englishman who liked a life of wild adventure could take service with the Hudson Bay Company. He might live for years in some lonely fort, learning to know the Indians and their ways. The Hudson Bay Company were always kind to Indians, but they did not want European settlers out in their wild west, to frighten away the fur-bearing animals. So for many years they spoke most gloomily of this land, as of a place unfit for farmers to settle on. In 1838 they were allowed for twenty years to trade beyond their own territory, right over the Rocky Mountains, and down to the Pacific shore.

Meanwhile, as the years went on, the five provinces in the East grew strong. In 1867 a great event occurred. Quebec, Ontario, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, joined together under one government, and called themselves the Dominion of Canada. They hoped one day to join the whole of British North America in one. They now determined that it was foolish and wrong to allow the Hudson Bay Company to keep settlers out of the great north-west. Hundreds of thousands of the buffaloes had been killed for furs; very soon there would be none left. But on the prairies where they had fed, countless cattle might graze, and in the forest land settlers might grow rich. So in 1870 the Dominion of Canada gave the Hudson Bay Company £300,000 for their lands, and henceforth the whole of the great north-west belonged to the Dominion. Settlers began to enter the prairie and the forests from the east, and a new province, Manitoba, was founded in 1870, in the region of Lake Winnipeg.

In the grass lands the first settlers were cattle-farmers. Riding on horseback over lands where there were no roads, dressed Indian fashion in leather trousers with loose shirts and wide-brimmed hats, they herded enormous troops of cattle. Each farmer knew his own by branding them. It was a wild life. As the years went by, however, it was found that the prairie country was the richest corn-land in the world. The "cow-boys" with their cattle moved westward further into the prairie, and in Manitoba great fields of wheat were planted. The corn was carried to Fort William on Lake Superior, and borne by lake and river and canal to the sea. Then it was shipped to feed the people of the mother-country.

In the meanwhile yet another colony had grown up, on the far Pacific Coast. This was British Columbia, which in 1871 joined the Dominion of Canada. It lies

in the most beautiful part of all Canada, for there are snow-clad mountains, and glaciers, and deep gorges, and rushing streams. Here in the water of the river Fraser, gold had been found. The land too was very rich in timber and in fish.

For many years after 1870, though the Dominion of Canada had bought the great lands of the north and west, only the most daring settlers went there. Beyond the province of Manitoba westward stretched five hundred miles of prairie, where the buffalo roamed and the Indian hunted. At the present day it takes a train a day and a night and part of another day to travel over that vast plain from Winnipeg, the capital of Manitoba, to where the mountains begin; and it takes as long again for the train to wind in and out between the five great mountain ranges, and reach Vancouver City on the Pacific Coast. For many years after 1870 there was no railway. But between 1881 and 1885 the great Canadian Pacific Railway was built, westward over the vast prairie, and over the mountains to the Pacific Ocean. Since that time year by year settlers have gone to build farmhouses, and feed cattle, or till land, where once the buffalo and the Indian roamed.

* * * * *

Meanwhile, between 1800 and 1900, on the other side of the world from Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia grew up.

Australia, in 1800, was a continent as yet scarcely known. Captain Cook* in 1770 had sailed along its eastern shores, and had noted a wonderful harbour of many deep inlets. When the American War of Independence was over, the British Government found themselves in difficulty. For more than a hundred years they had been accustomed to send prisoners, who were to be very severely

* See P. P. Histories, Junior Book III. Captain Cook.

punished, right out of England, to serve in the tobacco plantations in the colonies of Virginia and Carolina. Now they had nowhere to send them. In the year 1787 therefore they sent out to Australia a little fleet of eleven ships; six ships had on board, tightly stowed away, 750 convicted prisoners; three ships contained stores, and two ships were men-of-war to guard the fleet.

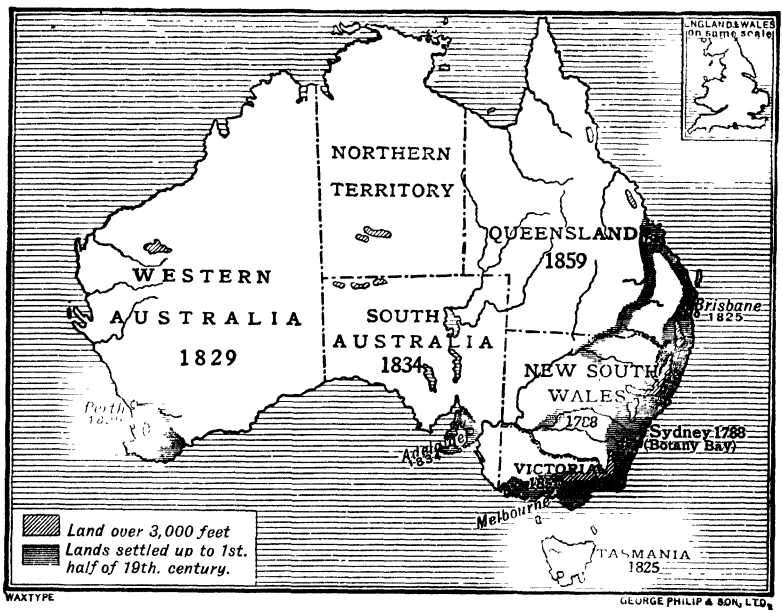


FIG. 87.—Map to illustrate the development of Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Captain Phillip of the Royal Navy was in command. After a long journey of eight months on the sea, in January, 1788, they reached the great harbour Cook had seen. They landed and founded the famous convict station of Botany Bay. Captain Phillip became their governor, and ruled them by military law. Later on, along the shores of this harbour, grew up the great city of Sydney.

The eastern coast of Australia, where they had settled, is bounded by a long barrier of mountains, called the Blue Mountains. For many years, no one knew what lay beyond. The natives whom they met were a feeble wretched race, very different from the brave Indians of North America; there was nothing to be learned from them. The prisoners, when they had served their term of years in Botany Bay, seldom went home to England again. They were given free land, and settled down as farmers.

