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PREFACE

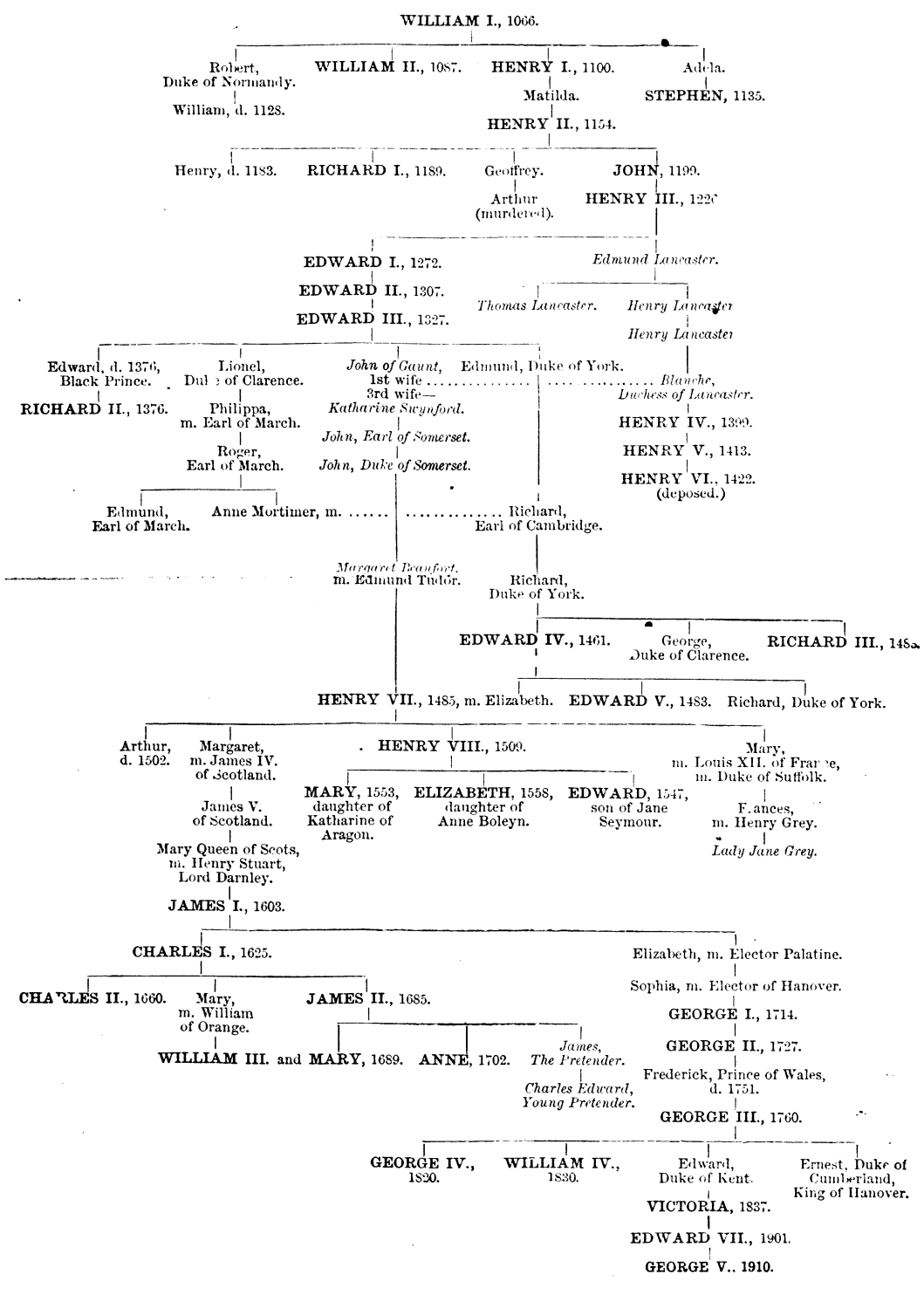
In the small space allowed me in this little book I have tried to set before young readers a connected history of the rise and development of England. While giving as far as possible the chief facts required by students, I have been especially anxious to present a vivid picture of the life, the difficulties, and the achievements of our ancestors; showing how our laws, our constitution, our trade, and our colonies have arisen. If this short sketch opens the way to the study of more comprehensive histories, leading those now growing up into citizens of a widespread empire to take a lively interest in the past, present, and future of our nation, it will have done its work.

At the same time, as it is necessary in school teaching that dates and facts should be firmly rooted in the memory, I have endeavoured, with the help of Messrs. Acland and Ransome's admirable *Outlines*, so to arrange the Table of Contents at the beginning of the volume that it may offer a clear abstract of the facts of each chapter, and also serve as a Chronological Table, giving the dates in their due succession. Among so many figures, both in the table and the text, there must inevitably be some errors in spite of every care. When any such are discovered I shall be grateful to those who will point them out that they may be corrected.

Upcott Avenel, Highampton, '887.

SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND SINCE THE NORMAN CONQUEST

(For fuller details see Tables at the beginning of each Part)



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[1] In these genealogies no attempt is made to give all the children of each king. Only those are named who are concerned in the succession to the throne.

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smith relieved, **Feb. 28**—Bloemfontein occupied, **March 13**—Mafeking relieved, **May 17**—Johannesburg occupied, **May 30**—and Pretoria, **June 5**—**Orange River Colony annexed, May 17**—**Transvaal annexed, Sept. 1**—Kruger leaves Africa, **Oct. 1900**—Massacres in China, **June 1900**—Pekin relieved, **Aug. 15**—Ashanti War, **April** to **July**—Australian Commonwealth, **Jan. 1, 1901**—**Death of Queen Victoria, Jan. 22, 1901**—**Accession of EDWARD VII.** . . Pages 337-370

CHAPTER XXVII.

GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

Balfour, July 12, 1902.

Campbell-Bannerman, Dec. 5, 1905.

Asquith, 1908.

Coronation of Edward VII., **Aug. 9, 1902**—Peace of Vereeniging **May 31, 1902**—Treaty with Japan, **Jan. 30, 1902**—Colonial Premiers in London, **1902**—Education Act, **1902**—Edward VII. visits Paris, **1903**—Triple *entente*—Mr. Chamberlain proposes Tariff Reform, **1903**—Split in the Unionist camp, **1903**—Mission to Tibet, **1903-1904**—Wyndham's Irish Land Act, **1904**—Army and Navy Reforms, **1904**—Russo-Japanese War, **1904**—Partition of Bengal, **1904**—Balfour resigns, **Nov. 1905**—General election, **Jan. 1906**—Unionist defeat—Balfour returned for the City—Union of South Africa, **1906**—Aliens Act, **1906**—Criminal Appeal Act, **1906**—Public Trustee Act, **1906**—English Small Holding Act, **1906**—Workmen's Compensation Act, **1906**—New Education Bill dropped, **1906**—Woman's Suffrage Bill, **1906**—Lord Haldane's Army Bill, **1907**—New Zealand a Dominion, **May 1, 1907**—Old Age Pensions Act, **1908**—Miners' Eight Hours Bill, **1908**—Boy Scouts, **1908**—Cotton Operatives' Strike, **1908**—Militant Suffragettes, **1908**—Licensing Bill thrown out by the Lords, **1908**—Syndicalism—Labour demands—Colonial Navies, **1909**—Labour Exchanges, **1909**—Lloyd George's Budget, **April 1909**—Thrown out by the Lords, **Nov. 1909**—Sedition in India, **1906-1910**—Native members elected, **1909**—Union Parliament of South Africa, **Nov. 4, 1910**—Botha Prime Minister—General election, **Jan. 1910**—Veto resolutions, **Feb. 28, 1910**—Lords propose to remodel their House—Death of Edward VII., **May 6,**

1910—General election, Dec. 1910—Important Strikes, 1911—Insurance Acts, 1911—Payment of members, 1911—Mr. Bonar Law succeeds Mr. Balfour as Opposition leader, Nov. 8, 1911—Coronation, June 22, 1911—Imperial Durbar, Delhi made capital of India, 1911—Parliament Bill passed by Lords, Aug. 10, 1911—Welsh Disestablishment and Home Rule Bills, 1912—Ulster Covenant signed, Sept. 28, 1912.

Great European War begins—Germany declares war on Russia, **Aug. 1, 1914**—German invasion of Belgium begins, Aug. 3—Germany declares war on France, Aug. 3—Britain declares war on Germany, Aug. 4—First landing of British troops in France, Aug. 8 to 10—Britain declares war on Austro-Hungary, Aug. 12—Retreat of Mons begins, Aug. 23—Burning of Louvain University by Germans, Aug. 25—British Naval victory in Heligoland, Aug. 28—Beginning of the Battle of the Marne, Sept. 6—Battle of the Aisne begins, Sept. 17—Bombardment of Rheims Cathedral by Germans begins, Sept. 20—Indian regiments land in France, Sept. 20—Canadian troops land in England, Oct. 10—German cruisers bombard Yarmouth, Nov. 2—Britain declares war on Turkey, Nov. 5—Germans relinquish advance on Calais, Nov. 20—British Naval victory near Falkland Islands, Dec. 8—Naval battle off Dogger-Bank, **Jan. 24, 1915**—German U-boats attack British coasts, Feb. 18—Bombardment of Dardanelles begins, Feb. 19—Allies proclaim stoppage of German sea-traffic, March 14—First Zeppelin attack on England, April 14—Stifling gas first used by Germans at Ypres, April 22—*Lusitania* sunk, May 7—Italy joins the war, May 23—First Zeppelin raid on London, May 31—Landing of British troops at Salonica, Oct.—German attack on Verdun begins, **May 21, 1916**—Naval battle off Jutland, May 31—Lord Kitchener drowned, June 5—Battle of the Somme begins, July 1—Tanks first used on the Somme, Sept. 15—Russian Revolution at Petrograd, Tsar abdicates, **March 15, 1917**—The United States declares war on Germany, April 1917—Austro-Germans invade Northern Italy, Oct. 24—Great German offensive in the West, March 21, 1918—Foch appointed Generalissimo, April 14—

Lloyd George. 1916

Second German massed attack, May 27—German defeat at Veuilly, June 6—Germans driven back across the Marne, July 20—Soissons retaken, Aug. 2—Bapaume, Aug. 29—Passchendaele and Messines Ridges taken and Cambrai fell, Sept. 29—Lille retaken, Oct. 17—Ostend evacuated, Oct. 17—Turkey surrenders to the Allies, Oct. 30—Austria, Nov. 3—Kaiser abdicates, Nov. 9, and flees to Holland—German plenipotentiaries sign the Armistice, 5 A.M., Nov 11, 1918—"Cease fire" sounded at 11 A.M., Nov. 11, 1918, on all Fronts—End of the War—Great Peace Congress met in Paris on Jan. 18, 1919—Ultimatum sent to Germany—Peace signed at Versailles, 3.50 Saturday afternoon, June 28, 1919. . . . . Pages 371-397

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PART I.

EARLY BRITAIN AND OLD ENGLAND

EARLY BRITAIN

MEN OF THE ANCIENT STONE AGE

SUCCEEDED BY

MEN OF THE NEW STONE AGE

(*Basque or Iberian Race*)

SUCCEEDED BY

THE BRITONS

(*Celtic Race*)

B.C. 55 and 54
Julius Cæsar visited Britain.

A.D. 43
Roman Conquest of Britain.

A.D. 410
Romans finally left Britain.

Succeeded by the

ANGLO-SAXONS

or

ENGLISH

(*Teutonic Race*)

A.D. 449
Landing of Jutes in Kent.

A.D. 477
Landing of Saxons under Cissa.

A.D. 547
Settlements of Angles.

(*See Table facing page* 16.)

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FOR BEGINNERS

CHAPTER I.

EARLY BRITAIN

BEFORE beginning to study the history of England we must first inquire what we mean when we speak of England—a question not so easy to answer as many people would suppose. The sovereign of the British Isles, King Edward VII., is styled "King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," showing that Ireland is a country distinct from Great Britain; and this is not merely because it is an island, but because a large part of it is inhabited by a people of a different race from the English, and who have a language of their own, called "Gaelic," which they still often speak among themselves. But how about Great Britain? is this all England? Surely not; for the northern half is Scotland, which, until about three hundred years ago, was a separate kingdom; and although the Lowlanders of Scotland are of the same race as the English, the Highlanders, living in the north, speak Gaelic, and are a branch of the same race as the Irish. There remains, then, only the south of Great Britain—from Northumberland to the English Channel. Surely this at least is England? Yes, but only if we add, "including the principality of Wales;" for here again we must take out a large slice of country, inhabited by a people who have a language of

England defined.

Ireland and Scotland.

Wales.

their own, called "Cymric," sufficiently like that of Ireland and the Highlands to show that the Welsh, Irish, and Highlanders sprang from the same stock, which remains to this day to a great extent separate from the English.

Strictly speaking, then, England is only the southern half of the island of Great Britain, covering an area of 50,922 square miles and divided into fifty-two English counties, with the twelve counties of Wales (covering an area of 7398 square miles) nestling into her western side. Eighteen hours in the railway will carry you from the extreme south of this country to the northern boundary at Berwick-on-Tweed, and on to Edinburgh, the chief city of the Lowland Scotch; while in eight hours you can cross the widest part of England from east to west. Yet this small country is the fatherland of the millions of Englishmen now spread over the globe; and a history of England is the history of the rise of this great people, with its struggles and its mistakes, its sufferings through ignorance and crime, and its rewards for courage, perseverance, and endurance.

Area of England.

Now if the English had lived in this country from its very beginning, we could start at once with their doings. But the races which we now call Welsh, Irish, Highlanders, and Cornish have been in these islands at least two thousand years, as we know from scattered notices of them in Greek and other writers, and some of them probably very much longer, before we have any written account of them; while it is not fifteen hundred years since the "Angles" or "Engles" came over the sea from Angeln, on the shores of the Baltic, and, with their companions, the Jutes and the Saxons, took possession of the southern half of Britain, giving it their name. Therefore, before we can speak of England, we must sketch very briefly the history of Britain before the English came.

Britain before England.

. . . . . .

In ages long gone by—how long none can tell—the land we now inhabit was a wild country, in different parts

of which lions and tigers, bears and hyænas, elephants, hippopotami, elks and reindeer roamed in the forests and over the plains, disputing the ground with savage men, who killed them as best they could with weapons made of rough flints rudely chipped to a point. We know this was so, because we find these weapons in ancient caves and river gravel-beds in many parts of England, together with the broken bones of the wild animals which were killed; while charcoal at the mouths of the caves tell us that fires were kindled there. We call these savages the men of the "Palæolithic" or "Ancient Stone" Period, and we know very little about them.

Palæolithic men.

. . . . . .

They were followed, in after ages, by men who made better weapons, still of stone, but well shaped and highly polished. These are called the men of the "Neolithic" or "New Stone" Period. We find the bones and skeletons of these later men buried in long chambers or barrows in many parts of England, Wales, and Ireland, together with polished arrow-heads, hatchets and axes of stone, and needles and pins of bone. The bones of dogs and pigs, sheep, oxen, and goats show that they kept domestic animals; and pieces of rough pottery and woven flax and straw prove that they were learning the arts of pottery-making and weaving.

Neolithic men.

The skulls of these men were long and narrow, like the skulls of a small, dark-skinned, curly-haired people called the Basques or Iberians, who still live in some wild mountainous parts of Spain, and speak a different language from every other nation except the Finns in the far north of Europe. So we have reason to suppose that the "Neolithic" men belonged to a widely-spread race, from which these Iberians also sprang; especially as the skeletons of the ancestors of the Iberians are found with polished stone weapons in long barrows in Spain just like those in Britain. There is even a small dark type of men among the lowest class of Irish and Welsh of to-day, which is probably a remnant of this same ancient people.

We can picture these Neolithic men, then, to ourselves, keeping their cattle, fashioning their weapons and rude pots, living in caves with their wives and children, and burying their dead in long chambers made of huge uncut stones covered with earth. When this earth is dug away the stones remain, forming those rude tables which have been called "cromlechs," and were long mistaken for altars. It is also probable that the strange circles of gigantic stones at Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain in Wiltshire, and elsewhere, were raised by these men, though how and why is a mystery.

Cromlechs.

. . . . . .

Time passed on, and another race with rounder skulls began to mingle with the long-headed men. We find their skeletons in round barrows formed entirely of earth, and with them both stone and bronze weapons, showing that they were learning the use of metal. In some of the later barrows we even find tools made of iron, which is much more difficult to work than bronze. For by this time a new people had come over into Britain, bringing with them a higher civilisation. Strange as it may seem, we must go right away to the East, probably somewhere near Persia, to find these people called "Celts," some of whom, after long migrations, came and settled in our island. Scholars tell us that an Aryan people—so called from the old name *Arya* (the noble people) anciently applied to part of Persia—started in the East long before the time of history, and spread out in two directions; into Persia and India on one side, and across Europe on the other, where we can follow the traces of their language. First these people made their homes a little to the west; then, as they became too numerous, the stream of migration flowed on, and parties of them settled farther and farther west, till some crossed over the sea into Britain, conquered the inhabitants and settled down, a large-limbed, fair-haired race among the smaller and darker natives.

Celts.

Here history first tells us of them, when the Phœnicians, sailing through the Straits of Gibraltar (then called the

Pillars of Hercules), about six hundred years before Christ was born, came to trade for tin with the Scilly Isles near Cornwall, called by Greek writers the "Cassiterides" or Tin Islands. About a hundred years later the Greeks came overland from Massilia or Marseilles, and from this time we find our island called "Albion" and Ireland "Ierne," while the whole group was named BRITANNIA.

Visits of Phœnicians, 6th cent. B.C.

. . . . . .

Here then, at last, we arrive at BRITAIN, which became gradually known to other nations. About three hundred and fifty years later the great Roman general, Julius Cæsar, came in the years 55 and 54 before Christ, and, defeating the Britons under their great chief, Cassivelaunus, made them promise to pay tribute to Rome. He went away again that same year, and the Britons had their country to themselves for another hundred years, and then never again.

Julius Cæsar came B.C. 55.

By this time the people of the south of Britain had become fairly civilised. They had war-chariots, and fought with spears, pikes, and axes, defending themselves with a shield of skin and wickerwork. They wore mantles and tunics of cloth, and arm-rings of gold and silver, and lived in scattered huts of wood and reeds on a stone foundation. Each tribe had a *din* or stronghold, surrounded by a wall or high bank for refuge in time of war, and one of these—the "Lynn-din" or lake-fort, pronounced Lundun—seems to have been the beginning of our great city. They grew corn and stored it in cavities of the rocks, and they made basket-work boats, and canoes hollowed out of tree-trunks. The inland people were more ignorant; they dressed in the skins of beasts, and lived on milk and meat; while those still farther to the north were mere naked savages—fearless, cruel, and revengeful.

Homes of Britons.

There was something grand and yet horrible in the religion of the Britons. They had priests called Druids, who had secret doctrines of their own, and who are said to have offered up men and women as sacrifices: but the

people seem chiefly to have worshipped nature. They adored the genii of the streams, woods, and mountains. The oak, with the mistletoe growing on it, was their emblem of Divinity; and they met for worship in caverns and in the depths of the forest.

Druid religion.

Such were the Britons when the Romans came a second time, A.D. 43, under the Emperor Claudius, and took possession of the south of the island. The Britons struggled bravely for many years, and harassed the Romans in the woods and marshes. For seven years it seemed doubtful which side would win, and then the great British chief, Caractacus, was defeated and sent a prisoner to Rome. When the Romans had once gained a footing they advanced, till in a few years more they reached the island of Anglesey, then called *Mona*, where they massacred the Druids in their stronghold. But they nearly lost the country, for Boadicea, the widow of a British chief, roused the people in the east of England; and it was only after London, then an open British town, had been burnt, and the Romans were almost exhausted, that they won the day. Queen Boadicea is said to have poisoned herself to escape the shame of being taken.

Roman conquest of Britain, A.D. 43.

Caractacus, A.D. 50.

Boadicea, A.D. 61.

After this the Romans ruled over the Britons for about three hundred years, much as the English govern India now. They made good laws, and laid down solid roads, which remain to this day. One of these, called Watling Street (*see* Map II.), stretched from Dover to Chester, passing through London. They built houses and villas, public baths and theatres; and large towns such as York, Lincoln, and Chester sprang up in different parts of the country. To this day we can trace many of these towns—such as Doncaster, Leicester, Manchester—by the termination *caster* or *cester*, from the Latin *castra*, a camp or fortified place. They cleared the forests and encouraged the growth of corn, so that Britain was called "the granary of the North"; and they introduced many new fruits, worked the mines, and taught the Britons civilised habits.

300 years of Roman rule.

It was during this time that missionaries visited our island, and both Britons and Romans became Christians.

But though Roman roads, the pavements of Roman villas, and Roman walls remain to this day, the influence of these people on the Britons did not last. Britain was, after all, only a conquered province of Rome. The natives lived happily under their conquerors, imitating their customs, speaking Latin as a fashionable language, and relying upon the Romans to defend them. Yet they clung at heart to their own laws and their own chiefs; and when in the year 401 the Romans, much troubled by enemies at home, gradually took away their troops from South Britain, the people would have been glad to see them go, if they could have defended themselves without their help from their wild Celtic neighbours in Northern Britain.

Romans begin to withdraw, A.D 401.

These neighbours, the "Picts" or Caledonians, and the "Scots,"—who came originally from Ireland and afterwards gave Scotland its name,—were savage and warlike. Even the Romans had only kept them out by strong fortified walls, of which the most famous is the wall of Hadrian from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne, parts of which remain to this day. No sooner were the Romans gone than these Picts and Scots broke through the walls and harassed the South Britons, who found it difficult to defend themselves, for the Romans had always sent away the British soldiers to serve in the Roman army abroad. So they sent for Roman soldiers to defend them, who came once and drove back the Picts and Scots; but after this, in the year 410, the Romans withdrew entirely, and left the Britons to their fate.

Picts and Scots.

Romans leave, 410.

This brings us to the point where the history of England begins; for the Britons in their despair invited some still more formidable enemies, who were hovering about their shores, to come over and help them. These were our ancestors, who founded the English nation, and we must now learn where they came from and how they came.

CHAPTER II.

HOW THE ENGLISH CAME

FOR more than a hundred years before the Romans left Britain, they had been much troubled by pirates, who came in large flat-bottomed boats across the German Ocean from the country around the River Elbe. Swooping down upon the shores of the north of Gaul and of the south-east of Britain, these marauders carried off men, women, and children, together with any plunder upon which they could lay their hands. So fierce and cruel were these Saxon pirates that the Romans built strong fortresses from the River Humber all round to *Vectis* or the Isle of Wight to keep them away; and an officer, called the "Count of the Saxon shore," was appointed specially to superintend the defence of the coast.

Saxon pirates, 4th cent.

The invaders belonged to the Teutonic race, quite different from the Celts, although they came originally from the same stock in the East. When we first hear of them in history they had spread gradually across Europe, as the Celts had done in ages before; and in the same way that the Celts drove out an earlier race, so these Teutons now drove the Celts out of the plains of Germany, as far south as the Romans would let them, and then made their way northwards to the country between the rivers Weser and Elbe, and up into Jutland, Sweden, and Norway. Here, with the Baltic on one side and the North Sea on the other, they naturally became bold sea-rovers, and from the shores of Jutland and Germany they came in their flat-bottomed boats driven by at least fifty bars, and ravaged the fair shores of Gaul, and the scarcely less fertile coasts of Britain.

Origin of the Teutons.

They had little chance of gaining a footing on the island while the Romans were there; and even after the Roman troops had left, the Britons kept them off for nearly

forty years. At last, however, worn out by the attacks of the Picts and Scots by land, and of these Saxon pirates by sea, the Britons determined to set one enemy against the other; and a British chief named Vortigern is said, in the year 449, to have invited Hengest and Horsa, two chiefs of the sea-pirates from Jutland, to settle in the Isle of Thanet, in the north of Kent, and fight his battles against the Picts. This the Jutes did, but no sooner had they conquered the Picts than they turned their arms against the Britons themselves. Horsa was killed in the first battle, but Hengest led the Jutes on, and after thirty years of fighting, his son Eric founded the two small kingdoms of East and West Kent (*see* Map I.), of which the chief city was Cant-wara-byrig or Kentmensborough, now our city of Canterbury. So the Jutes were the first of our ancestors to settle in this country.

Landing of Jutes, 449.

But meanwhile other pirate boats cruising in the Channel carried back, year after year, tidings of a land to be conquered; and in 477 the Saxons, who also came from the opposite shores between the rivers Elbe and Weser, landed with their chiefs Elle and Cissa on the south coast of Britain near the Roman city of Regnum. This city received from Cissa the name of Cissanceaster, afterwards Chichester. Long before this the Britons had bitterly regretted calling in foreign allies, for these new invaders killed or drove back all before them, and when Cissa took the town of Anderida, near where Pevensey now is, he left not a single Briton alive. The Saxons moved forward very slowly, for the land was covered with dense forests, marshes, and swamps, and the Britons fought desperately. In those days battles were hand to hand fights, and the ground which was won one day was often lost the next. In the year 520 the British King Arthur (about whom the legends of the knights of the round table are told) defeated the West Saxons so completely that he stopped them for many a year.

Arrival of Saxons, 477.

Struggle with the Britons.

It was, however, only a question of time. The Britons were divided among themselves, and were helpless against the numbers which came over the sea, fresh every year, to strengthen the invaders, bringing with them their wives, children, and cattle, and settling down stubbornly to make new homes whenever they gained a fresh piece of country.

Saxon settlements

It is true they took sixty long years to win Southern Britain, but at the end of that time they had founded the kingdoms of the South Saxons or Sussex, West Saxons or Wessex, East Saxons or Essex, and Middle Saxons or Middlesex, and the Britons were driven westward into the part now called Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall.

Meanwhile, on the north-east of Britain, another tribe called the "Angles," who came from the small country of Angeln in Schleswig, north of the River Eyder, were settling down in large numbers. This tribe is specially interesting to us; first, because almost the entire people came over with all they had and made our country their home, and secondly, because they gave their name of Angles or Engles to our nation.

Settlements of the Angles.

We do not know exactly when they first landed, but we know that some of them sailed up the Humber and founded a kingdom called Deira; while in 547 another portion of the tribe came in fifty boats from Angeln, under a chief called Ida the flame-bearer, and going farther north founded the kingdom of Bernicia; and, after a struggle of fifty years or more, Bernicia and Deira were united in 603 into the kingdom of North-Humber-land, which stretched from the River Humber right up to the Firth of Forth. This explains why the Lowland Scotch are Teutons, while the Highlanders are Celts. The Angles drove the Celts into the Highlands and took the Lowlands for themselves, and the city of Edinburgh itself took its name Eadwinesburh from one of the later Anglian kings, Eadwine or Edwin. Meanwhile other Angles were settling to the south of the

Northumbria, 603.

Humber. The North-folk and South-folk settled in the counties still called by their names, and formed the kingdom of East Anglia (*see* Map I.); while others pushed into the middle of England, into that part now called the Midland Counties. These middle-Angles were called Marchmen or Bordermen, as living on the borders of the land still held by the Britons, while their land was called March-land or Mercia. East Anglia and Mercia.

And so it came to pass that about the end of the sixth century, two hundred years after the Romans left, the Britons had been driven right over to the west of England, into Devonshire and Cornwall (or West Wales) on the south, into the mountains of North Wales on the west, and into Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, then called "Strathclyde," farther to the north. They also began about this time to be called *Welsh*, which was the name the Angles used for *strangers*, or those whose language they did not understand. The rest of the country was in the hands of the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, who were all called *Saxons* by the Welsh, but who, as they grew into one people, were sometimes called Anglo-Saxons, but among themselves more commonly *English*. Welsh and English.

They held all the east of the island, from the English Channel to the Firth of Forth, and it was roughly divided into seven chief kingdoms—Kent, belonging to the Jutes; Sussex, Wessex, and Essex, belonging to the Saxons; Northumbria, Anglia, and Mercia, belonging to the Angles—and these seven kingdoms have been called the "Heptarchy." We must not, however, suppose that these were fixed and settled divisions, as we should understand kingdoms now. The Anglo-Saxons were free men who had come over in separate bands, under favourite leaders, to take what they could, each for themselves. When they were not fighting against the Britons, they were struggling with each other, trying to get the upper hand, so that the different kingdoms were broken up and pieced together over and over again before the English became one nation. Term Heptarchy misleading.

To understand the history of these times we must picture to ourselves a wild country, with dense forests, wide swamps and marshes, and waste land in the plains. The Roman roads still remained in the more civilised parts, but the only roads in the west were narrow rugged passes through the mountains, where the Britons had taken refuge. Here and there, over the plains and undulating ground in the east of the country, would be grouped the villages of one or other of the English tribes, with some cultivated land around them, while the towns which the Romans had built had very few people in them, and were falling into ruin.

Early English villages.

The people in the villages were rough, sturdy freemen, only just settling down from a sea-life. The largest house would belong to the Etheling or *Eorl*, a man of nobler family and wealthier than the rest. But even the *Ceorls* or churls, who were lowlier freemen, had each his own house, built on his own land which was portioned out to him to cultivate. Others, who had no land of their own, but were free in other respects, were called *Laets;* while there were a good many *slaves*, either conquered Britons or men who had sold or lost their freedom, and these men might be sold by their masters either in the country or into foreign lands. On the whole, however, the greater number were free men, having their own house and land, and a voice in the village *Moot* or meeting, which was held around the sacred tree, to settle disputed questions and to divide the land. A man who had committed a crime was judged by his fellows, and acquitted if he could get a number of honest men to swear that he was innocent. This was called "*compurgation.*" If he could not clear himself in this way, he was allowed to appeal to the "*ordeal*" or "judgment of God," by walking blindfold over red-hot ploughshares, or dipping his hand into boiling water. If he was unhurt, then he was declared not guilty.

Eorls and ceorls.

Laets and Slaves.

Village moot.

Compurgation and ordeal.

Each village or township was surrounded by a rough

fence called a "*tun*," and was separated from the next by a piece of waste ground called the "*mark*" or march which no one might claim. If a stranger crossed this mark he blew a horn, otherwise any one had a right to kill him. The townships were grouped into "*hundreds*," and when the people had to gather for war, or to settle any great question, some of the freemen from each of the villages met together in the great "*Folkmoot*" or meeting of the tribe, and chose ealdormen or aldermen from among the eorls to lead them to battle, or to speak for them in the "*Witenagemot*" or meeting of wise men, where laws were framed, and questions of peace or war decided. Before the English came to Britain each band was governed separately by its own alderman. Now, however, that they were obliged to unite against another nation, they elected one alderman to be superior to the others, as "king" over a large number of bands. But though the king had his own "*Thegns*" or chosen band of warriors, he could do nothing without the consent of the Witan and all the people. He could not even say who should reign after him. Each king was elected, though they were generally chosen from the same family, because the people believed that certain families were descended from Woden, their great god of war.

Hundreds.

Folkmoot and Witan.

Elected kings.

For these Angles were still heathen, and although the Britons whom they conquered were Christians, yet they did not learn from them. Our days of the week still remind us of the gods of our ancestors—Wednesday is Woden's day; Thursday, the day of Thor, the god of thunder; Friday, the day of Freya, goddess of peace and fruitfulness; while Eostre, goddess of the spring, gave her name to our Easter. Besides these chief gods, they believed in water-nixies and wood-demons, in spirits of earth and air, in hero-gods and in weird women. The real religion, however, of these ancient English was not in these superstitious beliefs, but in their deep sense of right, of justice, of freedom, and of the mystery

Heathen gods.

of life and death; and it was because they were so much in earnest that the Christian religion, when it came, took such deep hold upon them.

It came very slowly and with many a struggle. Pope Gregory the Great, when he was quite a young man, had once seen some young fair-haired boys who were being sold as slaves in the market-place of Rome. Touched by their beauty, he asked where they came from, and when he heard that they were Angles, "Not Angles, but angels," said he, "with faces so angel-like." When he became Pope he remembered those lovely heathen boys, and in the year 596 sent a Roman abbot named Augustine, with forty monks, to preach the gospel to the English people. Augustine landed in Kent, where a king named Ethelbert was then reigning, who had married a Christian wife, Bertha, the daughter of a Frankish king. Ethelbert met Augustine on the Isle of Thanet, in the open air for fear he should cast a spell upon him, and listened to him patiently. In the end he was baptized with many of his people, June 2, 597, outside the chief gate of Canterbury, where the little Church of St. Martin now stands. From that time the kingdom of Kent became Christian, and Augustine was the first Archbishop of Canterbury.

Christianity.

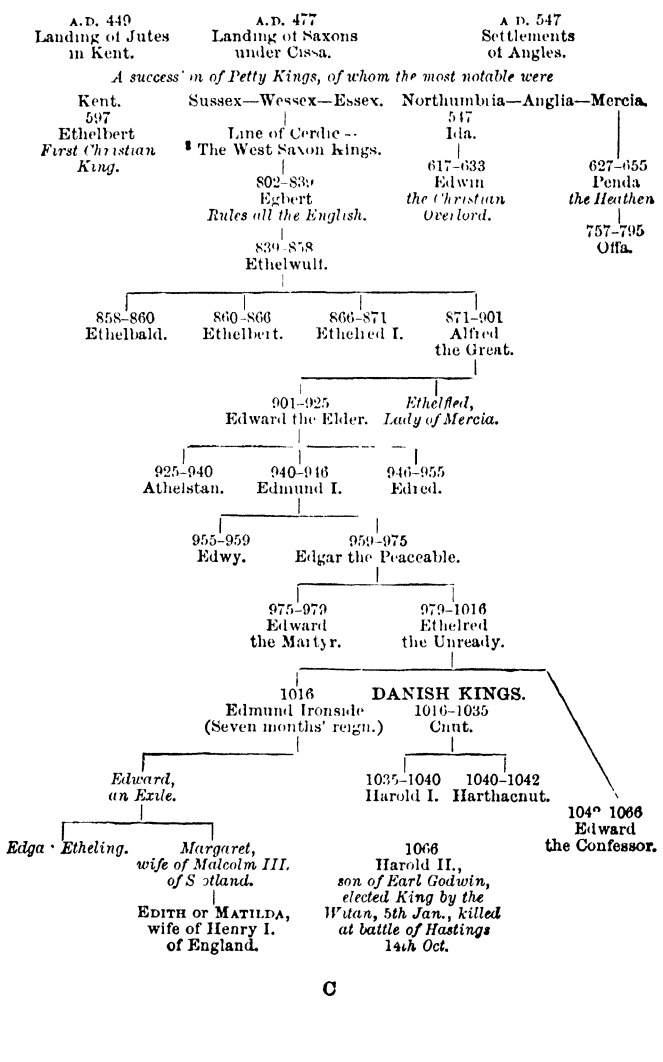
Conversion of Kent, 597.

From Kent the new religion spread to Northumbria. Edwin, king of that land, married Ethelbert's daughter, and she took a monk named Paulinus with her to the north. Here Edwin called together his Witan, and they listened to this faith which told them of a life after death, and accepted Christianity. Edwin was a very powerful king, for all the other kings, except the King of Kent, acknowledged him as "overlord" or, as they called it, "Bretwalda." He ruled so well that in his days "a woman with her babe might walk scatheless (unhurt) from sea to sea," which was saying a great deal in such a turbulent land.

Conversion of Northumbria.

But there was one king who was restless under Edwin's rule, Penda, King of Mercia. Penda's people still loved the

CHIEF KINGS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH.



old heathen gods, and he roused them against the Christian king, and persuading Cadwallon, one of the Welsh kings, to join him, he made war upon Edwin, who was killed in battle at Heathfield in the North country in 633. Then followed a long struggle between Northumbria and Mercia, which lasted all through Penda's life; wars and skirmishes troubled the people until Penda was killed in 655, and the Mercians gradually became Christians.

Struggle with Penda, 633-655.

Paulinus and his followers had fled from Northumbria when Edwin was killed, but other missionaries had come to keep up the new religion. The Irish had been converted by St. Patrick a hundred years before, and an Irish monk, Columba, built a mission-station on a small rocky island called Iona on the west coast of Scotland, from which teachers went out to all the north of England. Cuthbert, monk of Melrose, who wandered on foot among the Northumbrians, and Cædmon, the cowherd of Whitby, our first English poet, were trained under these Irish monks, who did good work among the people. In the year 664, however, some questions arose about Church matters between these Irish monks and the Roman missionaries, and King Oswi of Northumbria decided in favour of the Roman teachers. Most of the Irish monks then went back to their home, and monks and bishops from Rome took up the work. The Pope sent Theodore of Tarsus as Archbishop of Canterbury, and he marked out the sees of the bishops and appointed priests to each village, or cluster of villages, which were then probably first called "*parishes*." An archbishop was afterwards appointed to York for the north of England, and archbishops, bishops, and priests sat in the "moots" and took a part in governing the people.

Irish missions, 634-664.

English Church organised, 673.

Monasteries now sprang up rapidly, and the monks settling among the rough freemen taught them to love quiet work and respect learning. Carpenters and other artisans and traders settled round the monasteries and

abbeys; markets were held before the abbey gates; and in this way small towns began to grow up. It was in the monastery of Jarrow, on the coast of Durham, that Bede, the first writer of English history, spent his whole life, and trained six hundred scholars, besides strangers. He wrote forty-five works all in Latin, some textbooks for his students, some treatises on the Bible, and one was his famous *Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*, which tells what happened for a hundred and fifty years after Augustine landed in Kent Bede's was a loving, patient nature, and it was such men as he who were gradually civilising the English people, while the various petty kings were struggling for power and conquering more and more land from the Welsh.

Origin of towns.

Bede, 673-735.

At first, as we have seen, Northumbria was the most powerful kingdom; then Mercia got the upper hand under her great king, Offa the Mighty (757–795), who made the great dyke from Chester to Chepstow to keep out the Welsh, and sent money to Rome for the support of English pilgrims there; and lastly in 827 Egbert, King of Wessex (who was descended from Cerdic, the great chief who first brought the West Saxons to Britain in 495), conquered both the Mercians and Northumbrians, and became king of all the English south of the Thames, and Bretwalda right up to the Firth of Forth. Kent, Sussex, and Essex had altogether ceased to be separate kingdoms, and thus for the first time all the English were overruled by one king. We shall see that the kings of Wessex had the chief power over the English people for the next two hundred years.

Egbert rules all the English, 802-839.

CHAPTER III.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLISH AND DANES

SCARCELY, however, were the English beginning to settle down from their own petty wars than a new danger threatened them, and threw them back for a long time, although in the end it helped to unite all the kingdoms into one. It will be remembered that when the Teutons spread over Europe (*see* p. 10) many of them went northwards into the countries now called Denmark, Sweden, and Norway. These people had remained barbarians and heathen, worshipping Woden, and having a hard struggle to live in the cold barren countries of the north. They too became sea-rovers, as their countrymen the Saxons had done before them, and they were known as the Northmen, Danes, or "Vikings," which last means *creek-dwellers*. Already they had settled in the Orkneys and the Isle of Man, and after a long struggle had taken possession of the coast of Ireland, with Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford as their chief towns.

Origin of the Danes or Northmen.

Now they began to harass the English, sometimes joining with the Welsh on the west, sometimes making raids on the east coast, sailing up the rivers, and throwing up earthworks round their headquarters. From these they sallied out over the country, burning towns and monasteries, killing men and children, and carrying off the women as slaves. Even as early as 794 they plundered the monastery of Jarrow; and it was partly because Northumbria was weakened by their attacks, that Egbert was able to subdue that kingdom. At first they only came in the summer time, and went away with their spoil; but after Egbert's death in 839 they became more troublesome, and in 855, when his son Ethelwulf was king, they remained all the winter in the Isle of Sheppey, at the mouth of the Thames. In 866 a great Danish army

Invasions of the Danes, 794-879.

attacked East Anglia, and, crossing the Humber, took York and overran all the south of Northumbria. Then they pushed their way south into Mercia as far as Nottingham, and, taking complete possession of the country, wintered at Thetford in Norfolk, where they murdered Edmund, King of East Anglia, tying him to a tree and shooting at him with arrows till he died, because he refused to give up the Christian faith.

Ethelwulf of Wessex, 839-858.

Having conquered a large part of Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia, bringing ruin and misery wherever they went, they next turned their arms against Wessex in the year 871. But here they met with their match. Four brothers, sons of Ethelwulf, had reigned one after another in Wessex during the last thirteen years. The third of these brothers, Ethelred I., fought bravely, with the help of his younger brother Alfred, against the Danes, subdued the Welsh in Cornwall and Wales, and went even as far as the island of Mona, which had been named Anglesey (*Angles' Ey or Island*) by King Edwin of Northumbria. But in spite of all Ethelred's efforts the Danes gained ground, and when he died in 871, and Alfred was chosen king, matters were growing desperate.