After 1815, when the Peace began, ordinary settlers came from the motherland, driven from home by the fear of poverty. In those days, however, it needed a very brave adventurous spirit to choose Australia for a new land. The long journey by sailing ship took seven or eight months; the poorer emigrants had little space on deck, and ate and slept in the ship's hold.

Once they had landed, there were no fierce Indians to fear, and no French to fight. But no great rivers led them on into the heart of the continent; there were no fur-bearing animals to trap for skins; there was little game in the forests of gum-trees on the mountain sides. Cattle, sheep, seed-corn, everything they needed had to come from home. The British Government spent ten millions of pounds between 1788 and 1822 in helping to found the little colony.

In the year 1813, however, just two years before the Peace, a settler found his way up through the Blue Mountains to the land beyond. Here he found wide-stretching down-lands, covered with grass. He had reached the beginning of the vast plain of central Australia. At home, in Yorkshire at this time, the woollen weavers were yearly needing more and more raw wool for their manufacture. Here was the very place for feeding sheep. But sheep had first to be brought there to feed. Slowly,

in the years that followed, bold settlers from the coast plain came through the mountains to these grassy downs. In central Australia rainfall is uncertain ; summers come in which the land is parched with drought. So these sheep-farmers settled along the banks of the rivers which they found flowing south-westward, where no one had yet been. In this way, before 1850, was founded the colony of New South Wales. Up to 1840, prisoners were sent to Botany Bay ; but after that year no more prisoners were sent. In 1842 New South Wales was given, like the Canadian colonies, an elected Parliament of its own.

Slowly, and by dint of labour, other colonies were founded. To the north of New South Wales, the town of Brisbane was founded in 1825, as a second convict station. But from 1849, this also ceased to be a convict station. The sheep-farmers beyond the mountains spread northwards from New South Wales, and the colony of Queensland, named after Queen Victoria, grew up.

In the far west, in 1829, colonists from London settled, and founded the colony of Western Australia. Then again to the south of New South Wales, in 1849, gold was discovered. Men from the other colonies and from Europe rushed out to dig for gold ; and thus in 1851 was founded the colony of Victoria, named also after the Queen. To the west, another colony, founded in the reign of William IV., called its capital city Adelaide, after his Queen ; this became the colony of Southern Australia. In all these colonies Parliaments were established like those in England. At length in the year 1900, all the colonies joined in one government, and called themselves, from January 1st, 1901, the Commonwealth of Australia.

* * * * *

The third young nation, that of South Africa, grew up in a very different way. Long ago, in the days of the

Commonwealth in England, in 1652, the Dutch had landed in the harbour which we call Cape Town, and had made it a Dutch port. Here the great Dutch fleets of merchant ships, bound for the East Indies, used to stop to refit, or to store provisions and fresh water.

Behind Cape Town is a very narrow coast-plain, and beyond rise mountains. Behind the mountains is a high

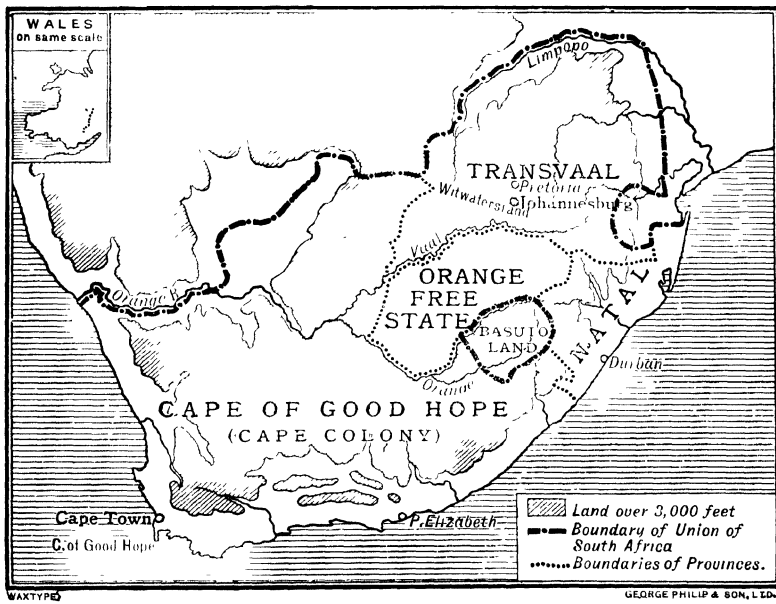


FIG. 88.—Map to illustrate the development of South Africa in the 19th century.

bare tableland, lying under the rays of the sun, at least 3000 feet above the level of the sea. The air is very dry; the mountains keep away most of the rain; no forests were found here, but scanty grass. In summer the land is parched a yellow-brown. This was what the Dutch called the Veldt.

After 1652, Dutch farmers began to go out from Holland, and settle as colonists in the land behind Cape

Town. They were stern religious men, somewhat like the English Puritans in their faith. Like the English of that time, they saw no harm in making slaves of dark-skinned people. They captured the native Hottentots and made them work for them on their farms. Some of them grew corn and vines near the coast. Others drove cattle inland to the mountain pastures of the veldt, and led a very lonely life. These Dutch farmers were called Boers.

In 1795 Great Britain captured from the Dutch Cape Town and the colony which the Boers had founded. At the Peace of 1815, Britain paid to the Dutch Government six million pounds for it. Henceforth Cape Colony was British. The Government tried to encourage British colonists to settle there, and Parliament granted £50,000 to help them settle. But for a long time emigrants preferred to go to the Unites States and Canada. Only a few went to South Africa.

In 1834 the Boers had news which angered them. The British Parliament had decreed that, in British dominions, there were to be no more slaves. Parliament would pay a fair price to the owners of the slaves. But Boer farmers saw no harm in keeping slaves, and they needed them to work on their farms. Many of them determined to leave the British dominions altogether. They packed into carts all that they possessed ; they drove their sheep and cattle before them, and they " trekked " northwards over the mountains and the rolling veldt. They reached lands on the veldt which no one owned except the natives. Here they built houses, and settled in fresh pasture farms. This was in the year 1836 It is said that as many as 10,000 went. They had fierce work to fight the native Kaffir tribes. But they founded two free republics, the Orange River Free State, and the Republic of the Transvaal. Others who trekked, moved

down to the south-east coast, and founded Natal in 1838. The British Government took little notice of the Boers who had trekked inland; few people in those days wanted to claim those high bare pasture lands. But the Government took Natal in 1842, and made it a British Colony. In 1853 Cape Colony was given its own Parliament and government, like the other great colonies in Canada and Australia.

Years passed away. The Boers in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal led a remote and lonely life, feeding their flocks and herds, and fighting the Zulus round.

At length, in 1884, a discovery was made which changed the history of South Africa. In some quartz pebbles of a river-bed in the Transvaal gold was discovered. It was found that there were huge beds of quartz containing gold. English miners began to go out, and to settle in the Transvaal. A great English city, called Johannesburg was built. Gold-mining companies were started, to work the famous mines of the Rand.

The English and the Boers were very different people. For long they could not understand each other, and could not live happily together. At length in 1899 a fearful war broke out. Both sides fought bravely, but at first it seemed as if the British would be driven from South Africa. All over the British Empire there were men who believed that it was better for a land to be ruled as Britain rules, than in any other way. At home men left their work, and volunteered to go out and fight. From Canada, from Australia, and from New Zealand, volunteers went too. The Boers, brave as they were, were beaten, and in 1902 the Transvaal and the Orange Free State became part of the British Empire.

Then a very wonderful thing happened. In a few

years the Boers who had fought us became British citizens; for in 1906 and in 1907, Great Britain granted, first to the Transvaal, and then to the Orange River Colony, the right to elect their own Parliament, and to help to govern themselves.

Thus there were four colonies of the British Empire, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony, where there lived side by side Dutch-speaking and English-speaking people. Just as the colonies of Canada and of Australia had united under one Government in 1867 and in 1901, the colonies of South Africa determined to unite. On May 31st, 1910, the Union of South Africa was founded, with one Parliament, and one governor appointed by the king.

In this short chapter we have to leave untold the story of the fourth young nation which in the nineteenth century grew up within the British Empire. New Zealand, that beautiful land of snow-capped mountains and glaciers, of forest, lake, and deep sea inlet, was visited by Captain Cook in 1769. People from Australia and from Great Britain before long began to settle there. In 1840 Britain declared that New Zealand was a part of the British Empire. In 1852 the people of New Zealand were granted a Parliament of their own. In 1907 they became a nation of the Empire, with the title of Dominion of New Zealand.

In this chapter we have no space to tell of how our great Indian Empire grew, for that story would need many chapters. Neither can we speak of British rule in many other parts of the world.

* * * * *

In 1914 the great World War began. All over the face of the earth men of different colours, races and

religions asked leave to fight as citizens of the British Empire in a cause which they believed to be just. In four short years there came over the sea to fight, 418,000 men from Canada, 417,000 men from Australia and 110,000 men from New Zealand. The Princes and Peoples of India with one accord offered to help, and thus the Government of India was able to send overseas no less than 1,215,000 officers and men. The South African Government, whose land frontiers had hitherto been defended partly with the aid of British troops, begged the Home Government to withdraw these forces for use elsewhere, and in order to free them undertook unaided the dangerous task of defending the long frontier of the Dominion from invasion. Thus it came about that from 1914 to 1918 in the streets of old-world English and Scottish villages and towns, along the British high-roads, out on Salisbury Plain, and in camps and barracks of all kinds up and down the land, tall and splendid-looking fellows could be seen, bred in the wide spaces of the new Dominions, or on the sunny hills and plains of India. In British camps they learned the old-world arts of war, and then went out to fight side by side with nearly 5 millions of the British born. With them there rubbed shoulders Gaelic Scots from the Highlands, Scots of Lowland birth, Northern Englishmen from Dale and Fell, from mill and mine, Welshmen from the Mountains and coalfields, Midlanders from the Black Country, Southern Englishmen country-bred in field, hamlet and market-town, Irishmen from North and South, men from all sorts of schools, universities, offices and professions, and merry little Cockneys from the London streets. Meanwhile round the World's coasts, in ships of war of every kind—battle-ships, cruisers, torpedo-boats, mine-sweepers and submarines—men from the

overseas lands served with men of the Home Countries. In Belgium, France, Gallipoli, Salonika, in Mesopotamia, Palestine, Egypt, in German East Africa, on the North Sea, on the Mediterranean, and out on the lonely stretches of the Ocean they lived or fell together.

Some of these men had work to do which was unthought of in earlier wars. For years before the fighting began Frenchmen and Americans, Germans and Englishmen had been learning to fly in bird-like aeroplanes, and also to sail in air-ships along the trackless ways of the upper air. During the war the art of flying was developed very quickly. Thousands of aeroplanes and air-ships were built, of stronger and better make than had ever before been known. Day by day the fighting men grew more skilled in rising from the solid earth, in taking long air-flights, and in hovering far above land or sea. Sometimes they went to fight each other, sometimes to hurl down bombs, but often to watch from far above what the hostile fleets and armies were doing, and to protect from danger the lands that they loved. One of these men, a young officer in the British air-force, wrote the poem called "The Dawn Patrol," which is quoted at the end of this book, just as so many other men, sitting in the mud of the war-trenches, wrote poetry which tells us what they felt. In the work of the air-forces men from the great Dominions took their share together with men from the homelands.

This service in a common cause brought a great change in British ideas of Empire. In 1917 the British Cabinet summoned to its aid in London, to consult about the war, an Imperial War Conference, and to this there came not only the Prime Ministers of all the great Dominions, but also from India three leading Indians to represent the many native peoples of that land.

In 1918 the War ended and in 1919 peace was signed. The statesmen who met at Versailles to settle the terms did not all remember the righteous motives which had brought these men overseas. The Peace which they made was not so splendid as the cause for which the men had fought. Peace is indeed harder to achieve than war.