Ethelbald, Ethelbert, and Ethelred I. of Wessex, 858-871.

The history of Alfred shows what a good and wise man can do under great difficulties. He was born at Wantage in Berkshire. As quite a little child he used to repeat old Saxon poems to his mother, Osburgha, who said one day, "The one among you children who can first say this book by heart shall have it;" and the story goes that little Alfred carried the book to his teacher, and, when he had learnt it, repeated it to his mother. If this be true, it must have happened before the boy was four years old, for at that age his father sent him to Rome, and he never saw his own mother again. It was probably in Rome, where Alfred afterwards went a second time with his father, that he learnt much which was of use to him afterwards. Before he was twenty he married happily,

Alfred the Great of Wessex, 871-901.

Alfred's childhood.

but he had to struggle against ill health and attacks of epilepsy, and was only twenty-two when he became king over a country laid waste by the ravages of the Danes.

Within a month of his brother's death he fought a battle against them, but was defeated, and from that time he struggled in vain to overcome them, sometimes fighting, sometimes buying them off. But in spite of bribes they came in endless numbers over the sea. The monks and clergy, turned out of their homes by the invaders, wandered about the country, or carried off their treasures to the continent; the people were worn out and reduced to beggary, the land was laid waste, and the Welsh, of whom there were still a great many in Wessex, were half disposed to help the Danes. At last, in 878, after seven years' almost ceaseless fighting, Alfred was so completely defeated at Chippenham, in Wiltshire, that he was forced to fly in disguise into the woods and marshes of Somersetshire. But he would not leave the country, as the King of Mercia had done to die a pilgrim in Rome. His people were in distress, and he must help them.

Alfred a wanderer, 878.

It is at this time that Alfred is said to have taken refuge in a swineherd's cottage, where he let the good woman's cakes burn on the hearth as he mused how to save his country. At anyrate he mused to good purpose, and gradually collecting a band of faithful friends in Athelney, an island in the swamps of Somersetshire, he set forth in the spring to reconquer his kingdom. As he went, men flocked to his standard; and, after a desperate struggle, he completely defeated the Danes at Edington, near Chippenham, and made their leader, Guthrum, enter into a solemn treaty at Wedmore. By this treaty the Danes bound themselves not to pass south of a line drawn from the mouth of the Thames to Bedford, from there along the Ouse to the old Roman road of Watling Street, and by Watling Street to Chester. Even this gave them all Northumbria and East Anglia, together with a part of Mercia called the Five Boroughs of the Danes and this tract of country became known as the Dane-

Treaty of Wedmore, 879.

law or "Danelagh" (*see* Map II.); while Alfred kept only Wessex and part of Mercia. But he had gained peace for the sorely-troubled land, and as Guthrum was baptized a Christian, together with many of his nobles, the Danes and English settled down more happily together.

Alfred now set himself to govern Wessex well and to strengthen his kingdom. He collected the old laws of the English, and adding to them the ten commandments and some of the laws of Moses, he persuaded the Witan to adopt them as the law of the land, and took great pains to see that justice was done to rich and poor alike. He restored the monasteries and schools and built new ones, inviting learned men from all parts to teach in them, among whom was the famous Welshman, Asser. He himself superintended the palace school for his nobles, and encouraged every freeborn youth who could afford it to "abide by his book till he can well understand English." He translated Bede's *History* and other works into English, and prepared selections for the scholars, and under his direction the compilation of the Saxon Chronicle was begun in earnest. Thus he became the Father of English literature, for till then all books except the old Saxon poems and Cædmon's song had been in Latin.

Alfred's government.

Nor was his work merely among books. He divided his people into two parts, to take turns in going into battle and in guarding the homesteads, while he kept one troop always under arms to defend the fortresses. He built ships, by which he repulsed a severe attack by the Danes, and which formed the first beginning of our English navy. He rebuilt London, which had been nearly destroyed by fire and pillage. He encouraged travellers to go to Norway, Jerusalem, and even India. In his day the famous Peter's Pence, which had begun when Offa sent money for the pilgrims at Rome (*see* p. 19), were collected annually and sent to the Pope as a tribute. Only a few years ago (1883) a hoard of silver Saxon coins was dug up in Rome bearing the stamp of Alfred's grandsons, Athelstan and Edmund. Alfred set

Peter's Pence.

his people an example of industry, self-denial, and patient endurance, and won their affection as no king had done before him. His day was divided into regular duties; candles, burning each two hours, marked the time devoted to prayer, to learning, or to active work. His was a deeply religious mind, and he educated his children to a high sense of duty. He had a large family, of whom two were important in history—Ethelfled, who married an ealdorman, and as a widow governed Mercia; and Edward, who succeeded his father when Alfred died in 901.

And now for eighty years the English were almost free from invasions of the Northmen. But the country could not be at peace while it was composed of so many different kingdoms, all jealous of each other; especially as they had the Welsh, the people they had conquered, as a thorn in their side on the west; and the Danes, the people who had half conquered them, on the east. Ethelfled, the "Lady of Mercia," set valiantly to work soon after her father's death, and conquered the five Danish boroughs—Derby, Lincoln, Leicester, Stamford, and Nottingham. After her death Edward conquered the rest of the Danelagh, while the Northumbrians, both Danes and English, and the princes of Wales, Strathclyde, and Scotland, "chose him to father and lord."

Making of England under Alfred's family.

Edward the Elder, 901-925.

Thus he really governed the whole country, and his son Athelstan, who succeeded him, often called himself Emperor of Britain. Still Athelstan had serious difficulties with the Scots and Welsh of Strathclyde, who leagued themselves with the Danes against him, but were defeated in the famous Battle of Brunanburh, north of the Humber. Athelstan's three successors, Edmund, Edred, and Edwy, sons and grandson of Edward, all had to struggle more or less, during their short reigns, against revolts on all sides. At last, in 959, when Edgar, Edwy's brother and Alfred's great-grandson, came to the throne, there was peace for twenty years.

Athelstan, 925.

This was chiefly owing to a very remarkable man named

Dunstan, who was born at Glastonbury in 925, and helped Edgar to rule wisely. Let us first see what kind of people he had now to govern; for by degrees, as things settled down, changes had taken place. The king had become more powerful than in earlier times. The village hundreds were now grouped in sections or "*shires*," each with their own *shire-reeve* or "*sheriff*," who was the king's own officer, collecting his taxes and sitting in the shire-moot with the alderman and the bishop, who was also always appointed by the king. The number of the king's thegns had also increased, and as he gave them lands to hold from him, he could call upon them to help him at any time. These thegns formed a new nobility, having rank, not like the old eorls because they were of ancient family, but because the king made them noble. Another change was among the ceorls, who during the troubled times had found it very difficult to defend their homes, and were glad to put themselves under the protection of some man richer and more powerful than themselves. In the towns this did not happen so much, for there the men formed themselves into frith-guilds or peace-clubs and stood by each other. But in the country the smaller freemen sought out a lord and became his "men," and had to do him service, being called "villeins," from the Latin *villanus*, husbandmen, while they called their master *hlāford* or lord, meaning "giver of bread." They were not badly off on the whole, having their own houses and land, and feeding on barley-bread, honey and fish, with vegetables and fruit, and buttermilk to drink. But whereas formerly they received their land as a right from the village-moot, and each man held his head as high and gave his vote as freely as any other man, now they received it from their lord, and were bound to one spot, having little or no share in the government except through him.

State of the nation.

King's sheriff.

Increased importance of thegns.

Frith-guilds.

Ceorls sink into villeins.

Nevertheless there were still many free ceorls in their own homesteads; the master in his linen shirt

and embroidered blue cloth frock, linen-swathed legs and leather shoes, ruling his labourers and slaves on his own freehold; and the mistress, in her embroidered robe and linen veil, guiding her maidens, who span in the woman's bower or performed household duties in house and kitchen. These men were still as independent as in the olden days, and were the forefathers of the sturdy yeomen of later times. Their homes were often as well kept as those of the nobles themselves. Beef and mutton, ale and mead, were to be seen on their long hall tables, where master and servant sat together; and no man had a right to claim their services or restrain their liberty. These free ceorls lived chiefly in the north of England; and, led by the bishops, they often quarrelled with the great nobles of the south, who gradually became more masterful as they controlled a larger number of villeins.

Yeomen of the North.

The nobles lived idle and often riotous lives each on their own manor; they had villeins to work for them as tillers or carpenters, smiths or shoemakers, and slaves, which they bred for sale. They had meat and game in plenty, with good ale, mead, and wine. Hunting, hawking, wrestling, and racing were their favourite pursuits in times of peace, while the ladies span or embroidered, and the gleeman sang ballads in the ancestral hall, or travelling jugglers and tumblers amused the company. In time of war they gathered at the king's command, and they were now, together with the bishops, the chief people in the Witenagemot. They had power to elect or depose the king, to deal out justice, conclude treaties, dispose of the lands, and govern the state. Thus the nobles and the bishops became of great importance, standing between the people and the king; and it was only in the large towns of London and Winchester, where the Witans were held and the people could be present, that the voice of the freeman still made itself heard.

Nobles and bishops.

Another great change since the time of Alfred was caused by the mixture of Danes and English all along the

east coast; for the Danes had settled down as conquerors, and were very jealous of any interference with their rights, acknowledging no one as their superior but the king, and rebelling against him whenever they were not satisfied. Thus they were like the freemen of the north, sturdy and independent.

Mixed population of Danes and English.

This was the state of the people when Dunstan, as yet a lad, came to the court of Athelstan, and was driven away by the insolent nobles who were jealous of his knowledge and ability. After a severe illness, he became a monk, and was made Abbot of Glastonbury by Edmund, and when he became the king's minister, he ruled with a firm hand. First he secured the friendship of Malcolm, King of the Scots, by giving him Cumberland, and so kept him from helping the Danes. Then he pleased the Danes themselves by allowing them to have their own laws and customs; and by dealing fairly and justly with rich and poor alike, he kept some kind of justice in the troubled land. Edmund was murdered by an outlaw named Leof in 946, but Dunstan remained minister during Edred's reign, and though Edwy banished him for objecting to his marriage with a kinswoman, the Witenagemot of Wessex soon recalled him as minister to Edgar, who was only a boy of fourteen when he came to the throne in 959.

Dunstan's government.

Edmund, 940; Edred, 946; Edwy, 955.

Under Dunstan's rule as Archbishop of Canterbury the people began gradually to grow into one nation. Edgar was surnamed "the Peaceable," and the "laws of Edgar" were remembered for generations as wise and just, while in his reign the country was for the first time called ENGLA-LAND, the land of Englishmen. The unruly people of the north were quieted by giving the north part of Northumbria, called Lothian, to Kenneth, King of the Scots, who held it under Edgar; so that the Scotch kings now lived more in the Lowlands, and Edinburgh became the capital of Scotland. In Wales, the rebellious King Idwal was

Edgar the Peaceable, 959-975.

Lothian given to the Scots.

subdued and made to pay a yearly tribute of 300 wolves' heads. Commerce with other nations now began to flourish: the laws protecting trade from robbers and wreckers were very severe, and Edgar had three fleets continually guarding the coast against the Vikings, so that traders from France and Germany could safely visit London.

Increase of trade. There handicraftsmen began to form themselves into societies or *guilds*, and the parishes became united into *wards*, each with its own alderman, and the *burghers* or householders in the *burh* or borough claimed the right to govern themselves.

Dunstan revived education, and strove to make the monks in the monasteries and schools lead purer lives, and be more diligent in teaching. His zeal for the Church, however, in the end drove him from power. While allowing the married clergy to retain their benefices, he endeavoured to re-establish the law of celibacy among them, and he favoured the monks by raising the monasteries from their ruins, and inducing Edgar to restore the lands which had been taken from them. This caused great discontent,

Edward the Martyr, 975-979. and when Edgar died, and his young son Edward, after a reign of only four years, was murdered by order of his stepmother Elfrith, the Thegns crowned Ethelred, Elfrith's young son, and looked to her and to her favourite alderman Ethelwine to govern them. Dunstan retired to Canterbury, and died nine years after.

And now the unfortunate country was thrown back into a sea of troubles. Ethelred, called the "Unready" or

Ethelred the Unready, 979-1016. "Uncounselled" because he would not listen to the *rede* or advice of others, quarrelled with his clergy as soon as he was old enough to govern, and tried to rule despotically and break the power of his thegns. But they were too strong for him; and the country fell apart again into a number of petty states, offering an easy prey to the Danes, who began once more to come over in great numbers under the two kings of Denmark and Norway, Sweyn (or Swegen) and Olaf. No doubt, under a good king, the English would have kept

them at bay, for we read how Brithnoth the Old, alderman of the East Saxons, fought them, and died fighting in the famous Battle of Maldon in 991. But Ethelred only levied a land-tax called "Danegeld," and bought them off, first with a sum equal to £16,000 and a few years later with £24,000. Then he married Emma, daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy, in hopes the Normans would help him; and lastly, he persuaded the Witan, only too glad to fall upon the hated Danes, to give secret orders for a general massacre of large numbers of them on St. Brice's Day, 13th November 1002.

Second Danish invasion.

Massacre of Danes, 1002.

Among those murdered was Sweyn's sister Gunhild, with her husband and child, and he swore to be revenged. He came over with a large force, and Earl Thurkill followed soon after with a horde of Vikings. They ravaged the country, and Alphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, was savagely murdered by the Danes. Twice more Ethelred bought off his enemies, but the English were weary of his bad government. Northumbria and Mercia joined Sweyn, and even the thegns of Wessex submitted to him. Ethelred fled to Normandy with his wife and family, and Sweyn became king of the country. It is true that when Sweyn died a month afterwards Ethelred came back, but only to be attacked by Cnut, Sweyn's son. He struggled on for two years and died in 1016. Then the people of London choose Ethelred's son, Edmund Ironside, for their king, but the rest of England choose Cnut. Edmund fought bravely, and after six pitched battles divided the kingdom with Cnut, but he died after seven months' reign, and Cnut was acknowledged king by Danes and English alike.

Struggle for the kingdom.

Edmund Ironside, 7 months' reign, 1016.

Now, after a weary strife of thirty-six years, a strong hand was once more over the people, and the land had quiet for eighteen years. Cnut resolved to govern as an English king. Though he was cruel in the early part of his reign, before he was secure of the throne, he showed

himself just and wise afterwards. He received his crown from the Witenagemot, as all English kings had done; he governed by "Edgar's laws," and he bound himself still more to the people by marrying Emma, Ethelred's widow. On the other hand, the Danes were satisfied, because he was a king of their own race. Cnut divided England into four earldoms—*Earl* or *Jarl* being the Danish title answering to the English *alderman*. These earldoms, Mercia, Northumberland, Wessex, and East Anglia, were governed by Englishmen, of whom the most powerful were Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Godwin, Earl of Wessex, who was Cnut's minister, and married his niece. Cnut dismissed his Danish army, and kept only a body of "hus-carls" or household troops, and he even took English soldiers with him to fight in Denmark. Meanwhile the people at home had peace, and time to reclaim marshes, clear forest-land, cultivate their homesteads, and increase their trade and manufactures. Cnut even tried, as Edgar had done before him, to stop the shameful sale of Welsh and English as slaves, but in vain. From Bristol whole shiploads of young men and women were still sold to the Danes in Ireland, in spite of the laws and of the preaching of the bishops.

Cnut, 1016-1035.

Eighteen years of peace.

If Cnut's sons, Harold and Harthacnut, had been as wise as he, Danish kings might have continued to reign in England. But they were brutal, and caused nothing but misery during their short reigns; and when Harthacnut fell down and died at a wedding-feast in 1042, his half-brother Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma, was welcomed by the English as belonging to the old stock. From this time the Danes who lived in England were gradually absorbed into the English nation, so that after a few generations it was difficult to say which were Danes and which were English. Yet to this day we may see traces of Danish blood in the fair-haired sturdy yeomen of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; and the towns which they founded are

Harold I., 1035-1040.

Harthacnut, 1040-1042.

marked by names ending in *by*, which has the same meaning as *tun* and *ham* in Saxon. Thus Derby, Whitby, and Rugby are towns which once belonged to the Danes, while Nottingham, Durham, and Bridlington mark old English settlements. Danish towns.

CHAPTER IV.

HOW THE NORMANS BEGAN TO HAVE INFLUENCE IN ENGLAND

BUT though the people rejoiced at having once more one of Alfred's descendants as their king, Edward was really more a foreigner than even Cnut had been. To understand this we must go back about a hundred and fifty years, and see what had been taking place on the north coast of France. About the time when Alfred the Great was so hard pressed by the Danes or Northmen in England, large boat-loads of these same sea-pirates were swooping down upon the country round the River Seine in France, plundering and ravaging just as their comrades did in England. One band of these marauders, under the command of a famous Viking, Rolf or Rollo, sailed up the Seine, and took possession of Rouen; and there are many traditions of the havoc which Rolf wrought on all sides. But all that we know for certain is, that in 913, just when Ethelfled and Edward were conquering the Danelagh in England (*see* p. 24), Charles the Simple, King of France, made a treaty with this adventurer Rolf, and gave him land on each side of the Seine, with Rouen for his capital. Rolf then married the king's daughter and became a Christian; the land over which he reigned, as count or duke, became known as Normandy, or the Northman's land, and descended to his heirs. The Normans in France, 900. Duchy of Normandy, 913.

The Normans, then, in France, were of the same race as the Danes in England, but the French people among whom

they settled, and with whom they intermarried, were very different from the English. Though less sturdy and earnest, they were more civilised and polished, from having seen more of the world and of the cultivated people of Rome. They were clever in art and architecture, and were lively, quick-witted, bright, and gay; and in a very short time the Normans, except in one little spot round Bayeux, adopted the French language, habits, and customs, blending their own robust and resolute natures with those of the more refined Franks.

Normans become French.

So after a hundred years had passed, when Ethelred the Unready married Emma (who was the daughter of Richard, Duke of Normandy, and thus the great-grandchild of the Viking Rolf), the Normans were already Frenchmen; and Edward, the son of Emma and Ethelred, though born in England, was half a foreigner. Moreover, when he was only nine years old, he and his brother Alfred fled with their father and mother into Normandy. His mother Emma went back to England and married Cnut when Ethelred died; and his brother Alfred, who went over in Harold's reign, had his eyes treacherously put out by Harold's men, and died at Ely. But Edward remained at the Norman court. He was there when his cousin William, a boy only seven years old, became Duke of Normandy, and the two cousins were fast friends.

Edward half a Norman.

Naturally, then, when Edward was invited to England by his half-brother Harthacnut six years afterwards, and soon after was elected King of England, many Normans, both priests and nobles, followed him, and were given high offices in the land. Edward was gentle, timid, and very devout, and soon he made a Norman monk, Robert of Jumièges, Bishop of London; then another, named Ulf, Bishop of Rochester. A few years later he even promoted Bishop Robert to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and this man became a very hurtful influence in the country. The only person who held these Norman favourites in check was Godwin, Earl of Wessex, whose daughter Edith, Edward had married. Godwin

Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066.

really ruled the country, and ruled it well; but unfortunately his eldest son Sweyn was a wild and lawless man, and committed crimes which offended both the king and the people, and Godwin's enemies were only too glad to make this a pretext against him.

It happened just then that Count Eustace of Boulogne, who had married Edward's sister, had a dispute with the men of Dover, and in a fight which followed many people were killed. Godwin refused to punish the men of Dover without a fair trial; and though he was in the right, the Normans, and even the other English nobles, jealous of his power, sided with the king against him. He and his sons were declared outlaws, and sooner than provoke a civil war he withdrew to Flanders, and was away about a year. This was a memorable year in English history; for while Godwin was away the Norman knights and priests had everything their own way, and William, Duke of Normandy, now a tall handsome young man, came over to England to visit Edward. It was during this visit that Edward, who had no child, is said to have promised that William should succeed him on the English throne. Being so friendly with his cousin, it seems very natural that he should do this, though the crown was really not his to give. The Witan only could give it, and as William had not a drop of English blood in his veins, he had absolutely no right to it.

Godwin outlawed, 1051.

William visits Edward, 1051.

Meanwhile things went very badly in the country without Godwin, and when he came back next year with his younger sons, the people flocked to meet him. He refused to let them fight the king's men, but claimed to be heard in his own defence, and though the king was very unwilling to receive him, the Witan gladly gave him back his estates and power. As soon as the Norman favourites heard that he was taken back into favour they fled to France, though a large number of less note remained.

Godwin's return, 1052.

And now during fourteen years, from 1052 to 1066, England was once more really governed by her own people;

and as a flame often leaps up brilliantly before it dies out, so these years were bright ones for the nation. Godwin died very suddenly the next year at a feast, but his second son Harold, a brave soldier and an able ambitious statesman, took his place. Edward spent all his time in hunting, and in watching the building of the grand Church of St. Peter at Westminster, on the spot where the Abbey now stands. Meanwhile Harold governed England with the help of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and Eldred, Archbishop of York. Leofric's house was the rival of the house of Godwin, and his sons gave Harold much trouble, but the old man himself loved his country too well not to uphold such an able ruler as Harold.

Government of the Saxon Harold.

So contented were the people, on the whole, that there is little to tell, except of some disturbances in Wales and Northumberland. The Welsh King, Gruffyd, had been harassing the west of England ever since Godwin's banishment, but now Harold, with the help of his brother Tostig, conquered him, and made him recognise Edward as overlord. In Northumberland matters were less happy. The great Earl Siward, who had helped young King Malcolm of Scotland, to conquer the usurper Macbeth, died in 1055; and Tostig was made earl in his place. But Tostig was a great favourite with King Edward, and was always at court instead of governing his earldom, and a great rebellion arose. The people held an assembly of their own, chose Morkere, Leofric's grandson, as their earl, and marching south in large numbers demanded the banishment of Tostig. Harold saw that he could not shield his brother, and Tostig was outlawed, and went with his family to Flanders. From that time he was his brother's enemy, and was one of the chief causes of Harold's downfall.

Wales subdued.

Northumbrian rebellion.

Tostig outlawed.

By this time Harold was really supreme governor of England; the people were happy under his firm rule, and as Edward had no children they began to look to him as their future king. If Edward had ever really promised

William the crown, he evidently saw now that he could not keep his promise, for he invited over Edward, the son of Edmund Ironside, from Hungary to be his successor. This man died, however, only a few days after his arrival, before he had even seen the king, and he left only a little boy, Edgar, of whom we shall hear again by and by.

Claimants for the crown.

Meanwhile Duke William still counted upon Edward's promise; and when Harold was once shipwrecked on the coast of Normandy, and the Count of Ponthieu sent him a prisoner to Rouen, William is said to have made Harold swear to support his claim to the throne, and even to have tricked him, by hiding the relics of the saints under the altar on which he swore, so as to make the oath more sacred. Be this as it may, neither Edward nor Harold had power to promise the English crown. Edward died Jan. 5, 1066, only a week after the consecration of his beloved Minster, where his body was so soon to be laid.

Harold's oath.

Edward's death.

He had been a feeble but pious king, and the title of "Confessor" was given him at his canonisation by Pope Alexander III. in 1163, about a hundred years after his death. Before he died he recommended Harold as his successor; and the Witan which was then assembled in London carried out the election the same day. Harold was crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Eldred.

Harold, son of Godwin, was now by consent of the people King of England, although the only royal blood in his veins came from his mother, a Danish princess. But he had little time to enjoy his new honours. Duke William no sooner heard what had happened than he swore he would force Harold to keep his oath, and give up the throne to him. Without loss of time he began to build a fleet, and to collect a great army throughout France, and sent to Pope Alexander to crave a blessing on his expedition against the man who had broken a vow taken over the relics of the saints. Meanwhile a cruel fate brought Harold's own brother to increase his difficulties.

Harold II., Jan. 5-Oct. 14, 1066.

Tostig, who had gone to Norway, chose this time to come and try to recover his earldom. After plundering the south coast, he went north and sailing up the Humber with the Norwegian king, Harold Hardrada, landed in Yorkshire.

Threatened on all sides, Harold watched the south coast for some months, but as William did not arrive, he was obliged to allow the fishing vessels which formed his fleet to disperse, while he himself hastened north against Tostig.

Battle of Stamford Bridge. He defeated the Norwegian army at Stamford Bridge, in Yorkshire, and Tostig and King Hardrada were both killed. But the feast of victory was not over when a messenger arrived with the news that the Normans had landed at Pevensey, in Sussex.

South again hastened the king to London, where he called the people together to defend the country. Only the men of the south came, and with these he marched to Hastings, where the Normans were encamped. His brother Gurth begged him not to run the risk of a battle without a stronger force, and urged him to lay waste the land and starve William out. But Harold would not desolate English ground, and on Oct. 14, on a hill called Senlac, about seven miles distant from the town, was fought the memorable "Battle of Hastings." It was a stubborn contest. The English soldiers fought stoutly on foot, clad in coats of mail, and armed with javelins and two-handed axes. The country folk fought as they could with pikes and forks, while the Norman archers let fly their arrows, and the mailed and helmeted horsemen, headed by Taillefer, the Norman minstrel, who was the first to fall, pressed up the hill, trying to break through the English ranks. The sturdy Saxons stood like a wall, striking death-blows on all sides, and once the Normans began to yield, and a cry arose that the duke was slain. "I live," shouted William, tearing off his helmet, "and by God's help I will conquer yet:" and by making his men pretend to flee he drew the English down the hill in disorder. Then the Normans turned and cut them to pieces, driving back a small band of the noblest men in England to

Battle of Hastings, Oct. 14, 1066.

the top of the hill, where they gathered round the king and the royal standard, on the spot where Battle Abbey was afterwards built. There William brought forward his archers and bade them shoot upwards, so that the arrows fell upon the English from above. One struck Harold's right eye and he fell, and though his men defended him bravely, the last of the Saxon kings died under the blows of four Norman knights, leaving William conqueror. Gytha, the aged widow of Godwin, craved her son's body, and William allowed him to be buried in a purple robe beneath a heap of stones among the rocks of Sussex.

Death of Harold.

William marched to London, and there were few to oppose him, for the flower of the English nation lay dead on Senlac Hill. The people of London did indeed choose little Etheling Edgar for king; but their hearts failed them as William approached with his army, burning Southwark on his way, and they "bowed to him for need." At Christmas William was chosen by the Witan, and received the crown at Westminster from the same Archbishop Eldred who had crowned Harold.

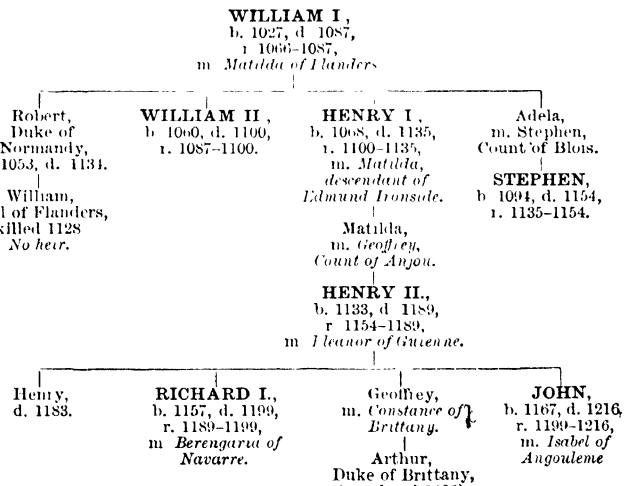
William crowned.

England had lost her freedom. Six hundred years before, the English had come in hordes from their home on the shores of the North Sea, and had conquered the Britons at Anderida, near Pevensey. Now, on nearly the same spot, they had been conquered themselves, and had to bend their heads to foreign rule. But it was a different kind of conquest. The Normans came indeed in great numbers, but not as a whole nation, nor did they drive out the English, who really belonged to the same race as themselves. Moreover, William the Conqueror was a wise and great man, and we shall see that he protected the English, both because they were useful to him and because he really wished to rule them well. Lastly, the English were by this time a strong nation of sturdy determined men, too independent and earnest to be crushed, even under the tyranny they suffered. And so in about a hundred years it was the Normans who became Englishmen, and were proud to call England their country

English and Normans.

PART II.

FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE GREAT CHARTER



CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND UNDER NORMAN RULE

William I., 1066–1087.

William Rufus, 1087–1100. *Henry I.*, 1100–1135.

AND now came important changes in our country, bringing great suffering with them. The old English line of West Saxon kings was over, and from that day to this no king of pure Anglo-Saxon race has sat upon the throne of England. Their place was taken by William, Duke of Normandy, though he was not in any sense an Englishman, for his father was Robert, surnamed "le Diable," Duke of Normandy, and his mother was Arlotta, the daughter of a Norman tanner. As a mere boy he had succeeded his father, and as he grew up he mastered the turbulent Norman barons and conquered the territory of Maine. In 1053 he married Matilda, daughter of the Count of Flanders, and was always a kind husband and good father. When he came over to be King of England he was a tall stately man, about forty years of age. He was hard and stern, and did many cruel deeds to gain his ends, but in most things he was a just ruler, a great general, and a wise statesman. He tried to rule England well, and made no changes in the laws and customs when he could avoid it. But he had come with an army of foreigners to take possession of the country, and he could not do this without crushing the free English life and causing misery.

William I., 1066-1087.

Even during his coronation at Westminster the shouts

of the people inside the Minster alarmed the Norman soldiers outside, and they set fire to the houses around, showing that the reign of fear had begun; and these same soldiers and their leaders were all waiting to be rewarded for fighting William's battles.

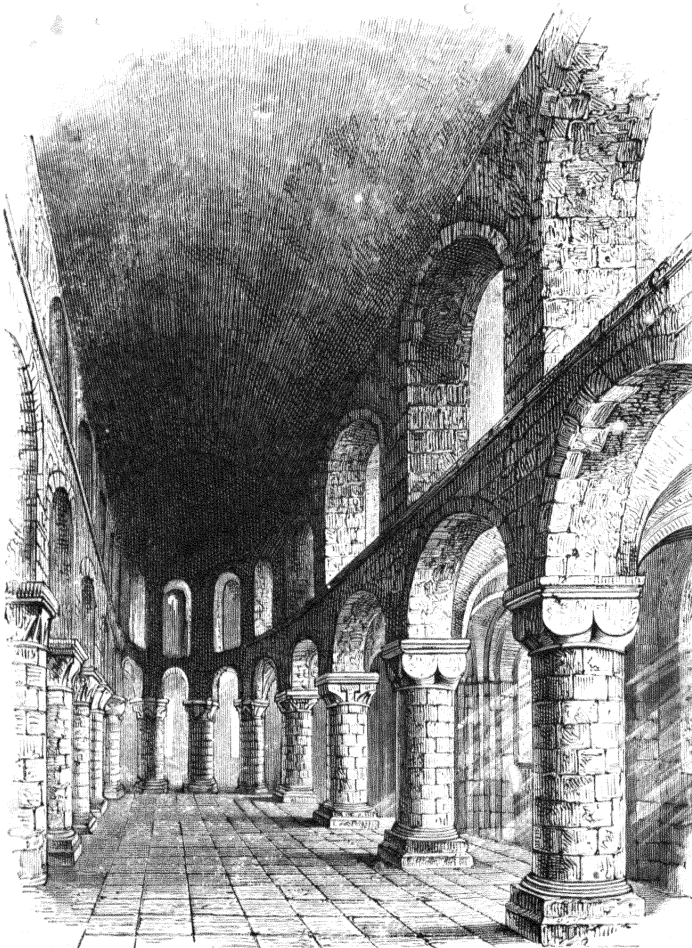
Burning at the coronation.

They had not long to wait. Very soon after his coronation William made a royal visit to the south and east of England, which was the only part really conquered, and divided the land among his barons, knights, and common soldiers. He said that he had been the rightful king ever since Edward's death, that the nation had rebelled against him by obeying Harold, and that therefore all the land, except that which belonged to the Church, was forfeited. This was of course absurd, but it gave an appearance of justice to the changes he made.

Confiscation of the land.

The *folk-land*, or common land of the people, had ever since the time of Alfred come more and more under the king's control, and now it became altogether the *terra regis*, or land of the king, while the private estates of those who lay dead on the battle-field, or had fled the country, were given to Norman nobles. In this way all Kent, and nearly all Surrey and Sussex, passed into the hands of Norman masters, as well as much land in the other shires. In some cases William gave back portions to widows, orphans, and small landowners. But those among the English who kept any land, received or bought it back, and held it as *vassals*. And so, instead of the old English freedom of the time of Alfred,—when a man had his own land as his right, which he helped to defend by military service, while he chose his own alderman, who in his turn helped to choose the king,—now it began to be all the other way. The old English system worked from below upwards, from the freeman to the king. The Norman system, on the contrary, worked from above downwards. All the land belonged to the king, who gave it to his earls, barons, and knights (who took the place of the English thegns); and they held it under him, while the smaller owners held

Folk-land becomes king's land.



CHAPEL IN THE TOWER OF LONDON.

Built by William the Conqueror.

vave page 41.

it from them in the same way. The vassal knelt unarmed and bareheaded before his lord, with his hands in his, and swore to be his liegeman, and to keep faith and loyalty to him in life and death. Then, with a kiss, the lord gave him the land as a *fief* or *feudum* for himself and his heirs for ever, and in return he was bound to provide a certain number of men to fight for his lord.

Feudal system.

Now, although many of these changes were made gradually and not with force or cruelty, yet we can imagine the distress of those, who saw all or nearly all they had given to strangers; while even the villeins and slaves were now at the mercy of foreigners, for each man took with the land all the rights which belonged to it. The Norman barons, even in their own land, had always been wild and unruly; and being used to handsome houses, delicate food, and courtly manners, they had a great contempt for the rough homes, coarse food, and heavy drinking of the English; and they often brought with them their own cooks and tailors, architects and stewards.

Normans looked down upon the English.

Moreover, strong castles began now to be built all over the land. When William went back to Normandy, three months after his coronation, he left his brother, Bishop Odo, Earl of Kent, and his friend Fitz-Osbern, Earl of Hereford, to govern the land in his absence, telling them to hasten the building of castles everywhere. In London the White Tower rose up on the banks of the Thames; and at Hastings, Norwich, Canterbury, Rochester, Bramber, Lewes, Carisbrooke, Windsor, and other places, huge battlemented towers soon arose, in which were put large forces of foot and horse soldiers with trusty Norman captains, to keep the conquered land. The English, who had always hated stone walls and loved their freedom, saw with dismay these huge fortresses rising up among them. So, when in William's absence the barons began to oppress the English, taking their property and insulting their wives and daughters, serious rebellions arose in Kent and Hereford; while Harold's

Building of castles.

sons in the west, and the great English earls in the north, began to make attempts to reconquer the kingdom. At last, when William heard that Sweyn, King of Denmark, was coming over to help the English, he hastened back.

English revolt.

The next four years were one long struggle between the conqueror and the English patriots. First, the king put down the rising in the west, and ordered a strong castle to be built at Exeter. Then Leofric's grandsons Edwin and Morkere, and Waltheof, son of the brave Siward, helped by Malcolm III. of Scotland, rose in the north; and at last, in 1069, the people of Northumbria chose Edgar Etheling as their king, and with the help of the Danes stormed York and killed three thousand Normans.

Struggle with English patriots, 1067-1071.

William took a terrible revenge. He was hunting in the forest of Dean when he heard the news, but he set off at once, and bought off the Danish fleet. Then, after retaking York, he marched his troops over the whole land between York and Durham ravaging the country. Towns, villages, cattle, crops, all were destroyed, and the unfortunate people either killed or driven over the Scottish border. More than one hundred thousand innocent people are said to have died of famine alone, and the land was so desolate that no one attempted to till the ground for nine years. But William had gained his point—the north of England was conquered. Then, sparing neither himself nor his troops, he marched in the depth of winter through snow-drifts and swollen rivers, and across desolate moors, to Chester, and conquered this, the last city which held out against him. In all these places we must remember that those who rebelled forfeited their land, and so the Norman landowners increased.

William lays waste the North Country.

Still the English patriots, though only a small band of outlaws, gathered hundreds of their countrymen in the Isle of Ely, surrounded by streams and fens, and under their leaders, Morkere, and Hereward-the-Wake

the famous outlaw, held out for nearly a year. At last William made a causeway, two miles long, across the Fen, and after a desperate resistance this last stronghold was taken in 1071. The patriot leaders were scattered. Edwin had been already killed. Morkere lived in captivity. The poor, weak Etheling Edgar, after remaining some time abroad, returned to England and lived on a pension, and William is said to have made friends with the brave Hereward. But Waltheof was beheaded five years later, for having known of a conspiracy of the Norman earls against the king. This was the only cold-blooded execution of William's reign, and probably he was alarmed because Waltheof was much beloved by the people.

End of patriot leaders, 1071.

So the last of the patriots died a martyr, and after the surrender of Ely the land was comparatively at peace during the rest of William's reign. The king ruled with a firm hand. He assembled twelve men in each shire to declare the laws of the English, and adopted these. He kept the work of the shires in the hands of his own sheriffs, the accounts being made up by the clerks of the royal chapel or *chantry*, the chief secretary being called the *chancellor*, because he had his seat behind a screen called in Latin *cancelli*; and he kept the barons in check by allowing complaints to be referred to the King's Court, where justice was done to Norman and English alike. Moreover, in the year 1086 he made all the English landowners swear allegiance to him at his great court at Salisbury, so that they might look upon him as their first and supreme master, and this, as we shall see by and by, prevented England falling a prey to the barons as happened in other countries.

Sixteen years of peace.

Oath of allegiance to the king.

He also took good care to keep the Church under control. He refused to do fealty to the Pope since no English king had done so before him, nor would he allow any of his vassals to be *excommunicated*, or deprived of the benefits of the Church, without his leave. In 1070 he appointed Lanfranc, a wise and learned Lombard, to be Archbishop

of Canterbury, and gradually filled the bishopries with foreigners, making them do homage to him for their lands as the barons did. He also gave the clergy courts of their own, and no longer allowed them to sit in the ordinary courts with the aldermen and sheriffs. Under Lanfranc's good government the clergy and monasteries were brought into better order, and some check was kept on the barons, although Lanfranc "often longed to leave the country, seeing so much misery and wrong in it." Many of our finest Norman cathedrals were begun at this time and, what was better, Lanfranc and the king did their best to put down the shameful slave-trade at Bristol.

Archbishop Lanfranc, 1070.

Thus William, though he was a stern master, ruled fairly. Only in two things he did injustice for his own benefit. First he laid waste more than 90,000 acres of land in Hampshire to make the New Forest for his hunting, and ordered that any man who killed a deer should have his eyes put out; and secondly, he oppressed the people with taxes to add to his hoard of wealth at Winchester, levying the Danegeld again which Edward the Confessor had abolished.

The New Forest.

The people were very angry with him for making a general survey of England to learn how the land was divided and cultivated, and what taxes each man ought to pay. Yet this was really a fair thing to do. The results of this survey were entered in a book called Domesday Book, and from it we learn how much land passed into Norman hands. It tells us, too, that there were at that time not more than two million people in England, that is less than half the number now living in London alone. Nor did the population increase for many generations. A great many Flemings, together with traders from Rouen and Caen, came over during the next two reigns, and the Jews began to make homes in England, living in Jewries, or separate quarters in the towns, under the protection of the kings. Yet with all this the numbers did not increase, and this shows how

Domesday Book, 1086.

many must have died in the wars and famines of the hard times which followed the Norman conquest.

The last part of William's reign was full of troubles to himself. His eldest son Robert rebelled against him in Normandy in 1078, and nearly killed his own father in battle before he recognised him. His step-brother, Bishop Odo, conspired with the barons against him, and had to be imprisoned; and lastly, in 1087 William had to defend his Norman frontier against Philip of France. Here, while riding over hot ashes in the burning town of Mantes, his horse stumbled, throwing him violently against his saddle. He was carried back to Rouen and died Sept. 9, 1087, and was buried at Caen. He had four sons—Robert, Richard, William, and Henry. Richard died young. Robert succeeded to Normandy and Maine; to Henry he left £5000; while William he sent at once with a letter to Lanfranc, praying him to place the crown upon his head; for he knew that Robert was too headstrong and too weak to govern England.

Troubles and death of William, Sept. 9, 1087

William Rufus or the Red King, 1087–1100.

William the Second, the conqueror's third son, who came to Lanfranc with his father's ring to be made King of England, was a strong fierce man, with a red face, yellow hair, and keen gray eyes. He had been a dutiful son, and was as brave as his father, but he was no statesman; he cared little for law or religion, and his life was wild and vicious.

Appearance and character.