But though some of the terms of peace were unworthy, and others were unwise, the statesmen at Versailles strove to realise one noble ideal. They put at the beginning of each Peace Treaty a Covenant or Agreement, "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security," and composed it of 26 articles whereby they hoped to put an end to war. Out of this Covenant in January, 1920, there was born the League of Nations, to which, in January, 1925, fifty-five nations of the world already belonged.

Of these 55 nations Great Britain counts as one; the new Irish Free State, founded in 1922 as a British self-governing Dominion, counts as one; and so too does each of the older great Dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand. When each September the Assembly or Parliament of the League of Nations meets in the City of Geneva to discuss the World's affairs, it is very clear that the British Empire has become at last a Commonwealth of free nations united together in a common loyalty and ideal.

Let us now ask why it is that all the world over men are proud to belong to the British Empire. This Commonwealth now covers more than a quarter of the known surface of the earth, and contains over a quarter of the population of the world. But "rare Ben Jonson," who lived in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, said—

> "It is not growing like a tree
> In bulk doth make man better be."

The British Empire is not great merely because it is big. Size is nothing to be proud of. But this Empire is composed of men of every colour, race and creed, who are, we hope, slowly learning to be brothers. Sixty million white men, forty million black men, 315 million men of Indian race, besides Arabs, Malays, Chinese, Polynesians, Red Indians and others, are subjects of the king and citizens of the British Empire. It was in the little England of long ago that the ideas of justice and freedom in government were first born and fostered. These ideas have been carried far and wide into the great Empire which has spread beyond the seas. In so far as these ideas are faithfully realised, men and women are rightly proud to belong to the British Empire.

* THE DAWN PATROL.

"Sometimes I fly at dawn above the sea,
Where, underneath, the restless waters flow—
Silver, and cold, and slow.
Dim in the east there burns a new-born sun,
Whose rosy gleams along the ripples run,
Save where the mist droops low,
Hiding the level loneliness from me.

"And now appears beneath the milk-white haze
A little fleet of anchored ships, which lie
In clustered company,
And seem as they are yet fast bound by sleep,
Although the day has long begun to peep,
With red-inflamèd eye,
Along the still, deserted ocean ways.

"The fresh, cold wind of dawn blows on my face
As in the sun's raw heart I swiftly fly,
And watch the seas glide by.
Scarce human seem I, moving through the skies,
And far removed from warlike enterprise—
Like some great gull on high
Whose white and gleaming wings beat on through space.

* By permission of Messrs. Erskine Macdonald, Ltd. From "More Songs by the Fighting Men"

"Then do I feel with God quite, quite alone,
High in the virgin morn, so white and still,
And free from human ill:
My prayers transcend my feeble, earth-bound plaints—
As though I sang among the happy Saints
With many a holy thrill—
As though the glowing sun were God's bright Throne.

"My flight is done. I cross the line of foam
That breaks around a town of grey and red,
Whose streets and squares lie dead
Beneath the silent dawn—then am I proud
That England's peace to guard I am allowed;
Then bow my humble head,
In thanks to Him Who brings me safely home."

PAUL BEWSHER, D.S.C. (Sub-Lieut., R.N.A.S.).

*THE SONG OF THE DEAD.

We were dreamers, dreaming greatly, in the man-stifled town;
We yearned beyond the sky-line where the strange roads go down.
Came the Whisper, came the Vision, came the Power with the Need,
Till the Soul that is not man's soul was lent us to lead.
As the deer breaks—as the steer breaks—from the herd where they graze,
In the faith of little children we went on our ways.
Then the wood failed—then the food failed—then the last water dried—
In the faith of little children we lay down and died.
On the sand-drift—on the veldt-side—in the fern-scrub we lay,
That our sons might follow after by the bones on the way.
Follow after—follow after! We have watered the root,
And the bud has come to blossom that ripens for fruit!
Follow after—we are waiting, by the trails that we lost,
For the sound of many footsteps, for the tread of a host.
Follow after—follow after—for the harvest is sown;
By the bones about the wayside ye shall come to your own!"

RUDYARD KIPLING.

* By permission. From "The Seven Seas."

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

TABLE I.—TO SHOW HOW THE MARRIAGE OF HENRY VII. UNITED THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK.