Lanfranc, who had been his tutor, crowned him at once at Westminster, Sept. 26, 1087, fearing lest Robert should put in a claim. He made him promise to give the people good laws; and for the next two years, until Lanfranc died in 1089, this promise was kept. But the barons were not content. They wanted the weak, good-natured Robert to rule over them. Before three months were over they rebelled, and with the troublesome Bishop Odo at their head, fortified their castles, wasted the land, and seized the king's taxes and

Rebellion of barons, 1088.

fines. Now was seen the wisdom of William the Conqueror's good government of the English, for they looked upon the king as their protector against the barons. When William called upon all who were not "*nithing*," or worthless to help him, and promised to govern well and repeal the cruel forest laws, the people flocked to his standard. Not only were the barons defeated, but the English even drove back the soldiers whom Robert sent over with a fleet from Normandy; and the curious sight was seen at Pevensey—where first the Normans had landed in 1066—of an army of Englishmen defeating an army of Normans in support of a Norman king.

English people uphold the king.

But William forgot his promises. When Lanfranc died he left his seat or "see" vacant for more than four years, and had no one to check him. In 1090 he went to war with Robert in Normandy, and when the two brothers at last made peace, and agreed that whichever lived longest should have both Normandy and England, then they both went to war with Henry. Meanwhile English money and English soldiers were used freely, although soldiers in those days were men with farms and homesteads, called away from work to serve the king. William was a brave commander, kind to his followers and often generous to his enemies. Nobles from all parts flocked to serve him, and he rewarded and entertained them lavishly, never heeding that he was spending his people's money.

People taxed to pay for Norman wars.

The law was administered by justices, and in the reign of William the Conqueror the chief of these was first called a *Justiciar*, and had great power. He ruled in the king's stead when he was abroad, and writs were issued in his name. William II. appointed a rough, coarse man named Ralph Flambard to be his justiciar, and when money ran low in the treasury, this man oppressed the people in every way. When bishops and abbots died he sold their posts or left them vacant, and put the money in

Ralph Flambard justiciar.

the king's treasury. He exacted heavy tributes from the nobles, making every heir pay exorbitant fines when he came into property, or a father when he asked the king's permission to let his daughter be married; while he levied unjust taxes from the people, and the very thieves could escape punishment by paying a fine. Nor was this all, for the king's courtiers lived upon the country folk wherever they went, taking their food, using their horses, selling their crops, and laying hands on everything they could get. "*All that was hateful to God and oppressive to man*," says the Chronicle, "*was customary in this land in William's time, and therefore he was most hateful to almost all his people and odious to God.*" The unfortunate English had only one consolation, and this was that at least the king kept the barons quiet, and there was peace in the land.

Oppression of the people.

Two things, indeed, the king did for the good of England. In 1090 he granted land in Wales to all who could conquer it, and made two expeditions there himself. Many new lands were won and castles built, especially in Pembroke and Cardigan. Also in 1092 he took possession of Cumberland, which had till then been part of Strathclyde. Building a large castle at Carlisle, he settled peasants from Hampshire in the county, and made it an English earldom. He also obliged Malcolm III. of Scotland to do homage for his kingdom.

Conquests in Wales.

Cumberland joined to England.

And now in the year 1093 William, being seriously ill, repented of his evil ways and his robbery of the poor, and appointed a very good and learned man, Anselm, Abbot of Bec, to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Anselm was very unwilling to accept the office, saying that for him and William to govern together would be to link a poor, weak sheep with an untamed bull. The bishops had to force the crozier or crook into his hand. Yet he proved anything but weak when the king, recovering from his illness, began again to govern badly. Anselm refused to pay an exorbitant sum for his see, and

Anselm archbishop.

boldly rebuked the king's extortions from his people; but at last, after struggling for four years against wickedness which he could not prevent, he retired to Rome in 1097, and William was left once more to work his own evil will.

Meanwhile William had again gone to war with Robert, and spent a large sum of money in buying off the French king, who took Robert's side; while he gave yet another sum of ten thousand marks, or £6666, to Robert himself, who made peace and pledged Normandy to William, in order that he might get money to go to Jerusalem. Just then, in the year 1096, all Europe was wild to go and conquer the Holy City, and punish the Turks who were ill-treating Christian pilgrims. Pope Urban IV. encouraged Peter the Hermit, one of the insulted pilgrims, to preach of the terrible sufferings of those who went to worship at the Holy Sepulchre, and called on all men who sought forgiveness of their sins to sew a coloured cross on their left arm and go on a *crusade* (from *crux*, cross) to free the Holy Land. So Robert went, and many English and French people with him, and William became for the time governor of Normandy and of some of the best parts of France.

Robert goes on the first crusade, 1096.

Heavily the poor English people paid for it. The Chronicle relates how the year 1096 was dismal through manifold taxes and sad famine, and the same tale is told for the next three years. But the end was near. On Aug. 2, 1100, William went hunting in the New Forest, though he had been warned not to do so. There he became separated from his companions, and was found soon afterwards by some peasants, dead with an arrow in his breast. Some thought that a French knight, Walter Tyrell, had killed him by accident; but Tyrell denied it on oath, and it is more likely that William was assassinated by one of those poor men to whom he was "*most hateful by the oppressions he wrought.*" His body was carried in a peasant's cart to Winchester, and buried without any religious service, since he died "unabsolved in the midst of his sins." His brother Henry, who was one

Death of William Rufus, 1100.

of the hunting-party, galloped off to Winchester to secure the throne before any one should propose Robert, who was still in the Holy Land.

Henry I., surnamed Beauclerc, 1100–1135.

After this for thirty-five years the land was well governed, although times were hard and taxes heavy. Henry, the youngest son of the conqueror,—a quiet, cautious man, with thoughtful, intelligent eyes, fond of learning, and with a good head though not much heart,—saw that his seat on the throne depended on his governing his subjects well. He seized the royal treasure at Winchester on the very day, Aug. 2, that William was killed, and then hastening to London was elected king after some discussion, and crowned at Westminster on Sunday, Aug. 5, 1100. The people were delighted, for he was the only one of the conqueror's sons born and educated in England. Moreover, he hastened at once to arrest the infamous Ralph Flambard and send him to the Tower, and to recall good Bishop Anselm.

Character of Henry I.

Then he put forth a "*charter*," or written promise, that he would restore the good laws, and relieve the people and the Church from their unjust burdens; not forcing widows and heiresses to marry against their will, and allowing people to leave their property as they liked. He also made the barons promise to do as much for their feudal tenants as he did for them. He still further won the love of the English people by marrying Edith—the daughter of Malcolm of Scotland and of his wife Margaret, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside— so that the queen was of English royal blood. Through her all our kings and queens to this day can, if they like, trace their descent from Cerdic, the first West Saxon king. To please the Normans, however, Edith changed her name to Maud or Matilda.

His charter.

He marries an English princess.

All this was done before Robert, who was always too late, came home. Then the barons as usual rebelled in his favour. This time, however, the insurrection was soon put

down. Robert landed with troops at Portsmouth, but Anselm and Robert of Meulan made peace between the brothers, and Robert went back with a pension of 4000 silver marks from Henry. Still for five years more the barons, both in England and Normandy, kept stirring up the people. Robert of Belesme, Earl of Shrewsbury and Arundel, a cruel, treacherous man, created a serious rebellion, and was banished to Normandy, where he again attacked Henry's possessions; and Duke Robert governed so badly that little by little Normandy was falling to pieces. Then in 1106 Henry went over with an English army, and at the famous Battle of Tenchebrai thoroughly conquered the nobles and brought Robert to England, where he remained in prison the rest of his life. So ended poor Robert, so headstrong and reckless, yet so generous and warm-hearted! The English were proud of the Battle of Tenchebrai, for they considered that by conquering the Normans in their own land they had wiped out the reproach of the Battle of Hastings.

Battle of Tenchebrai, 1106.

Robert imprisoned.

Normandy and England were now once more under one ruler, and this struggle with the Norman barons was very important to our country, not only because Henry taught his English soldiers how to fight the French cavalry so that they lost their fear of them, but also because he took away the English estates of the rebellious barons, and divided them among less powerful men who would be loyal to him. These new nobles often became sheriffs of the counties, and although they were Normans, yet not being of the old nobility, nor having land in Normandy, they looked upon England as their home, and married among the English. So the distinction between Norman and English began to fade away, especially as the English language became more used everywhere, except at court. To this day we may often trace how the French language was for some time the language of the nobles; as, for instance, *sheep*, *oxen*, and *calf*, are old English names, because the

New nobility becomes English.

villeins reared the animals; but when they came to the Norman dinner-table, they were called *mutton* (*mouton*), *beef* (*bœuf*), and *veal* (*veau*). So also *sovereign*, *homage*, *palace*, and *castle* are Norman words, while *hearth* and *home* are old English. Thus our language became richer and more graceful by the introduction of Romance or French words, in the same way that the English people became more lively, enterprising, and refined by the introduction of Norman blood into England.

French words in our language.

The two nations were also brought nearer together by the even-handed justice of Henry's reign. In 1107 he made Bishop Roger of Salisbury his justiciar, and this famous man brought the revenue and laws of the kingdom into excellent order. He gave the people back their shire-moots, and the sheriffs came up each year to pay the rents, taxes, and fines into the King's Court or "*Curia Regis*," receiving in return *tallies*, or little strips of wood (so-called from *tailler*, to cut), which were notched exactly alike on each side to mark the money paid, and split down the middle, so that the court kept one half and the sheriff the other. The table on which the money was counted had a chequered cloth like a chess-board, on which, when certain of the king's accounts were made up, the sums were scored by counters. From this the counting-house became known as the "Court of the Exchequer." If any one was wronged by the sheriffs he could complain before the justices or officers of the King's Court, who went round the country once every year to settle the taxes and inquire into disputes.

Roger of Salisbury justiciar.

Court of the Exchequer.

The towns bought many new privileges from Henry I., and London secured a special charter, with a sheriff and justiciar of its own. Its citizens could not be judged outside its walls; they had not to pay any Danegeld, and their trade was free from toll; nor could they be made to undergo "*trial by battle*" or duelling, which the barons had introduced in some parts of the

Town and country.

country instead of the trial by ordeal. Even the country people were much better off, for though the forest laws were still very strict, on the other hand thieves and robbers were hanged, and evil practices severely punished. "*Good man was Henry,*" writes the Chronicle, "*and great awe there was of him, no man durst do against another in his time.*"

In consequence of the good laws, peaceable arts began to flourish in England. Two curious settlements took place in this reign. In 1105 Henry planted a colony of Flemings—driven by floods from their own country—in Pembrokeshire, where they remain to this day; and in 1128 the Cistercian monks, a strict, hard-working order, founded first at Citeaux, near Rouen, began to settle in the wildest parts of England, at Waverley in Surrey, and afterwards in the north and west. The Cistercians bred sheep and redeemed waste lands, while the Flemings brought the art of weaving wool, and so these two settlements were useful to the country.

Flemings and Cistercians

Two other acts of Henry's reign we must mention, because they were important in later reigns. After much discussion with Archbishop Anselm he consented to let the clergy of the cathedrals elect their own bishops, so that the king could not keep bishoprics vacant, as William Rufus had done. But the election had to take place in the King's Court, and the bishops did homage to the king for their lands. Henry also allowed the Pope to send a legate or ambassador to England, and this caused trouble in later times, although for a long period the claim was allowed to fall into abeyance.

Election of bishops. Pope's legate.

And now, when all was at peace at home, a great sorrow fell upon Henry. He had been fighting for three years in Normandy against the barons, and on his return his only son William was drowned in the *White Ship*, which struck on a rock and sank with all on board. It is said that the king never smiled again. If he had now been wise and generous he would have taken young William of Normandy, Duke Robert's son, as his successor, for William was a good, honest young man,

Henry's only son drowned, 1120.

and the nearest heir to the throne. But Henry schemed to keep the crown in his own family. He married his daughter Matilda, widow of the Emperor of Germany, to Geoffrey, Count of Anjou, the only man whose enmity he feared; and then he made the English barons swear that she, and her baby-boy after her, should succeed to the throne. This they did most unwillingly, even after young William of Normandy had been killed in battle, for these turbulent nobles did not want a woman over them. The prospect looked very gloomy, and it turned out even worse than it appeared. On Feb. 3, 1134, Robert died in his prison; and on Dec. 1, 1135, Henry died at his hunting-seat in Normandy, from a fever caused by eating lampreys. His body was brought to England and buried in Reading Minster, but even before it arrived, another king sat on the English throne.

Henry forces Matilda and her son on the barons.

CHAPTER VI.

NINETEEN YEARS OF ANARCHY UNDER STEPHEN

1135–1154

TRULY England never saw before, and may she never see again, nineteen years of such misery, blood-shed, and cruelty as now followed. Stephen of Blois, who hastened to England directly his uncle died, was the son of William the Conqueror's daughter Adela, who married a count of Blois (*see* table, p. 38). He and Matilda's little son Henry were the only male heirs to the throne, Stephen being a grandson, Henry a great-grandson of the conqueror. Stephen was very popular, brave, and generous, and had been a great favourite with Henry I.; but he was impetuous and unstable, and quite unfit to reign. The people of London welcomed him, because they did not want a queen, and Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, and Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who was Stephen's own brother, supported him. He was elected and

Stephen's claims.

crowned on midwinter day, Dec. 26, 1135, promising to govern well and put down the quarrels among the barons.

But he had promised what he could not perform. The barons, now Henry's strong hand was removed, broke into open rebellion; they fortified their castles and took sides, some for Matilda whom they had sworn to support, some for Stephen who was their crowned king, while they really cared only to be able to ravage the country. David, King of Scotland, Matilda's uncle, took up arms for her, but was defeated at Cowton Moor, near Northallerton, in Yorkshire, in the famous "Battle of the Standard," so called because the English had a consecrated wafer hoisted on a ship's mast as their standard.

Battle of the Standard, 1138.

Then in 1139 Stephen did a very foolish thing. As the barons became more and more riotous, the bishops were alarmed for their property, and began to fortify their castles. Stephen, seized with a panic lest they should betray him and join Matilda, arrested several of them, among others Roger the justiciar, his best friend; Roger's son, who was chancellor; and his nephew, the Bishop of Ely, who was treasurer. He put Roger in irons and threatened to hang his son unless their castles were given up. Bishop Roger retired broken-hearted, and Stephen lost his most useful allies. From that moment all law and order were at an end.

Stephen arrests the justiciar and chancellor.

Meanwhile Robert, Earl of Gloucester, Matilda's half-brother, took up arms on her side, and so did the barons in the north and west, while the east and south fought for Stephen. Matilda landed at Portsmouth in 1139, and civil war began in earnest. Battle followed battle. It is impossible to speak of them all, for during eight years there was not a week in which fighting was not going on in some part of the country. At one time Stephen was a prisoner in Lincoln Castle, and Matilda entered London and was proclaimed queen in 1141, but she was so stern and haughty that the citizens rose against her, and she was never crowned. Then Stephen's brave wife, Matilda of Boulogne, stirred up the

Matilda lands in England, 1139.

people of London to send a thousand mail-clad men to the siege of Winchester. They sacked the town, took the Earl of Gloucester prisoner, and exchanged him for Stephen. Once more free, Stephen next besieged Matilda in Oxford Castle in 1142, and she was so sorely pressed that she had to escape by night in a white cloak across the deep snow. Wearied out at last after many skirmishes, she left England in 1147, and about the same time Earl Robert died.

Matilda leaves England, 1147.

Still there was no peace, for the barons were fighting one against another. Every castle was a kingdom of its own, whose lord coined his own money, made his own laws, and ravaged the country round. "They cruelly oppressed the wretched men of the land with castle-building," says the Chronicle, "and when the castles were made they filled them with devils and evil men. Then they took those whom they supposed to have any goods, both by night and by day, labouring men and women, and threw them into prison for their gold and silver, and inflicted on them unutterable tortures. . . . Many thousands they wore out with hunger. I neither can, nor may I, tell all the wounds and all the pains which they inflicted on the wretched men in this land. And this lasted the nineteen winters while Stephen was king, and it grew continually worse and worse. . . . Then was corn dear, and flesh, and cheese, and butter, for none there was in the land. . . . After a time they spared neither church nor churchyard, but took all the goods that were therein, and then burnt the church and all together. . . . The earth bare no corn, for the land was all laid waste by such deeds, and men said openly that Christ and His saints slept."

Misery of the people.

Trouble and death pressed hard upon the people, and awoke the old spirit of earnest devotion which had slumbered so long under foreign clergy. In town and country men banded themselves together for prayer, hermits flocked to the woods, and noble and churl alike welcomed the austere Cistercians as they spread over the woods and forests. As the barons grew

Religious revival.

more wicked the people became more earnest, and relief came at last.

In 1150, when a new Pope was elected in Rome, he appointed Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of strong moral sense, to be his legate. Theobald at once used his new influence to persuade Stephen to acknowledge Matilda's son Henry, now twenty years of age, as his successor. Just at this time Stephen's own son Eustace died, and young Henry landed in England, where an army gathered round him at once, in hopes of gaining a settled peace. Stephen saw he must yield, and by the Treaty of Wallingford, 1153, he acknowledged Henry as heir to the throne. Then justice was restored, for all who longed for peace joined to put down the rebels. Moreover, Stephen was sinking into the grave. On Oct. 25, 1154, he died, leaving the crown to Henry. It was in this year that the Old English Chronicle ceased, the last records being made in Peterborough Abbey.

Treaty of Wallingford, 1153.

CHAPTER VII.

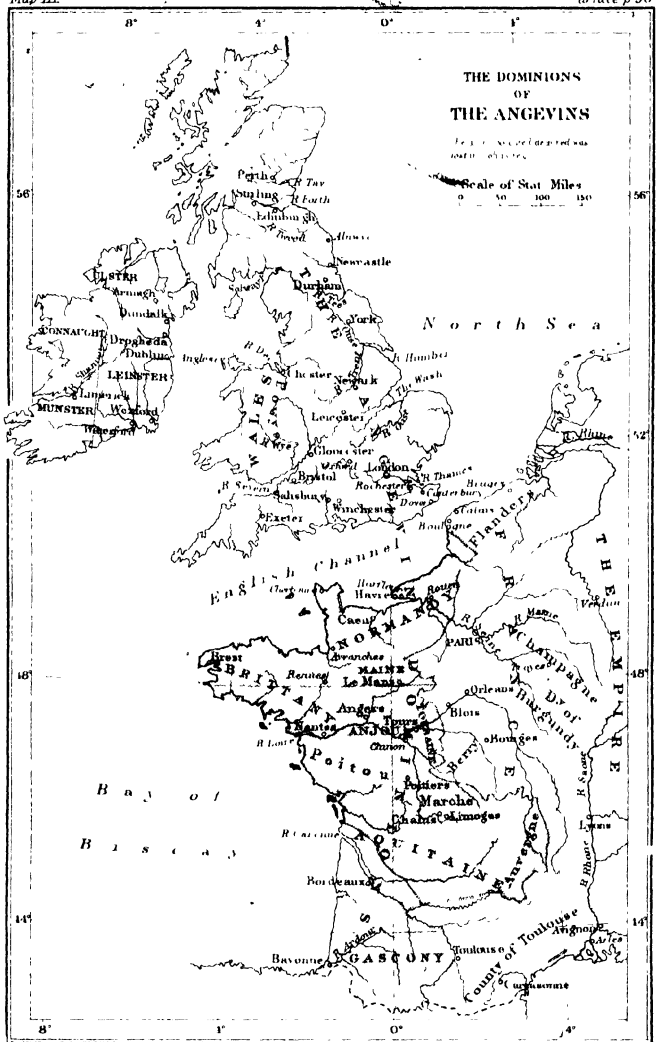
HENRY PLANTAGENET AND HIS SONS (THE ANGEVIN KINGS)

Henry II., 1154–1189.

Richard, 1189–1199. *John*, 1199–1215.

YOUNG Henry was abroad when Stephen died, but Archbishop Theobald kept good order till he arrived, and on Dec. 19, 1154, at the age of twenty-one, he was crowned with his queen at Westminster and issued a charter. Although his possessions in France were larger than all England, and out of thirty-five years of his reign he spent eighteen years or more than half his time abroad, yet he was one of the best English kings.

He was the first of a new line of kings called by some the PLANTAGENETS, because Geoffrey of Anjou, Henry's


THE DOMINIONS
OF
THE ANGEVINS
Scale of Stat Miles
0 50 100 150
North Sea
English Channel
Bay of Biscay
ENGLAND
SCOTLAND
WALES
IRELAND
ULSTER
CONNAUGHT
LEINSTER
MUNSTER
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
ANJOU
Poitou
Marche
AQUITAIN
GASCONY
FLANDERS
THE EMPIRE
Perth
Stirling
Edinburgh
Newcastle
Durham
York
Carlisle
Newark
Lincoln
Leicester
Gloucester
Bristol
London
Salisbury
Winchester
Exeter
Dover
Canterbury
Rochester
Hastings
Boulogne
Calais
Ghent
Bruges
Ypres
Arras
Amiens
Rouen
Caen
Havre
Paris
Evreux
Vernon
Chartres
Orleans
Blois
Tours
Nantes
Angers
Le Mans
Brest
Avranches
Rennes
Poitiers
Chinon
Saumur
Montreuil
Rheims
Troyes
Dijon
Burgundy
Champagne
Dry of Burgundy
Limoges
Lyons
Bordeaux
Bayonne
Toulouse
Arragon
Navarre
Dublin
Drogheda
Dundalk
Armagh
Waterford
Limerick
Wexford
Inverness
Aberdeen
Tay
Forth
Humber
Wash
Thames
Severn
Loire
Garonne
Rhone
Saone
Meuse
Rhine
Moselle
Somme
Seine
Marne
Yonne
Vienne
Charente
Dordogne
Lot
Tarn
Adour
Ebro
Rio Tinto
Rio Segre
Rio Cinca
Rio Gallego
Rio Aragon
Rio Arga
Rio Ega
Rio Ara
Rio Cinca
Rio Segre
Rio Tinto

father, wore a sprig of broom or *planta genista* as his device; and by others the ANGEVIN kings, or descendants of the counts of Anjou. The name Plantagenet seems to me the best, because it is only a symbol, whereas the other name sounds as if a new foreign race had come to rule over us. Now Henry, on the contrary, was the first king since the Conquest with West Saxon blood in his veins, for though he was the son of the Count of Anjou, yet his mother was both Norman and Saxon, being the granddaughter of William the Conqueror and great-great-granddaughter of Edmund Ironside. Moreover, as we shall see, Henry's descendants soon ceased to be counts of Anjou.

Henry II., 1154-1189.

Henry himself, however, ruled over a vast territory, and had in him a good deal of the fiery French nature. He inherited Anjou and Touraine from his father, and Maine, Normandy, and England from his mother and grandfather, while he ruled Brittany through his son Geoffrey, husband of Constance, heiress of Brittany; and gained Poitou, Aquitaine, and Gascony with his wife Eleanor, a woman older than himself, whom he married only a few weeks after she was divorced from Louis VII. of France.

Possessions and marriage.

He was a stout, square-built man, with short red hair and prominent gray eyes, so active that he scarcely ever sat down except to meals, and his subjects never knew where he might next be found, so that he always kept a ruling hand over them. He was well educated, a good man of business, and a clever statesman when his fiery temper did not override his prudence. He was a good father to his children, who behaved ill to him; but he was neither kind nor faithful to his wife, and from this sprang many troubles.

Appearance and character.

The English people soon began to feel the benefit of a strong and just king. Under Theobald's advice Henry forced the barons to destroy all the castles built without royal permission; he took back the royal lands with which Stephen had bribed his followers, and sent away the foreign

troops which he had brought into England. He restored the courts of justice and chose a good and loyal justiciar, Richard de Lucy, who served him for twenty-five years.

Thomas Becket chancellor.

For his chancellor he took Thomas Becket, Archdeacon of Canterbury—the son of a rich Norman merchant, Gilbert Becket, portreeve of London, and the pupil and friend of Archbishop Theobald.

For the next ten years England was quiet, though Henry had several wars abroad and was away for five years, from 1158 to 1163. But even when away he was occupied with English matters, and during these ten years he made many good laws for the people. He wanted to check the power of the barons, and to get money to pay soldiers for his wars abroad, and this he did by allowing the smaller tenants to pay a fine called "scutage" or shield-money (*scutum*, shield), instead of being obliged to follow their lord to the wars. This was a great boon to the farmers, who could reckon safely on staying at home to sow and reap their crops, while the barons had fewer armed men at their beck and call.

Scutage.

The visiting justices now began to make their rounds more regularly than before, for Henry divided the country into six districts or "circuits," and arranged that twelve men in each "hundred," and four men of the township, should inquire into the accusations brought against evil-doers in their neighbourhood, and, if they found them to be true, should present the accused before these judges and swear to their guilt. This was the beginning of the Grand Jury, which remains to our day with some modifications. The men were called "*jurors*" from the Latin *juro*, I swear. The accused were then sent to the trial by "ordeal" as in old Saxon times. Forty years later, in John's reign, ordeal was abolished, and then this "Grand Jury" sent the prisoner on to the "Petty Jury," or another twelve men who were most likely to know all the facts of the case, and who declared of their own knowledge as to whether the accusation of the Grand Jury was true. This was called giving their "*verdict*,"

Circuits and juries.

which means *truly said.* Later still the Petty Jury found that they wanted to inquire more closely what others knew, and so the practice arose of hearing witnesses.

The people had now every opportunity of complaining if they were ill-used, and the assizes or edicts of Clarendon in 1166 and of Northampton in 1176, in which all these changes were confirmed, must be remembered as important to the liberty of Englishmen even in our own day. The quiet state of the country under these good laws allowed many now to think of gaining knowledge as they could not in troubled times, and we hear for the first time of students at Oxford hearing lectures from the Friars, who were the chief teachers. It was a small beginning, but it was the first step towards a great school of learning.

Assize of Clarendon, 1166.

First Oxford students.

In his zeal to improve the courts of justice, however, Henry brought a great trouble on himself. Thomas Becket, his chancellor, had become a great man and his dearest friend; and when Theobald died, and Henry saw that he must reform the clergy as well as the nobles, he made Becket Archbishop of Canterbury, thinking he would assist him. But Becket was a man who put his whole heart into whatever he had to do. When he was chancellor he was the king's servant, and served him well; when he became archbishop he was the servant of the Church, and he put off his gay clothing, wore a hair-shirt, and determined to uphold the clergy.

Becket archbishop.

It will be remembered that William I. gave the clergy courts of their own (*see* p. 44). This had worked badly, for nearly all educated men in those days were clerks or clergy, though they held many lay offices; and whatever crimes these men committed, even thefts and murders, they got off very easily, for the Church had no heavy punishments, and the ordinary judges had no power over them. Henry insisted that clerks should be tried for ordinary offences in the King's Court, and punished like other men as in the days of Edward the

Trial of the clergy.

Confessor. The bishops consented, but Becket would not; and though he was persuaded to declare his acceptance of the "Constitutions of Clarendon," drawn up in 1164 for the government of the clergy, he repented next day, and applied to the Pope for absolution for his fault against the Church.

Henry was furious with his friend. He put all kinds of indignities upon him, and Becket was forced to fly to France, where he remained six years, while Henry in petty spite banished all his friends and relations. Meanwhile, in 1170, the king wished to have Prince Henry crowned, that he might govern during the king's absences abroad; and Becket being in exile, Roger, Archbishop of York, performed the ceremony. This was a deep insult to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Pope threatened to excommunicate Henry unless he recalled Becket.

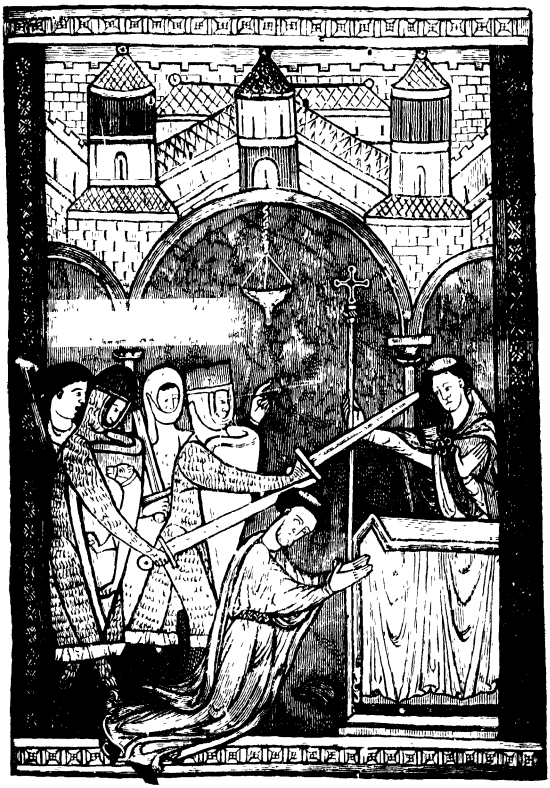
Prince Henry crowned.

So Henry, who was then in France, was obliged to make up the quarrel, and allow Becket to return to England. But Becket, now furious in his turn, no sooner landed than he suspended the Archbishop of York for crowning the prince. It was a foolish quarrel, and still more foolish Henry's mad passion which made him exclaim, "Will no one rid me of this turbulent priest?" Four knights took him at his word, and crossing to England murdered Becket, calm and brave, on the floor of his own cathedral at Canterbury.

Murder of Becket, Dec. 29, 1170.

Such were the effects of passion and revenge. Henry was right in altering the law, and Becket did only what he thought his duty in opposing him. But it was revenge for his persecution which misled Becket at last, and passion which made Henry the murderer of his friend. He was full of remorse when he heard what had been done, and sent off messengers at once to the Pope to declare that he had not intended the murder to be committed; then, wishing to keep out of the way till he was absolved, he crossed over to England, and from there to Ireland.

In Ireland great changes were taking place. Ever since the Danes in 795 invaded that country the people,



MARTYRDOM OF S. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.

MS. Harl. 5102. Early thirteenth century.

Face page 60.

oppressed and plundered, had drifted back into barbarism. In 1012 the Irish hero, Brian Boru, had driven out the Danes, and died himself in the battle; and since then the petty kings and chieftains had been always at war with each other. Quite early in his reign Henry had gained the Pope's permission to go over and conquer Ireland; but he did nothing till, in 1166, one of the Irish kings, Dermot of Leinster, asked for help against his neighbours. Then Henry allowed Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed "Strongbow," to take over an army of adventurers, and he conquered nearly the whole of Leinster. It was to take possession of this new land that Henry now went over with an army. He lived for a year outside Dublin, gave away lands to his followers, ordered castles to be built, and received the homage of the chiefs as Lord of Ireland. Five years later he sent his favourite son John to rule, but John made so many enemies that he had to return to England. Though this was the beginning of the conquest of Ireland, it was more than three hundred years before the English really governed the country.

Conquest of Leinster.

Henry II. Lord of Ireland, 1171.

While Henry was thus adding to his kingdom, his sons and his enemies at home took advantage of the horror caused by the murder of Becket to rebel against him. Young Prince Henry wanted to rule at once over England or Normandy, Geoffrey and Richard wanted lands of their own in France, and Queen Eleanor hated her husband who neglected her, while the King of France was only too ready to help the rebels. Added to this William the Lion, King of Scotland, was eager to reconquer the northern counties of England, and the English barons hoped in the turmoil to get back some of their power.

Rebellion of Henry's sons.

But Henry was equal to them all. He went from Ireland to Normandy to meet the messengers bringing the Pope's pardon, then with his army he conquered his rebellious sons, and put Queen Eleanor into confinement, where

she remained till after his death. He next won the hearts of his people by doing severe penance at Becket's tomb; and just as he left Canterbury he learned that William of Scotland was taken prisoner. William did not get his freedom again till he had done homage as a vassal of England. From Canterbury Henry hastened to Huntingdon, and meeting his rebellious barons, made them return to their allegiance. In less than a year he was again master of the situation.

Henry's penance and triumph.

But he had learnt that he must have an English army on which he could rely, and in 1181 he reintroduced the old West Saxon law of *fyrd* or military service, by which all freemen had armour, and pledged themselves to protect king and country in times of danger. This was quite different from feudal service to a lord, and it was the foundation of our "*militia*," a body of national soldiers trained as a regular army, but only called out to defend the country. The remainder of Henry's life was spent chiefly abroad. Ranulf de Glanville, a very clever justiciar and good lawyer, governed for him, though he paid four visits to England. About this time old London Bridge, the first bridge of stone across the Thames, began to be built. It remained down to our day, and was only rebuilt in 1824.

Militia established, 1181.

Henry's sons still gave him much trouble. At last the eldest, Henry, and the third, Geoffrey, died, one in 1183, the other in 1186. Richard and John only remained, and Richard, with the help of Philip of France, drove his father, now breaking in health, out of Touraine. Henry, sick at heart and ill with fever, asked to see the list of the conspirators against him, and when he saw at the head the name of his favourite son John, "Now," said he, "let all things go as they will, I care no more for myself or the world," and two days after he died. To England he had been a true king and law-giver. He gave the English peace and justice, and made good laws, which have lasted to our own times.

Henry's death, 1189.

Richard Cœur de Lion (Lion-hearted), 1189-1199.

In everything except being a good soldier Richard, who succeeded to the throne, was the very opposite of his father. Though born in England, yet, as he had an elder brother, he had been educated abroad as the future Duke of Aquitaine. It is doubtful if he could even speak an English sentence, and during his ten years' reign he was only twice in England, for a few months at a time. Brave and chivalrous, though mean and covetous, a born soldier, a warm friend but a dangerous enemy, careless of his people while full of zeal for religion, Richard behaved nobly in the Crusades, and the English were proud of him; but he played no part in English history; that went on without him.

Richard no king to England.

He was crowned on Sept. 3, 1189, and began at once to sell all the offices, honours, and church and crown lands on which he could lay his hands. He even sold the homage of the Scotch king, that he might get money for his crusade. "I would sell London," he said, "if I could find a buyer." Then he left in December to join Philip, King of France, on his way to the Holy Land, and left his mother Eleanor and his justiciar, William of Longchamp, a man of low birth who bought the chancellorship, to rule in his absence. Fortunately the good laws of his father really governed the kingdom. Longchamp only ruled two years, for the barons hated him, and when Queen Eleanor went to Sicily in 1191 Prince John, with the help and goodwill of the London citizens, turned him out of office, and he fled to Normandy. It was most likely to this that we owe our Lord Mayor of London, for John, as a reward to the London citizens, took an oath to their "communa" or governing body, and gave them for the first time a "*Mayor*," with power in the city almost equal to that of the king. Henry Fitz-Alwyn was the first mayor of London, and when he died twenty-three years afterwards, John, who was then king, sold to the London citizens the right to elect their own mayor.

Richard sells preferments.

Longchamp deposed, 1191.

First mayor of London, 1191.

Meanwhile Richard, who had heard that Longchamp was unpopular, sent another justiciar; Queen Eleanor returned, and John, who would have liked to seize the throne, was obliged to remain quiet. News came from time to time of the king's brave doings in the Holy Land, till one day the English people heard that on his way home he had been seized by the Duke of Austria, who had sold him to the Emperor of Germany, and they must provide money to ransom him. To raise the £100,000 required, every man had to give a quarter of his yearly income and goods, besides paying four other kinds of taxes. John treacherously tried to persuade the emperor to keep Richard a prisoner, but he did not succeed, and the ransom being paid, Richard landed at Sandwich March 20, 1194. He spent the four months of this second visit in raising money for foreign wars, received the archbishop's blessing after his captivity, and then went in May to Normandy, never again to return. He took away John's lands and castles, but otherwise generously forgave his base treachery.

Richard's ransom, 1194.

Richard's second visit, March-May, 1194.

For the next four years Hubert Walter and Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, faithful justiciars, governed the country; levying as justly as they could the enormous sums Richard required. One good came from this. The people, now they were at peace, began to consider whether it was wise to let a king tax them so heavily, and the justiciars had to call lawful meetings when they levied money. The two bishops of Lincoln and Salisbury actually once refused to pay money on church lands to be spent in foreign wars, and the idea grew up that the nation ought to have some voice in settling what taxes should be raised.

Bishops refuse money for foreign wars.

At last, quite suddenly, came the news of Richard's death, on April 6, 1199, from an arrow-wound, while he was besieging the castle of Chalus, near Limoges. He died bravely, as he had lived, pardoning the man who shot him; but after his death the order was disobeyed, and the man cruelly killed.

Death of Richard, 1199.

John, surnamed Sansterre or Lackland, 1199–1216.

We now come to the one English king about whom nothing good can be said; though his reign was very important to England, because he was so bad that the whole nation was roused to insist on justice and right. John was absolutely mean and selfish. He was handsome, gay, well educated, and had ability; but he was cruel, licentious, avaricious, and treacherous, caring for none but himself. He had betrayed his father and his brother, and as a king he was false to his nephew, his people, and his own kingly word.

Character of John.

He was with Richard when he died, and received the homage of the barons who were there; and in England he was elected to the crown without any difficulty, for Arthur of Brittany, Geoffrey's son, was only twelve years old, and no one seriously upheld him. But in France it was different. John with some difficulty secured Normandy, Poitou, and Aquitaine; but Arthur was the true Count of Anjou, and Anjou, Maine, and Brittany stood by him. Old Queen Eleanor, now eighty years of age, sided with John, while Philip, King of France, fought for Arthur. The war lasted on and off for three years, till Prince Arthur, when besieging his grandmother Eleanor in the castle of Mirabel, in Poitou, was defeated by John and taken prisoner.

War with Arthur and France.

Then followed a black deed at which we shudder even now. Arthur, then fifteen, was imprisoned in the new Tower at Rouen, but he stoutly refused to give up his claim to the English throne. From that time he was never seen again. Shakespeare has made us all thrill with anger and pity at the shameful murder of the brave young prince; but all that we really know is, that throughout Europe the whisper grew louder and louder that John had murdered the boy, and there seems little doubt that the accusation was true. Philip of France, from whom John held his French lands as a vassal, summoned him to clear himself of the murder before

Murder of Arthur, 1203.

the peers of the realm; but John refused, and then Philip declared all his lands in France forfeited. Most of the barons turned against him, his mother died, and in the end John lost all his possessions in the north of France except the Channel Islands (*see* Map III). There only remained to him his mother's lands of Gascony and a small part of Aquitaine in the far south. He made, indeed, several attempts to regain Normandy and Anjou, but in vain; and so by the base murder which he committed to secure the English crown, he lost in one great swoop all the inheritance of his ancestors. England gained by his loss. For the future her kings and her nobles belonged to her alone; they could no longer live abroad fighting on English money; they had to make their home and their friends among the English people.

Loss of Normandy and Anjou.

John, however, was soon involved in a new quarrel. For the last five years Archbishop Hubert, as chancellor, had done well for the nation; but he died in 1205, and the monks of Canterbury, knowing that John would try to choose some minion of his own, secretly elected an archbishop. John, when he heard it, forced some of their number to elect another, and both archbishops appealed to Pope Innocent III. But he set them both aside, and made the six monks who came to consult him elect Stephen Langton, an English cardinal then in Rome, and a good and upright man. John refused to receive Langton in England, and as he remained obstinate, the Pope in 1208 laid the whole kingdom under an "*interdict*;" that is, he forbade the clergy to marry the people in church, or bury them in the churchyard, or to read any church services except the baptismal service and prayers for the dying. For four long years no church bell was rung, no prayers were offered up in church, and the dead were buried without a service in ditches and meadows.

Election of Stephen Langton.

England laid under an interdict, 1208.

This was very cruel, for it was the people who suffered, while the quarrel was entirely between the king and

the Church. But John did not care; he only revenged himself by seizing the goods of the bishops and clergy, and spending the money on wars in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Then in 1209 Innocent, excommunicated John, forbidding any one to serve him. Still he paid no heed, but punished all who followed the Pope's orders, crushing under a cope of lead an archdeacon of Norwich who refused to obey him. When his barons withdrew from his court, he seized their castles and their children, and shamefully treated their wives and daughters. At last, in 1212, the Pope declared John to be deposed from his throne, and gave Philip of France orders to conquer England.

John excommunicated, 1209.

Pope deposes John, 1212.

Then at last John became uneasy, because he was going to lose something himself. If his subjects had loved him he could have defied the Pope and Philip, but all men detested him for his crimes. In abject alarm at a prophecy that he would cease to reign before Ascension Day, which was the anniversary of his coronation, he not only received Langton as archbishop, but actually gave up the English crown to the Pope's legate, Pandulph, and received it back as a vassal. In doing this he gave rise to a long struggle between the popes and the English kings, which lasted more than three hundred years.

John submits and becomes the Pope's vassal, 1213.

But in accepting Langton he had brought more immediate trouble on himself. For many years, all through the quiet reigns of Henry II. and Richard, the nation had been growing stronger. In the towns the citizens discussed freely when the town-bell called them to meeting. The merchant-guilds settled the laws of trade, the craft-guilds protected the workmen from oppression, and many new privileges were bought when the kings wanted money. At the universities, too, scholars, English and Norman, Irish and Welsh, noble and peasant, met as friends and equals. Even in the country the duties of a man to his lord were now fixed by law, so that

Growing strength of the people.

each had his rights, while the farmer was often free and paid his master instead of working for him. The nation was now united enough for the people and the barons to make common cause against a tyrannical king.

They only wanted a leader, and they found one in Langton. On Aug. 4, 1213, a council of bishops, barons, and reeves of the towns, was called to settle what was due to the bishops whom John had robbed, and then Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the justiciar, told the barons it was their own fault if they submitted to John's tyranny, for they had a right to insist on his obeying the laws of Henry I. A few weeks later, at a meeting held at St. Paul's, Stephen Langton produced the charter of Henry I. in which these laws were given, and Fitz-Peter laid the claims of the two councils before the king. Unfortunately just then Fitz-Peter died, and John took as justiciar a foreign friend of his own. But Archbishop Langton continued the fight, and the barons both from north and south took a secret oath at Edmundsbury to make John sign a charter of rights or to take up arms against him. In January 1215 they laid their demands before the king.

Barons demand a charter.

Taken by surprise, John asked to have till Easter to consider, and spent the three months, not in learning what rights they had, but in secretly engaging hired troops and enrolling himself among the crusaders, so that it would be sacrilege to fight against him. But the barons were too much in earnest to mind this. They flew to arms, the whole country joined them, and John saw his case was hopeless. Almost alone, having only seven knights true to him, he met the barons at Runnymede on the Thames, near Windsor, and on June 15, 1215, sorely against his will, signed the "MAGNA CHARTA" or Great Charter, by which the liberties of Englishmen have been defended from that day down to our own. Most of the laws in this Great Charter were not new, but had been in others before it. The two main clauses were, *first*, that the king could not imprison

John signs the Great Charter, 1215.

and punish his subjects as he pleased, but that each man must be judged by his equals; and, *secondly*, that he might not levy taxes without the consent of the bishops, earls, and greater and lesser barons. The other clauses chiefly renewed old rights. But the great point gained was, that while the other charters had been mere declarations made by kings when they were crowned of the laws by which the people should be governed, this was a treaty forced on a bad king by his people. The nation was now strong enough to insist that the king, as well as his subjects, should obey the laws and respect the rights of others. So determined were the barons to enforce their rights and those of the people, that twenty-five of their number were appointed to see that the promises were kept, and were authorised to seize the royal castles and lands if the king broke them.

Benefits of the Great Charter.

Of course John did not mean to keep his word. He put off the barons with excuses while he collected his foreign troops, and appealed to the Pope to help him, and at last civil war broke out. John gained several victories, and in the north of England burned and destroyed all before him. Then at last, exasperated at his treachery, the barons invited Louis, the eldest son of the King of France, to come over and be their king, and he came with a large army. But a few months later death freed England from the tyrant. Crossing the Wash, in the Fens of Lincolnshire, John lost all his baggage, his jewels, and his crown, far dearer to his heart than his people. The next day he was taken ill at Swineshead Abbey, but he pressed on, and died at Newark, Oct. 19, 1216, leaving two young sons, Henry and Richard, and a country full of civil war and foreign troops.

War between John and the barons.

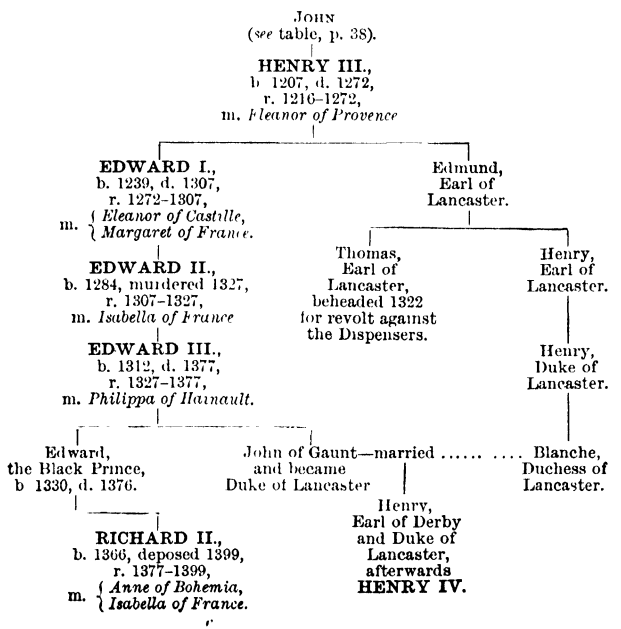
Louis comes with an army.

Death of John, 1216.

PART III.

RISE OF THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT

KINGS FROM THE GREAT CHARTER TO THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER



CHAPTER VIII.

THE BARONS' WAR

Henry III., 1216–1272.

KING JOHN was dead. He could no longer either make promises or break them; and the barons, who were already beginning to see that Prince Louis would give their lands to his French nobles, were willing enough to take little Prince Henry of England, only nine years old, for their king. The Bishop of Winchester crowned him at Gloucester ten days after his father's death, with a plain gold circlet (for the crown was lost), and he did homage to the Pope's legate, Gualo, for his kingdom. The Great Charter was republished, but the clause about asking the consent of the people to the taxes was left out. William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, a wise old man, who had been the friend of Henry's father and grandfather, was elected "governor of the king and kingdom."

Young Henry crowned, Oct 28, 1216.

Little by little all the barons came back to their allegiance. Prince Louis still fought for the crown, but his army was defeated in the streets of Lincoln by the Earl of Pembroke, May 20, 1217, and his fleet in the Channel by Hubert de Burgh on Aug. 24, so he was glad to make a treaty at Lambeth and return to France with a sum of money.

Prince Louis returns to France, 1217.

Two years later the old Earl of Pembroke died, and Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, became the young king's guardian. Hubert de Burgh as justiciar, and good Stephen Langton as archbishop, governed the kingdom. Henry was crowned a second time by the archbishop in 1220; and in 1227,

Minority of the king, 1216-1227.

when he was twenty, he began to govern in his own name. At first this made no real difference, for his advisers continued as his "private council," and this was the beginning of the "*privy council*" of our day.

Both in town and country the people were prosperous. It is true the civil war had left the land very disturbed. Highwaymen and robbers, such as bold Robin Hood and his companions Little-John and Friar Tuck, infested the roads; but these freebooters chiefly attacked wealthy travellers, and left the homesteads in peace. The harvests were on the whole good; even the labourers had plenty of oaten and sometimes wheaten bread, and drank barley beer with their herrings and cheese. They wove their own clothing, tanned their own leather, and made their own wooden tools in the winter; amusing themselves with wrestling, throwing, and archery, which the law required them to learn; while several times a year the hundred and manor-courts broke the monotony of their lives. From time to time some villager bought permission of his lord to go and trade in a town, or another served the king in foreign wars, or the village priest taught another and sent him to the university. In the towns, too, trade both with home and abroad was increasing, in spite of the heavy tolls often levied by the king. Such articles as the country people could not make for themselves were bought by the steward of the manor at the annual fairs held in different parts of the kingdom by special permission of the king, who levied tolls on all the goods sold. These fairs were very useful to the people, although sometimes, when Henry wanted money, he ordered them to be held where they were not needed, as, for example, in London, to the hurt of the shopkeepers. It was in this reign, in 1257, that gold coins were first struck in England, though they did not come into general use till 1344.

State of the people.

Fairs.

But while the people were quiet and prosperous, a storm was again brewing between the barons and the king. Archbishop Langton died in 1228, and after his death Pope

Gregory IX. began to treat England as if it belonged to him, sending over and over again for money, and even for a tenth of the property of the clergy for his own wars. He also filled the English bishopries and livings with Italian priests, who grew rich on English money. These foreign priests cared nothing for the good of the people, who would have been sadly neglected had not two new orders of "Friars" or "Brothers" come to teach them. These were the *Dominicans* or Black Friars, the followers of Dominic, a Spaniard, and the *Franciscans* or White Friars, the disciples of Francis of Assisi, an Italian. They were good men of all nations, who made a vow of poverty, and wandered over Europe and Asia barefoot, and with a hempen girdle round their serge frock. In England they made their homes in the lowest and meanest quarters of the towns, and travelled from place to place labouring earnestly among the people. One of these Friars was the famous Roger Bacon, whose great work, the *Opus Majus*, first drew men's thoughts to science.

Pope levies money in England.

The Friars.

In 1232 the king became jealous of Hubert de Burgh, and, depriving him of his justiciarship, took the government into his own hands, putting mere clerks in the place of the great ministers. From that time all went badly, for Henry was a capricious man, vain, extravagant, and easily led by favourites. He was amiable and fond of poetry and art. He caused Westminster Abbey to be rebuilt as it now stands, and improved English architecture. But he was no statesman. He would trust a man one day and be suspicious of him the next; and though kindly and well meaning, he was so miserably weak that he was never true to himself or others.

Henry governs alone, 1232-1258.

His mother Isabella had married a French count after King John's death, and Henry now began to give English money and land to his young French half-brothers. Then, in 1236, he married Eleanor of Provence, and her relations had their share of good things, while a swarm of foreigners crowded to his court, whom he

Influx of foreigners.

married to English heiresses. That part of London south of the Strand, still called the Savoy, took its name from the palace of Peter of Savoy, one of Queen Eleanor's uncles.

Between the extortions of the Pope's subordinates and the greed of the foreigners, England was being beggared, especially as the king himself was very extravagant at home, and was always trying to get back his father's possessions in France. To obtain money for all these purposes he was obliged to call together the earls, barons, and bishops, in assemblies now first called "Parliaments," from the French *Parlement* (parler, to talk). The nobles gave him grants very unwillingly, urging him each time to allow them to appoint a proper justiciar, chancellor, and treasurer to look after the expenditure. The king made many promises, and six times confirmed the charters—but did not keep them. Year after year as he came for money the same difficulties arose, growing worse as he asked for more and more, till the barons began to see that a stop must be put to the constant drain and to the increase of foreign favourites.

Parliament first so called.

Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, Edmund Rich, Archbishop of Canterbury, and even the king's own brother, Earl Richard of Cornwall, all tried hard to bring back good government. But the chief leader of the barons was Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, who was the king's brother-in-law, having married his sister Eleanor. Earl Simon, curiously enough, was the son of foreign parents, but his grandmother had been English, and he was a true friend to England. A man faithful in word and deed, and resolute to defend the right, he had learned from his friend Grosseteste and from Adam Marsh, an earnest Franciscan friar, to long for a better government of the people. During many years he ruled in Gascony for the king, though Henry treated him shamefully, leaving him without men or money. When he returned to England he tried to check the king in his weakness and folly, but in vain! For twenty-two years things went from bad to worse. Rich died in 1240, and then Henry made Boniface of Savoy, the queen's uncle

Simon de Montfort.

Twenty-two years of bad government.

and quite a young man, Archbishop of Canterbury. In 1253 Grosseteste also died, but not before he had drawn up a list of grievances, and had made Simon swear that he would stand up even to death for justice and right. And Earl Simon kept his word.

The storm burst a few years later. In 1254 Pope Innocent IV. wanted to drive Conrad, Emperor of Germany, out of Sicily; so he offered the crown of Sicily to Henry for his second son Edmund, only nine years old. Henry was foolish enough to accept, and though Innocent died just then, the next Pope, Alexander IV., made war on Conrad in Henry's name and at his expense. In 1257 the king had to confess to his Parliament that he owed the Pope 135,000 marks, or £90,000.

Pope offers Edmund the crown of Sicily.

The barons were very indignant, for they had not been consulted, and the country was drained of money. They only granted 52,000 marks; and on June 11, 1258, they came to the Parliament at Oxford fully armed, and insisted that twenty-four barons —twelve chosen by the king and twelve by themselves— should reform the Government; that there should be three Parliaments every year; that the castles should be given back to Englishmen; that the king should have a standing Privy Council to advise him; and that the justiciar, chancellor, and treasurer whom they appointed should give an account to this Privy Council at the end of each year. Though the king's party were very angry, and called this the "Mad Parliament," yet Henry was obliged to submit; and he and his eldest son Edward, now nineteen, swore to accept these "Provisions of Oxford." Earl Simon, as a foreigner, was the first to offer to give up his castles, and most of the foreign favourites fled to France, their posts being filled by Englishmen.

Mad Parliament, 1258.

Provisions of Oxford.

The barons now governed; but their power only lasted four years, for most of them were satisfied with having turned out the foreigners, and took no trouble about the reforms, while Earl Simon really wished for good govern-

ment. Prince Edward, who was naturally just and honourable, was inclined to support Simon. The king, on the contrary, had already sent to the Pope to absolve him from his promise of keeping the "Provisions," and when the absolution came he seized the Tower, and ordered the counties not to obey the barons' officers. Then the barons flew to arms; the queen, alarmed, took refuge in the Tower, and civil war was imminent, though there was no great battle. At last it was agreed to refer the whole question to King Louis IX. of France, he being a good man, much revered for his piety and noble character. St. Louis (as he was called after his canonisation in 1297) thought that a king had the right to govern absolutely, and at the *Mise* (or arbitration) *of Amiens* he decided altogether in favour of Henry.

Mise of Amiens, 1264.

Then the famous "Barons' War" broke out, although really the king and the barons had been struggling for power ever since John's reign. Fifteen thousand Londoners joined Earl Simon: and Queen Eleanor, while trying to leave the Tower, was insulted and pelted with mud and stones by the mob. Some of the barons joined the king, and Prince Edward, now that it had come to open war, stood by his father with all the foreign troops. But Earl Simon had also a large following. On May 24, 1264, after many smaller encounters, the armies met face to face near Lewes. At first the royalists had the advantage; but the young prince who opened the battle, having routed the Londoners, pursued them fiercely because of their insult to his mother. When he came back the battle was lost, and the king a prisoner. Edward himself could do nothing but surrender.

Barons' War, 1264.

Battle of Lewes, 1264.

For more than a year after this Earl Simon ruled England in the king's name, keeping Henry with him. On Jan. 20, 1265, he held a Parliament at Westminster; which, although it was only composed of those who upheld his power, was very important. For Simon summoned not only two knights from each shire (as had been done in 1254), but

The king and prince prisoners, 1264-1265.

two citizens or burgesses from every borough, to sit with the nobles in Parliament; and so for the first time the city communities or *commons* had members of their own. The knights were chosen in the county court, as in the shire-moot of old, by the freeholders of the county, and they answered to our *county members* now, who are still called *knights of the shire*. The *borough members* were elected by the citizens.

Knights and burgesses summoned to Parliament, Jan. 20, 1265.

But again Simon could not keep his party together. The barons, and especially the Earl of Gloucester, were jealous of his power, and Simon's sons gave offence by their pride, while the people did not like the king being a prisoner. At last Prince Edward, who was kept under guard at Hereford, set his keepers to run races, and when their horses were tired he escaped from them.

Escape of Prince Edward, May 28, 1265.

Once free, his old friends rallied round him, and the Earl of Gloucester joined him with a large force. He marched quickly along the Severn, took Gloucester and Worcester, broke down the bridges, and drove Simon to take refuge with the Welsh Prince Llewellyn. Then pushing on to Kenilworth, he defeated young Simon, who was coming to his father's help; and putting the banners taken from young Simon's knights in front of his army, he came close upon the old earl at Evesham, in Worcestershire, before he knew that an enemy was approaching. Simon had but a small force of undisciplined Welshmen with him, and he saw that all hope was over. "Let us commend our souls to God," said he to the few barons around him, "for our bodies are the foe's," and he died fighting bravely, with the cry, "It is God's grace" upon his lips.

Battle of Evesham, Aug. 4, 1265.

With him died all hope of success. The civil war lingered on for a year, and then at the peace or *dictum* of Kenilworth most of the barons received back their lands from the king. In 1267 Henry renewed the Provisions, and the next six years were peaceful. Prince Edward went to the crusades

Dictum of Kenilworth, 1266.

in 1270, and while he was gone the king died on Dec. 16, 1272, after a troubled reign of more than half a century, during which he had never meant to do any harm, but had worked endless ill by being simply a "worthless king."

CHAPTER IX.

STRUGGLE WITH WALES AND SCOTLAND

Edward I. (of Westminster), 1272–1307.
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Edward II. (of Caernarvon), 1307–1327.

WHEN Henry died the Royal Council proclaimed Prince Edward king, and ruled the land peaceably for nearly two years till he returned to England, and was crowned on Aug. 19, 1274. He was then thirty-five, a tall, strong man, with dark hair and gentle eyes, which, however, could flash angrily when he was roused. He was one of England's best kings, and made many useful reforms in the laws. A good son, husband, and father, we have proof of his loyal heart in his indignation at the insult to his mother, and in the crosses remaining to this day, which he erected wherever the body of his first wife Queen Eleanor rested between Lincolnshire and Westminster. Charing Cross receives its name from one of these. Brave, truthful, and constant, his motto was "Keep Troth," and having seen his father's mistakes, he wished to win the love of his people and give them good laws. When he failed it was because the old idea still clung to him that a king might overrule the law.

Regency, 1272-1274.

Appearance and character of Edward I.

The office of justiciar was not revived after the Barons' War. The chancellor was now next in authority to the king, and Robert Burnell was the first great Chancellor of England. Edward began at once to reform abuses; he forbade the barons to drive cattle into their castles without paying for them, or to

First great chancellor, 1274.

levy money unjustly; and made a law that the people should be left free in electing the sheriffs and others who dealt out justice. He also improved the money of the country, and caused silver halfpennies and farthings to be coined. Up to this time, ever since the days of Alfred, the silver penny had been marked by a deep cross, and people broke it in half or in quarters when they wanted small change.

Halfpennies and farthings coined.

Edward next turned his attention to Wales, which was a constant source of trouble. Little by little the Britons had lost nearly all the land which once was theirs. Strathclyde and Cumbria had long been swallowed up in England and Scotland. West Wales, or Devon and Cornwall, had become part of South England; and even the southern counties of Wales itself had been conquered by Norman barons, who, living on the borders of Wales, were called "Lords of the Welsh Marches," from *mark* or *march*, a boundary. In North Wales alone the Welsh were still governed by their native chiefs, while their bards sung of the hated Saxon and of the days of good King Arthur. The head of these chiefs,—Llewellyn, Lord of Snowdon and Prince of Wales,—had helped Earl Simon, and governed as an independent prince, during the Barons' War, and now he refused to come to England and do homage to Edward. After trying all peaceful means for more than two years, the king at last, in 1277, marched to Wales with an army, and drove Llewellyn into the mountain fastnesses. Then he was forced to submit, and Edward allowed him to keep his title and power under certain conditions, and to marry Simon de Montfort's daughter.

Wales.

Llewellyn refuses homage.

But four years later rebellion broke out again. Llewellyn was a brave and noble chief, but his brother David was a restless adventurer, who had once been false to Llewellyn and sided with the English. Now, being dissatisfied, he turned traitor the other way, broke into Hawarden Castle in Flintshire, took the English chief-justice of Wales prisoner, and persuaded Llewellyn and

the Welsh princes to revolt and plunder the Marches. There was a Welsh prophecy that when English money became round a Welsh prince would be crowned in London, and the coining of smaller round coins instead of broken pennies made the people think this would come true. Again the king took an army into Wales, and endured severe suffering during the cold Welsh winter, but would not quit his position. Chance favoured him, for in a small skirmish on the banks of the Wye brave Prince Llewellyn was killed, and with his death Wales was conquered. A few months later David was taken, and justly suffered the death of a traitor. Edward remained in Wales a whole year introducing good laws, and while he was there his son Edward was born at Caernarvon in 1284. From this time Wales was joined to England, though it had its own laws. In 1301 Edward gave the people as their prince his Welsh-born son Edward, the only one who survived of Eleanor's four sons. This boy was much beloved by the Welsh, and was the first English Prince of Wales. When he became king, in 1307, a Welsh prince was after all crowned in London.

Conquest of Wales, 1282.

First English Prince of Wales, 1301.

The next twelve years, during three of which Edward was away from England, were spent chiefly in law reforms, which have lasted to our day. The land laws were carefully regulated, and the famous "Statute of Mortmain" was passed, forbidding land to be held by the *dead hand* without license. This law prevented men from pretending to give their lands to the Church and religious societies, so as to avoid rendering feudal service for it. About this time the law courts, which used to be united under the justiciar, were divided into three—the *King's Bench*, where public questions were tried; the *Court of Common Pleas*, where people brought their private suits; and the *Court of the Exchequer*, for all questions of the king's revenue. The Chancellor also now examined all cases of law where people appealed for "grace and favour" to the

Statute of Mortmain, 1279

Organisation of law courts.

king, and so he gradually became, by the reign of Edward III., the head of what was called the *Court of Chancery*.[1] Lastly, such disputes as were not settled by any of these courts came to the king himself in his Privy Council, so that all injustice might be corrected.

Edward's next care was to put down robbery and assault. Large bands of lawless men at that time lived by plunder and black-mail. On one occasion a body of country gentlemen actually broke into Boston fair in Lincolnshire, robbed and murdered the merchants, and carried off the goods to ships they had brought up to the quay. To stop such outrages as these, a law was made binding every man to arm himself and join the "hue and cry" to arrest marauders; and in 1285 a knight was elected in each shire to act as "Keeper of the Peace," and to watch the sheriff to see that crime was punished. These keepers afterwards became our "Justices of the Peace," or "County Magistrates," who now judge and punish crime, each in his own neighbourhood.

Keepers of the Peace, 1285.

Among these useful reforms one sad blot was the expulsion of the Jews. Through many reigns the Jews, specially protected by the kings, had become richer and richer by usury. They were often employed by the nobles to ruin small landowners by lending them money and seizing their land in payment, and this made them hated by the people. They were also accused, perhaps justly, of clipping coin and of many dishonest practices. Already when Richard I. was crowned there had been a terrible massacre of Jews in London and York, and during the "Barons' War" Jewry after Jewry was sacked. Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort had both wished to banish the Jews, and now Edward ordered all who would not become Christians to leave England. He allowed them to keep their wealth, and he

Expulsion of the Jews, 1290.

[1] In 1875, when the procedure of the Law Courts was altered, this became the "Chancery Division" of the High Court of Justice, and is altered in many ways.

himself lost one means of getting money by sending them away. But it was a cruel deed, and as they crossed to France many of them were robbed and wrecked, the better class suffering with the rogues. From that time till the days of Cromwell there were no Jews in England.

If this, however, was a tyrannical step, Edward made a much more important one towards freedom when he adopted Simon de Montfort's plan of calling knights and citizens to Parliament. He could only get grants of money in Parliament from the barons and bishops. The shires, citizens, and clergy had each to be asked separately out of Parliament, and this was often very troublesome. Now,

First full Parliament, 1295.

by summoning two knights from each shire, two burgesses from each borough, and two clergymen from each bishop's diocese, these members could make promises for the people who elected them, and grant money. Besides, as Edward justly said, it was right that "what concerned all should be approved by all." So in 1295 a full and perfect Parliament was first summoned by order of a king—the nobles each by name, the knights and burgesses by a sheriff's writ. This Parliament was much like ours now, only the nobles and commoners sat together, and there were clergy present. Afterwards the clergy refused to come; they preferred to vote money in their own assembly or *Convocation*, and this is why there are now no clergy in the House of Commons. In some other ways these early Parliaments were different from ours. There was a fresh election every time they met, and the people had to pay for the members'

Members were paid.

expenses—two shillings a day to a burgess and four to a knight. This was equal to about five shillings and ten shillings of our money, and neither the members nor the people much liked the trouble or expense. Besides they looked on each Parliament only as a fresh demand to supply the king with money, and little thought what power they were one day to gain by having members to speak for them.

A year after the meeting of the first full Parliament

Edward was drawn into a war with Scotland, after there had been peace between the two countries for nearly a hundred years. In 1286 Alexander III. of Scotland died, and the only direct heir to the throne was his little grandchild Margaret, daughter of Eric, King of Norway. In the summer of 1290 this little "Maid of Norway" was coming over to be betrothed to Prince Edward of Caernarvon when she died, and the Scots were left without a sovereign. As Edward was overlord of Scotland, the Scotch Council asked him to decide between the five nobles who now claimed the crown. Edward therefore met the Scotch Parliament at Norham, near Berwick on the border, and after he had made them acknowledge him as feudal lord, he examined carefully the claims of the three chief rivals. These were John Baliol, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings—the descendants of three sisters who sprang from the line of King David I. of Scotland. Edward chose John Baliol,[1] the grandson of the eldest of the three sisters, who did homage to Edward under the name of King John of Scotland, and for a short time all went well. But Edward wanted more power as feudal lord than was fair. He insisted that the Scotch nobles and citizens might appeal to him against decisions in the Scotch law-courts; and when he was drawn into a war with the King of France about Guienne, he summoned the Scotch nobles to follow him and fight. They refused indignantly, and being anxious to throw off the control of England, they made a secret treaty with the King of France, crossed the English border, and ravaged Cumberland.

Scots left without a king, 1290.

John Baliol elected king, 1292.

Edward was very angry. Sending his brother in his stead to Gascony, he marched north with a large army, stormed the town of Berwick, and, maddened by the taunts of the inhabitants, cruelly massacred them all. Then, as Baliol still defied him, he seized Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth, and at Montrose took Baliol prisoner and sent him to England. He then

First war in Scotland, 1296.

[1] This man's father founded Baliol College, Oxford.

appointed an English council to govern the kingdom, and carried off to England the crown jewels and the "Sacred Stone" of Scone on which the Scotch kings were crowned. This stone was made into the seat of the regal chair in Westminster Abbey, and our kings are crowned on it to this day. The Scots declared that wherever it went, there, sooner or later, Scottish kings would reign; and their prophecy came true when James I. was crowned.

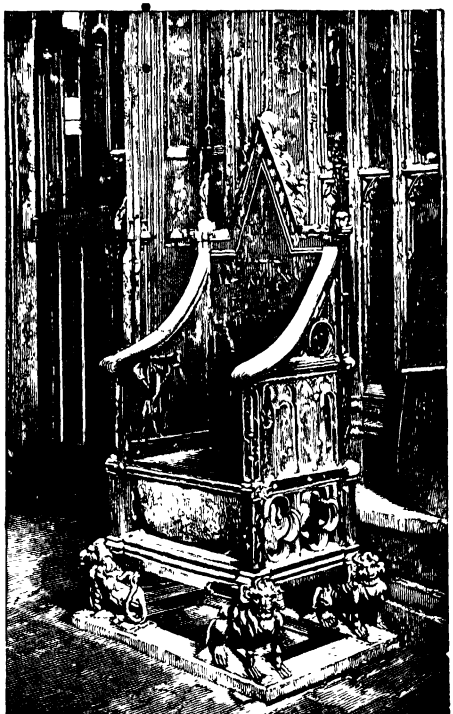
Edward thought that Scotland was now conquered, as Wales had been, but he did not know the people with whom he had to deal. The high-spirited Scots chafed under their loss of freedom, and when William Wallace, a brave outlawed knight, raised the standard of rebellion, the people flocked to him. Wallace was bold and skilful. He cut to pieces the English garrison at Lanark, made a dash at Scone, and drove out the English justiciar. Then, with the help of Sir William Douglas, another outlaw, he defeated the English army at Stirling, and proclaimed himself "Guardian of the Realm" in King John's name.

William Wallace, 1297.

At this time Edward was in Flanders, where he had gone to uphold the Flemings against Philip IV. of France, who was seizing English wool in the Flemish ports. Edward's troubles were heavy just then; Ireland was restless, there was a rebellion in Wales, and Philip was trying to cheat him out of Guienne. Hampered for money, he applied to the clergy for half their yearly income, but they refused by the Pope's order, until he made them submit by refusing them justice or protection in the law-courts unless they paid. Then some of the English nobles refused to go and fight in Guienne. They did not care for these foreign possessions, and thought there were wars enough at home. Edward, anxious to hold his own against the French king, burdened the people with taxes. He raised the duty on wool to six times what had been paid before, ordered the counties to send in large supplies of food, and called upon the country gentlemen to be knighted,

Edward levies heavy taxes, 1297.

PLATE IV



THE CORONATION CHAIR, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

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for which they paid heavy fees; he also summoned all landowners to bring soldiers for the war. At this Parliament rebelled; and when they accused him of levying unjust taxes, Edward, with that generous feeling which made his people love him, owned he had been wrong, but pleaded that he had done it for England's honour, and appealed to their loyalty to help him. Then they gave their consent to the war, but they sent a charter after him to Flanders which he signed, promising among other things that he would *never more levy money without consent of Parliament, and that the grievances of the people should always be redressed before a fresh grant was made.*

Parliament exacts new charters, 1297.

And now, with all this on his hands, he heard how the Scots were wasting the north of England. He returned home at once, and marching to Scotland, met Wallace with his forces near Falkirk, where a famous battle took place. The Scots fought bravely, and Wallace with great skill drew them up in blocks, something like the *square* in which our soldiers still fight. But the English were three to one, and their archers, the finest in the world, cleared a gap, into which the English horsemen dashed in overwhelming numbers. The Scots were cut to pieces and their army destroyed. Edward forgave the rebel nobles, but Wallace escaped and refused the king's mercy. Seven years later he was betrayed by his servant, Jack Short, to Sir John Monteith, governor of Dunbarton Castle, and hanged on Tower Hill, Aug. 24, 1305.

Battle of Falkirk, 1298.

Wallace hanged, Aug. 24, 1305.

For eight years after the Battle of Falkirk Edward tried in vain to unite the Scots and English into one nation. The nobles, led by John Comyn, nephew of Baliol, rebelled constantly, but at last in 1304 there seemed some chance of peace. Meanwhile, however, there had been growing up in Edward's court a brave young Scotch nobleman, Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick and Lord of Annandale, who was the grandson of that Robert Bruce who had been a competitor for the crown in 1291.

Edward, half afraid of him, kept him about his person, and was just planning a mixed Parliament of English and Scots at Carlisle, when one day rumours reached him through Comyn that Bruce was plotting with the Scots.

Bruce murders Comyn, Feb. 1306

The following morning young Bruce was missing, and the next that was heard of him was that he had quarrelled with Comyn in a church at Dumfries, that Comyn was killed, and the English judges driven out of the town.

It was a bad beginning, for the slaying of Comyn in a church was both murder and sacrilege, but a band of nobles gathered round Bruce, and he was crowned at Scone six weeks later by the courageous Countess of Buchan, who was a Macduff; and tradition said that a Macduff must always place the crown on the head of the King of the Scots. King Edward heard the news at Winchester. He was ill, old, and careworn, but he determined once more to invade Scotland. Before he went he knighted his son, the Prince of Wales, with great ceremony in the chapel of the Knights Templars, now called the Temple.[1] At the banquet which followed he swore to exact vengeance for Comyn's murder, and bade his people, if he died, to carry his body before the army till Scotland was subdued.

Robert Bruce crowned King of Scotland, Mar. 25, 1306.

Travelling slowly to Carlisle, he sent the army forward under the Earl of Pembroke, who took many of the Scottish nobles prisoner, and drove Bruce a fugitive into the Grampian Hills. Once more Edward's anger led him to bitter vengeance; the nobles were hanged, and the Countess of Buchan was placed in a wooden cage on the walls of Berwick Castle. But the hand of death was on the avenging king, and though he

Edward's last journey, 1307.

[1] In the next reign (1309–1312) the Knights Templars, a wealthy order of monks which had arisen during the crusades, was broken up in England, as elsewhere, by order of the Pope, urged on by Philip, King of France, who coveted their wealth in his dominions. Their property in England was chiefly given to the knights of St. John, who let part of the Temple to law students, and this is how it became one of the Inns of Court.

tried to push forward, he died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, within sight of Scotland, July 7, 1307. Besides his eldest son Edward, Prince of Wales, he left two sons by his second wife, Margaret of France.

Edward II. (of Caernarvon), 1307–1327.

The death of the old king altered the whole course of events. If Edward I. had lived, there is little doubt that Bruce would have been conquered at least for a time. But Edward, the son of good and able parents, was a frivolous, indolent youth, who had been indulged in childhood, and had already given his father much trouble. Now at twenty-three he was handsome, headstrong, and fond of low companions, revelry, and folly. Even his sad end twenty years later can scarcely make us feel an interest in so pitiful a king.

His father, on his deathbed, left him three commands. First, to carry on the war till Scotland was subdued; secondly, to send his heart to the Holy Land; thirdly, never to recall from exile a profligate Gascon—Piers Gaveston, whom Edward I. had banished. He disobeyed all three. Returning south at once, he left Bruce for three years to gather strength for a struggle. He buried his father at Westminster, and within a month of his death had recalled Gaveston, loaded him with riches and honour, and left him as regent for two months, while he went to France to marry Isabella, daughter of Philip IV.

The favourite Gaveston.

On his return he and his young queen were crowned Feb. 25, 1308, and Gaveston was put at the head of the Government. Gay, insolent, and ambitious, the favourite held revels and tournaments with the king, and insulted the nobles. Twice he was banished, but Edward always recalled him. One year Parliament actually took the Government out of the king's hands, and gave it to a committee of bishops and peers called "the Lords Ordainers," who drew up a set of ordinances limiting the king's power. This Parliament is

The Ordainers, 1310-1311.

the first on record that was *prorogued* (*prorogo*, I prolong), that is, dismissed for a time and called together again without a fresh election. Gaveston remained in exile for a time, but at last he returned again, and was taken prisoner by the barons at Scarborough. Falling into the hands of his mortal enemy, the Earl of Warwick, he was beheaded on Blacklow Hill, June 19, 1312, in presence of the king's cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster.

Murder of Gaveston, 1312.

During this time, while the king was fooling, Scotland was slipping from his grasp. Town after town had been taken by Bruce since 1307, and an expedition by Edward and Gaveston against him in 1310 was an utter failure. At last, in 1314, Bruce was master everywhere, except at Stirling and Berwick; and the Governor of Stirling Castle was so hard pressed that he had promised to surrender on St. John's Day, June 24, if he were not relieved. Then Edward, who had lost his favourite, and who, although so indolent, was brave enough when roused, marched north, and met Bruce within sight of Stirling Castle, by the little brook or *burn* called the Bannock. The moment had come when the freedom of Scotland was to be won or lost, and the Scots were in terrible earnest. The battle was fought on St. John's Day. Burns' famous song,

Battle of Bannockburn, June 24, 1314.

> "Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled,
> Scots, wham Bruce has aften led,"

written more than 400 years later, tells us how it is remembered in Scotland to this day. King Robert had dug pits in front of his army, and covered them with sticks and turf; and, like Wallace, he drew up his spearmen in hollow squares or circles, with the front men kneeling. The arrows of the English bowmen punished them sadly, but they closed in bravely. When the English horsemen charged, their horses were met again and again by such a mass of bristling spears that at last they were thrown into hopeless disorder. At that moment the English mistook a body of

Highland servants coming over the hill for a fresh enemy; a panic arose, and the brilliant array of nobles and knights turned and fled. Edward himself escaped to Berwick, but his army was scattered and his nobles prisoners, while rich spoils remained with the enemy. The Scots had thrown off the English yoke.

Scotland free.

The humiliation to England was bitter, and six unhappy years followed. The country had been drained of men for soldiers; bad seasons, cattle plague, and the greed of the king's servants, brought scarcity of food. Parliament unwisely tried to keep down the price of provisions by law; the consequence was that food, being cheap, was bought up too freely, and a famine followed, in which many died. The Scots, too, were ravaging the north of England; Edward Bruce, Robert's brother, was invading Ireland; and in 1320 Edward took a new favourite—Hugh le Despenser—who with his father supplanted the chief minister, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and ruled the kingdom. The Despensers were superior men to the former favourite, but the barons soon quarrelled with them, and taking up arms under Roger Mortimer, Lord of Wigmore, and the Earls of Hereford and Lancaster, they conspired with the King of the Scots to seize the government.

Famine and trouble.

The favourite Hugh Despenser, 1320-1327.

But this time Edward was on the alert; he marched against the rebels before the Scots could join them. The Earl of Hereford was killed, Mortimer sent to the Tower, and Thomas of Lancaster, whom Edward had never forgiven for Gaveston's death, was beheaded. Then the king held a Parliament at York revoking the Ordinances; and because he wished to curb the power of the barons, he persuaded Parliament to pass a very important law, that "all matters should be established by the king, prelates, earls, barons, and *commonality* of the realm." This was the first time that the Commons were given a share in making the laws; hitherto they had only been consulted about taxes. The Despensers now governed, but

Lancaster beheaded, 1322.

Commons gain a share in legislation, 1322.

they were hated both by the queen and people, and misrule and confusion reigned in the land. Queen Isabella went to France early in 1325 to settle a dispute about the duchy of Guienne with her brother Charles IV., and a few months later she sent for her son Prince Edward, thirteen years of age, to come and do homage for the duchy. But neither the queen nor prince returned, for she was intriguing with Lord Mortimer (who had escaped to France), to overthrow Edward and put his son in his place. On Sept. 24, 1326, she landed in Suffolk with a small body of troops, and was joined at once by the archbishop and the barons.

Deserted by all, the wretched king fled with the Despensers to Wales, and was taken prisoner at Glamorgan. Both the Despensers were hanged, and the king was declared unfit to reign by a Parliament held at Westminster, Jan. 7, 1327. His staff of office was broken, and young Edward was proclaimed king in his stead. The king's words are sadly touching. "It grieved him much," he said, "that he had deserved so little of his people, and he begged pardon to all who were present; but since it could not be otherwise, he thanked them for electing his eldest son." Then he was imprisoned in one castle after another, and on Sept. 21, 1327, he was cruelly murdered in Berkeley Castle by order of Mortimer.

Edward II. dethroned and murdered, 1327.

CHAPTER X.

THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR—THE PEASANT REVOLT

Edward III., 1327–1377.
|
(The Black Prince, died 1376.)
|
Richard II., 1377–1399.

ON Jan. 29, 1327, the young prince was crowned; guardians were appointed to govern for him, but during the first four years Queen Isabella and her favourite, Lord Mortimer, usurped the real power. After that Edward

took his own place. In 1328 he had married Philippa, daughter of the Count of Hainault; on June 15, 1330, his first son, afterwards so well known as the Black Prince, was born; and in November of the same year—his eyes being opened by the execution of his uncle, the Earl of Kent, through Mortimer's influence—he entered Nottingham Castle at midnight with a band of friends and seized Mortimer, who was condemned by the peers for many crimes, and hanged at Tyburn (then called "The Elms"), on Nov. 29, 1330. Queen Isabella was sent to Castle Rising, in Norfolk, for the rest of her life.

King's minority, 1327-1336.

Fall of Mortimer.

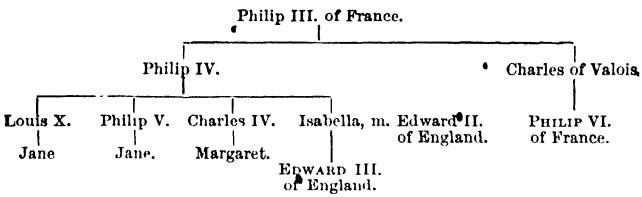
Thus Edward, before he was nineteen, was a husband, a father, and a responsible king. His reign has a double history—one of wars abroad, the other of great events at home—and we must take these separately. Although Scotland was now independent, yet skirmishes continued on both sides, and when King Robert died leaving only a little son seven years old, Edward III. invaded Scotland, and put Edward, eldest son of John Baliol, on the throne. Baliol was soon driven out again, but as the French were allies of the Scots, King Philip VI. of France, who wanted Guienne, made Edward's invasion of Scotland an excuse for invading Gascony. About the same time the people of Flanders, who had now a large wool-trade with England, wanted protection from the extortions of their worthless ruler, Count Louis. Their leader, James van Artevelde, named "the Brewer of Ghent," called on Edward to help them, and to take the title of "King of France," so that they might transfer their allegiance to him.

Causes of quarrel with France.

Flemings ask Edward's help.

This Edward did. He put the French fleur-de-lis on his shield, with the motto "*Dieu et mon Droit*," and claimed the throne of France by right of his mother Isabella, who belonged to the elder branch of the French royal family, while Philip VI. belonged to the younger. The claim was worthless, for by French law the succession could not pass through a woman.

Edward claims the throne of France.