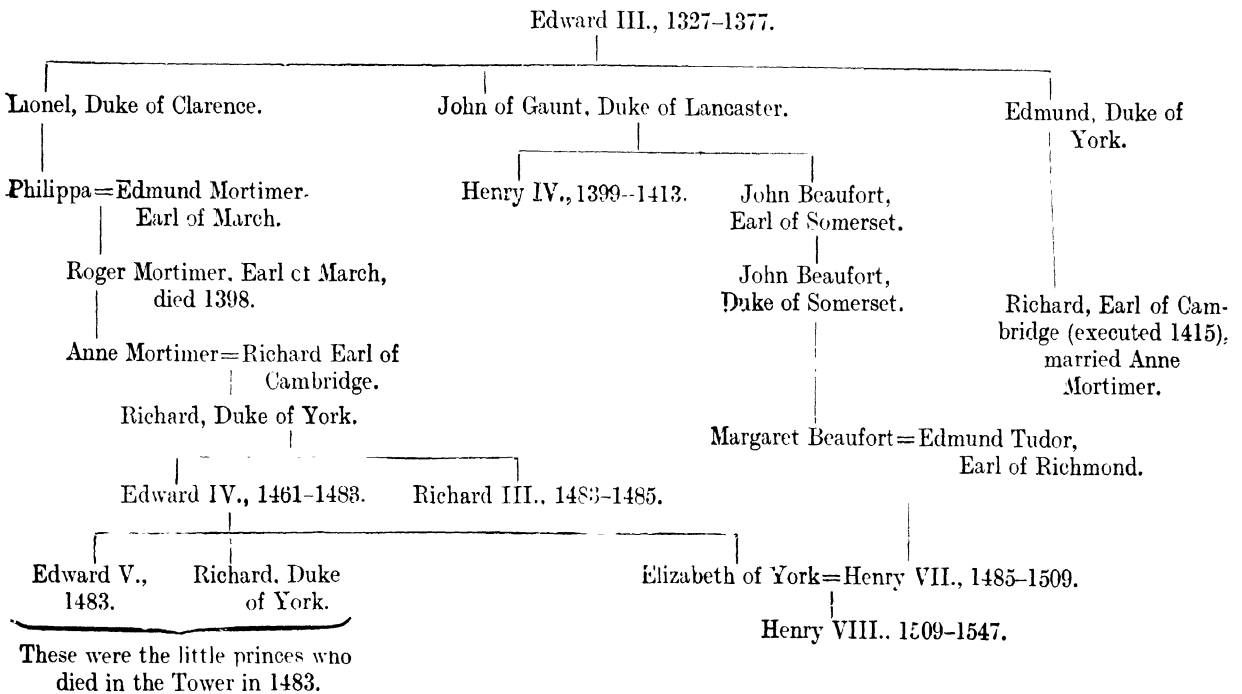


TABLE II.—TO SHOW HOW THE TUDOR, STUART, AND HANOVERIAN KINGS WERE DESCENDED FROM HENRY VII.

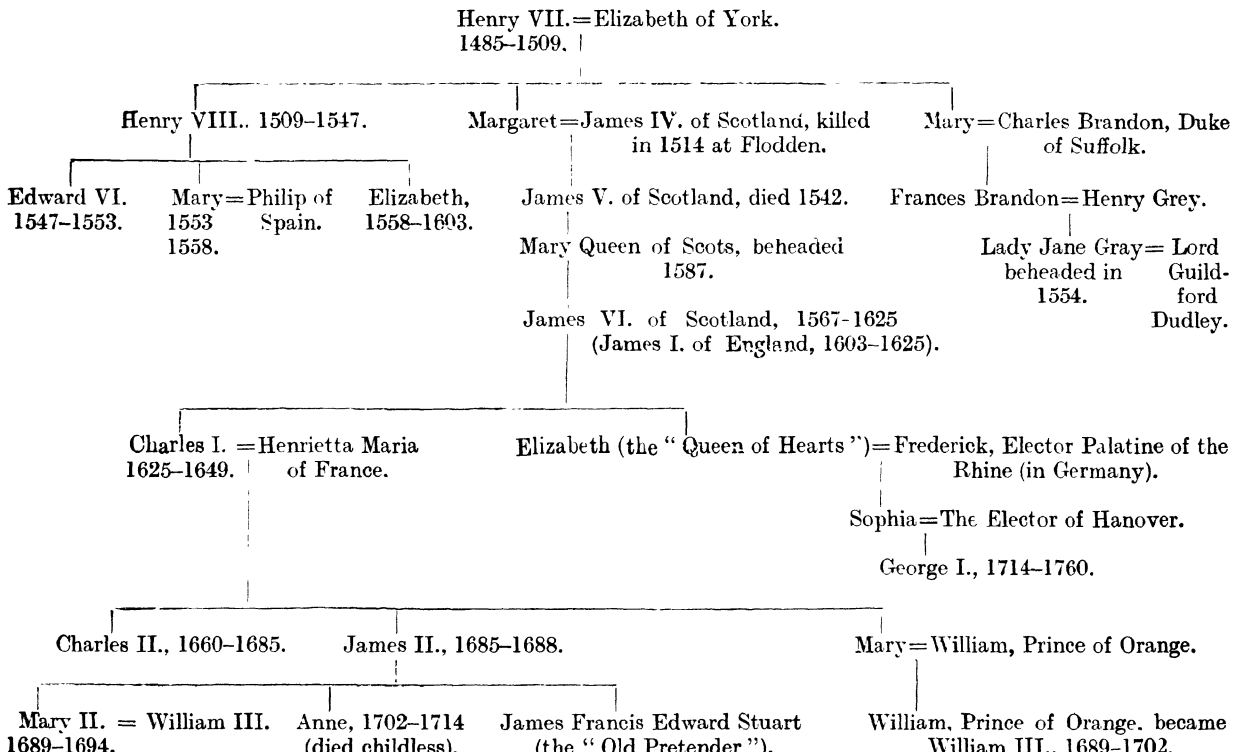
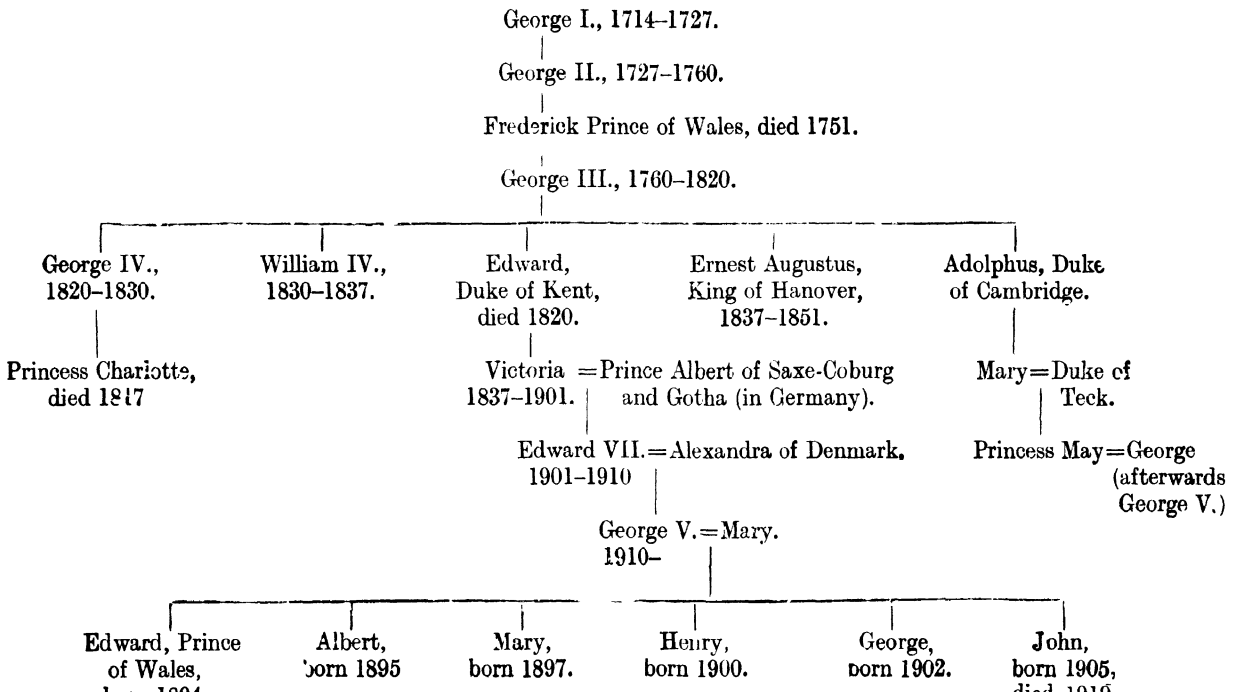


TABLE III.—TO SHOW THE DESCENT OF KING GEORGE V. FROM KING GEORGE I. (AND SO FROM EARLIER KINGS).



LIST OF DATES

The Tudor Peace, 1485–1603.

Henry Tudor won the Battle of Bosworth and became Henry VII.	1485
Henry married Elizabeth of York	1486
An Act of Parliament laid down that a certain number of the King's Council should sit in the Palace of Westminster to try people who could not be tried in the ordinary Courts of Justice. (They sat in the Star Chamber)	1487
Christopher Columbus made his first voyage to the New World	1492
Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., married James IV. of Scotland	1502
Henry VIII. became King, and married Katharine of Aragon	1509
Thomas Wolsey became a member of the King's Council	1511
Henry began to make dockyards at Woolwich and Deptford, from about	1512
Wolsey became Lord Chancellor of England and Cardinal	1515
Martin Luther in Germany defied the Pope by burning his Bull	1520
William Tyndale printed his translation of the New Testament in Germany, and began to send copies to England	1525
Rome was sacked by the army of the Emperor Charles V.	1527
Cardinals Campeggio and Wolsey began to try the divorce case at Blackfriars in May	1529
The longest Parliament of Henry VIII.'s reign passed laws about the Church	1529–36
Cardinal Wolsey died on his way to London	1530
Henry declared his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and defied the Pope	1533
Parliament passed the Act of Supremacy, making the King the Head of the Church in England	1534
Thomas Cromwell became the King's Vicar-General, and Commissioners were sent to visit all Monasteries	1535
William Tyndale was burned in Flanders	1536
The lesser Monasteries were dissolved by Act of Parliament	1536
The people of the north made the Pilgrimage of Grace	1537
The King ordered the English Bible to be put into the churches	1538
The greater Monasteries were dissolved	1537–40
Henry founded the Navy Board to control the Royal Navy	1546
Edward VI. became King, and the Duke of Somerset became Lord Protector	1547
Somerset ordered all images and pictures in churches to be destroyed	1548
The Act of Uniformity ordered the English Prayer Book to be used in all churches	1548

The Duke of Northumberland took the place of the Duke of Somerset as Protector	1549
Northumberland ordered the destruction of altars, and took away gold and silver plate and priestly vestments from all churches	1552
Mary became Queen, and began to restore the Mass and the Monasteries	1553
Lady Jane Grey was executed	1554
Mary married Philip of Spain, and Parliament acknowledged the Pope as Head of the Church	1554
Parliament passed Acts allowing the burning of Protestants in England	1555
Archbishop Cranmer was burned	1556
Elizabeth became Queen	1558
The second Act of Supremacy was passed	1559
The Act of Uniformity restored the English Prayer Book, and bade every one go regularly to church	1559
The Scotch put an end to the Mass, and to the power of the Pope in Scotland	1559
John Hawkins made his first voyage to the Spanish Main	1562
James VI. of Scotland was born in trouble	1566
Some Puritans began to hold separate services	1567
Mary Queen of Scots was a prisoner in England	1568–87
The Pope issued a Bull excommunicating Queen Elizabeth	1570
Parliament passed an Act making it treason to bring Papal Bulls to England	1571
Francis Drake made his voyage to the Isthmus of Panama	1572–3
The first London Theatres were built	1575
Francis Drake sailed round the World	1577–80
Many Jesuits began to come to England	1580
An Act of Parliament was passed to punish Roman Catholics more severely	1581
Sir Walter Raleigh tried to found the Colony of Virginia	1585–9
Mary Queen of Scots was executed	1587
The Spanish Armada was defeated	1588

The Stuart Kings and Civil Strife, 1603–1688.

James I. became King, and began to neglect the Navy	1603
Bishops and Puritan clergymen met at Hampton Court Palace	1604
Gunpowder Plot was discovered	1605
Bates refused to pay the imposition on currants	1606
The Virginia Company founded the Colony of Virginia	1607
Champlain founded the French fur-trading station of Quebec	1608
James I. dissolved his first Parliament (which had sat since 1604)	1611
The Authorized Version of the English Bible was issued	1611
James raised money in ways which Parliament would not have approved	1611–21
The Virginian Colonists began to grow tobacco	1613
The first Colonial Parliament was elected in Virginia	1619
The Pilgrim Fathers sailed to New Plymouth	1620
The House of Commons passed a bold resolution about free speech	1622
James declared war against Spain	1624