But, on the accession of Philip VI., Edward, whilst he admitted that a woman could not herself succeed to the throne of France, contended that her male heir, if nearest of kin to the last sovereign, was entitled to the French crown. This gave rise to the famous "HUNDRED YEARS' WAR," which lasted on and off through the reigns of five English kings. It soon ceased to have anything to do with the Flemings, and was a sad war, for it was a mere struggle for power, without any thought of doing good to either nation. These were the days of chivalry, when, even in tournaments, the nobles loved to risk their lives and perform feats of bravery and daring. There was a great deal that was good in this high-spirited courage and knightly honour, but the nobles only exercised it among themselves. When they went to war they cared but little for the burning villages and the ruined crops and vineyards, nor for the suffering people, who were called "rascals" in those days, and counted for nothing.

Chivalry.

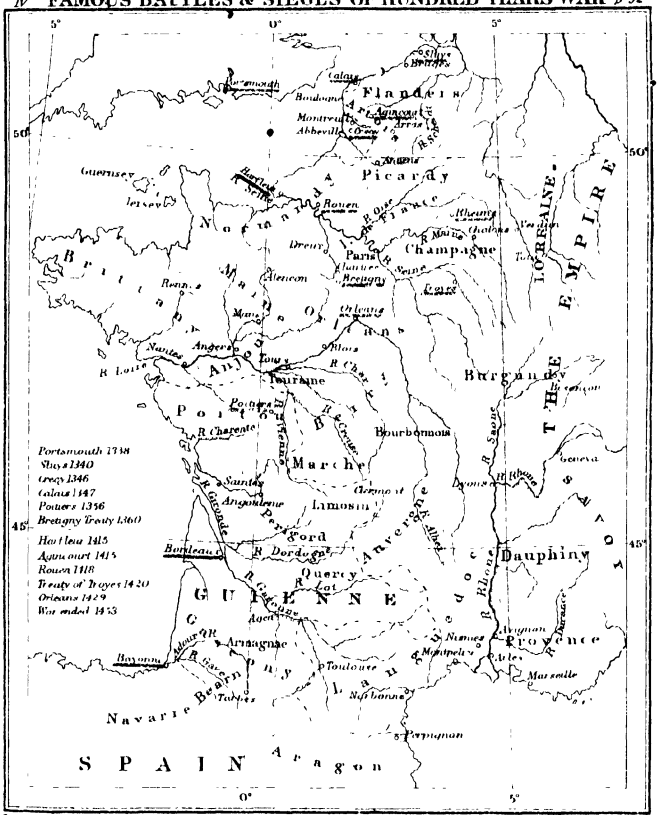
In Edward's reign the war was divided into three campaigns. The first began when the French attacked Portsmouth in 1338, and lasted till 1347, and the English were on the whole successful. In June 1340 they gained a great naval victory off Sluys, on the Flemish coast; and, on Aug. 26, 1346, another at Crecy, in Northern France, in which the English archers overpowered the knighthood of France. Gunpowder was first used in this battle, and Edward, Prince of Wales—called the Black Prince—won his knightly spurs there at sixteen years of age by his bravery. It is said, but on doubtful authority, that it was after this battle that the Black Prince adopted the three plumes and

Hundred Years' War, first campaign, 1338-1347.

Map IV

FAMOUS BATTLES & SIEGES OF HUNDRED YEARS WAR

to p 92



Stanford's Geogl Estab.t

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the motto "*Ich Dien*," which the Prince of Wales still uses. Then followed the Siege of Calais, which lasted eleven months—from Sept. 1346 to Aug. 4, 1347 —on which day, when the town could hold out no longer, six brave burgesses came out barefooted, and with halters on their necks to beg mercy for the inhabitants. Edward would have hanged them, but for the prayer of good Queen Philippa, who begged him on her knees to spare them. Edward peopled Calais with Englishmen, and for two hundred years it remained an English town, and was a great protection to ships in the Channel. It was about this time, and perhaps in memory of the Siege of Calais, that Edward III. established the famous Order of the Garter, comprising twenty-five knights, the king himself being the twenty-sixth.

Siege of Calais.

Order of the Garter, 1348.

The second outbreak of war began in 1355, when John II. was King of France. The most memorable battle in it was the battle of Poitiers, when, on Sept. 19, 1356, the Black Prince, with only 12,000 men, defeated the French with 60,000, by drawing up his army at the end of a narrow lane among vineyards, across which the archers let fly their arrows as the French approached. From that moment of confusion, though the French fought bravely, they had no chance. King John and his little son Philip were taken prisoners to England, where John died eight years later in the Savoy Palace in London. Two years after the Battle of Poitiers the English pushed on to Paris, across a wasted country which had been ravaged by lawless soldiers, called "Free Companies"; and at Bretigny, south of Paris, a peace was signed on May 8, 1360. By this treaty Edward gave up his claim to the French crown, but ruled Aquitaine, Poitou, Gascony, and Calais as an independent sovereign. Thus, at the end of the second campaign, the English held a large part of France.

Second campaign, 1355-1360.

But they lost it in the third. The Black Prince, who had gone to rule at Bordeaux as Duke of Aquitaine, interfered in a quarrel in Spain, and Charles V. of France began

the war afresh. More wily than his father John, Charles avoided battles, while he harassed the English by long marches across the wasted country. The Black Prince was ill and irritable; he tarnished his fame by a massacre of the people of Limoges who had gone over to the enemy; while Charles got the better of him at every turn. At last ill-health drove him back to England, and from that time the English were unsuccessful. Their fleet was defeated by the Spaniards in 1371, and by 1374 the French had reconquered everything except Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne. So at the end of this part of the war the English held less of France than at the beginning, thirty-six years before.

Disastrous third campaign, 1367-1374.

We must now take up the history at home during the early part of Edward's reign. It may seem strange that the French war was popular in England. But the nobles liked war in itself, and the people thought if the king had more subjects they would help to pay the taxes, while they were proud of the brave Black Prince. Moreover, the lower classes really gained at first by the war. The knights and barons wanted money for their costly armour and splendour abroad, and were willing to let their manors for *leases*, or long terms, receiving rent, called *feorm*, in return, and this was the beginning of the *farm* and independent farmer. They were also willing to sell freedom to their serfs or villeins, and even the king sent commissioners to his enormous estates to raise money by allowing his serfs to buy their discharge.

Rise of the people, 1327-1349.

Leases granted and freedom to serfs.

Edward had brought over a number of Flemish weavers, who settled in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and taught the people to weave cloth. This soon became an important industry, and, as any serf who could escape to a town and dwell there for a year and a day was free, many began in this way to earn a free livelihood. Trade also began to flourish with foreign countries. The fish and timber trade with Normandy, the wool trade with Flanders, the wine and salt trade with Gascony, gave new

Growth of industries and trade.

openings for employment. The coinage was improved about this time, and in 1344 gold coins first began to be used as money. The nobles, busy with their wars, did not observe that, in consequence of all this advance, the freed serfs, and independent workmen and farmers were becoming a strong body of free men, with wants they had never felt, and rights they had never claimed before.

This went on for more than twenty years, and meanwhile the king was always appealing to Parliament for money for the war. In 1340 he came from France in a great rage, turned out the ministers and chief-justices, and accused his chancellor, Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, of having misused the money he had collected. He wanted Stratford to answer to *him* for the money, but Parliament replied that no minister could be judged except in full Parliament before his peers; and in 1341 they insisted that they should help to choose ministers, who should swear before them to keep the law. For the last nine years the knights and burgesses had sat in the Painted Chamber, separate from the lords and bishops, who sat in the White Chamber, so that there were now two Houses, the Lords and Commons; and we find that the Lords consulted the Commons, who spoke their mind freely. Parliament was now really taking some control of government, and for the time all worked well. The people were pleased at the victory of Crecy, and at a defeat of the Scots at the Battle of Neville Cross, near Durham, where King David of Scotland was taken prisoner in 1346; and still more at the taking of Calais, which protected the Channel.

Lords and Commons protect the minister.

But great sorrow was at hand. In 1348 a terrible plague, called the "Black Death," swept over the continent to England, and in the crowded streets of the towns and the hovels of the country the people died so fast that it was difficult to bury them. In the end more than one-third of the population of England was swept away, without reckoning the numbers killed in the wars. How now were the landowners to get their

The Black Death.

work done? In the panic, fields had been left uncultivated and farms abandoned, and the labourers, now there were so few, asked higher wages for their work. Then came the first struggle between those who had money and lands, or the owners of *capital*, and those who lived by *labour*. During the plague a number of sturdy beggars had arisen who would not work, and Parliament justly passed a law that every man under sixty must do work of some kind. But the "Statute of Labourers," which they passed, went further, and said that *the labourers should work for the same wages as before the Black Death*. This they would not do; and they managed to evade the law, and work for those who paid them best. The landowners were in a difficulty, for they had to pay more heavily for labour, tools, and everything made by labour, while they did not get any more money for the corn and meat grown on their land because there were fewer people in the country to feed. So Parliament, in which, of course, the landowners were powerful, brought back the old laws which bound each man to work on his lord's estate. The labourer was forbidden to leave his parish, and any man who ran away was to have an *F* (*fugitive*) stamped with hot iron on his forehead. Many escaped serfs were brought back from the towns, and some even who had bought their freedom were unjustly claimed. The labourers, who now knew that they could earn more money if left free, chafed under the tyranny, while they tried to evade it.

Struggle between capital and labour.

Statute of Labourers.

The works of our great poet Chaucer, who about this time wrote the *Canterbury Tales*, and a strange poem, *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, written by the people's poet Langland, show how, while the knights, courtiers, wealthy abbots and monks were holding tournaments and revels, the lower classes were growing more and more restless. At this time John Wiclif, Master of Baliol, Oxford, the first English religious reformer, began to write against the corruption of the clergy, and especially of the friars,

Works of Chaucer and Langland.

John Wiclif, 1324-1384.

who had grown hypocritical and greedy. Wiclif was an earnest Oxford preacher; he did not mean to stir up discontent, but he wished to revive true religion and rebuke the tyranny of those who were in power. A few years later he translated the Bible into English, and sent out "simple priests," barefooted and in russet gowns, who taught that each man must answer by his own conscience to God, that men are equal in His sight, and that nobles and priests must rule justly for the good of all. We can easily understand how all these stirring thoughts of freedom worked in the minds of the discontented peasants, and bore bitter fruit in the next reign.

Still all remained outwardly quiet, and during the next twenty years Parliament made many good reforms. In 1351 it was enacted that the Pope (who was at this time a Frenchman, living at Avignon in France, among enemies of England) should no longer give English livings to foreigners, nor exact heavy tributes as he had done since the reign of John. In 1353 people were forbidden to carry English questions of law to foreign courts; and this statute of *Præmunire*, a name given from the first word used in the writ, became very important in later times. In 1362 it was ordered that English should be used in the law-courts, and not French, as formerly; and that the king should no longer levy tolls on wool without consent of Parliament.

Reforms in Parliament

First statute of Præmunire.

The Government also tried to make laws for Ireland, but from the first these were mistaken and cruel. There were three classes of subjects at that time in Ireland—1st, the original Irish; 2nd, the English who had gone there long ago, intermarried with the natives, and made Ireland their home; and 3rd, the English who went over to rule. The Irish and Irish-English were no doubt a wild, half-barbarous people, but they were shamefully treated by their rulers. By the statute of Kilkenny the English were forbidden to marry with the Irish, all national games were prohibited, and the Irish were ordered

Statute of Kilkenny, 1367.

to speak English and adopt English customs. The king's son Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who went to govern them, would not even allow any man born in Ireland to come near his camp. Under such government it was impossible that the Irish should become a contented people.

Ten more years passed away. The war-disasters of the third campaign happened in France; the king was growing old; good Queen Philippa was dead; and a worthless woman, Alice Perrers, influenced Edward. The Black Prince, who was the king's eldest son, was dying, and his little son and heir was only ten years old. The king's third son, John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was really governing with ministers of his own choosing, and people suspected that he wished to seize the throne. At last, in 1376, the "Good Parliament" met, and the Commons made bold for the first time to *impeach* the ministers, or, in other words, to prosecute them before the House of Lords, who acted as judges. They accused them of misappropriating the public money, levying taxes without permission, and lending the poor old king money, for which they made him pay them a hundredfold. The Duke of Lancaster did all he could to stop these attacks, but the Black Prince, though dying, upheld the Commons. The ministers were removed and Alice Perrers sent away from the king, though she soon came back again; and when the Black Prince died two months later, on June 8, 1376, little Prince Richard was brought by the archbishop before Parliament, and acknowledged as heir-apparent. Nevertheless John of Gaunt came back to power, and the Parliament of 1377 undid all that had been done, and laid a new tax upon the people, called the poll-tax, of so much a head for every person in the kingdom. It was in this Parliament that the foreman or chairman of the Commons was first called the "Speaker." That same year, June 21, 1377, Edward III. died, and young Prince Richard, only eleven years old, succeeded to an uneasy throne.

The Good Parliament, 1376.

Death of Black Prince, 1376.

First poll-tax, 1377.

Richard II., 1377–1399.

Richard was crowned, July 16, 1377, and a council appointed to rule the kingdom. The king's uncles were not on this council, but John of Gaunt had still much influence. The war with France was drifting on, very badly for England, and there were heavy taxes to pay for it. The poll-tax was again levied. The Duke of Lancaster paid £6 : 13 : 4, the earls £4, and so on down to the poorest person over sixteen years of age, who paid a groat or fourpence. But this did not bring in enough, and next year a still larger poll-tax was collected. This pressed heavily upon the poor; and ever since the "Statute of Labourers," thirty years before, discontent had been increasing among the villeins, the labourers, and even the smaller tenants, who had to pay heavy dues and tolls. Secret associations were being formed all over the country, and Wiclif's priests, now called "Lollards," travelled from place to place, and were messengers between the restless people. John Ball, one of these priests, had even been put in prison by the Bishop of London for seditious preaching.

Hatred of poll-tax.

Still all was quiet till June 5, 1381, when John of Dartford, a tiler by trade, killed a poll-tax collector, who insulted his daughter. At once all England was in an uproar, and it was clear there was some secret understanding, for the people rose all at once in Yorkshire, Lancashire, Devon, Suffolk, Essex, and Kent. The men of Kent, under Wat Tyler (of the same trade as John of Dartford), rose in a mass, released John Ball from Maidstone gaol, and marched to Blackheath, where he preached to them that all men were equal, repeating the two lines,

Peasant Revolt, 1381

> "When Adam delved, and Eve span,
> Who was then the gentleman?"

The men of Essex, under Jack Straw a thatcher, came armed with clubs, rusty swords, and bows, and joined the throng, and so did the men of Hertfordshire. A hundred

thousand men moved on to London, and the mob within opened the gates to them. On the 12th they ransacked the prisons, burnt the Savoy Palace (the home of John of Gaunt, whom they detested), and the new Inn at the Temple, and destroyed the houses of the Flemings. Yet they did not plunder or steal, but settled down quietly for the night—the Kentish men on Tower Hill, the Essex men at Mile End, the Hertfordshire men at Highbury.

Taken by surprise, the nobles and council were paralysed with fear. Only the young king kept his presence of mind. Though not yet sixteen years of age, he showed wonderful courage. Early the next morning he rode out to Mile End to meet the rioters. "I am your king and lord, good people," said he, "what will ye?" They asked for freedom, for the abolition of the oppressive tolls and market dues, and to be allowed to pay rent instead of giving labour. He promised all they asked, and set thirty clerks to write letters of freedom for each parish: with these papers in their hands the people dispersed. But while Richard was gone the Kentish men had broken into the Tower Palace and murdered the archbishop who was chancellor, and the treasurer whom they hated because of the poll-tax; while thirty thousand men still remained in London under Wat Tyler. These Richard met the next day in Smithfield, and when Wat Tyler laid his hand on the rein of the king's horse, the Mayor of London struck him and he was killed. "Kill, kill," shouted the crowd, "our captain is killed." "I am your captain," cried Richard, "follow me;" and they followed him quietly to Islington. Here he would not allow the troops, which had at last assembled, to interfere with them, but gave them written charters, and they returned home. So the revolt ended in London, but many lives were lost and much damage done in the distant counties during the next fortnight. Then the king marched through Kent and Essex with a large army; John Ball, Straw, and hundreds of others were arrested and put to death; and when Parliament met all the king's charters were declared

Richard meets his people.

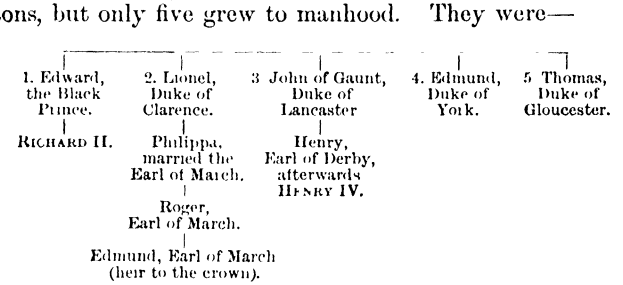
to be valueless, because he could not give away what belonged to the nobles.

So the people seemed to have gained nothing; but, in truth, though at first the oppression was worse than ever, the nobles soon saw that it would be dangerous to force villeinage any longer on the people. Gradually during the next hundred and fifty years it died away entirely, and free labour took its place.

Villeinage dies out gradually.

Yet though young Richard began so bravely, the history of his reign was sad for him. To understand it we must notice that the Commons were now strong enough to force the king to listen to their advice before they granted him money; but they did not yet know how to use their power, and were swayed this way and that by the great lords who were the real rulers in the land. Now Richard's uncles loved power, and wanted to keep him under their control, while Richard, as we see, had a high spirit of his own. Edward had seven sons, but only five grew to manhood. They were—

Power of Parliament.



The two first died before the king, and the Black Prince's son, as we have seen, became Richard II. His ministers and his council were never firstrate men, probably because his mother and friends were afraid of choosing friends of his uncles. But the uncles ruled nevertheless. John of Gaunt had power at first, but after the people showed in the Peasant Revolt how much they hated him, he withdrew to Spain for three years, leaving in

England his son Henry Bolingbroke, Earl of Derby, who was beloved by the people. After John of Gaunt left, Thomas, Duke of Gloucester, took the lead; and while Richard was still under guardians, this duke and the Earl of Arundel stirred up Parliament in 1387 to impeach Richard's minister, the Duke of Suffolk, for wasting the public money; and to appoint a *Council of Eleven* to look after the king's affairs. Richard was furious; he set the Parliament at defiance, and tried to rouse the people to join him. This was foolish and headstrong, for he had as yet no power, and the next year, in a Parliament called the "Merciless Parliament," five lords — Gloucester, Arundel, Warwick, Nottingham, and Derby, who were called the "Lords Appellant"—appealed against the king's friends, and accusing them of treason, hanged seven of them, among others a brave old knight, Sir Simon Burley, whom the king loved and honoured, and for whom the queen, and even Henry of Derby, begged in vain. Gloucester was merciless, and Richard saw that he must be wary.

Council of Eleven, 1387.

The Merciless Parliament, 1388.

The next year, 1389, he took them all by surprise by announcing suddenly in the council that, as he was twenty-three, he would govern in future himself. He called upon the Earl of Arundel to give up the Great Seal; and, staggered at his boldness and his just right, the lords yielded, and he took everything into his own hands.

Richard takes the Government, 1389.

For eight years he ruled wisely and well, making good laws. It was during this time that the second law of *Præmunire* was passed, enacting that all persons introducing bulls or sentences of excommunication from the Pope into England should be liable to be imprisoned and lose their property. This statute, as we shall see, had important effects in Henry VIII.'s reign. Richard also visited Ireland, where he behaved kindly to the people. Meanwhile he did not show any ill-feeling towards those who had killed his friends. But he

Second law of Præmunire, 1393

Richard makes a truce with France, 1396.

had not forgotten. His wife, Anne of Bohemia, died in 1394, and in 1396 he married the little daughter of the King of France, only eight years old, so as to arrange a truce for twenty-five years.

Now his hands were free, and when the great lords were angry at the war being broken off, and began to intrigue against him he took his revenge. Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel were taken prisoners in a few hours. Gloucester was sent off to Calais, and in a fortnight news arrived that he had died there. Arundel was tried before Parliament on the charge of treason and beheaded, while Warwick was imprisoned for life. Then Parliament, left without its leaders, granted all the king asked, gave him a promise of an income for life, and allowed him to form a special committee of his own friends to overrule the petitions sent to Parliament. In a word, Richard had made himself an absolute king. But this was the cause of his downfall. From that moment there was no check on his extravagance or his strong will, and he began to oppress the people with taxes and to interfere in the courts of justice. Even when he was right, as in protecting the labourers against the landowners, or in preventing the Lollards from being persecuted, the people grew to hate him because he did it of *his own will*, and made them feel he would do as he chose.

Richard's revenge, 1397.

Richard an absolute king

Meanwhile two of the "Lords Appellant" still remained in England—Nottingham, now Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Bolingbroke, now Earl of Hereford, John of Gaunt's son and Richard's cousin. They were friendly to the king, but he did not feel safe, and took advantage of a quarrel between them in 1398 to banish them both—Norfolk for life and Henry for six years. This was most unjust, and as the people loved Henry, it angered them. But Richard was blind to all but his own power; and the next year, when John of Gaunt died, he seized all his estates, which, by right, belonged to

Banishment of Henry, Earl of Hereford, 1398.

Henry. Then, thinking that he had swept England clear of all his enemies, he went over again to Ireland, May 1399.

At the moment when he thought all was safe, his power crumbled to dust. Henry, now Duke of Lancaster, landed in Yorkshire to claim his estates. In a moment, at the news that he was in England, the Percies from Northumberland, Earl Neville from Westmoreland, and even the Duke of York, Richard's uncle, whom he had left as regent, all gathered round him. Richard had shown himself a tyrant, and England rose against him. When he landed in Wales a fortnight later he found his kingdom was lost. Henry, like himself, was a grandson of Edward III., and was descended from Henry III. on his mother's side as well (*see* table, p. 70), and though the Earl of March, great-grandson of the Duke of Clarence, was the nearest heir to the throne (*see* p. 101), he was only a child of six years old. The nation, tired of Richard, welcomed Henry to rule over them.

Richard's fall, 1399.

Richard fell into Henry's hands at Flint Castle in Wales, through the treachery of the Earl of Northumberland. He was sent to the Tower, and signed a deed of resignation on Sept. 29, 1399. The next day Parliament declared Henry king. A year later, when a rebellion arose to restore Richard, he was said to have died, and his body was shown to the people; but how he really came to his end no one knows to this day, though it seems most probable he was secretly put to death. So the kingdom passed to the house of Lancaster; but it must always be remembered that Henry and his descendants held the crown because Parliament elected him, and that the nearest heir belonged to the house of Clarence; for this caused all the trouble which ended in the "Wars of the Roses."

Disappearance of Richard.

We have now passed over nearly two hundred years since the Great Charter laid the foundation of English liberty. During that time we have seen Parliament take its rise, admit members elected by the Commons of the land, take the control of the

Summary from 1216 to 1399.

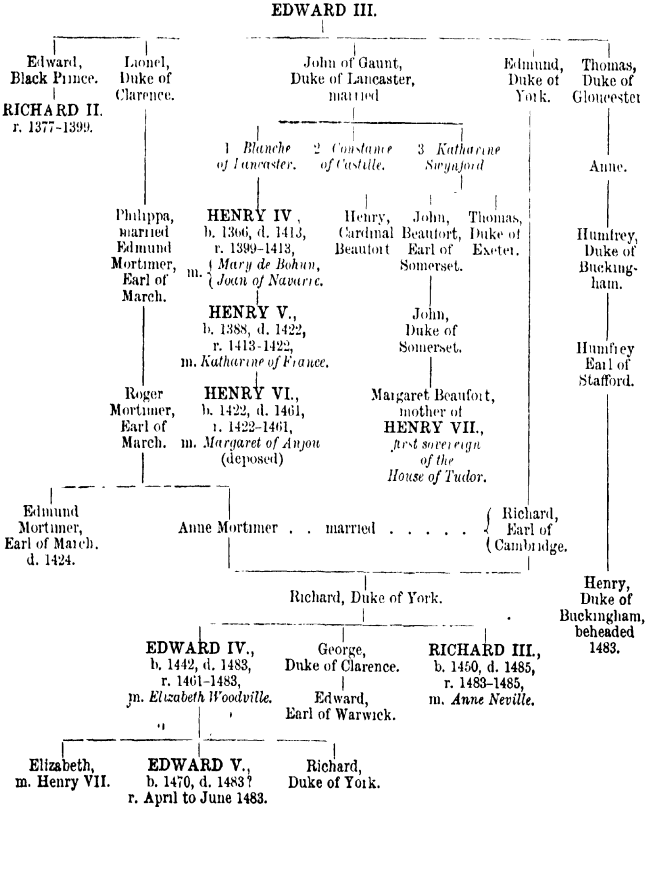
taxes, insist that the people's grievances should be redressed before grants were made, and that the king's ministers should answer to Parliament for their actions. We have seen the two Houses of *Lords* and *Commons* begin to sit separately, but act together by consultation; and two kings set aside because they tried to act wilfully without the consent of their subjects. But in both these cases it was the great lords who led the way; for still, as in the days of John, it was the nobles who ruled the land whenever the king was weak or wilful. During this period, too, we have seen Wales become joined to England, while Scotland gained her liberty and her own line of kings. We have seen England gradually freeing herself from the heavy money grants, which the Popes levied ever since John took his kingdom from Pope Innocent III. as his vassal; while commerce was extending itself by the large wool-trade with Flanders, and profiting by the gradual rights which the towns acquired of trading, without the vexatious tolls levied by the earlier kings. We have also seen the first beginning of the rise of the masses of the people; how the villeins were gradually obtaining their freedom, and the tenants paying rent instead of giving labour; and how, by Wiclif's teaching of the freedom of conscience, and his translation of the Bible, allowing men to read and judge for themselves, the first seeds of the Reformation were sown. Wiclif himself, after a long contest with the Bishop of London, withdrew to his own parish at Lutterworth, and died in 1384. We shall still hear of his followers, the Lollards, in the next reign.

Lastly, we leave England in the midst of a war with France (for the truce made by Richard ended with his death), and on the eve of a struggle at home, which grew out of Henry having taken the throne, although he was not the direct heir. We shall see that in the war abroad, and in this struggle at home so many of the great families suffered, that when it was ended there was no longer the same barrier of great lords between the king and his people.

PART IV.

HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK
WARS OF THE ROSES

KINGS OF LANCASTER AND YORK



CHAPTER XI.

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER

Henry IV., 1399–1413.
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Henry V., 1413–1422.
|
Henry VI., 1422–1461, dethroned.

THE year 1400, which we have now reached, begins one of the most unsettled periods of our history. No king during the next eighty years held undisputed possession of the throne. There was always some one else who had a claim to be king, and this caused endless struggles and civil wars, in which the greater number of the old families were destroyed.

Unsettled succession for eighty years.

Henry IV. had already two rivals — Richard II., a prisoner in Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire, and the little Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, the king's cousin, who, with his younger brother, was being brought up in Windsor Castle. Before three months were over, on Jan. 3, 1400, the Earls of Kent, Huntingdon, and Salisbury, together with Lord Despenser, entered into a conspiracy to restore Richard, but the plot was betrayed, and they were all executed. We shall probably never know whether this conspiracy hastened Richard's death or whether he died naturally. A few weeks later it was announced that he was dead, and his body was shown to the people, though many still doubted whether it were really he. Soon after this the Welsh prince, Owen Glendower, who was a descendant of Llewellyn, and had been a faithful squire to Richard II., rebelled in Wales, and the Welsh

Rebellions against Henry, 1400-1405.

Owen Glendower rebels, 1400.

from all parts of the country flocked to support him. King Henry made several expeditions against him, and sent his son, the young Prince of Wales, with a large army. But Glendower always retreated to the mountains, and left the inclement weather to fight for him, coming back as soon as the English were gone, and really ruling the country.

Meanwhile the Percies—that is, the Earl of Northumberland and his warlike son, Harry Hotspur—who had helped to put Henry on the throne, had been defending the North against the Scots. At the Battle of Homildon Hill, on the Tyne, they defeated the Scotch army, and took many important prisoners, for whom they hoped to get large ransoms. But Henry seems to have claimed these prisoners, and also to have offended the Percies by leaving Edmund Mortimer, who was Hotspur's brother-in-law, a prisoner in Wales. Irritated at what they considered the king's ingratitude, the proud Percies turned against him and joined Glendower. The cry was raised that Richard was still alive in Scotland; the French sent troops to Wales to help the insurgents, and again Henry had to defend his crown. In the famous Battle of Shrewsbury he, with his two young sons, Henry, Prince of Wales, and John, Duke of Bedford, defeated the rebels. Harry Hotspur was killed and many noblemen were taken and executed.

Battle of Homildon Hill, 1402.

Revolt of Percies and Glendower, 1403.

Battle of Shrewsbury, July 21, 1403.

But the old Earl Percy of Northumberland still remained, and in the year 1405, when the unfortunate Henry had only just recaptured the little Earl of March, whom Lady Despenser had carried off from Windsor, he heard that a fresh rebellion had broken out in the north. Again, however, the king's forces met the rebels and dispersed them, and this time Earl Mowbray and Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, were beheaded for treason.

Rebellion of Mowbray and Scrope, 1405.

After this Henry held his throne in peace. That same year, 1405, Prince James, heir to the Scotch throne, was

taken prisoner by English ships on his way to France, and by bringing him up at the English Court, Henry kept a hold over the Scotch. France, too, ceased to trouble him. The French king, Charles VI., had become insane, and the Dukes of Orleans and Burgundy were too busy struggling for the regency to help Glendower any longer. Young Henry, Prince of Wales, already a good general, gradually drove Glendower out of South Wales, and he became a wanderer in the mountains. Lastly, in 1408, Northumberland was killed in battle, and no one again attempted to overthrow Henry's power.

Time of peace, 1405-1413.

But these seven years of constant uncertainty had been very hard for the king. Not daring to trust his nobles, he was obliged to keep good friends with Parliament and the Church. The long French war had made the Commons very unwilling to grant much money, and the king was often short of funds. So they could make their own terms, and they not only required the king to change his council and arrange his household as they dictated, but they succeeded at last in forcing the Lords to leave to them the sole right of making money grants after their grievances had been considered.

Commons gain the right of making money grants, 1407.

This was a step towards freedom, but another measure, passed at this time, became a cruel tyranny which lasted for more than a hundred years. The second *Convocation* (or assembly of clergy), after Henry was crowned, called together by Archbishop Arundel Jan. 26, 1401, sent a petition to the king begging him to put down the Lollards; and in the next Parliament a law was passed by which a heretic, if he continued in his opinions after the first warning, was to be given over to the officers of justice and *burnt alive*. There were probably three causes for this terrible law: first, the clergy believed that the Lollards would ruin men's souls and take the property of the Church; secondly, the Parliament dreaded them, because they wished to alter the land-laws and the taxes, and to free the

Law against heresy, 1401.

remainder of the serfs; thirdly, Henry was afraid of them because they had been favoured by Richard. And so in February 1401 the first fire was lighted to destroy a fellow-creature on account of his belief. William Sawtre, a rector of Norfolk, who had come to London to preach Lollard doctrines, was burnt at the stake.

Yet Archbishop Arundel, who persecuted the Lollards, was in other matters a wise and able chancellor, and so too were the Beauforts, Henry's half-brothers, who were chancellors during his reign. These Beauforts were the sons of old John of Gaunt by his third wife, Catharine Swynford (*see* table, p. 106), and they had been declared legitimate by Richard II. Now, when Henry's health was failing and he was afflicted with fits, they were good and faithful advisers to the young prince. It is said that they wished the king to resign the crown to his son, but this he would not do. He rallied for a time, and the prince, who had taken a prominent part in the council, retired, Arundel again becoming chancellor. So things remained, till one day, while praying in Westminster Abbey, the king was seized with a fit and died, March 20, 1413. He left four sons—Henry, who succeeded him; Thomas, Duke of Clarence; John, Duke of Bedford, a wise and noble prince; and Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester, the evil genius of his family.

Thomas Beaufort chancellor, 1409.

Henry V., 1413–1422.

For nine years England was now once more to be dazzled by foreign victories. Henry V., a man of five and twenty when his father died, was already a brilliant soldier and an experienced statesman. It was said that he had been wild in his youth, and that Judge Gascoigne had once sent him to prison for defying the law. If this was so, he had done good work besides, conquering Glendower, boldly opposing the Commons when they wished to confiscate the property of the Church, and governing wisely in the council. Now he succeeded to a throne which his father

Bills not to be altered in becoming statutes, 1414.

had made strong by his firm but moderate rule, and he had the wisdom to follow in his steps. In the first year of his reign he granted to the Commons a boon they had long wished for, namely, that their petitions, now called *bills*, should become *statutes* after they had passed them, without garbling or alterations, and that the king should refuse or accept them as they came before him. This Parliament also agreed that the king should take all the property of the "alien Priories," that is, property in England which had till then been held by religious houses abroad.

Alien Priories granted to the king, 1414.

Thus his reign began happily. He had an able friend and helper in his brother the Duke of Bedford, and a faithful chancellor in Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester; and being himself truthful, brave, and self-denying, he became during his short reign the idol of the English people. He even felt strong enough to give back the Mortimer estates to the young Earl of March, and the earldom of Northumberland to Harry Hotspur's son, and he had King Richard's body removed with royal honours from Abbots Langley to Westminster Abbey. He offered to let the young king of the Scots go home, but the Duke of Albany, who was regent, did not want him, and James preferred to remain in England. A feeble conspiracy was indeed formed in 1415 by Richard, Earl of Cambridge, brother-in-law to Mortimer, but it was soon discovered, and he was beheaded, together with his fellow-conspirators, Lord Scrope and Sir Thomas Grey.

Henry V. strong and beloved.

In spite of famines and a visitation of the Black Death in 1407, the nation had now for many years been prosperous. Labour was becoming free, the yeoman and the farmer could rent their farms, and we can see by the statutes passed to prevent extravagance in dress that money was not wanting. No labourer's wife, for example, was to wear a girdle garnished with silver nor a dress of material costing more than two shillings (about twenty shillings of our money) a yard.

State of the people.

The many new treaties made to promote trade with Holland, the Baltic towns, Flanders, Venice, and other countries, show that shipbuilding and commerce were flourishing. The coal-trade of Newcastle was becoming important, and although the English kings were foolishly beginning to debase the coin—that is, to use less silver and more alloy, —money was circulating freely. The merchants, among whom was the famous Dick Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, were rich and powerful; and the craft-guilds protected the workmen and encouraged good work.

The only restlessness among the people seems to have been caused by the Lollards, whose opinions had spread very widely. A sturdy knight, Sir John Oldcastle, who became Lord Cobham by marrying the heiress of Cobham, had now for many years upheld the Lollards. He was a brave soldier and a respected member of Parliament, and it was difficult to interfere with him, although his castle at Cowling in Kent had become the headquarters of the sect. At last, after Henry V. had tried in vain to convert him, he was arrested and condemned to death, but before the day arrived he escaped from the Tower. His escape was a signal for revolt. A large body of Lollards assembled at St. Giles' in the fields outside London, but Henry was too quick for them. He closed the city gates, and the royal forces dispersed the meeting. Thirty-nine of the chief Lollards were executed, and Lord Cobham fled to Wales; in 1417 he was taken, hanged in chains, and burnt.

Revolt of the Lollards, 1414.

After this Lollardism gradually disappeared. But the general restlessness of the country was one of the reasons why the French war began again. The bishops wished to divert the attention of the people from the Lollards, and of Parliament from their idea of confiscating Church property; the merchants wanted to open new channels for their goods, and the nobles were tired of peace. In these times war and conquest were considered honourable to a king and nation, and Henry was ambitious, and really believed that he was

Causes of the renewal of the French war.

doing wisely in trying to put an end to the wretched civil war then raging in France. So, although he had far less right than even Edward III., he made on April 1415 a formal claim to the throne of France, and war began once more.

On Aug. 14, 1415, he landed near Harfleur in Normandy, and took it after a terrible siege, during which sickness broke out in his army, and he lost many thousand men. Then he marched on towards Calais, and met on the plains of Agincourt, in Picardy, an army of 60,000 Frenchmen, who had united for the time against the common enemy. Henry had, at the most, only 9000 men, yet once more the English bowmen scattered the French cavalry, and 11,000 Frenchmen lay dead on the field, of whom more than a hundred were princes and nobles. Yet Henry was obliged to return to England, for his army was exhausted; and it was only two years after, in 1417, that he returned with 32,000 men and conquered Normandy, with its strongholds, cities, and seaports. The siege of Rouen alone in 1418 lasted six months. The starving city held out, although the governor was obliged to turn 12,000 men, women, and children outside the gates, where they lay dying between the walls and the English army. At last the brave citizens threatened to fire the city, and Henry made terms with them, but he put to death their gallant captain, Alan Blanchard. The next year Henry took Pontoise and threatened Paris, and just at this time fortune favoured him. John, Duke of Burgundy, had gone to a conference with Charles, the dauphin or heir of France, and there was treacherously murdered by the friends of Orleans in the dauphin's presence. The Burgundians, furious at the treachery, joined Henry, and even Queen Isabel, wife of the mad French king, turned against her son, and gave her daughter Katharine to Henry as his wife. By the Treaty of Troyes, May 21, 1420, Henry was made Regent of France, and named as the successor to the throne.

Siege of Harfleur, Aug. 1415.

Battle of Agincourt, Oct. 1415.

Siege of Rouen, 1418.

Henry made Regent of France, 1420.

England was proud of her king when he returned, with his young French wife, as the Regent of France. Few or none of the people then thought how heavily they would pay in the next reign for all this conquest and glory.

Death of the Kings of England and France, 1422.

On Dec. 6, 1421, a little prince was born and named Henry. The king was abroad fighting against the dauphin, his health was failing fast, and he died at Vincennes, Aug. 31, 1422, at the early age of thirty-four. Two months later the unhappy Charles VI. of France also died, and the English baby-prince, only ten months old, was King of England and France.

Henry VI., 1422–1461.

England was at the height of her fame when Henry V. died. The Parliament, clergy, and nation had made vigorous efforts to support the king in his glorious victories, and he had won for them a grand position in the eyes of Europe. But it was a false glory; the crown was deeply in debt and the country exhausted and drained both of men and money. By Henry's last wishes the Duke of Bedford became Protector of the Realm and guardian of the young prince; but he was also to be Regent of France, and the Duke of Gloucester was to govern England in his absence, with the help of the council. Henry bade the two brothers never to make peace with the dauphin nor quarrel with the Duke of Burgundy, and he warned Gloucester to care for the country's interest before his own. He judged him only too truly. Before a year was over Gloucester had quarrelled with the Duke of Burgundy about his wife's inheritance, and three years later Bedford was obliged to come back from France to make peace between him and his uncle the chancellor, Henry Beaufort.

Government during the Prince's minority.

Bedford, on the contrary, did his work well abroad. He married the Duke of Burgundy's sister, and with much difficulty steered clear of Gloucester's quarrel. By victory after victory he conquered, in five years, the whole of France north of the Loire, and

Siege of Orleans, 1428, 1429.

was on the point of succeeding in the siege of Orleans when that wonderful rescue took place, of which the story will be told as long as the world lasts.

A simple village girl of eighteen, Jeanne Darc (called in English by a curious mistake Joan *of* Arc), the child of a labourer of Domremi, on the borders of Champagne and Lorraine, was filled with pity for the misery and ruin of her country. Dwelling on an old prophecy which said that a maid from Lorraine should save the land, she believed that she saw in visions the archangel Michael bidding her go to the dauphin and promise him that she would lead him to Rheims to be anointed and crowned king. In spite of the village priest and people, she persuaded the captain of Vaucouleurs to lead her to the camp, and there she told her mission; and the dauphin, catching at any hope in his despair, let her have her way. Then, without fear or shrinking, she put herself at the head of the rough soldiers, and clad in white armour, with a banner studded with fleur-de-lis waving over her head, she burst through the English army with 10,000 men-at-arms. Though she herself was wounded in the action, she raised the siege of Orleans. The English were panic-stricken; the French believed her to be a messenger from God; and, not heeding the French generals, who wished to remain fighting on the Loire, she led the victorious army to Rheims, conquering all before her. There, on July 17, 1429, Charles VII. was crowned King of France. Then Jeanne begged to go home to her sheep and village. Her voices, she said, had left her, her mission was over. But Charles would not let her go, so she fought bravely on, though her confidence was gone. At the siege of Compiégne, in 1430, she was taken prisoner by the Burgundians, who sold her to the English, and Charles made no effort to save her. The end was a tale of shame—to the French, whom she rescued, to the English who had seen her bravery—to all except to the simple maid herself. She was burnt as a witch at Rouen, May 30, 1431, and the noble

History of Jeanne Darc, 1429-1431.

Death of Jeanne Darc, 1431.

spirit escaped, from false friends and cruel foes, to where "the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest."