Charles I. became King, with the Duke of Buckingham as chief Minister 1625
Parliament granted Tunnage and Poundage for one year only . . 1625
The expedition against the Spanish town of Cadiz failed . . . 1625
Sir John Eliot demanded the trial of Buckingham 1626
Charles obtained money in several illegal ways 1626–8
Charles went to war with France and was defeated 1627
Parliament drew up the Petition of Right 1628
William Laud became Bishop of London 1628
Many Puritan gentlemen, merchants and farmers, founded the Colony of Massachusetts Bay 1628–33
Charles dissolved his third Parliament, and ruled without one for eleven years 1629–40
The Colony of Maryland was founded 1632
Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury 1633
The three sets of Ship-Money Writs were issued by the King, in 1634, 1635, 1636
The English Prayer Book was sent to Scotland 1637
The Scots signed the National Covenant 1638
The Scots marched to invade England 1639
The Short Parliament sat for three weeks and talked about grievances 1640
The Scots beat the English at the Battle of Newburn 1640
The Long Parliament assembled, December 1640
The Long Parliament abolished many grievances 1641
The House of Commons passed the Grand Remonstrance, November 22nd 1641
Charles tried to arrest five members of the House of Commons, and then left Whitehall, January 1642
The Great Civil War began, August 1642
The French founded the city of Montreal in Canada 1642
The Battle of Edgehill was fought, October 1642
The Eastern Counties Association was formed, December . . 1642
The King made a plan to march three armies on London . . 1643
A Scottish Army entered England to aid Parliament, January . . 1644
The Battle of Marston Moor was fought, July 1644
The New Model Army was formed 1645
The Battle of Naseby was fought, July 1645
Charles I. became a prisoner, May 1646
The Scots marched back to Scotland, January 1647
The Scots marched into England to help the King, July . . 1648
Charles was tried and executed, January 1649
The Commonwealth 1649–53
Defeat and execution of the Marquis of Montrose 1650
"The Rump" declared war with the Dutch 1652
Cromwell dismissed "the Rump," April 1653
The Protectorate of Oliver Cromwell 1653–58
Parliament wished to make Cromwell King 1656
Death of Cromwell 1658
The army, under General Monk, determined to bring back the King 1659
Charles II. was made King, and many royalist lords, gentlemen and clergymen returned from the Continent 1660

The laws known as the Clarendon Code were passed	1661–65
The Colony of Carolina was founded	1663
The Dutch Colony of New Netherlands was captured and became British	1664
The Plague, 1665, and the Fire of London	1666
The Hudson Bay Company was founded, and was granted territory known as Prince Rupert's Land	1670
Charles II. issued the Declaration of Indulgence	1672
The Test Act was passed, and Charles dismissed Lord Shaftesbury	1673
Titus Oates invented the Popish Plot	1678
An Act forbade Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament	1678
The Exclusion Bill was brought in	1679
William Penn founded the Colony of Pennsylvania	1683
James II. became King, and began to restore Roman Catholicism	1685
James issued the Declaration of Indulgence	1687
Seven Bishops were tried for petitioning against the Declaration of Indulgence	1688
William of Orange sailed from Holland and landed at Tor Bay, November	1688

Foreign Kings and the Power of Parliament, 1689–1760.

William III. and Mary II. and the Bill of Rights	1689
The first Annual Mutiny Act, and the Toleration Act were passed	1689
The Massacre of Glencoe in Scotland	1692
The Triennial Act was passed	1694
The French founded the Colony of Louisiana in North America	1697
Anne became Queen	1702
The Act of Union between England and Scotland was passed	1707
George I. became King, and Whig Ministers began to rule	1714
Scottish Jacobites tried to make the Old Pretender King	1715
Walpole became First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer	1721
George II. became King, and Walpole continued to rule	1727
The colony of Georgia in North America was founded	1732
Robert Walpole lost his power	1742
Scottish Jacobites tried to make the Young Pretender King	1745
The French built Fort Duquesne on the River Ohio	1754
General Braddock's army was defeated near Fort Duquesne	1755
William Pitt became Secretary of State and ruled England	1757–61
The British captured Fort Duquesne and Louisburg from the French	1758
The British captured Quebec	1759
The British captured Montreal, and the French were driven from Canada	1760

The Demand for Reform in Government, 1760–1830.

George III. became King, and determined to "be a King"	1760
The Peace of Paris was passed, and Canada was acknowledged to be British	1763
John Wilkes wrote the famous No. 45 of the "North Briton"	1764
Parliament imposed the Stamp Act on the American Colonies	1765

Parliament repealed the Stamp Act	1765
Parliament laid taxes on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colours in America	1767
John Wilkes was elected Member of Parliament for Middlesex	1768
British soldiers were landed in Boston	1768
James Watt improved Newcomen's steam-engine	1769
Captain Cook sailed along the eastern shores of Australia	1770
John Howard was made High Sheriff of Bedfordshire, and began to visit prisons	1773
The "Boston tea-party" destroyed a cargo of tea in Boston harbour	1773
The first American Congress met at Philadelphia	1774
The American War of Independence began at Lexington and Concord	1775
The American Declaration of Independence, July 4th	1776
The Peace of Versailles ended the American War of Independence	1783
Many loyal Colonists fled from the United States and settled in Canada after	1783
The first mail-coaches were started	1783
The earliest British settlement in Australia was made at Botany Bay	1788
The great European War began	1793
Great Britain captured Cape Colony from the Dutch	1795
The Act of Union between Great Britain and Ireland was passed	1800
Nelson won the Battle of Trafalgar	1805
Elizabeth Fry began to visit Newgate prison	1813
The first settlers found their way to the interior of Australia	1813
The Battle of Waterloo ended the great European War	1815
Many British emigrants left home for Canada, Australia and the United States after	1815
The working men tried to win the vote by violence, and failed	1816–19
George IV. became King, and Lord John Russell began to urge the reform of Parliament	1820
The first London policemen	1828
A law was passed allowing Roman Catholics to sit in Parliament	1829
The Colony of Western Australia was founded	1829

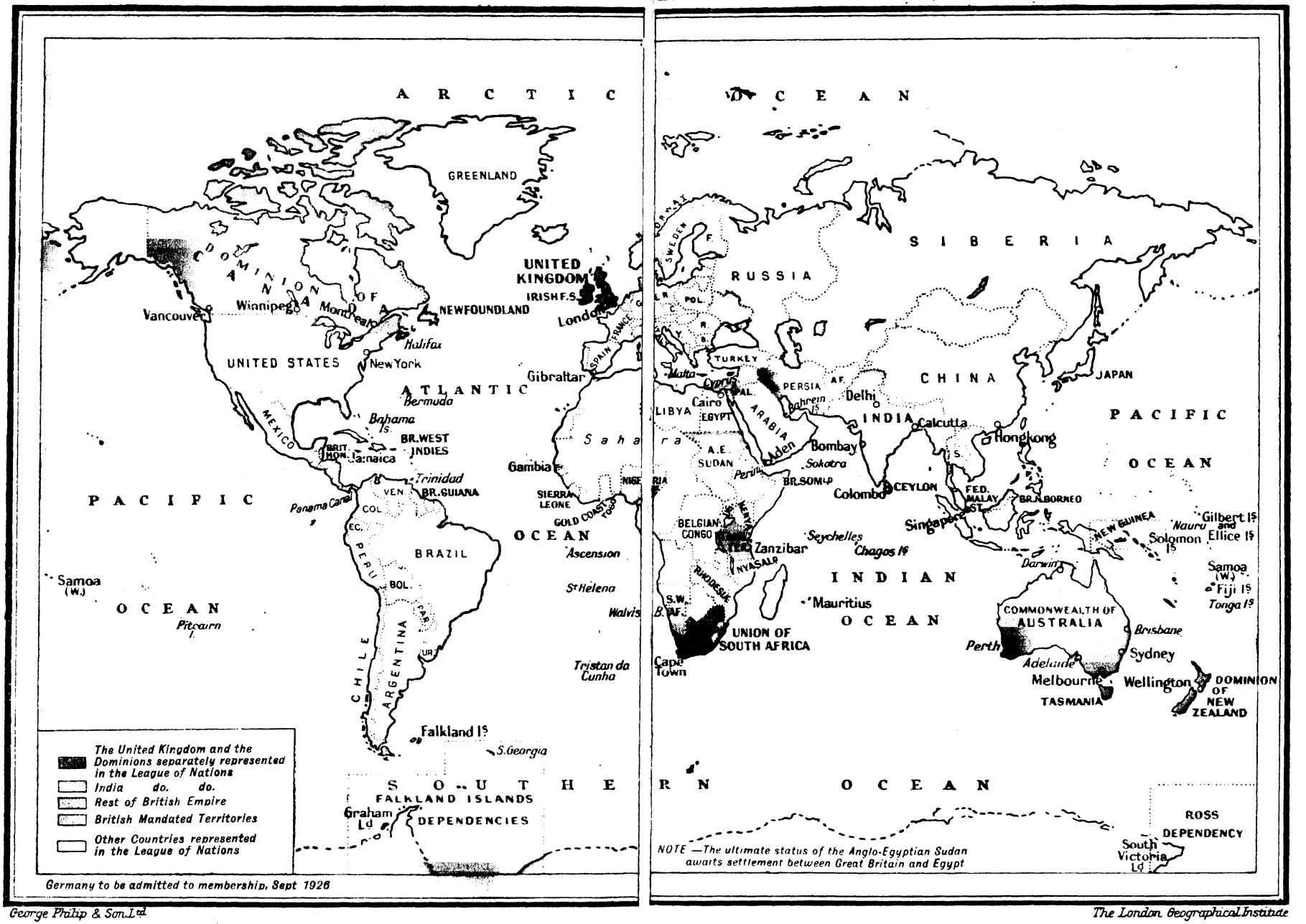
Modern Times, 1830–1911.

William IV. became King, and Earl Grey became Prime Minister	1830
Railways were built to carry passengers and goods, from	1830
The "Great Reform Bill" was passed	1832
The first important Factory Act was passed	1833
An Act was passed to enable ratepayers to elect the Town Councils	1835
The Boers of South Africa trekked into the Veldt	1836
Victoria became Queen, and the first electric telegraph was worked	1837
The penny post was established for the British Isles	1840
New Zealand was declared part of the British Empire	1840
Natal was declared a part of the British Empire	1842
Sir Robert Peel was Prime Minister, and introduced Free Trade, from	1841–46
There was a fearful outbreak of Cholera in Britain	1848
Gold was discovered in Australia in 1849, and the Colony of Victoria was founded in	1851
The Crimean War was fought against Russia	1853–56

Queen Victoria was declared Sovereign of India	1858
Gold was discovered in British Columbia, and the latter became a separate Colony	1858
The Dominion of Canada was formed	1867
The second " Great Reform Bill " was passed	1867
The first successful Atlantic telegraph cable was worked	1868
The Dominion of Canada bought the Hudson Bay Company's lands	1870
An Act forced English ratepayers to build schools where there were none	1870
The Province of Manitoba was founded	1870
The halfpenny post was established for the British Isles	1871
The Colony of British Columbia joined the Dominion of Canada	1871
Vote by Ballot was established	1872
An Act forced all children over five to go to school	1876
Gold was discovered in South Africa	1884
The third " Great Reform Bill " was passed	1884
The Canadian Pacific Railway was finished	1885
County Councils were established by Act of Parliament	1888
Parish Councils were established by Act of Parliament	1894
Elementary Schools were made free	1896
The South African War broke out, and raged for three years	1899
The Commonwealth of Australia was formed	1901
Edward VII. became King	1901
The Dominion of New Zealand was formed	1907
Old Age Pensions were established	1908
The Union of South Africa was formed	1910
George V. became King	1910
The Parliament Act was passed which settled that no Parliament might sit for more than five years	1911
The great World War began	1914
The Imperial War Conference was held in London	1917
The Russian revolution abolished the Russian Empire, and founded the Russian Soviet Republics	1917
The German Emperor abdicated and the German Republic was founded	1918
The Armistice of November 11th ended the great World War	1918
The Austrian Emperor abdicated and the Republics of Austria and of Hungary were founded	1918
The Peace Conference was held at Versailles and the Treaties of Versailles (with Germany), of St. Germain (with Austria and Hungary) and of Neuilly (with Bulgaria) were signed	1919
The Government of India Act gave to Indian peoples powers of electing members of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly	1919
The League of Nations was founded	1920
The Irish Free State was founded	1922
The British Empire Exhibition was opened at Wembley	1924

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Germany to be admitted to membership, Sept 1926

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