The war was not yet at an end, for Charles had not reached Paris, and the very year of Jeanne Darc's death Henry VI. was crowned in that city by Beaufort. But from that time the English lost ground. Bedford died two years later, and Richard, Duke of York, with John Talbot, carried on the war; but there was little hope of success, for Burgundy after Bedford's death went over to the French king. In 1445, when Henry VI. married Margaret of Anjou, the English promised to give up Anjou and Maine to her father René, and a truce was made with France. But it was constantly broken. In 1449 Charles VII. reconquered Normandy, and in four years more he was master of Guienne and Bordeaux. When Talbot was killed, and the Hundred Years' War ended in 1453, Calais alone remained to England.

End of Hundred Years' War, 1453.

While disaster and loss were thus falling on the English abroad, the Duke of Gloucester and Chancellor Beaufort were quarrelling at home. Gloucester was popular, ambitious, and not an able statesman, while Beaufort tried in vain to keep matters straight. At one time he withdrew from England altogether, because it was impossible to work with the duke. Bedford even got out of patience with his brother, and the poor little king, when only eleven years old, had to beg his uncles to be reconciled. After Henry was crowned in 1429 Gloucester's control came to an end, and Beaufort, who was now a cardinal, had great influence in the state till he died in 1447.

Quarrels of Gloucester and Beaufort.

During this time Parliament was becoming weaker, and the king's Privy Council more powerful. One reason of this was, that in the eighth year of Henry VI.'s reign the *franchise* or power of voting for knights of the shire was no longer given to all who attended the county court at which the election was held, but was restricted to freeholders of land or houses worth forty

Decline of Parliament.

shillings (between twenty and thirty pounds of our money), while the borough elections were gradually getting into the hands of a "select body" of burgesses, and were very much governed by the sheriffs, so that the king and leading men could easily influence them. Thus the House of Commons became little more than an instrument of the ministers, and when these quarrelled among themselves the members even came armed to Parliament. One Parliament in 1425 was called the "Parliament of bats," because the members, being forbidden to bring arms, brought cudgels or bats in their sleeves. Lastly, in 1437, the king for the first time chose his council himself, instead of allowing Parliament to do so, and this really gave the power into his hands.

Parliament of the "Bats."

Not, however, really into his *own* hands, for Henry, who came of age in 1442, had no will of his own. Pure-minded, patient, humble, merciful, and generous, he was nevertheless weak both in body and mind. On his mother's side, he was the grandson of poor mad Charles VI. of France, and during the last part of his life had frequent attacks of insanity. He took great interest in Eton School, and King's College, Cambridge, both of which he founded, and he tried hard to fulfil his official duties, striving to keep the peace between his advisers; but in all State matters he was driven hither and thither by people stronger than himself.

Character of Henry VI.

After he married Margaret of Anjou in 1445 she chiefly ruled him, and her favourite ministers were first the Duke of Suffolk and afterwards the Earl of Somerset. When the war began to go badly for England, Gloucester wished to try and recover what was lost, but Margaret, being French, naturally wished for peace. In 1447 Gloucester was charged with high treason, and five days after was found dead in his bed, probably murdered. Suffolk now had the chief power, and used it well, but secret enemies raised the cry that he was making a disgraceful peace with France. He too was impeached in 1450 and banished, but he did

Murders of Gloucester and Suffolk, 1447-1450.

not live to reach the continent; he was murdered while crossing the Channel.

Then the people, weary of the heavy taxes, yet angry at the truce with France, and having no strong hand over them, rose in rebellion. A certain Irishman named Jack Cade, who called himself a Mortimer, led a body of 20,000 men out of Kent Surrey, and Sussex on to Blackheath Common, and from there to London. We can see how much better off these people were than those had been who rose under Wat Tyler seventy years before, for they made no complaints of villeinage nor of their wages, but asked for the parliamentary elections to be free, the foreign favourites to be sent away, and for a change of ministry. They entered London and murdered Lord Saye, the treasurer, but were in the end defeated in a battle on London Bridge, and dispersed with pardons. Jack Cade was afterwards killed near Lewes. It was in November of this year that the first Lord Mayor's Show was held at the election of the Lord Mayor.

Jack Cade's rebellion, 1450.

Jack Cade's rebellion made it clear that some strong hand must now take the Government; and a few years later Richard, Duke of York, who had been away in France and Ireland, came to England, and taking the place of Somerset, whom the queen favoured, was made protector in 1454, to rule for the unhappy king, who was out of his mind. This Richard of York had been heir to the throne since Gloucester's death, for he was Henry's nearest relation, until the king's son Edward was born in 1453. Even then, strictly speaking, Richard had in one sense the best claim, for his mother belonged to that elder branch of Mortimer, descended from the Duke of Clarence (*see* table, p. 106), which had always been set aside. But the Lancasters had reigned for three generations, and York at present came forward only to help the king. The next year, when Henry recovered, Margaret persuaded him to send away York and recall Somerset. The loss both of the chance of succession and of influ-

Richard, Duke of York, Protector, 1455.

Battle of St. Albans, May 22, 1455.

ence in the Government was too bitter. York took up arms, and being joined by the Earls of Salisbury, Neville, and Warwick, he defeated the queen's party at St. Albans, where Somerset was killed.

The Wars of the Roses had begun. The Lancastrians, or the queen's party, wore a red rose, which had always been their badge; the Yorkists chose a white rose; and in the struggle that followed, now one, now the other, had the advantage. In 1455 the king was once more insane, and the Duke of York protector. Then when Henry recovered he tried to make peace between the duke and the queen. But Margaret was anxious for her son's rights, and, plotting against York, persuaded the Parliament to pass a "*bill of attainder*," judging him and his friends to be guilty of death as traitors. An attainted person was condemned by Parliament without the usual forms of law, and their family was tainted and deprived of property for ever. Each party during these wars attainted the leaders of the other party when they held the power, and almost as many nobles were killed in this way as in battle. The bill of attainder did not injure York, for he was out of reach in Ireland; and in 1460 he came back with an army, and was victorious in the Battle of Northampton, when Henry VI. was made prisoner and Margaret fled with her son to Scotland.

Wars of the Roses, 1455-1485.

Bills of attainder.

Battle of Northampton, July 1460.

Then the Duke of York laid claim to the throne, and a Parliament which met that autumn named him as Henry's successor, setting aside young Edward, Prince of Wales. A battle at Wakefield, however, five months later, reversed all this; the Lancastrians were victorious, the Duke of York was killed, and his son, the Earl of Rutland, murdered after the battle.

Battle of Wakefield, Dec. 24, 1460.

Then Edward, Richard's eldest son, who became Duke of York by his father's death, took up the contest. He defeated the Earl of Pembroke at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, and marched straight to London. Though

the north of England favoured the Lancastrians, the great merchant towns were steady supporters of the house of York. While the Earl of Warwick was attacking the queen, who defeated him and carried Henry VI. off safely to the north, Edward had entered London, and was greeted by the people with the cry, "Long live King Edward." The citizens were tired of Henry's feeble government, and hoped to find rest under a strong king. Two days later the Earl of Warwick arrived in the city, the Yorkist lords assembled, and Edward was declared king on March 4, 1461.

Battle of Mortimer's Cross, 1461.

Edward declared king, 1461.

But he could not wait to enjoy his triumph, for the queen was raising a large army in the north, and thither Edward and Warwick hastened. The two armies met at Towton Field, in Yorkshire, and the bloodiest battle of the whole war took place; 20,000 Lancastrians lay dead on the field, and the Yorkists lost nearly as many, but they gained the victory. Henry and Margaret took refuge in Scotland, many nobles were killed or executed, and Edward returned to London and was crowned at Westminster, June 28, 1461.

Battle of Towton, Mar. 29, 1461

CHAPTER XII.

THE HOUSE OF YORK

Edward IV., 1461–1483. *Richard III.*, 1483–1485.

Edward V., April to July, 1483.

THE next ten years are one long history of skirmishes and battles. Margaret struggled bravely to recover the throne for her husband and son. In 1464, at the Battles of Hedgeley Moor and of Hexham, she was defeated, though she had help from the French and Scots. She fled with her son to Flanders, and King Henry, while hiding in Lancashire, was taken

Henry VI. in the Tower.

prisoner and sent to the Tower, then used as a palace as well as a fortress. There he was kindly but safely kept.

Meanwhile, however, Edward had given great offence to the Earl of Warwick by marrying Elizabeth Woodville, the widow of Sir John Grey. Warwick had hoped to have married the king to some French princess, and so to strengthen his power; or, if that failed, to have given him a daughter of his own. Now Edward had not only married a lady of no great wealth or standing, but he soon began to give important posts to her father, Lord Rivers, and her other relations. Warwick, on his side, married his daughter, Isabella Neville, to the Duke of Clarence, Edward's brother, who was the next heir to the throne, and this displeased the king.

Royal marriages.

About this time a Lancastrian rising took place in the north of England, and spread very widely; in a battle at Edgecote, in Oxfordshire, Edward's party was defeated, and a large number of his nobles, among whom were several of the queen's relations, were killed. He himself, left alone without a protecting army, was for a short time a prisoner in the hands of Archbishop Neville, Warwick's brother. He was, however, allowed to return to London, and soon after he issued a proclamation against Warwick and his own brother Clarence, as traitors, which obliged them to escape to France. There Warwick met the deposed Queen Margaret, and proposed to her that his daughter Anne should be betrothed to her son, Edward of Lancaster, Prince of Wales, and that he would then help Margaret to recover the throne. By this means Warwick hoped to secure the succession for one of his daughters, either Isabella married to Clarence, a Yorkist, or Anne betrothed to the Prince of Wales, a Lancastrian.

Battle of Edgecote, 1469

Warwick joins Margaret.

The queen agreed. Warwick landed at Dartmouth, and Edward IV., finding himself betrayed, fled to Flanders. His queen, Elizabeth Woodville, took refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster, and there her eldest son, afterwards the unfortunate Edward V., was born.

Flight of Edward.

Poor weak Henry was now taken out of the Tower on Oct. 5, 1470, and for six months he reigned again, thus gaining for Warwick the nickname of the "King-maker." But we are now at last nearing the end of the wearisome seesaw of victories and defeats. Edward obtained help from the Duke of Burgundy, who had married his sister, and landing in Yorkshire with a small body of foreign troops, on the same spot where Henry IV. had landed seventy-two years before, was joined by his brother Clarence. They marched to London, where Edward was again received with acclamation. He gave battle to Warwick at Barnet, and Warwick was killed in the fight. Then Margaret gathered all the soldiers she could, and met Edward at Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire. There she too was completely defeated, and her young son, the Prince of Wales, was stabbed to death on the battle-field in the presence of King Edward. A fort-night later Henry VI. died in the Tower, probably mur-dered, and the long struggle was over. Margaret was imprisoned, but was ransomed by her father René in 1475, and returned to France.

Henry VI. reigns again for six months.

Battle of Tewkesbury, May 4, 1471.

At last the country was quiet; though, indeed, all this time, while the nobles and their retainers were destroying each other, the new middle class, the farmers, yeo-men, small landowners, tradespeople, and mer-chants had been progressing. The battles going on did not concern them, but were mere party fights, and the mass of the people took no part in them, although they found it difficult to get redress when their houses were broken into and goods taken, as we learn from some interesting letters written at this time by Margaret Paston, a lady in Norfolk. But on the whole the wealth of the middle class was increasing, and when Edward had finished struggling for his throne, and thought of invading France (which, however, in the end he did not do, but turned back on receiving an annual pension from the French king), he found plenty of rich merchants and others from

Progress of middle class.



PRINTING PRESS, 1511.

Title-page "Hegesippus," printed by Jodocus Badius Ascensius, Paris, 1511.

Face page 123.

whom he could obtain money under the name of a *benevolence* or present, showing that there was no want of money. These benevolences were given willingly at first, for the citizens welcomed a peaceful Government, but after a time they became a grievance. On the whole, however, the country flourished, in spite of a terrible attack of a plague called Sweating Sickness, of which a large number of people died in 1479. Benevolences.

As Edward had secured an income for life early in his reign, he only summoned Parliament once during eight years, and the power of the king and the council was almost without any check. The king, who led an immoral and dissolute life, began, as Richard II. had done, to be very exacting, and to govern with an iron rule. Still he was popular, and by sacrificing all those who opposed him he managed to keep peace. But he bought it dearly, for his fear of treason led him to cause his own brother, the Duke of Clarence, to be impeached and put to death in the Tower, Feb. 18, 1478; drowned, it is said, in a butt of Malmsey wine. Execution of Clarence, 1478.

Meanwhile, in a small corner of the Sanctuary at Westminster, where stood a chapel and some almshouses, a man was doing a greater work than the king and his nobles with their quarrels; nay, even perhaps than the merchants and craftsmen in the city. This was William Caxton, who as a boy had gone from Kent to Flanders, where he spent thirty years, and brought back with him to England in 1476 the first printing-press. The history of the rise of printing abroad, and how wood-blocks, used for printing block-books, were gradually replaced by movable type, is a long one. But all this was done when Caxton began his printing in England. Before 1476 all new copies of books made in this country had to be written out by hand, and we can imagine how rare and costly they were. But now in his quiet corner Caxton, under the patronage of King Edward, and Richard, Duke of Gloucester, printed many books of poetry, while he earned his daily bread by print- Caxton and his printing-press, 1476.

ing "service-books for the priests, sermons for the preachers, and histories of chivalry for the knights and barons." The *Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers* was the first book he printed in England in 1477, and Chaucer's works and the romance of the Saxon hero Arthur, the *Morte d'Arthur*, followed. Besides this he translated and printed many foreign works, such as the story of *Reynard the Fox* and the *History of Troy*. But more important than the actual books he produced was the fact that when he died, about 1491, the art of printing, which has worked such wonderful changes in the world, was established in England.

Before that time, however, troubles had again broken out. On April 9, 1483, Edward IV. died, leaving two young sons, Edward, Prince of Wales, aged thirteen, and his brother Richard, Duke of York, aged ten, and over these two poor little boys another struggle began.

Edward V., April to June, 1483.

When the king died there were two parties ready at once to bid for power, the queen and her relations on the one hand, and the king's brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, on the other. The Prince of Wales was at Ludlow under the guardianship of his mother's brother, Lord Rivers, and his own half-brother, Sir Richard Grey. The queen, who was at Westminster, claimed that the Council should make her guardian of her son and the realm; but they wished Richard to be protector, and sent for him from York, where he was governing as lord-lieutenant. Richard seems to have determined at once to crush the queen's party. On his road he and the Duke of Buckingham met Rivers and Grey, who were coming to London with the young prince, arrested them, and sent them to Pontefract Castle in Yorkshire. Richard then told the young prince that his uncle and half-brother had conspired to betray him and seize the Government. The poor boy burst into tears and defended his friends, but it was of no avail; he never saw them again.

Arrest of Rivers and Grey.

When the queen heard that her brother had been

arrested she was alarmed, and fled with her younger boy and her daughters to the sanctuary of Westminster Abbey; and on May 4, when the young king and the dukes entered London, Richard was appointed protector, chiefly through the influence of Lord Hastings, one of the new nobility, who was opposed to the queen. Edward V. was at first lodged in the Bishop of London's palace at St. Paul's, but was soon moved to the palace of the Tower, and unfortunately the queen was persuaded to allow the Duke of York to join him.

Richard appointed protector, May 4.

So far all is clear. But now it becomes very difficult to say whether Richard intended from the first to seize the crown, or began by defending himself against the plots going on all around him, and then was led on by ambition. He was not by any means so repulsive-looking or unpleasing as his enemies have described him. Delicate and slightly deformed in one shoulder, he had a thoughtful but nervous expression, pleasing manners, and intellectual habits. No doubt he was crafty and unscrupulous, but he had always been true to his brother Edward when he was alive, and we may hope that he did not in the beginning plan the crimes he afterwards committed.

Character of Richard.

A month passed. The queen's party were intriguing and watching their opportunity, and Lord Hastings appears to have changed sides, thinking that Richard was taking too much upon himself. Suddenly, on June 13, Richard, entering the Council Chamber, accused Hastings of conspiring against him, and without allowing him to defend himself, called in a body of armed men and caused him to be beheaded on a log of timber on Tower Green before noon. Nine days later a preacher at St. Paul's Cross, and the Duke of Buckingham in Guildhall, pretended to the people that Elizabeth Woodville was not Edward IV.'s legal wife, because he had been betrothed to another lady before he married her, and that therefore the princes were illegitimate, and not true heirs to the crown. Even then, how-

Execution of Lord Hastings, June 13.

ever, the young Earl of Warwick, son of Clarence, stood between Richard and the throne, but he was set aside because his father had been attainted. On the 25th a body of Lords and Commons, with the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, offered Richard the crown, and on the 26th he entered Westminster Hall and took his place in the marble chair as Richard III. A few days later Earl Rivers and Sir Richard Grey were executed at Pontefract. This closed the reign of Edward V.

The princes declared bastards.

Richard III., 1483–1485.

But the sad end had not yet come. Richard was crowned on July 6, 1483, with all the pomp which had been prepared for his nephew. Then he set out with his queen for the north of England, where he had always been a great favourite. While he was gone the Duke of Buckingham seems to have repented having helped him to seize the throne, and the people began to murmur at the imprisonment of the young princes. Soon the report spread far and wide that they had been murdered in the Tower. Yet people refused to believe that such a horrible deed could have been committed, and expected Richard to produce them and clear his fame. He never did. Nearly two hundred years afterwards, in the reign of Charles II., the bodies of two boys of the ages of the young princes were found under the staircase of the White Tower, and were moved to Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey. Though we know nothing certainly, there can be little doubt that Sir James Tyrrel told the truth when he confessed that the boys were smothered in their beds by Richard's order, and buried under the stairs.

Report of the murder of the princes.

From this time Richard's peace of mind was gone. Not only did he suffer from remorse, so that his attendants said that he started and cried aloud in his dreams, but the horrid deed he had committed gave his enemies a hold over him. He governed well during the two years of his short reign. He passed good laws for the protection of

commerce, and was the first to establish a protection for the English in foreign countries, by appointing a Florentine merchant to act as what we should call "*consul*" for the English inhabitants of Pisa. He was also the first to employ regular couriers to run with letters from the North of England, a kind of primitive post; and he passed a law against the "benevolences" which Edward IV. had imposed. Added to this, he promoted printing and the sale of books. But he knew that he was hated, and that plots were afloat to destroy him.

Improvements in Richard's reign

The Duke of Buckingham, who now was quite opposed to Richard, had at first thought of claiming the crown for himself, being of royal descent. But he soon saw it would be wiser to support the claims of Henry Tudor, Duke of Richmond, whom the Lancastrians invited over from abroad; while the Yorkists, hating Richard, proposed that Tudor should marry Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and so unite the two parties. To understand who this Henry Tudor was, we must go back a century to the sons of Edward III. (*see* table, p. 106), for *his mother, Margaret Beaufort, was the great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Catharine Swynford.* It was a long way back to go for a title, and even then it was but a poor one, for the Beauforts had only been made legitimate by Richard II., while Henry Tudor's father was merely a Welsh gentleman, the son of Owen Tudor who married Katharine of France, the widow of Henry V. (*see* table, p. 130). It shows how eager the English were to be rid of Richard that they were willing to accept Henry of Richmond.

Henry Tudor invited to England.

The first attempt was a failure. Richard was on the watch, and Buckingham was arrested and beheaded, Nov. 2, 1483. For two years longer Richard reigned, losing his son and heir in 1484. A year later, on Aug. 7, 1485, Henry of Richmond landed at Milford Haven, in Pembrokeshire, with barely two thousand men, and marched forward, his forces increasing rapidly as he went. Richard

Landing of Henry of Richmond, Aug. 7, 1485.

scarcely believed in the danger, but he advanced to Leicester, and the two armies met at Market Bosworth, outside the town. The battle had scarcely begun when Lord Stanley left Richard and joined the enemy with all his followers, and a second body went over with Earl Percy of Northumberland. Richard saw all hope was over. He was no coward, and dashing into the thick of the battle with a cry of "Treason, treason," he died fighting. His crown was found under a hawthorn bush, and was placed on Henry's head. The Wars of the Roses, with all their deeds of bloodshed, treachery, and murder, were over. Henry of Richmond soon after married Elizabeth of York, Edward IV.'s daughter, and while he thus gained a firm title to the crown, he united the two rival houses of Lancaster and York.

Battle of Bosworth Field, Aug. 22, 1485

End of Wars of the Roses.

The conclusion of the Wars of the Roses brings us to the end of MEDIEVAL HISTORY, or the HISTORY OF THE MIDDLE AGES, in England. Throughout those ages the nobles had been very powerful, and the king had been, as it were, their chief, often controlled both by the *bishops* or peers of the Church and the *barons* or peers of the realm. Moreover, England had been during this time scarcely more than part of the continent. The nobles of England and France were often near relations and, whether at war or at peace, they belonged to one great family of knighthood under one bond of chivalry. The Church, too, was one from Rome to England; our learned men and clergy were often foreigners or educated abroad; our most powerful body of merchants in London was the "Hanseatic League," of Germans from the shores of the Baltic; and it had been a constant complaint of English people that foreigners held the highest posts in the courts of the English kings.

Close relations of England and the continent in the middle ages.

But now already for some time the old ties were gradually loosening. For the last fifty years the old

nobility were being destroyed, some in the Hundred Years' War, but by far the larger number in the Wars of the Roses. In these civil wars no less than eighty princes of royal blood alone were killed; and when, as so often happened, a noble was attainted his estates passed to the king. When Henry VII. came to the throne there were only twenty-seven dukes, earls, viscounts, and barons in his first Parliament; and though, no doubt, some were absent because they did not acknowledge him, yet even among these twenty-seven several were newly-created nobles.

Destruction of the old nobility.

Some of these were, it is true, very powerful, owing to a custom called *maintenance*, by which a nobleman gave liveries and badges to the yeomen and gentlemen of his neighbourhood who fought for him while he protected them. But the day of these powerful nobles was nearly over. The use of gunpowder, which had now become common, put a new power into the king's hands, for he and his ministers had the control of the cannon, and the arsenal where ammunition was kept; and a single train of artillery would soon disperse the archers and pikemen of the nobles and destroy their castles.

Custom of maintenance.

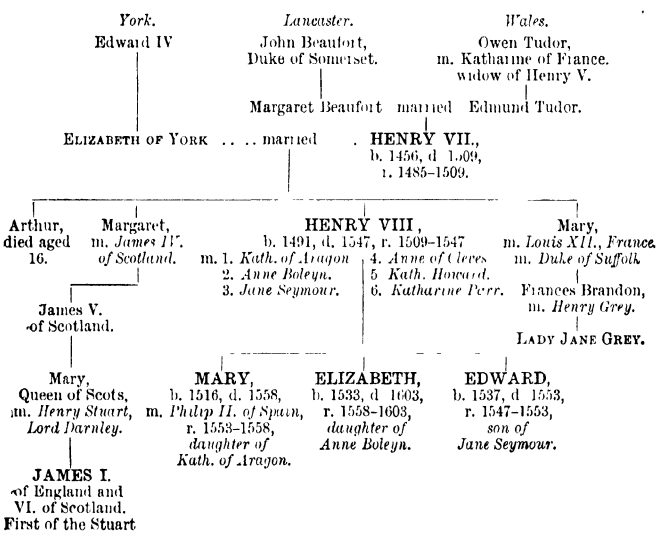
Meanwhile the gentry and middle class of England were increasing in wealth and importance, and those who held good positions because they were rich, or of use in the Government, were more obedient to the king than the ancient haughty nobility, and cared more for peace and commerce than for foreign wars. So we find that one of the chief differences between the middle ages and modern times is, that the old barons cared more for war and chivalry abroad, the new aristocracy for personal freedom, commerce, knowledge, art and science at home. We pass from one to the other as we enter on the reign of Henry VII., and he was in many ways the right man to pave the way for the beginning of a new state of things.

Transition from middle ages to modern times.

PART V.

STRONG GOVERNMENT OF THE TUDORS

SOVEREIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF TUDOR



CHAPTER XIII.

HOUSE OF TUDOR—THE REFORMATION

Henry VII., 1485–1509.

Henry VIII., 1509–1547.

THE reign of Henry VII. begins a new epoch in our history. He was crowned at Westminster, Oct. 30, 1485, and the next year he married Elizabeth of York, thus uniting the two rival houses. He was a lean, spare man, with an intellectual countenance, gray eyes, and a bright, cheerful expression. On his mother's side he was descended from the Beauforts, a family of wise and famous statesmen, and he inherited their talent. From his French grandmother he inherited tact and diplomatic skill, and during his exile in France he had learned to understand foreign politics. Now his chief aim was to keep peace at home and abroad, that he might accumulate wealth and establish a strong monarchy.

Appearance and character of Henry VII.

Parliament settled the crown upon him and his heirs, and even Wales was satisfied, since the king's father was a Welshman. But the Yorkists were still very restless, because they were only represented by the king's wife; and with the help of Margaret of Burgundy, Edward IV.'s sister, and James IV. of Scotland, they actually set up two impostors, one after the other, to claim the throne. There was a real heir of the house of York still alive —young Edward, Earl of Warwick, son of that Duke of Clarence who was drowned in the butt of Malmsey—and Henry had taken the precaution to

Crown settled on Henry's heirs.

Yorkist rebellions.

keep him in the Tower. But in 1487 a sham Earl of Warwick appeared in Ireland, and being supported by the Earl of Kildare, was actually crowned in Dublin Cathedral.

Lambert Simnel, 1487.

Henry soon put down the imposture by showing the real earl to the people of London, and defeating the army of the pretended earl at Stoke, near Newark, June 1487. He proved to be a lad named Lambert Simnel, the son of a joiner at Oxford, and he became a scullion in the king's kitchen.

This rebellion turned Henry's attention to Ireland, where for many years the English, who lived on a strip of land along the coast called the "Pale," were constantly fighting among themselves and with the Irish chieftains in the interior of the island, and passed what laws they chose in their own Parliament. In 1494 Henry sent Sir Henry Poynings, an able soldier, to make another attempt to settle the country. Poynings established English judges and other officers, sent the rebel Kildare to England, and passed an Act that English laws should apply to Ireland, and that the Parliament of the Pale should not make any new law without the consent of the king's council. Then Kildare, who promised to be loyal, was allowed to return as lord deputy, and govern the country.

State of Ireland.

Poynings' Act, 1494.

Another effect of Simnel's rebellion was that Henry made haste to have Elizabeth crowned queen, hoping in this way to quiet the Yorkists. He next chose a committee out of the Privy Council, with authority to examine and punish the numerous powerful offenders whom the law-courts were afraid to touch. This committee was afterwards merged into the Star Chamber Court, which answered to the old personal council through which the king exercised a right of independent justice. In future reigns it became very hurtful, but at this time it was of great use in restoring order by putting down riotous assemblies and attempts at rebellion with a strong hand. By means of it Henry abolished the custom of "maintenance" (*see* p. 129), which had enabled the lords

Court of the Star Chamber.

to oppress the people, overawe the judges, and control the elections of the sheriffs. He was determined to be master of the great lords, and now there were not so many, he was able to deal with them.

Meanwhile another conspiracy was brewing. A young man, called Perkin Warbeck, who proved afterwards to be a native of Tournay, pretended that he was Richard, Duke of York, the younger of the two little princes in the Tower, and that he had escaped when his brother Edward V. was murdered. He persuaded the King of France and Margaret of Burgundy to acknowledge him, and was not only received at the foreign courts, but, after failing in Ireland, he went to Scotland, where James IV. married him to his own cousin Catharine Gordon, and helped him to invade England in 1496. The invasion was defeated, however, by the Earl of Surrey, and then Perkin went back to Ireland, and crossed over to Cornwall, where the people had revolted against the heavy taxes. There he raised an army and marched to Exeter, but meeting the king's troops at Taunton, he lost courage, and fled to the Abbey of Beaulieu, where he was taken prisoner, and sent to the Tower in 1497.

Perkin Warbeck, 1492-1497.

Perkin sent to the Tower, 1497.

These conspiracies, though they gave the king some trouble, had very little effect on the country, in which much more serious changes were going on. Henry, with the help of his able minister Archbishop Morton, was heaping up wealth in his treasury. Any lords who broke the law by keeping too many retainers were heavily fined. The Earl of Oxford is said to have been obliged to pay £15,000 for making too great a show of liveries when the king visited him. The "benevolences," which Richard had abolished, were again collected, and Henry took advantage of the confusion which had grown up in the civil wars to claim many money arrears due to the crown, and to take possession of estates of many landowners who had not a good title to show for them. Thus he gained two things;

Henry extorts money.

he weakened those who were too powerful and filled his own treasury. He even made use of the old claim to the crown of France, and obtained a large sum of money from the French king for withdrawing his troops from Boulogne. In this and other ways he collected large sums of money, and as he spent little or nothing on foreign wars, he left nearly two millions when he died for his son to spend. Unfortunately much of this wealth was gained by unjust extortion, and two lawyers, named Empson and Dudley, who did the king's dirty work, were much hated by the people. But Henry gained another advantage. By getting his money in this way, he was not dependent on Parliament, which was only called once during the last thirteen years of his reign, so that he was almost an absolute king.

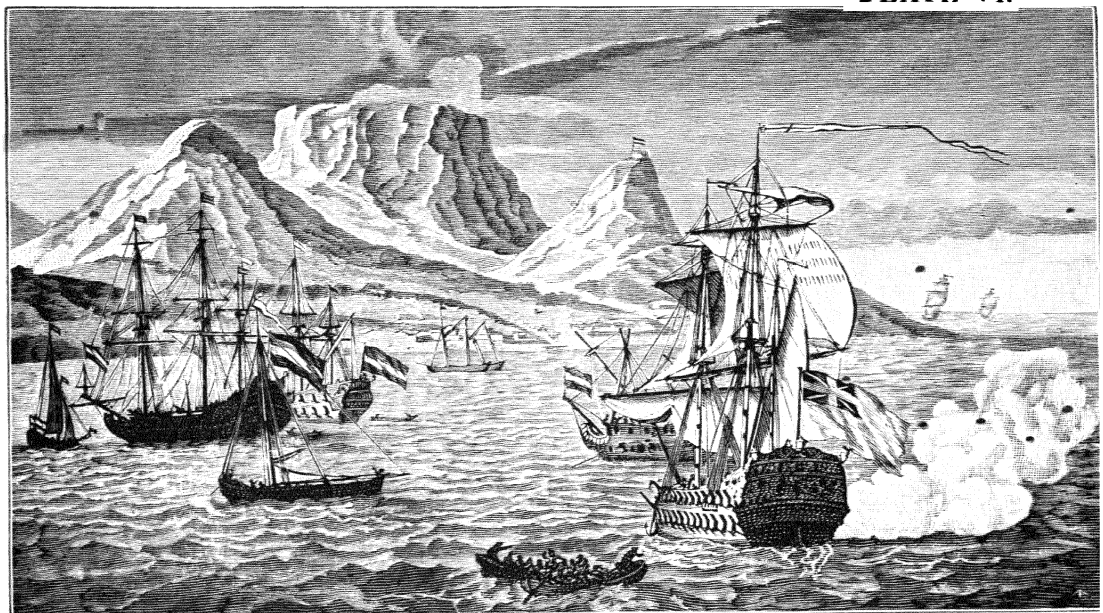
Governs without Parliament.

His next ambition was to secure peace with foreign countries, and in this he showed much cleverness. The great rivals in Europe were Charles VIII. and his successor Louis XII., Kings of France, and Ferdinand, King of Aragon. Now that France was so powerful it was important for England to have an ally against her, especially as the French were always ready to help the Scots. Ferdinand was equally anxious to have the support of England, so in 1501 a marriage was arranged between Henry's eldest son Arthur, Prince of Wales, and Katharine of Aragon, Ferdinand's daughter. Before the marriage took place the young Earl of Warwick and Perkin Warbeck were executed, on the ground that they had tried to escape from the Tower, but probably because Ferdinand insisted that all rivals to the throne should be removed. The next year Henry also married his daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland, and thus secured the friendship of that country.

Marriage of Arthur with Katharine of Aragon.

Margaret marries James IV. of Scotland.

Unfortunately Prince Arthur died three months after the Spanish marriage. What was to become of Katharine? Both Ferdinand and Henry were unwilling to break the alliance, so it was agreed that, as she had



CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.
From an early Print.

Face page 135.

been only formally married to Arthur, she should stay in England to marry his brother, the king's second son, afterwards Henry VIII. A dispensation was obtained from the Pope, and Henry, still only a boy, was betrothed to his brother's widow, a woman six years older than himself. We shall see by and by what unforeseen consequences grew out of this unnatural marriage.

Henry, Prince of Wales, marries his brother's widow.

While the monarchs of Europe were trying in this way to strengthen their power by royal marriages, some adventurous men were making new discoveries, which were in the end to be very important to the whole world. In the year 1492 Christopher Columbus, a native of Genoa, tried to find his way to India across the Atlantic, and discovered those islands off the American coast which he called the West Indies. A few years later, in 1497–1498, a Portuguese, named Vasco de Gama, discovered the sea-route to India round the Cape of Good Hope; and that same year Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, sailed from Bristol with leave from Henry VII. to explore the north-western seas, where he had been with his father the year before. Sailing up the coast of Labrador, and among the icebergs where the Polar bears were feeding, he opened up the cod-fisheries of Newfoundland.

Discoveries of Columbus, 1492.

Vasco de Gama and Cabot, 1497-1498.

Side by side with these discoveries, new learning was coming to England from Italy. In 1453 Constantinople was taken by the Turks, and many learned Greeks fled into Italy, bringing Greek literature to the people of the west. This new knowledge, and the spread of printed books, led men to study the Greek philosophers and the Greek Testament, whereas before this even the priests had only read the Vulgate or Latin version of the Bible. In 1496 Colet, an English priest who had visited Italy, delivered a course of lectures in Oxford full of new thoughts. In 1497 Erasmus, the Dutchman, a famous Greek scholar and a great reformer, visited England for the first time; while Sir Thomas More,

The new learning, 1496.

the great English lawyer and friend of these men, wrote in 1504 his life of Edward V., the first work published in modern English prose. The universities were full of new stirring life, and Luther had just begun to lecture in Germany when Henry VII. died in the palace he had built at Richmond, and was buried in the beautiful chapel which bears his name in Westminster Abbey. He left three children—Margaret, wife of James IV. of Scotland; Mary, who afterwards married Louis XII. of France; and Henry, a handsome youth of eighteen, whose reign was to be an eventful one for our country.

Death of Henry VII., April 21, 1509

Henry VIII., 1509–1547.

All England was pleased when Henry VIII. became king. He had in his veins the blood of both York and Lancaster. He was hearty and affable, with a kind word and jest for every one, and a generous disposition which seemed to promise he would not be grasping like his father. He had been well educated for, while his elder brother lived, it had been intended that Henry should become Archbishop of Canterbury. He was an excellent musician and an admirable horseman and wrestler. Though he had a strong will, and was extremely vain, yet he had plenty of sense, and wished to be popular with his people, who never entirely ceased to love "Bluff King Hal" in spite of the many wrong things he did. His chief fault was a monstrous selfishness. To gain anything he wanted, or to keep up his popularity, he relentlessly sacrificed those who had served him most faithfully; and as the love of self, if indulged, increases with age, he became, in the latter part of his life, a coarse, brutal tyrant, only kept in check by his dread of unpopularity.

Character of Henry VIII.

He married his betrothed, Katharine of Aragon, soon after his father's death, and was crowned with his queen on June 24, 1509. One of his first acts was to order the prosecution of Empson and Dudley, who were put to death. Then he turned his attention to the ships of England.

As yet he possessed only one ship of war, the *Great Harry*, built in his father's reign; but in 1511 a large ship, *The Lion*, was captured from the Scots; and the next year another, *The Regent*, was built, carrying 1000 tons. This was destroyed by the French, but a larger one, *Henry Grace de Dieu*, was built in its place, and many others followed. Besides this the king founded the first Navy Office, and in 1513 the corporation of the Trinity House, which has done so much good work in erecting beacons and lighthouses, licensing pilots, framing laws for shipping, and placing buoys in dangerous spots. When it is added that he established dockyards at Deptford, Woolwich, and Portsmouth, we see that Henry has a claim to be called the founder of our modern navy.

Henry VIII. the creator of our modern navy.

With less wisdom he plunged into foreign wars, joining the Holy League formed by Spain and Germany, to protect the Pope's dominions against France. The war was very costly, and the English only gained the town of Tournay in Flanders, which was won in the "Battle of the Spurs," so called because the French soldiers were seized with a panic. In 1514 peace was made with France, and Henry's youngest sister Mary was married to Louis XII. Three months later Louis died, and his son, Francis I., became King of France.

Battle of the Spurs, Aug. 16, 1513.

Francis I. King of France, 1514.

Meanwhile the Scots, who were always friendly with France, had attacked England in 1513, and Henry being away, the Earl of Surrey met and defeated them at the famous Battle of Flodden, where James IV. was killed. Margaret, Henry's sister, was now left as Regent of Scotland, her little son, James V., being only two years old. For many years the Scotch nobles were too busy quarrelling among themselves to annoy England, but twenty-seven years later, towards the end of Henry's reign, this young James V. again attacked England, and was defeated in the Battle of Solway Moss, Nov. 25, 1542, and died of grief. He left a baby daughter, the unfortunate Mary, Queen of the Scots.

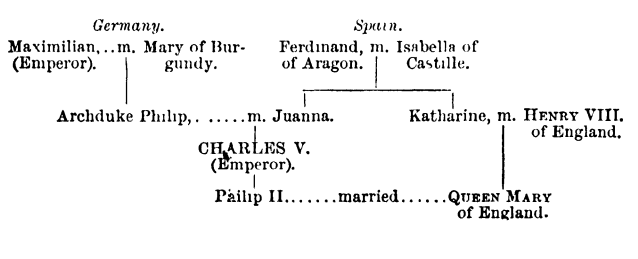
Battle of Flodden, Sept. 9, 1513.

Battle of Solway Moss, 1542.

And now we must keep our attention alive to follow the changes which took place, for Henry VIII.'s reign is like a play acted in the theatre, as one man or woman after another influenced the king for a time, and then gave place to a rival. The first and most powerful of these was a young man named Wolsey, son of a wealthy citizen of Ipswich. He had been chaplain to Henry VII., and was very useful to Henry VIII. in France. As soon as they returned to England the king made him Archbishop of York and chancellor, and the Pope afterwards created him cardinal and papal legate. This gave him great power. As chancellor he was chief officer of the state; as legate, he had the highest authority in the Church, even over the Archbishop of Canterbury. Wolsey was an able, enlightened man. He encouraged learning, and founded Christ Church College, Oxford, and he was very skilful in foreign politics. Unfortunately, though he devoted all his energy to the government of the country, he was not single-minded. He was too anxious to strengthen the power of the king and to gain honour and wealth for himself. He raised money by benevolences and forced loans, and used the law-courts to wring fines from the people; and while he filled the king's treasury, he grew rich himself on presents from Henry, so that he was able to build the magnificent palaces of Hampton Court and York House (afterwards Whitehall) for his own residences.

Administration of Wolsey, 1515-1529.

He did not, however, get all this wealth from England. The greatest ruler in Europe was now the Emperor Charles V., who had succeeded his maternal grandfather Ferdinand as King of Spain, and had been elected Emperor of Germany



after the death of his paternal grandfather Maximilian, while he inherited the Netherlands from his father's mother, Mary of Burgundy. This powerful emperor was the nephew of Henry's queen Katharine, and both he and Francis I. of France were very anxious to get the support of England. Wolsey took presents from both, and played them off one against the other. In 1520 Charles V. visited the king at Canterbury. A few months later Francis invited Henry to meet him in France, and the two kings entertained each other with tournaments and feasts at Guisnes, not far from Boulogne, on the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," so called from the splendour displayed there. Nevertheless, on his way home, Henry met Charles V. again at Gravelines, and two years later helped him to fight against Francis.

Politics of Europe.

Field of the Cloth of Gold, 1520.

The secret of all this was that Henry wanted to balance the power of one monarch against the other, while Wolsey, who wished to be Pope, wanted to side with the one who would help him the best. Charles V. had promised to use his influence, but when two chances had slipped by, Wolsey began to doubt him, and changed sides. In 1525 the emperor took Francis prisoner at the Battle of Pavia in Italy, and was becoming so powerful that Henry and Wolsey were alarmed, and after treating first with one side and then with the other, ended by making an alliance with France. This displeased the English people, for as Charles V. was ruler of the Netherlands, it checked their trade in wool with Flanders. Henry let Wolsey bear all the blame, and as the taxes were also heavy, the cardinal began to be unpopular.

Alliance with France.

It was now proposed to marry Henry's only child, the Princess Mary, to one of the sons of the French king. But the Bishop of Tarbes objected, saying that Mary was illegitimate because Henry had married his brother's widow. This set Henry thinking. He was tired of Katharine; they had been married eighteen years, and her only living child was Mary, while he wanted a son. Moreover he had fallen

Henry seeks a divorce from Katharine.

in love with Anne Boleyn, one of Katharine's maids of honour. So in 1527 he told the Pope, Clement VII., that he felt Katharine was not really his wife, and he ought to be divorced from her. He thought the Pope would support him, for only five years before Henry had written a treatise against the reformer Luther, and Leo X. had given him the title of "Defender of the Faith." But the Pope was afraid of offending Charles V., Katharine's nephew, whose troops had already sacked Rome, and made him a prisoner. He sent a special legate, Cardinal Campeggio, to England, who tried to persuade Katharine to go into a nunnery, but she stood up for her rights and those of her child, so the Pope summoned Henry to Rome to try the question.

Now Wolsey, though he wished to serve the king, did not think it wise for him to marry Anne Boleyn. She knew this, and, as her influence was by this time the strongest, she set Henry against his faithful minister.

Fall of Wolsey, 1529-1530.

Wolsey saw that he was in danger. He hastened to give his handsome palaces to the king, and retired to his archbishopric of York. But there he was so popular that Henry grew still more jealous of him, and a year later he was arrested for high treason. Ill and worn out with work, though only fifty-nine, the cardinal was obliged to pause on his way to London at the Abbey of Leicester. "I come to lay my bones among you," said he to the monks; ". . . had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs," and there he died, Nov. 28, 1530.

His place as chancellor was already filled by Sir Thomas More, a just and good man, who, however, could do little against Henry's will. For six years there had been no

Seven years' Parliament, 1529-1536.

Parliament, because the last one had refused to grant as much money as the king wanted. Now in 1529 a Parliament was summoned, which lasted for seven years, because it was composed of men willing to do the King's bidding. During this Parliament some very important changes were made in England.

Henry's great wish was now to get free from the Pope.

so that he might carry out his divorce, and he found a new and able minister who helped him out of his difficulty. Thomas Cromwell, a man who had formerly been in Wolsey's service, became the king's secretary in 1530, and he reminded Henry of that law of "Præmunire" of Edward III. and Richard II. (*see* pp. 97, 102) which condemned all people to forfeiture and imprisonment who allowed the authority of the court of Rome to interfere with the king or his realm. Wolsey had broken this almost-forgotten law by acting as the Pope's legate, and though the king had allowed it, yet now it was made an accusation against the cardinal and, after his death, against all the clergy for having followed him. The clergy, alarmed lest they should lose their incomes and be imprisoned, fell into the trap. They sent a petition to beg mercy of the king, and in this petition Cromwell made them call Henry "PROTECTOR AND ONLY SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH." Then Parliament, which ever since the days of John had been restless under the Pope's interference, passed two separate Acts in 1533–1534, in which they entirely abolished his authority in England. The first prohibited appeals to Rome, the second forbade the clergy to pay to the Pope any longer the "annates" or first fruits of their livings. So ended the Pope's power in England. An Act was past in 1535, called the "Act of Supremacy," creating Henry Supreme Head of the Church; and the sovereign, with Parliament, has ever since ruled all questions of the Church without foreign interference.

Administration of Thomas Cromwell, 1530-1540.

Henry declared Supreme Head of the Church, 1535.

Meanwhile Henry was able to go on with his divorce. Cranmer, a Cambridge scholar who had already sided with the king, had been made Archbishop of Canterbury, and with the help of a council of bishops, he now declared the marriage with Katharine void. In 1533 Henry married Anne Boleyn, and in September of that year Princess Elizabeth was born.

Divorce of Katharine and marriage with Anne Boleyn, 1533.

From this time Henry, freed from Wolsey's control, and

complete master of Church and state, followed his own will and the guidance of Cromwell, who was a hard, stern man, anxious to increase the king's power. Cromwell had spies all over the kingdom, and spared no one who stood in his way. Yet it is but just to say that he devoted himself to governing the country, and did not even enrich himself as Wolsey had done. It was under his rule that Wales was at last made entirely one with England, having English laws and liberty.

Wales under English law, 1536.

But, on the other hand, it was he who caused the infamous law to be passed forbidding people accused of high treason to be heard in their own defence. Strange to say, when he fell he was the first to suffer under this law.

Law of high treason.

As soon as Henry's marriage was declared, two Acts were passed, one setting aside Princess Mary and settling the succession on Anne's children; the other making it treason to deny the Act of Supremacy. As a man might be called upon at any time to swear to these Acts, many suffered for conscience sake. One of the first was Henry's best friend and councillor, Sir Thomas More, who was much respected for his uprightness and learning, and his simple, honest character. Yet the king pressed him so hard, he was obliged to acknowledge that he did not approve of the divorce, nor of the way it had been brought about; both he and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, were sent to the Tower and executed. More died cheerfully, as he had lived. "See me safe up," he said to the governor of the Tower, as the scaffold ladder trembled; "coming down I can take care of myself." And he moved his beard aside on the block. "Pity that should be cut," said he, "that has not committed treason."

Sir Thomas More.

This was a sad time for England, for everything was unsettled. For some time past the poor had been suffering. The new men who had taken the land of the old nobles were able to make more money by grazing sheep than by growing corn, so that less land was under cultivation and less labour was employed.

State of the people.

Many tenants and labourers were turned out of their homes; even much of the common land, over which their animals used to graze, was now enclosed for the benefit of the rich. Besides these, the retainers of the old nobility were thrown out of service, causing a great increase of paupers and vagabonds, so that many men gained their livelihood by robbery and murder.

Added to this, men's minds were much unsettled about religion. The old ties were broken, and new ones were not yet formed. People in England were much moved by the great events happening in Germany and Switzerland, where Luther and his fellow-reformer, Zwingli, were *protesting* against many things done by the Pope and priests, and taking the Bible for their guide instead of the teaching of the Church. Those who followed this new teaching were first called *Protestants* in 1529, and among them were many German princes. Now Henry had no wish to bring the reformed religion into England, for he himself had answered Luther; but having thrown off the power of the Pope, he had set a great movement going which he could not stop. Under Cromwell and Cranmer a series of articles of religion were drawn up, the worship of images and relics was forbidden, and Tyndale's translation of the Bible, corrected by Miles Coverdale, was published and put in all the churches. The friends of the new learning, and those who remembered the teaching of Wiclif and the Lollards, were pleased with these changes, and this made it more easy for Cromwell to carry out a plan he had in his mind and to abolish the monasteries.

Luther and Zwingli.

Religious changes in England.

We have seen how much good the monks did in olden times among the uncivilised English: but as the monasteries grew wealthy, and there was less real work to be done, indolence and self-indulgence had crept in among them, and many of the smaller monasteries were very lax both in discipline and morals. Wolsey had already, with the Pope's sanction, suppressed some monasteries and built colleges instead. Cromwell, who

Destruction of the monasteries, 1536, 1539.

wanted money for the king, went farther, and, with the help of Cranmer, put down these retreats altogether, the smaller monasteries in 1536, the larger ones in 1539. The monks and nuns were dispersed, sometimes with small pensions, sometimes without. Part of the remaining money went to build ships and endow cathedral chapters and bishopries, and to found Trinity College, Cambridge; but most of it went to the king, while the land was either given to the nobles or bought by them for very little. All this was not done without tumults, although Cromwell ruled with an iron hand, and the monks made no resistance.

Meanwhile Henry had already taken a new wife. In 1536 (a few months after Queen Katharine died in her solitary palace) he accused Anne Boleyn of being unfaithful to him, and of having several lovers. She was tried and beheaded on May 19, 1536. The next day Henry married Jane Seymour, one of the ladies in waiting, and Princess Elizabeth was declared illegitimate, as her half-sister Mary had been before her.

Execution of Anne Boleyn, and marriage with Jane Seymour, 1536.

Such injustice and gross want of feeling could not fail to shock the nation. In the north of England the people were already restless from want of work and from the sudden destruction of the monasteries, besides hating the new religion; and now a serious rebellion broke out, in which both nobles and peasants joined. They demanded that Mary should be heir to the throne, that the old religion should be restored, and that Cromwell should be dismissed. But the minister was too strong for them. Through his spies he knew all their plans, and after making many promises, he dispersed the rioters. A few months later he arrested the ringleaders of this "Pilgrimage of Grace," as it was called, and many of the northern nobles were executed. About the same time Cromwell repressed another rebellion in the west of England, where he arrested the Marquis of Exeter, a grandson of Edward IV., and the old Countess of Salisbury, Margaret Plantagenet, who were both afterwards beheaded.

Rebellions in the north and west.

Meanwhile, at last, a young prince was born. On Oct. 12, 1537, Jane Seymour gave birth to a son, who was named Edward, and two hours after she died. There were now two parties in the State. One was the party of the *Protestant* or new religion, headed by the Earl of Hertford, Jane Seymour's brother and Edward's uncle, and to this party Cromwell inclined. The other party held to the *Catholic* or old religion, and was headed by the Duke of Norfolk and his son the Earl of Surrey, who belonged to the old nobility. Cromwell, anxious to make a league with the Protestant princes of Germany, chose a Protestant princess, Anne of Cleves, for Henry's next wife. Unfortunately she was plain and awkward, and Henry liked her so little that he put her away after six months. This ruined Cromwell. Henry was so angry with him for having placed him in a false position that he caused him to be arrested on June 10, 1540, in the Council Chamber, where all the lords hated him. Cromwell flung his cap on the ground. "This then," he exclaimed, "is the guerdon for the services I have done. On your consciences I ask you, am I a traitor?" Then when he received no answer, "Make quick work," said he, "and do not leave me to languish in prison." He was attainted in Parliament a few days later, without being allowed to speak in his own defence, and executed on Tower Hill, July 28, 1540.

Birth of Prince Edward, Oct. 12, 1537.

Marriage and separation of Anne of Cleves, 1540.

Execution of Cromwell, July 28, 1540.

On the very day that his faithful minister suffered, Henry married his fifth wife, Katharine Howard, niece of the Duke of Norfolk. He had already begun to be afraid that he had gone too far towards the Reformation, and now leant towards the supporters of the old religion. He caused Parliament to pass a bill against the Protestants; and two days after Cromwell's death, the curious sight was seen of six men carried in a cart to execution—three Catholics for denying the Supremacy, and three Protestants as heretics. In the year 1541 Henry first took the title of King of

Marriage with Katharine Howard, 1540.

Ireland instead of "Lord," which had been the title ever since the time of Henry II. His marriage with Katharine Howard did not last long, for it was discovered that she had had a sad early life, which, though she was much to be pitied, made her unfit to be the king's wife. She was beheaded, Feb. 12, 1542, and the next year Henry married Katharine Parr, who outlived him.

Execution of Katharine Howard, 1542.

The king was now getting anxious about the future of his little son Edward. He had tried to betroth him to the baby Mary Queen of Scots, after the death of her father in 1542 (*see* p. 137). But he did not succeed, and wars both with Scotland and France dragged on, by the last of which Henry gained the town of Boulogne. He now selected a council, composed of men of both opinions, to govern after his death till his son should be of age. Among these was the Earl of Hertford, Edward's uncle, who about this time began to have great influence over the king, and with help of Cranmer the Protestant party succeeded in introducing an English liturgy (or service), composed of the Litany, Creed, Commandments, and Lord's Prayer, to be read every morning and evening instead of the Latin service.

English liturgy introduced.

Hertford was much afraid of the influence of the Duke of Norfolk, and he persuaded the king that the duke meant to seize the regency, and this caused Henry to perform his last cruel act. He put the duke in the Tower, and executed his son, the Earl of Surrey. It is said that he had even fixed the day for Norfolk's execution, when his own death stayed the power of his hand. He had long been growing unwieldy and infirm, and he died on Jan. 28, 1547.

When we remember how much England owes to Henry's reign, it is sad to feel how little we can respect him as a man. By his will Edward was to succeed him, and if he had no children, then Mary, and after her Elizabeth. If they all three died without issue, then the crown was to pass to the children of his

Act of Succession.

younger sister Mary, the widow of Louis XII., who had married the Duke of Suffolk. Thus we see Henry set aside Mary Queen of Scots, the grandchild of his eldest sister Margaret. This "Act of Succession," in which the king left his crown by will, shows what a change had now grown up since the early days when the people elected their own king.

CHAPTER XIV.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO RELIGIONS

Edward VI., 1547–1553. | *Mary*, 1553–1558.

THE next two reigns, which lasted altogether only eleven years, were one continued struggle between the two religions. Edward VI. was only ten years old when he became king. He had been educated by men of strong Protestant opinions, and as he was thoughtful and intelligent, he took an interest in these matters beyond his age. His uncle, the Earl of Hertford, who was created Duke of Somerset by Henry's will, managed to become President of the Council of Regency, and soon persuaded the boy-king to make him protector, so that he had almost supreme power. He was an earnest man who meant well, but he was a bigoted reformer, greedy of wealth, and not a wise statesman.

Edward VI. a strict Protestant.

Duke of Somerset protector.

He began by making a treaty with the Protestants in Scotland, and gathered an army to try and force the Scots to give their queen in marriage to Prince Edward. He did indeed defeat them at the famous Battle of Pinkiecleugh near Edinburgh Sept. 1547, but he was obliged to return to England, and his campaign did no good. The Scots, enraged at the defeat, made haste to send little Queen

Useless attack on Scotland, 1547.

Mary to France, where she married the Dauphin ten years afterwards.

In England Somerset and Archbishop Cranmer began at once to push on the Protestant reforms vigorously. An Act was passed repealing all the laws against the Lollards, and the six articles of Henry VIII. against the Protestants. Permission was given to the priests to marry; the use of Catholic mass was forbidden in the churches, and all images were destroyed. In 1548 the first English book of Common Prayer was brought into use, and by an "Act of Uniformity" the clergy were forbidden to use any other service-book in the churches, and people were required to follow the new religion. Moreover, Cranmer welcomed to England the foreign Protestants who were now escaping from Spain and the Netherlands, where all heretics were being tortured under Charles V. before the secret tribunal called the Inquisition.

Protestant reforms.

In the towns, where the people understood how much freedom the new religion gave them, these changes were welcome. But in the lonely country districts people cried out for the "mass" to which they were accustomed; and on Whitmonday 1549, at the village of Sampford Courtney, an insurrection broke out which spread all over Devonshire and Cornwall. The insurgents besieged Exeter, and were with difficulty defeated by Lord Grey, with the help of German and Italian troops.

Insurrection in the west.

At the same time another rising took place in Norfolk, among the agriculturists. There was everywhere great discontent. The enclosure of the commons and the want of work filled the country with vagrants, paupers, and thieves; and the misery was increased by the small supply of corn and the debasing of the coinage. In the last part of Henry VIII.'s reign he had raised £50,000 by mixing a great deal of alloy with the silver of which coins were made, so that each coin was really worth less than it pretended to be: and now the mass of gold and silver

Rebellion in Norfolk, 1549.

Debasement of the coinage.

coming in from America lowered the value still more. By degrees a shilling became only worth sixpence, while wages, or the number of coins each man received for work, remained the same. Yet Parliament passed a severe law against vagrancy in 1548, as if men could work and pay when neither work nor money were to be had. At last, in 1549, twenty thousand men collected near Norwich under Robert Ket, a tanner, and defeating the royal troops, demanded that the grievances of the poor should be redressed, enclosures forbidden, and the ministers dismissed.

Lord Warwick put down the rebellion with German troops; but so many disturbances made Lord Somerset very unpopular. He had become rich and overbearing, and had built himself in the Strand a grand palace called Somerset House. Moreover, just at this time, he arrested and executed his own brother, Admiral Seymour, who had married Katharine Parr, and after her death had tried to marry Princess Elizabeth, and to supplant his brother with the young king. This murder of a brother, even if necessary, shocked the nation, and the council forced Somerset to resign the protectorship. He remained on the council three years longer, and then Earl Warwick, fearing his influence, caused him to be attainted and executed, Jan. 22, 1552.

Somerset executed, 1552.

This Earl of Warwick, John Dudley, who now became protector, was the son of the Dudley who extorted money for Henry VII. He was a selfish man; but even if he had been a better ruler, he could scarcely have prevented the troubles caused by the low value of money and want of work. He too favoured the Protestants. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and Bonner, Bishop of London, were imprisoned in the Tower for upholding the old beliefs, while Latimer and Ridley, two Protestant bishops, took their places. A second Prayer-book and Act of Uniformity were issued in 1552, and the young prince in his zeal nearly caused a war with Spain by

Earl of Warwick becomes protector.

Second Act of Uniformity, 1552.

insisting that his sister Mary, who was a Catholic, should give up hearing "mass" in her chapel.

Turning from these religious disputes, it is pleasant to see how learned men were now trying to give education to poor children. Already, in Henry VIII.'s reign, Dean Colet had founded St. Paul's School, and now many private people began to establish foundation schools. Edward VI. endowed no less than eighteen grammar schools, with grants obtained from the suppression of various monasteries. The Blue Coat School, or Christ Church Hospital, was founded in 1553 for foundlings and orphans, in consequence of a sermon preached by Bishop Ridley before the king, pointing out the sad condition of the London poor.

Edward VI.'s grammar schools.

Already, however, the young king's reign was drawing to a close. Consumption had seized upon him, and his councillors saw that he could not live long. Warwick, who in 1551 had been made Duke of Northumberland (the Percies had lost the earldom by being attainted), now saw that if Mary came to the throne she would bring back the Catholic religion, and he would be ruined. So he persuaded Edward to sign a paper, putting aside his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and naming as his successor Lady Jane Grey, the granddaughter of Henry VIII.'s sister Mary (*see* table, p. 130).

Lady Jane Grey named to succeed.

Lady Jane Grey had married Lord Guildford Dudley, the Duke of Northumberland's son, a few weeks before, and thus the duke hoped to keep his power. All the great men round Edward signed this paper, though it was really valueless without the consent of Parliament. On July 6, 1553, the young king died at the early age of sixteen, having reigned only six years.

Mary, 1553–1558.

As soon as the king was dead Northumberland sent off a body of soldiers to Hunsdon, in Hertfordshire, to take Mary prisoner, and prevent her coming to claim the

throne. Then he hastened off with four other lords to Sion House, and kneeling before Lady Jane Grey, hailed her as queen. The beautiful, accomplished girl of sixteen had never had a thought or wish for the crown, and she was terrified at the greeting. It was only by working upon her feelings as a Protestant that she could be persuaded to oppose Mary. Northumberland proclaimed her queen on July 10, in London, but the people listened sullenly, for they hated Northumberland, and looked upon Mary as their lawful sovereign.

Lady Jane Grey proclaimed in London, July 10, 1553.

Meanwhile Mary had not been idle. Warned by secret friends, she had escaped before Northumberland's soldiers arrived, and taken refuge with the Duke of Norfolk's family, the Howards. There she soon gathered thousands around her, and marching into London, was received with shouts of joy. Even Northumberland, who had retreated to Cambridge, was obliged, when she was proclaimed there, to throw up his cap and shout with the rest. He was arrested and sent to the Tower, together with his son and Lady Jane Grey, and was executed a month later, Aug. 22, 1553, regretted by none.

Mary proclaimed in London, July 19, 1553.

The Duke of Norfolk, and the Bishops Bonner and Gardiner, were now set free from the Tower, and the Protestant Bishops, Latimer and Cranmer were sent there in their place. When Parliament met Mary was declared legitimate, and all the laws passed in Edward's reign concerning religion were repealed. The married priests were driven from their churches, the Prayer-book was forbidden, and the mass restored, though Parliament discussed this last change for many days. Bonner was made Bishop of London, and Gardiner was made chancellor, while the queen was much guided in all she did by Simon Renard, the Spanish ambassador.

The Catholic religion restored.

So far, except in London and some of the large towns, the country was well satisfied to have back the old religion. But Mary wished to go much farther. To understand and

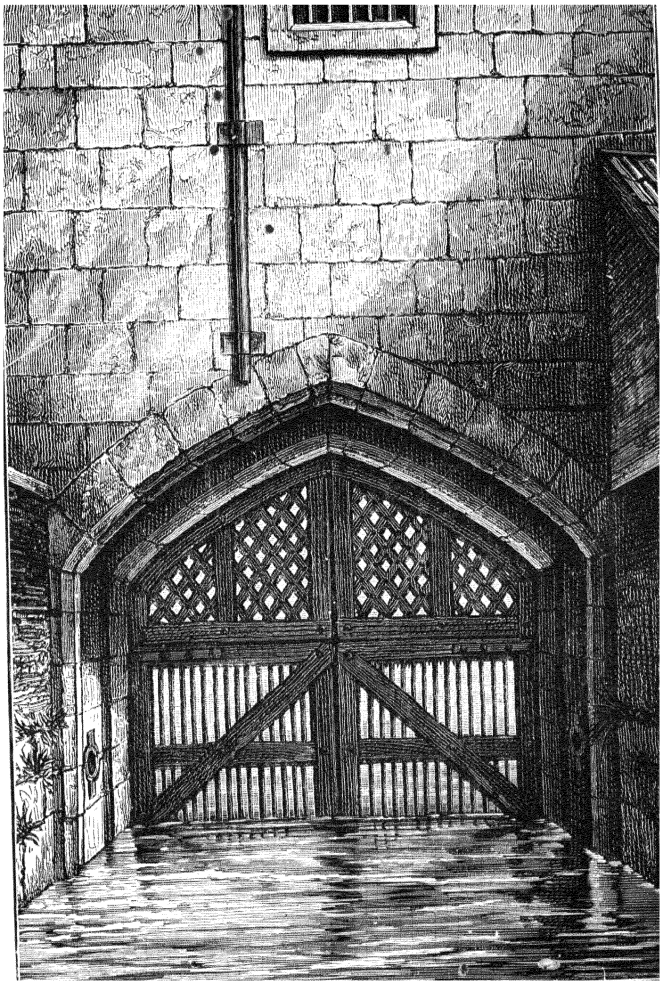
pity her for the cruelties which took place in her reign we must put ourselves in her place. She was a conscientious but narrow-minded woman, thirty-seven years of age, who had suffered from her childhood upwards. Half a Spaniard, and devoted to her mother and her mother's people, she had seen that mother divorced and disgraced from no fault of her own, and Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth's mother, made queen in her stead. Mary had been taught to connect this great sorrow of her life with the decrees against the Pope and the introduction of the new religion. Her father had always been harsh with her; and her half-sister Elizabeth, whom she always refused to speak of as princess, was named as the future queen. Then came her little brother Edward, who took precedence of both his sisters, and during his reign tried to force Mary to give up her religion. Can we wonder that she felt bitter against those who oppressed her?

Character of Queen Mary.

By her brother's death everything was now altered. The people, disgusted at Northumberland's conduct, hailed Mary gladly as their queen, and for the first time she was free and had power. Her great wish was to restore the Pope's rule in England, and, as a step towards this, she listened to Renard when he proposed she should marry her cousin Philip of Spain, son of the Emperor Charles V. (*see* p. 139), and the chief supporter of the Catholics. This engagement displeased the people and the Parliament very much, for they wished her to marry Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, great-grandson of Edward IV. They were afraid of a Spanish king, who might claim too much power in England, and also introduce the cruel Inquisition.

The queen's proposed marriage.

The people in all parts of England became very uneasy, and a conspiracy was formed in Devonshire, Wales, the Midland Counties, and Kent to marry Princess Elizabeth to the Earl of Devon, and place them on the throne instead of Mary. But through mismanagement only the people of Kent rose, under a brave Kentish gentleman, Sir



TRAITORS' GATE, TOWER OF LONDON.

Drawing by C. Tompkins, 1801, in British Museum.

Face page 152.

Thomas Wyat. They seized the cannon and the ships in the Thames; and even the militia, whom the Duke of Norfolk led against them, deserted and joined the insurgents, crying, "A Wyat, a Wyat." It was Mary herself who saved the day. She rode boldly to Guildhall and appealed to the loyalty of the citizens, promising not to marry without the consent of Parliament. When Wyat arrived in London on Feb. 3 his way was barred by 25,000 men. He was taken prisoner at Temple Bar and sent to the Tower.

Wyat's rebellion, Feb. 1554.

A terrible revenge followed. Mary, who had till now spared Lady Jane Grey, consented that she and her husband should be put to death. They were both executed on Feb. 12, 1554. Lords Grey, Suffolk, Wyat, and other leaders were beheaded soon after, and more than a hundred commoners were hanged. Princess Elizabeth was sent to the Tower, and Renard wished her also to be put to death, but Chancellor Gardiner prevented it. She was placed under care at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, and afterwards at Hatfield in Hertfordshire.

Execution of Lady Jane Grey and others.

A few months later, July 1554, Mary was married to Philip. It was not a happy union. Parliament would not allow Philip to be crowned king, and he did not love his middle-aged wife, though he was always courteous to her. He remained in England a year, hoping she might have a son, but grew weary at last and went back to his kingdom. Meanwhile Mary pushed on her designs. She managed to get a tolerably obedient Parliament elected, which consented to receive a legate from the Pope, and Cardinal Pole, son of that Marchioness of Salisbury who was beheaded in Henry VIII.'s reign, sailed up the Thames with a silver cross on the bow of his barge, and granted absolution in the Pope's name to the Lords and Commons who knelt to receive it. In 1554 Cardinal Pole became Archbishop of Canterbury, and took a chief place in the Council. But by dividing the estates of the monasteries

Marriage of the queen, July 1554.

Arrival of a legate from the Pope.

among the nobles Henry VIII. had made it very difficult for the Pope to regain any real hold upon England. Paul IV. did indeed except this country from the general edict, requiring that all ecclesiastical property should be restored to the Church; but Mary gave back all she possessed, and the nobles feared that if the old order were restored they should in the end lose their spoil. They swore that they would keep their land so long as they had a sword by their side, and Mary found that there was a strong party against Papal supremacy.

Nobles refuse to give up Church lands.

She still, however, thought it her duty to try and root out those heretics who stood in the way of the holy faith; and though Cardinal Pole himself was a humane and moderate man, he stood in great awe of Pope Paul IV., who was a stern zealot. The old statutes of Henry IV. and V. against the Lollards were put in force again, and the first victims, Rogers, a canon of St. Paul's, and Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, were burnt at the stake, Feb. 1555. Others followed rapidly, four in April and May, six in June, eleven in July, eighteen in August,—the roll of martyrs went on increasing. In October Latimer and Ridley were chained back to back at the same stake.

Persecution of the Protestants, 1555-1558.

"Play the man, Master Ridley," said Latimer, "we shall this day light such a candle in England as by the grace of God shall never be put out." And so they did. It was not the question which religion was right, or which wrong, that mattered so much to England. It was whether a man has a right to believe according to his conscience, and has the strength to stand by that right. The burning of these men, and of Archbishop Cranmer in 1556, when he thrust his right hand first into the flame because he had once weakly signed a recantation, did light the candle of truth and courage amid the deep gloom of persecution. At least two hundred and eighty honest and God-fearing people perished for their religion in three years. But they did not die in vain, for the terror which overshadowed

Burning of Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer.

the land, while it sent many good men as exiles to Frankfurt and Geneva, made Catholics as well as Protestants in England reflect how dangerous it is for any ruler to have power to sacrifice men's lives for honest religious opinions.

People began now to speak in whispers of the queen's feeble health, and to long for a time when horrors would cease. Nor did Philip's second visit to England in 1557 tend to improve matters. He came to persuade Mary to join him in a war against France. It was undertaken sorely against the will of the Council, and Mary in the end regretted it bitterly; for in 1558 Calais, which was not properly defended, was retaken by the French, after having been English for more than two hundred years. When the fortress of Guisnes within the pale of Calais was surrendered soon after, the English no longer possessed a foot of land on the continent. Mary is said to have exclaimed that when she died the name of Calais would be found engraven on her heart. Her health had long been weak, and she died of a fever which was prevalent at the time, on Nov. 17, 1558. Cardinal Pole died twenty-two hours after.

Loss of Calais, 1558.

CHAPTER XV.

PEACE AND PROGRESS UNDER ELIZABETH

Elizabeth, 1558–1603.

PRINCESS ELIZABETH was sitting under a tree in Hatfield Park, Nov. 17, 1558, when she received the news that she was Queen of England. She fell on her knees and exclaimed, "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes," and these words were stamped on the gold coinage all through her reign.

As a woman Elizabeth had many and great faults; as a queen we can scarcely admire her too much. She could truly say at the end of her reign, "I have ever used to set the last judgment-day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall have to answer before a higher Judge, to whose judgment-seat I do appeal that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good." From her father she inherited a strong will, courage, self-confidence, and a love of popularity, together with a great want of sincerity and of gratitude towards those who served her. Her fondness for gaiety, fine dress, and coquetry, she had from her mother; and vanity from both parents. But Elizabeth was not a mere vain coquette. She had a deep sense of her duty as a queen, and the wisdom to choose good councillors; while she often saw even more clearly what was for her people's good than they did themselves. The work she had before her was to keep her place on the throne, to free the country from foreign enemies and heavy taxes, and to restore civil and religious order, so that England might be a strong and united nation. If in doing this she was often untruthful and capricious, it is some excuse that she was, as she herself said, "a weak woman," who had to play her game against powerful enemies.

Character of Elizabeth.

Nothing could be worse than the state of England when Elizabeth came to the throne. By giving up the Church lands, and by the ruinous war with France, Mary had drained the treasury. The terrible persecutions had driven the best men into exile and the country to the verge of rebellion, while the general discontent made life and property insecure. Added to these troubles within, there were serious dangers from without. Civil war was raging in Ireland, and Scotland's queen, Mary Stuart, who was now married to the French dauphin, declared Elizabeth to be illegitimate, and claimed the English throne for herself. On the continent a great struggle was going on between Catholics and Protestants, which lasted all through Elizabeth's reign. Henry II. of France was

Weak state of England.

struggling to put down his Protestant subjects, the Huguenots; and Philip was burning heretics in Spain. Though Philip was at first friendly to Elizabeth, because he was afraid of France, he never really wished her well. Moreover, it will be remembered that Philip's father Charles V. had inherited the Low Countries or Netherlands from his grandmother, Mary of Burgundy, who married Maximilian of Austria. Now the Netherlanders had become staunch Protestants, and were already beginning to grow restless under the rule of Philip II. and the Inquisition. Thus Europe was divided into two hostile camps, Catholic and Protestant, and the Pope, Paul IV., who had regained much power in England during Mary's reign, was waiting to see which side Elizabeth would take.

Religious struggle on the continent.

She wisely took neither at first. She kept many of the ministers who had been on Mary's Council, adding to them an able statesman, Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, who became Secretary of State, and served her faithfully all his life. She refused to alter the Church service until Parliament had met, and meanwhile she declared she would not meddle with the consciences of her subjects, but would leave each one free to hold his own opinions so long as he attended the public worship prescribed by the law. When Parliament met on Jan. 25, 1559, its first act was to declare Elizabeth legitimate and true Queen of England, and to pass "Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity." The first required all the clergy to take the oath of the queen's supremacy. The second restored the Prayer-book of Edward VI., with some changes agreeable to the Catholics, and obliged all people to attend service or pay a heavy fine.

Sir William Cecil Secretary of State.

Freedom of opinion with outward conformity.

The bishops were staunch Catholics, and all but one refused to take the oath of supremacy. As this was denying the queen as their Head, they were deprived of their sees, and Protestant bishops were put in their places. But Elizabeth was careful not to

Oath of supremacy.

press the lower clergy too hard. No notice was taken of those who neglected to come and take the oath, and in many places the priests went on holding mass in private houses for the Catholics, although prohibited from doing so in the Church. Matthew Parker, a learned and prudent man, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, and so for a time Elizabeth avoided religious disputes such as were going on abroad.

The next difficulty was Scotland, where Mary of Guise was reigning as regent, because her daughter, Mary Stuart, was now Queen of France. For many years Scotland had been gradually adopting Protestantism. The nobles were jealous of the wealth and power of the Church and of the monasteries, and many of them encouraged the new religion. Those English Protestants who had escaped over the border during the persecutions of the last reign were welcomed. Stern and earnest by nature, the Scotch went farther than the English, and became followers of the new teacher, John Calvin of Geneva. In 1557 a large body of nobles met at Edinburgh, and pledged themselves to support each other and spread the new doctrine. The pledge they signed is called the "First Covenant," and they took the name of the "Lords of the Congregation." Now Mary of Guise was a staunch Catholic, and when she tried to put down the new doctrines, the people, led by the famous Calvinist preacher, John Knox, destroyed the images in the churches and broke out into open rebellion, May 11, 1559. The regent tried to enforce her rule by the help of a French army, but the Lords of the Congregation occupied Edinburgh and held a Parliament. They were anxious to be free from their old allies, the French, and asked Elizabeth to help them.

State of Scotland.

Lords of the Congregation in Scotland, 1557.

Elizabeth hesitated, for she did not like to support rebels against their sovereign. But a French army in Scotland was a serious danger to England, so at last she sent the English fleet to the Firth of Forth, and 8000 men under

Lord Grey to help in the siege of Leith. Just then the queen regent died, and the Council of Lords who took the Government, signed a treaty at Edinburgh by which the French promised to leave Scotland, and the Lords promised that Mary Stuart should not claim the English crown. But Mary herself would never consent to sign this promise. The Scotch Parliament then formally adopted a highly Protestant Confession of Faith on Aug. 25, 1560, and Protestantism has been the religion of Scotland ever since. A few months later, Dec. 1560, Mary's French husband, King Francis II., died, and the next year she returned, a widow, to take her place as Queen of Scotland. But for the moment Elizabeth had nothing to fear from Mary, having the Protestant lords on her side.

Treaty of Edinburgh, July 1560.

Return of Mary Queen of Scots, Aug. 1561.

Meanwhile peace at home was giving England time to grow prosperous. The treasury was refilled by claiming back the Church lands and by great economy; while by calling in the base coin, and giving money once more its true value, Cecil removed a heavy burden from the people. In 1561 a commission was sent to inquire into the causes of the great distress, and in 1562 the mayor of each town and the church-wardens of each village were ordered to raise a fund among the inhabitants to provide for their own poor. This was the beginning of the first "Poor-law" which was confirmed by Act of Parliament in 1601, and lasted down to our century in 1832. Though it became at last a serious burden, it was then a wise measure, and helped to restore order.

Prosperity of England.

Poor-law established, 1562-1601.

But it was by removing the terror of persecution and making property secure that Elizabeth did most for her people. The landowners and gentry now began to work their farms better, to study the use of manures, and how to plant different crops in succession; and though it was no doubt a misfortune that the labourers no longer had land of their own, yet better farming gave better crops and employed more hands.

Improvements in agriculture.

Industries, manufactures, and trade began also to revive, giving work to many. The religious troubles in the Netherlands drove many Flemings over to England, and the English learnt from them how to weave cloth and silk better, to make soap and oil for dressing it, and to dye their cloth at home. The northern towns began to flourish, and Manchester friezes, Halifax cloth, and Sheffield cutlery became famous. Moreover, goods and money which used to go to Antwerp now came direct to England. Raw gold and silver from America, gold dust and ivory from Africa, silks and cottons from the East, found their market in London, where Sir Thomas Gresham built the Royal Exchange in 1566, as a hall in which the merchants might meet. The encouragement, too, given by the queen to shipping adventure caused a regular merchant navy to spring up, led by daring commanders.

Trade and manufactures.

England was in fact now beginning that conquest of the sea which has made her so great. In 1576 Frobisher, a west country seaman, sailed northwards to try and find a north-west passage to India, and discovered the straits in Hudson's Bay, which still bear his name. In the same year the brave Sir Humphrey Gilbert made a voyage of discovery to America, and another in 1583, when he took possession of Newfoundland, and was afterwards lost with his ship and all on board. Davis, Raleigh, Hawkins, and Drake—who was the first Englishman to sail round the world—are all names famous for discoveries on the sea, though Hawkins is unfortunately chiefly remembered as having been the first to carry slaves from Africa to America in 1562. All these men led the way to new countries, and opened out new roads for commerce.

Voyages of discovery, 1576-1583.

The result of this increase of prosperity was that people lived more comfortably. Instead of fortified and battlemented castles, fine Elizabethan villas were built for the gentry, with carved staircases and rich carpets on the floors; the yeomen and farmers had houses of

stone and brick, with glass windows and chimneys, instead of mere holes in the roof. The dress of all classes, and especially of the gentry, was richer and more costly. The queen herself, thrifty as she was, loved splendour and show, and as she travelled from one courtier's house to another, gay revels and pageants gave new brightness to the lives of her subjects.

Increase of comfort.

But while the people were in peace and prosperity, Elizabeth herself had endless anxieties. The Pope, Pius IV., finding she would neither have a legate in England nor send ambassadors to his Council at Trent in 1561, began to treat her as a rebellious sovereign, and told the Catholics that they must not go to the English churches. Parliament was jealous of this interference, and passed an Act requiring every member of the House of Commons, every public officer and every parish priest, to take an oath of allegiance to the queen, and deny the Pope's authority in England. This, of course, kept all strict Catholics out of the House of Commons. The Thirty-nine Articles of Faith, drawn up in Edward VI.'s reign, were now adopted, and all the clergy were required to sign them. Thus, sorely against Elizabeth's will, the seed of religious discord was sown among her people.

Oath of allegiance established, 1563.

Mary Queen of Scots, too, now again began to give trouble. She was still the next heir to the throne, for though Elizabeth was often pressed by Parliament to marry, and she coquetted with an offer from the Archduke of Austria, and with her favourite courtier, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, yet it all came to nothing. In truth, she could not marry, for whether she chose a Protestant or a Catholic, she must have offended half her subjects.

Elizabeth would not marry.

So Mary Stuart was still a thorn in Elizabeth's side. When she first returned to Scotland all the people adored their lovely young queen, and allowed her to follow her own Catholic religion, especially as her half-brother, Earl

Murray, who was a Protestant, helped her to govern. She soon began to think of marrying a second time, and in 1565 chose her young cousin, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, who was descended like herself from Margaret Tudor, Henry VIII.'s sister. Darnley had been brought up in England, and his family, the Lennoxes, were old Catholics. The Catholic lords now had the upper hand in Scotland, Murray was obliged to quit the country, and Elizabeth saw that at any time Mary and Darnley might try to seize the English throne.

Mary Queen of Scots marries Lord Darnley, 1565.

But Mary ruined her own chances. Darnley was a weak, vicious man, and she soon tired of him. She was eager to bring back Catholicism and to be Queen of England, and her clever Italian secretary, David Rizzio, helped her to carry on a secret correspondence with the Pope and Spain. Darnley was so angry because Mary would not allow him to be crowned king, and so jealous of Rizzio, that he plotted with some of the Protestant lords, who entered the queen's chamber at Holyrood, dragged Rizzio from her presence, and murdered him upon the staircase. Then they seized the palace gates, and Mary was in their power. She was wise enough to yield, and to make friends again with Darnley, but she did not forget. Three months later, June 9, 1566, her son was born, and she had now an advantage over Elizabeth in having an heir to succeed her.

Murder of Rizzio, Mar. 9, 1566.

All went on quietly for the next nine months, and then a terrible thing happened. Darnley had an illness, and Mary, who appeared anxious about him, brought him for change of air to an old priory called Kirk-o'-Field, close to Holyrood Palace, outside Edinburgh. There one evening she left him with a young page, while she went to a servant's wedding-dance at Holyrood. Soon after midnight an awful explosion shook the city. The Kirk-o'-Field had been blown up, and Darnley and the page lay dead in a field hard by. How much the queen knew no one could tell. But there is no doubt

Murder of Darnley, Feb. 9, 1567.

that a bold and worthless young noble, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell, did the deed, and Mary married him three months after, on May 15, 1567.

All Scotland shrank from her in horror, even though many believed her innocent of the murder. She spent a month gathering an army to meet the lords, but when the time came none would fight for her. Bothwell fled to the Orkneys, and afterwards to Denmark where he died; and Mary was made prisoner, and put in a strong castle in the middle of Loch Leven, a lake in Kinross-shire. The lords forced her to abdicate, and her baby son was crowned as James VI., Earl Murray being made regent. A year later she escaped and gathered an army. But she was defeated at Langside, near Glasgow, and galloping ninety miles, only stopping to change horses, she crossed the Solway Firth, and took refuge at Carlisle.

Mary escapes to England, May 1568.

To have her rival in England was the last thing Elizabeth wished. Only the year before this she had had another discussion with Parliament about her marriage and her successor. As the nation prospered the House of Commons grew bolder. Country gentlemen now coveted seats, and members, instead of being paid, offered themselves freely to represent their neighbours. These men were independent and looked to their rights. Soon after Mary's son was born they began again to urge the queen to settle the succession; and when Elizabeth sent them a sharp message to leave the matter to her, Wentworth, a member of the House of Commons, rose and asked if this was not "against their liberties." At last the queen quieted them with promises, and they voted the supplies she wanted for sending an army to Ireland. That country had been in open revolt ever since 1565, under a bold and able leader, Shan O'Neill. But with men and money in 1567 Sir Henry Sidney put down the rebellion, and there seemed some hope of peace.

The English Parliament grows stronger.

Shan O'Neill's revolt, 1565-1567.

Just then Mary Stuart's escape to England put Elizabeth into fresh difficulties. What was to be done with her? Mary asked for an army to take her back to Scotland, or for a free passage to France. This last Elizabeth could not grant, for it would have given the French a fresh hold upon Scotland. She did try to get Murray to receive his queen back, but he refused, and produced letters between Mary and Bothwell which, if genuine, proved that she had plotted her husband's murder. So Elizabeth kept her in England, putting her under care, first in one country-house, then in another.

Mary a prisoner in England, 1568-1587.

Many have blamed Elizabeth for keeping Mary a prisoner, while others condemn Mary for the plots in which she took part against Elizabeth during the next eighteen years. To me it seems that neither queen could be expected to act otherwise than she did. Mary, as a Catholic and the friend of the Catholics, believed she would do right to seize the throne if she could, while Elizabeth was bound to use every effort to keep her place over the subjects who loved her. The difference between the two queens which gave Elizabeth the advantage was that, though hard, she always looked to the good of her people, while Mary, attractive and lovable as she was, ruined her chance by her own uncontrolled passions. From the moment when Mary married her husband's murderer her cause was lost.

Mary and Elizabeth.

All this time Elizabeth, by great diplomacy, had kept clear of foreign wars, but it was becoming more difficult every day. Just at the time when Mary Stuart escaped to England, the brave Netherlanders, the people of Holland, Zealand, and Flanders began a long and bitter struggle under William of Orange against their Spanish tyrants. They fought, suffered, and starved; and at last breaking down their dykes, flooded their country and turned out the enemy. During this struggle it would have been useful to Philip II. to have a Catholic queen on the English throne; while it was very

Revolt of the Netherlands, 1568.

difficult for Elizabeth not to take one side or the other in the contest. Her own Council were divided. Cecil and the Protestant lords wished to help the Netherlanders; the Duke of Norfolk and the Catholic lords wanted peace with Spain, and wanted Mary to be named as Elizabeth's successor. The queen tried to keep the balance between them, but the Catholic lords grew impatient. A plot was formed to marry Mary to Norfolk, and when this was discovered, and Norfolk was sent to the Tower, a rebellion broke out in the north of England, under the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, with the design of setting Mary free. The earls were defeated and fled to Scotland, and more than six hundred people were put to death as rebels.

Revolt in north of England, Nov. 1569.

But still the Catholics were restless, and the next year, 1570, Pope Pius V. excommunicated Elizabeth and absolved her subjects from their allegiance, and Parliament in return made more stringent laws against the Catholics. Meanwhile the Duke of Norfolk sent a secret agent, one Ridolfi, to Philip of Spain, proposing that a body of Spanish troops should land in England, take Elizabeth prisoner, and set Mary on the English throne. The Pope gave his approval, and placed a sum of money at the disposal of the conspirators. But before the Spanish General Alva could do anything Lord Burleigh learnt their secret. Norfolk was executed June 2, 1572, and the Spanish ambassador was ordered out of England. Still, though Parliament urged Elizabeth to try Queen Mary for treason, she would not.

Excommunication of Elizabeth and the Ridolfi plot, 1570-1571.

Though undermined in this way by Spain, Elizabeth still kept a hold on France by proposing to marry, first the Duke of Anjou and afterwards his younger brother. But meanwhile an awful thing happened. The French king's mother, Catharine de Medici, and the Catholic dukes, the Guises, fearing that the Huguenots were growing too strong,

excited the mob in Paris against them. On Aug. 24, 1572, the massacre of St. Bartholomew took place, when all the Huguenot leaders were murdered in Paris, and the fury spread from town to town till more than a hundred thousand Huguenots perished. This terrible triumph of the Catholic party alarmed both Elizabeth and her people. Yet she would not even now openly side with the Protestants, but refused the Netherlanders when they invited her to be their queen in 1575, although she sent some money to help them.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24, 1572.

But she did not forbid her subjects from giving them assistance. The London merchants sent half a million of money to William of Orange, and more than five thousand young Englishmen crossed over to the Netherlands to stand by the brave patriots. Others put out to sea in their own ships, and the channel swarmed with "sea-dogs," as they were called, who attacked the trading vessels of France and Spain. These privateers cared probably as much for the plunder as for the cause. The Spanish and Portuguese had possession of those parts of the New World where gold and treasure were to be found, and Francis Drake, the son of a Devonshire clergyman, sailed in 1572, and again in 1577, to Spanish South America, and sacked the gold ships. Philip vowed revenge, especially as England welcomed Drake as a hero, and Elizabeth made him a knight. But Philip had too much on his hands already, and eight years passed by, till Elizabeth at last sent the Earl of Leicester to help the Netherlanders, and allowed Drake to sail again in 1585 with twenty-five vessels to Spanish America, from which he returned laden with plunder. From this time Philip began really to prepare for war with England, but it was three years more before his famous "Spanish Armada" or *armed fleet* was ready, and in those years much happened.

The English help the Netherlanders.

English privateers rob Spanish vessels.

For some time past a number of young English

Catholics had been in training at Douai in France, on purpose to be sent as missionaries to England. These men firmly believed that the salvation of the country depended on bringing the people back under the Pope's authority. In 1576 they began to travel secretly over the land, holding services and endeavouring to revive Catholic zeal in England. The Government became seriously alarmed; the priests were taken prisoners wherever they were found, and during the next twenty years a large number were put to death. Meanwhile Spanish intrigues continued. In 1583 a plot was discovered, headed by a Catholic, Francis Throgmorton, to murder Elizabeth and put Mary on the throne, and it was clear that the Spanish ambassador knew of it. Throgmorton was executed, and the leading men of England, now thoroughly afraid of harm to their queen, formed an association in 1584, in which they pledged themselves, with the consent of Parliament, "to pursue to the death any one plotting against the queen, *as well as any person in whose behalf they plotted.*"

Catholic mission to England, 1576.

Association to protect the queen, 1584.

We see at once that this was a warning for Queen Mary, and she herself was made to sign the document. Three years later, however, Sir Francis Walsingham, the Secretary of State, discovered that, sick and weary with long imprisonment, Mary had given her consent to another plot, headed by a young man named Anthony Babington, and, as before, encouraged by Spain. This plot caused Mary's death. The proofs were laid before a commission of peers at Fotheringay Castle, Northamptonshire, where Mary was imprisoned, and she was condemned to death by Parliament, Nov. 1586. The people rejoiced that now the continual conspiracies would be stopped, and the streets of London blazed with bonfires. But it was a long time before Elizabeth would sign the warrant; she was afraid all Europe would condemn her. At last she signed it, and on Feb. 8, 1587, the lovely and unfortunate Queen of Scots was

Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, Feb. 8, 1587.

beheaded. "Do not weep," she said to her ladies, "I have given my word for you. Tell all my friends that I died a good Catholic."

Elizabeth had now only one enemy left to deal with, and this was Philip of Spain, who was making serious preparations to attack England. The queen, afraid, as usual, of spending money, would scarcely give enough to make the English fleet effective. But Lord Howard of Effingham and his admirals spared no exertions. Sir Francis Drake in 1587 made a bold dash at Cadiz harbour, and burnt part of the Armada, and many private English gentlemen fitted out vessels at their own expense. At length the time came. Philip's great general, the Duke of Parma, gathered 30,000 Spanish troops in the Netherlands, ready to cross as soon as the Armada arrived, and Philip, confident that all the English Catholics would join him, started his monster fleet of one hundred and twenty-nine ships, under command of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, on July 12, 1588.

The Spanish Armada starts, July 12, 1588.

He had reckoned wrongly. No sooner, on July 19, did the beacon fires along the coast spread the news that the Armada was coming, than all England, Catholic as well as Protestant, rose to defend their country and their queen. Though Lord Howard had only eighty vessels and 9000 seamen, these were commanded by such daring spirits as Lord Henry Seymour, Frobisher, Drake, and Hawkins. The light English ships harassed the Spaniard heavy galleons, and eight fire-ships, sent adrift at night into Calais harbour, made the Spaniards slip their cables and stand out to sea. Then the English fleet, dashing among them, cut off their return, raking them with a terrible fire as long as ammunition lasted. The spirit of the Spaniards was broken, and a great wind obliged the duke to try and find his way round the north of Scotland back to Spain. Near the Orkneys the fury of the storm burst upon them; the ships were driven on the rocks, the shores of the Scottish isles were

Defeat of the Armada, 1588.

strewn with bodies, 11,000 Spaniards perished off the coast of Ireland, and only a shattered fleet of fifty-three vessels found its way back to Corunna. The dreaded Armada was defeated, and the joy and gratitude of the English was expressed on the coin struck by Elizabeth, in the words "Afflavit Deus, et dissipati sunt," "God breathed and they were scattered."

Now at last Elizabeth was comparatively at rest. All nations recognised her power; her fleet was "mistress of the seas"; her people had withstood all temptations to treason; and even the Catholics, convinced at last that it was better to submit to their own sovereign than to plot with foreign powers, settled down, and conformed outwardly at least to the Established Church. The people most difficult to deal with were the extreme Protestants or "Puritans," who had brought back from Geneva a dislike to even the simplest ceremonies, but they were kept fairly quiet during Elizabeth's reign. In France Henry IV., by the famous "Edict of Nantes," gave his Protestant subjects freedom to worship as they wished, and thus helped to quiet Europe.

England united and at peace.

Edict of Nantes, April 13, 1598.

And now the growth of the nation, which had been going on unnoticed for the last thirty years, began to bear fruit. On the sea English ships sailed far and wide. Sir Walter Raleigh sent seven expeditions to North and South America, which brought back new fruits, as well as tobacco and the potato; and though the colony of Virginia, which he founded, did not flourish, it paved the way for others. Sir Francis Drake opened up the way to the East Indies, and ship after ship, both from Holland and England, began to trade with the East. On Dec. 31, 1599, Elizabeth granted a charter to a company of London East India merchants, who formed the beginning of our famous East India Company.

East India Company, Dec. 31, 1599.

And side by side with this outward growth, an inward growth of mind and thought was going on. During the hundred years which had passed since Henry Tudor came

to the throne, great events had happened, and wonderful discoveries had been made which could not fail to excite men's minds. Copernicus and Galileo had shown that our little world is not the centre of the universe, while at the same time voyages of discovery had proved how much grander and larger even this little world is than the ancients had believed. America, with all its riches of gold and silver, and its strange races of people, had been discovered; while at home the new religion, the spread of printing, and the study of Greek and Latin, had stirred the minds of the English people to high thoughts, which expressed themselves in stirring works of prose and poetry. And so towards the end of Elizabeth's reign we find the study of history reviving. Archbishop Parker tried to collect together the old English chronicles, and Sir Walter Raleigh began his great *History of the World*, written during the next reign. Then again, besides pamphlets, novels, and short-lived works of all kinds, we have such great writers as Sir Francis Bacon, who gave new life to philosophy and science; the poet Spenser, who wrote the "Faerie Queen"; and Sir Philip Sidney, who wrote the "Arcadia," and died from a fatal wound received at the Battle of Zutphen in the Netherlands. To crown all,—among a host of play-writers and poets of the Elizabethan period of literature, whose plays were acted and poems recited in barns, booths, and courtyards, or in the theatres which now sprang up in London,—came our great Shakespeare, born in 1564, who gave us those plays, so true to nature, so full of deep wisdom, so powerful in language, and so noble in thought, that not only England, but all the world has been the richer for them ever since.

Copernicus and Galileo.

Writers of Elizabeth's reign.

Shakespeare, 1564.

We are now nearing the end of Elizabeth's reign. In 1598 Cecil, Lord Burleigh, died, and younger men gathered round the queen. There was Sir Walter Raleigh, brave and able; Robert Cecil, Burleigh's son, a wise statesman; and Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, a wild, headstrong young man, whom Elizabeth

Death of Burleigh, 1598.

petted and scolded like a child. The old troubles were still going on in Ireland, and matters had been made worse by the unwise attempt to carry out the penal laws against Catholics and to force the English Prayer-book and service on the people. Moreover, when the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth, the Irish scarcely knew which way to lean. The Spaniards were always exciting them against England, and in 1595 Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, a brave Irish chief, rose in rebellion, assisted by Philip II. He defeated the English near Armagh, and the queen sent Essex against him with an army of 30,000 men. But Essex, finding many difficulties, and won over by flattery, made a foolish peace with Tyrone, and then hastened back to England, hoping to persuade the queen he had done wisely. She, however, was very angry, and he was kept a prisoner in his own house. Sore at this treatment, the foolhardy young man gathered his friends together and marched to the city, hoping to raise a rebellion. He failed utterly, and being found guilty of treason, was beheaded, Feb. 1601.

Rebellion of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, 1595-1602.

Insurrection and death of Essex, 1601.

Meanwhile Lord Mountjoy was sent to Ireland, where Tyrone at last surrendered, March 24, 1602. From this date the whole of Ireland has been governed by England, and during the next reign large numbers of English and Scotch settlers had lands given them in Leinster and Ulster on condition that they preserved order. These are known as the Ulster and Leinster "plantations," and by them two-thirds of the north of Ireland passed to strangers. But though this change brought outward prosperity, it was in many cases unjustly carried out, and raised a bitter spirit, which caused serious trouble some years after.

Ireland governed by England from 1602.

And now the queen lay dying. Vain and fickle, vacillating and often untruthful, she had no doubt been, but she found England weak and divided—she left it strong and united. Even Parliament had regained much of the independence it had lost under Henry VIII. In her

last Parliament Elizabeth had to yield to the House of Commons when they insisted on abolishing the "monopolies" or rights which were held by many nobles to be the only persons to sell certain articles, wine for example, and so wringing money from the people.

Abolition of monopolies, Oct. 1601.

But on one point Elizabeth was stubborn to the end. She would not name her successor. As her life was fading away in the evening of March 23, 1603, it was only by a slight motion of the head that her ministers could conclude she was willing to allow James VI. of Scotland to fill her place. In the early morning of March 24 the great queen died.

Death of Elizabeth, Mar. 24, 1603.

The reign of the family of Tudors was now over, and the family of Stuarts was coming in their place. For more than a hundred years England had been rising to a leading position among nations. Henry VII. laid the foundation by keeping clear of foreign wars and holding a firm hand over the nobles at home. Henry VIII. followed in his footsteps by shutting out foreign influence—that is, the power of the Pope over the Church. The troubled reigns of Edward and Mary did their work in leading men to long for freedom of thought and to abhor persecution, while Elizabeth, carefully shielding her people from the wars of religion raging all around, gave them time to grow strong and develop. Trade flourished, agriculture improved, comfort and well-being increased. Daring seamen explored distant oceans and scoured the seas, till England's name stood high for courage and adventure, while the new thoughts and widening knowledge, filling the minds of men, broke out in a grand literature, which has never been surpassed even in our day. The Government, however, under which all this advance was made, had one weak side. It depended almost entirely on the character of the king or queen who happened to reign. So long as a wise and able sovereign was on the throne, things went well; but the

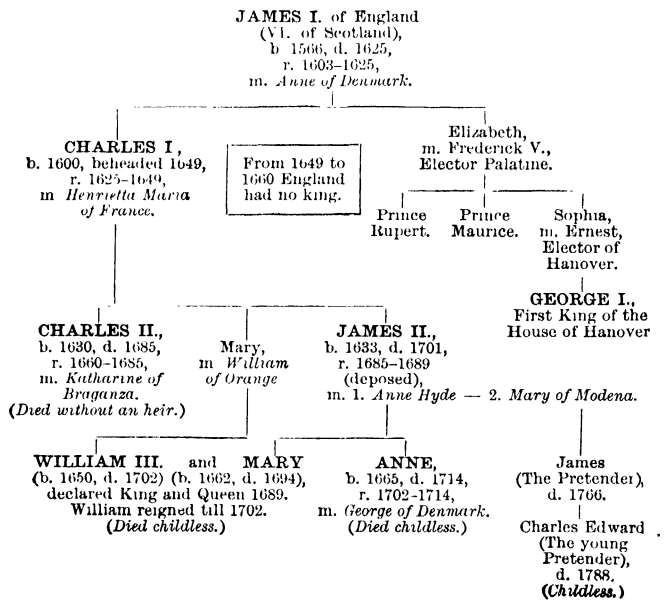
Summary of the house of Tudor.

reigns of Edward and Mary had shown that the monarchy was so strong, that when its power was unwisely used, the nation was thrown into confusion. After Elizabeth's death came monarchs who did not reign wisely, and so, as we shall see, a struggle arose with Parliament and the people, causing England to be once more torn by civil war and suffering.

PART VI.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ABSOLUTE MONARCHY

SOVEREIGNS OF THE HOUSE OF STUART



CHAPTER XVI.

PREROGATIVE AND PARLIAMENT

James I., 1603–1625.

As soon as Elizabeth died the Council sent off post-haste for James VI. of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart and Darnley, and great-grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. Though Henry VIII. had passed over Margaret in his will (*see* p. 147), yet James was not only the next heir, but the choice of the nation. So the Scotch prophecy (*see* p. 84) was fulfilled at last, and a Scotch king once more sat on the sacred stone of Scone, on July 25, 1603, when James VI. of Scotland was crowned as James I. of England in Westminster Abbey.

Though no very remarkable events happened in James's reign, yet it is important, because his constant disputes with Parliament prepared the way for the unhappy reign of his son Charles I. James was not a bad man, and he was a misguided rather than a bad king. In every-day matters he was shrewd enough. We owe to him the draining of the fen country, making useless land profitable, the first establishment of the post-office (for foreign countries only), and the encouragement of many useful manufactures, such as silk-weaving and the cultivation of silk-worms. But he never understood the English people, and he had such an overwhelming idea of his own superior wisdom that, being already thirty-six when he came to England, he was not likely to learn to know them. He was amiable and kindly by nature, and we shall see that the persecutions in his reign were never

Character of James I.

brutal as they had been formerly. But he was ungainly and undignified, fond of coarse jokes and of showing his learning, which was great. He was very obstinate and impatient of advice, yet, as he loved flattery and hated exertion, he was easily governed by favourites.

Question of divine right.

He looked upon the English crown as his by inheritance, and believed that he ruled by "*divine right*"; or, in other words, that he was not responsible to any earthly power, but had absolute authority over the nation and the laws. The Tudors had been despotic, and the "Star Chamber" of Henry VII., and the "Court of High Commission" which Elizabeth founded to govern the Church, gave the sovereign great power. But Henry VIII. and Elizabeth had understood their people, and were popular; James, on the contrary, vexed his subjects unnecessarily. He tried to overrule Parliament, and told the Commons that, as it is "atheism to dispute what God can do . . . 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."

We see at once that this would irritate the free English people who, although they revered and loved their kings, had been accustomed from Saxon times upwards to cry, *Aye, aye*, or *Nay, nay*, to any new measure, at first in the Witangemot, and afterwards through their representatives in Parliament. Moreover, at the time when James became king, the people, prosperous after the long peace, and accustomed to be governed by strong and popular princes, were not likely to yield to a weak and pompous sovereign.

State of the nation.

In the country gentlemen, farmers, and labourers were well off. In the towns trade was increasing. London had spread so fast that Elizabeth had tried to stop fresh building, and twice in his reign James ordered the country gentlemen and their families "to go home and bide there, minding their duties." This gathering of the people in large towns, and the spread of printed books, especially of the English Bible, led people to think and talk freely of many things, which

before had been left chiefly to statesmen and priests. Roughly speaking, there were at this time three parties in England. *First*, the Puritans, earnest, self-denying men, who led serious lives, and condemned the swearing, gambling, drinking, and other vices which, unfortunately, were common at court. These men disliked all church ceremonies, and thought it wrong to make the sign of the cross in baptism or to wear a surplice; and, as the Act of Uniformity forbade any services to be used except those in the Prayer-book, the Puritans wanted some parts of the service to be altered. With regard to the state, these men upheld very strongly the liberty of Parliament. *The second*, and by far the largest party as yet, was the High Church party, as we should call it now. It consisted of those who wished matters in the Church to remain as Elizabeth had left them and as the bishops advised, and who upheld the power of the king. Lastly, there was a *third* party—the Catholics—who wanted to restore mass and the power of the Pope in England.

The Puritans.

English Church party.

The Catholics.

Elizabeth had cleverly managed to keep these three parties quiet, but James was unable either to understand or deal with them. He did not like the Puritans, because they held much the same opinions as the Scotch Protestants or Presbyterians (so called because they had no bishops, but were governed by "presbyters" or elders). These Presbyterians had given James much trouble in Scotland, and when he invited four of the English Puritans to meet the bishops at a conference at Hampton Court, Jan. 1604, he found they were equally obstinate in their views. He grew angry that they would not yield to his arguments, and declared he would "make them conform, or harry them out of the land." The only good result of the conference was that James ordered a revised translation of the Bible to be made. This "authorised version," published in 1611, has been used down to our time, and the beautiful language contained in

Hampton Court conference, Jan. 1604.

it, together with the writings of Shakespeare, has done more to form our modern English speech, and keep it pure, than all other writings. The evil result of the conference was that James carried out his threat. Ten of the men who had petitioned for changes were imprisoned by order of the Star Chamber, and three hundred Puritan clergymen were turned out of their livings.

Persecution of the Puritans.

The people, seeing that there was little chance of their being allowed to worship in their own way, began to think of leaving the country. A small congregation of Puritans escaped over the sea to Amsterdam and Leyden, under the guidance of their minister, John Robinson, and William Brewster, one of their chief men or *elders*. Twelve years later this little colony of one hundred and twenty souls, afterwards known as the "Pilgrim Fathers," sailed across the Atlantic in a ship called the *Mayflower*, and settled some way to the north of Virginia, which was already a flourishing colony. They took with them the Bible as their law, and brotherhood as their charter, and though they suffered terrible hardships on the barren coast of Massachusetts, they prepared the way for those who came after, and founded the free states of New England.

Emigration of Puritans to America, 1620.

Almost directly after the conference, James summoned his first Parliament, and unfortunately he began by trying to dictate to the people what members to elect. Then, during the next session, the Commons petitioned that the Puritan clergymen might be allowed to preach again, but James refused to let them discuss the subject. They retorted by making stronger laws against the Catholics, and James was obliged to banish some of the priests, and to begin again to levy £20 a month from all "*recusants*," that is, Catholics who refused to attend the English service.

Difficulties with the first Parliament, 1604-1610.

This so troubled the Catholics that a small knot of men, not more than fifteen in all, led by an enthusiast, Robert Catesby, proposed to blow up Parliament while it



THE GUNPOWDER PLOTTERS.

From Title-page of De Bry's "Warhafftige Beschreibung der Verratherei," etc.

Face page 179.

was being opened in state by the king and his eldest son Henry, and then to set one of the younger children on the throne and restore the Catholic religion. The plot went on for several months, arms were brought from Flanders, and Catholic gentlemen invited to come over and join in a rebellion. But just at the last moment one of the conspirators, Francis Tresham, wrote to warn his brother-in-law, Lord Monteagle, to stay away from Parliament. James saw this mysterious letter, and guessed that something was wrong. A search was made, and Guy (or Guido) Fawkes, a Yorkshireman, who had served in Flanders, was discovered in a vault under the Houses of Parliament, with barrels of gunpowder stacked ready to be exploded. The result of this foolish plot was that the conspirators were killed, or taken prisoners and executed, and the Catholics were in a much worse position for many generations.

Gunpowder Plot, Nov. 5, 1605.

But it was not only about Church questions that James and the Commons could not agree. The English were jealous of the Scots, who came flocking to court; and when the king proposed to unite the two kingdoms, under the title of "Great Britain," there was a violent opposition. All that Sir Francis Bacon, then a rising barrister in Parliament, could obtain from them was that Scotchmen born after James came to the throne should be naturalised Englishmen.

Proposed union with Scotland, 1604.

On this point James was more in the right than his people, but they opposed him partly because he was always trying to be independent of them. He insisted on making proclamations and imposing customs on merchandise without the consent of Parliament. Thinking to improve the dyeing of cloth, he issued a proclamation in 1608 forbidding undyed cloth to be sent abroad, and at the same time he granted to Alderman Cockayne the sole right of dyeing and dressing cloth. The result was he nearly ruined the trade, and had to take back the patent. Then, as he wanted money, he

Proclamations and impositions.

obtained an opinion from the judges that he had a right to levy "impositions" on goods, and in one year he raised in this way £70,000. The expenses of his court were very heavy, and he had to keep a large army in Ireland, where people were very restless at the "plantation" of Ulster (*see* p. 171). So he had at last to apply to the Commons, who refused to give him any money till he had promised to give up the proclamations and impositions.

Great Contract and dissolution, 1610.

This James would not do, so Cecil, who was now Lord Salisbury and chief minister, tried to make a bargain with the Commons, called the "Great Contract." The king was to give up certain rights, and they were to give him £200,000 a year for life. But they would not consent, and at last James dissolved Parliament in Feb. 1611 without getting any money. Two years later he called a second Parliament, and dissolved it again in a few weeks, because the Commons again refused any grant till the "impositions" were given up. This was called the "Addled Parliament," because it did not pass a single bill.

Second or Addled Parliament, 1614.

For seven years after the "Addled Parliament" James tried to rule without one. In 1612, when Lord Salisbury died, he raised a young Scotchman, Robert Carr, to high offices in the state, and made him Earl of Somerset. But this did not last long. Somerset married the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex, and was accused of helping her to poison Sir Thomas Overbury, a man she hated. So he was disgraced, and was succeeded in the king's favour by George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham. Buckingham was young, handsome, and brave, but very rash and headstrong. He had so much influence over James and his second son Prince Charles, that all who wanted promotion at court bribed and flattered him, and in a few years he became the richest and most powerful peer in England. Things might have been different if the king's eldest son, Henry, Prince of Wales, had lived, for he was a bright, adventurous, and

Rule of favourites, 1612-1621.

able young prince, much beloved by the people. But he died in 1612, and Charles, a weakly and reserved lad, became the heir to the throne.

James, who sincerely loved peace, had long ago ended the war with Spain, and now wished to marry Prince Charles to the Infanta Maria, daughter of Philip III. This was very unwise, for the English hated the Spaniards, and did not want a Catholic princess. Queen Elizabeth would have felt this at once and given way, but James went on for twelve years trying to arrange the match, and constantly irritating his people. After all it came to nothing, for though "Baby Charlie and Steenie," as James called Charles and Buckingham, made a romantic journey to Spain, the Infanta did not like the prince, and the Spanish king wanted to make him a Catholic, so the match was broken off in 1623. But for a great part of James's reign it made his people uneasy, and this same foolish project led the king to commit the one really cruel act of his life.

Proposed Spanish marriage, 1611-1623.

The brave Sir Walter Raleigh had been condemned to death in 1603 for being concerned in a conspiracy to put Arabella Stuart (a great-great-grandchild of Henry VII.) upon the throne, and he had remained in prison for thirteen years writing his *History of the World.* In 1616 he told the king that he believed he could find his way to a gold mine in Guiana; and James, always in want of money, set him free to make the voyage. But he told him he must not fight the Spaniards, or he would lose his head. It was almost impossible to obey this order, and the expedition was most unfortunate. Raleigh stayed to guard the mouth of the River Orinoco, and sent the other ships up to search for the mine. They could not find it, and being attacked by Spaniards, destroyed a Spanish village, and Raleigh's son was killed. Sooner than come back empty-handed, Raleigh wished to seize some Spanish treasure-ships, but his crew mutinied, and he returned to England broken-hearted, and was beheaded under his sen-

Disaster and execution of Raleigh, 1616-1618.

tence of thirteen years before. The people, who knew that this was done merely to please the King of Spain, were very indignant at the death of the great explorer and historian, who, whatever might have been his faults, was a brave and noble man.

Three years after Raleigh's death James found he should be obliged to call another Parliament. He had married his eldest daughter Elizabeth in 1613 to the Elector Palatine Frederick V., one of the chief Protestant princes of Germany, who ruled over the Rhine country near Heidelberg. A few years later the Bohemians revolted against Ferdinand, Emperor of Germany, and chose Frederick as their king. But the King of Spain, with other Catholic princes, joined with the Emperor against the Protestants, and the terrible Thirty Years' War began. Very early in this war Frederick lost not only Bohemia, but the Palatinate as well, and he and his wife were fugitives. They came to James for assistance, and he could not give it without Parliament.

Outbreak of Thirty Years' War in Germany, 1619.

But now came a serious reckoning. During the last seven years the king had been levying money by heavy fines, benevolences, forced loans, and other illegal means. He sold peerages for enormous sums, allowed the Dutch towns to pay back their debts at half their value, and created the new order of "baronet," which any man might buy for £100. Moreover, he had granted "monopolies" of all kinds to Buckingham and his friends, by which the people were greatly oppressed and the law-courts were shamelessly corrupt. The judges, appointed by the king, were underpaid, and took gifts from the suitors before cases were decided.

Illegal levying of money.

Now among the men elected to the new Parliament were many who saw that it was time to stop this despotic government of the king. The chief of these were John Pym, member for Calne and afterwards for Tavistock, and John Hampden, a Buckinghamshire squire. Both were upright, resolute, and brave men, who from this time were to struggle till death

Third Parliament, 1621-1622.

for the liberty of England. With them were also Sir John Eliot, vice-admiral of the fleet, fiery and outspoken by nature; Coke and Selden, the famous lawyers; and Wentworth, who only sided with the patriot party for a time because he hated Buckingham. All these men were to play a great part in the struggle of the next forty years.

They granted a small sum to prepare for war, and then remonstrated against the illegal fines and monopolies, and the corruption of the judges. The monopolies James was forced to abolish, and the Commons impeached Sir Francis Bacon, then Lord Verulam, for bribery and corruption. Bacon, who had been Lord Chancellor for three years, had just published his famous work, the *Novum Organum*, and ranked first among the writers of the day. Unfortunately he was not as upright as he was able. When tried before the House of Lords he did not deny having taken bribes, but said he had only followed the custom. He was condemned, deprived of his offices, and heavily fined; but the king pardoned him, and he retired on a pension of £1200, and devoted himself to science.

Impeachment of Bacon, 1621.

Meanwhile the king was preparing, in a half-hearted manner, for war. He still clung to the idea that he might fight the Emperor Ferdinand, and yet remain friends with Spain, Ferdinand's ally. This was folly, for the King of Spain would never fight against the Emperor. Pym and Coke drew up a petition which the Commons sent to the king, telling him boldly that he ought to break with Spain, and marry Charles to a Protestant. Deeply offended, the king treated their advice as an impertinence. They in their turn protested that they had a right to freedom of speech, and James in a rage tore their protestation out of the Journal Book of the House, and dissolved Parliament, sending Pym, Coke, Selden, and other leading members to prison. So ended the third Parliament, in which the Commons had certainly gained some advantages. They had

Dissolution of third Parliament, 1622.

abolished monopolies, reformed the law-courts, and revived their power of impeachment and their right to give an opinion on matters of state. But the breach between the crown and Parliament was growing wider.

First weekly newspaper, 1622.

It was about this time that sheets of news first began to be printed, and on May 23, 1622, the first weekly newspaper appeared.

The next year, 1623, the Spanish marriage was broken off, and Charles and Buckingham came back eager for war with Spain. The king was very unwilling to fight, knowing how difficult it was to get money; but Buckingham urged him on, and in 1624 he called his fourth and last Parliament to vote supplies. Now that all danger of the Spanish marriage was over the Commons did not want war, especially as James proposed to make an alliance with France to recover the Palatinate, and to marry Prince Charles to Henrietta of France, who was also a Catholic. They voted just enough money to help the Dutch against Spain and to defend the English ports, and then adjourned, promising to meet in the winter and vote more if it was wanted. Meanwhile the treaty of marriage between Charles and the Princess Henrietta was signed, and James was afraid to face Parliament now that his son was pledged to marry a Catholic. With the little money he had, he sent in the spring 12,000 men to the Palatinate under Count Mansfeld, a German officer. The expedition was badly managed, supplies ran short, and disease broke out among the troops, destroying 9000 of them. The attempt was a complete failure, and James, bitterly disappointed, fell ill, and died of ague on March 27, 1625. He wrote many works, among others a treatise against tobacco, another on witches, and another on the "divine right of kings." But as a king he prepared great trouble for his people.

Fourth Parliament, 1624.

Disastrous expedition to Holland, 1625.

Death of James I., March 27, 1625.

CHAPTER XVII.

KING AND PEOPLE

Charles I., 1625–1649.

ALL people, except a very few, were full of hope when Charles came to the throne. He was a very different man from his father. Though only five and twenty he was stately and dignified, with dark hair, high forehead, and a grave, melancholy countenance. He was reserved, but gracious in his manner, never giving way to those outbursts of passion and scolding by which James offended his counsellors. Moreover, since Charles had wished for a war with Spain, he had been popular among the people. But those few men, who looked deeper, saw very serious difficulties in the character of the new king. He had the same fixed idea as his father of his prerogative, while he had none of James's frankness and good nature. On the contrary, in spite of his gracious manner, he was both obstinate and insincere. He was a religious man and a good father, but he did not think it wrong to deceive and break his promises to gain his end. "*Pray God*," said a thoughtful courtier, "*that the king may be in the right way when he is set; for if he were in the wrong he would prove the most wilful of any king that ever reigned.*" Sad and true words; and when we remember how the Commons had already begun to set their will against the king's will, we shall not wonder that Charles's reign was one long quarrel, in which each side grew more and more angry and unjust till the terrible end came.

Character of Charles I.

The struggle began very soon, for when the first Parliament met on June 18, 1625, the people were distressed by the disasters in Holland, and mistrusted Buckingham, who had unbounded influence over the king. Moreover, they were irritated that

Charles's first Parliament, June 18, 1625.

the queen had her priests and Catholic chapel in England. Therefore, though Charles asked for £300,000 to carry on the war, the Commons only granted him £140,000; and although it was usual to give the king for life a steady tax called "*Tonnage and Poundage*" on every tun of beer and wine, and every pound of certain articles, they now only gave it for one year. Charles was very angry. He prorogued Parliament (for the plague was raging in London), and bade them meet again in Oxford. Unfortunately before they met, seven ships which Charles had lent to the King of France, were used against the Huguenots at the siege of La Rochelle on the French coast. The Commons reproached the king with giving help to the Catholics, and declared they had no confidence in Buckingham; but Charles would not allow them to discuss his favourite minister, and dissolved Parliament.

Tonnage and Poundage.

Parliament dissolved, 1625.

Charles and Buckingham now hoped to gain popularity by carrying on the war with Spain, not considering that they had neither men nor money. A fleet was raised by pressing merchant-vessels into the service, and as there was no regular army in those days, men were called from their homes for soldiers. Sir Edward Cecil, who commanded this force, had orders to attack some Spanish town and to seize Spanish treasure-ships coming from America. He sailed into Cadiz Bay and took a fort, and then marched up the country without food. The men got hold of some wine, and became helplessly drunk, and Cecil had to take them back to the ships. He then sailed homewards, and missed the treasure-ships by two days. This expedition gave rise to the well-known nursery rhyme—

Disastrous expedition to Cadiz, Oct. 1625.

> "There was a fleet that went to Spain,
> When it got there, it came back again."

The hoped-for victory had proved a miserable failure, leaving a serious debt, which obliged the king to summon another Parliament.

But before the elections he tried a clever stratagem.

He made sheriffs of some of the men who had been most troublesome in the last Parliament, so that they should not be eligible for members. It was all in vain! If he silenced some voices, others would be heard. No sooner had the Houses assembled than Sir John Eliot rose and called for an inquiry into the mismanagement which led to so many disasters, and the Commons impeached Buckingham. "He has broken those nerves and sinews of our land, the stores and treasure of the king," said Eliot, "his profuse expenses, his superfluous feasts, his magnificent buildings, his riots, his excesses . . . waste the revenues of the crown. . . . No right, no interest, can withstand him . . . by him came all our evils . . . on him must be the remedies." Charles's only answer was to send Eliot and his supporter, Digges, to the Tower, and when the Commons refused to sit without them, and asked for Buckingham's dismissal, he released Eliot and Digges, but instantly dissolved Parliament before any money had been voted.

Buckingham impeached in the second Parliament, 1626.

King dissolves Parliament.

Charles was now in difficulties. He had just quarrelled with Louis XIII. of France, partly because he had been obliged to dismiss Queen Henrietta's Catholic attendants, and partly because he felt bound to take the part of the Huguenots of La Rochelle against their king. But to make war he must have money, and though he was levying tonnage and poundage illegally, and fining the Catholic recusants, he was very short of funds. He appealed to the country for a "free gift" of money, but scarcely any one gave. Then some one suggested that though he could not compel people to *give*, he might compel them to *lend*, though it made very little difference, as he was never likely to repay it; so he sent commissioners to every county to require each person to advance money according to his means.

The king levies forced loans, 1627.

It may be imagined what discontent this caused! Under the Tudors the country had been kept at peace and the taxes lightened; even James had only levied

money from the customs and from rich men. But now, in order to pay for Buckingham's extravagance and for wars which only ended in disgrace, every man had his private affairs examined and a sum of money forced from him. Eighty gentlemen in different parts of the country would not pay and were imprisoned, and poor men who refused were pressed as soldiers, or had soldiers billeted in their houses.

Great discontent.

At last the preparations for war were complete, and Buckingham sailed to La Rochelle with a fleet of a hundred ships. He besieged the fortress of St. Martins, in the island of Rhé, opposite the town, and if he had succeeded, the war might have been popular, as it was to help the Protestants. But, as usual, all went badly. The French broke through, and carried food to the fortress. Buckingham's troops died of disease, and he was forced to come home for reinforcements.

Buckingham fails to relieve La Rochelle, 1627.

A great sadness fell on the English people. They who had been so powerful were now constantly dishonoured before other nations. They who had boasted of law and freedom now saw men imprisoned who had committed no crime. Five country gentlemen who had been sent to prison had appealed to the judges for a writ of *habeas corpus*,[1] which obliged the gaoler to produce his prisoner in court, and show the warrant, stating the charge against him. Now, against these men there was no charge, for it was no crime to refuse to lend money, and the Magna Charta had said that "*no man shall be taken or imprisoned unless by lawful judgment of his peers or the law of the land.*" Nevertheless, the judges had sent these men back to prison, fearing to displease the king.

Five gentlemen appeal against imprisonment.

Parliament now demanded their release, and Sir John Eliot and Sir Thomas Wentworth spoke bold words. "We must vindicate our ancient liberties," said Wentworth; "we must reinforce the laws made by our ancestors."

[1] So called from the first words of the writ *produce the body.*

The Commons then drew up a "Petition of Right" against illegal taxation, benevolences, and imprisonment, asking the king to promise, *first*, that no free man should be asked for a loan without consent of Parliament; *secondly*, that no free man should be sent to prison without a cause being shown. The House of Lords agreed to the petition, and though the king struggled hard against it, he was so pressed for money that he was obliged to give way, and on June 7, 1628, it became law. Throughout the country bonfires and ringing of bells told how the people rejoiced at the vindication of their liberty, and the Commons granted the supplies for which Charles had asked. But when they went on to ask for Buckingham's dismissal, the king refused to listen, and prorogued Parliament for a time.

The Petition of Right, June 7, 1628.

They had no occasion to impeach the favourite again. On Aug. 23, just as Buckingham was starting from Portsmouth on a second expedition to La Rochelle, a fanatic named John Felton, who had been refused promotion in the army, and looked upon Buckingham as a public enemy, stabbed him to the heart with a knife at the door of the public hall, crying, "God have mercy on thy soul." When the confusion was over the assassin was found walking up and down without his hat. He had not attempted to escape, and was afterwards hanged.

Assassination of Buckingham, Aug. 23, 1628.

The hated duke was dead and the people rejoiced. But Charles made Weston, Buckingham's secretary, High Treasurer, and all went on as before. The fleet went to La Rochelle, but had no success, and in 1629 Charles made peace with France. Richelieu had conquered La Rochelle, and immeasurably lowered England's position in the world. In fact, everywhere on the continent the Catholics were gaining ground; and for this reason, the people in England were very uneasy when the king raised Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to be Bishop of London. Laud loved rich decorations, and services with great ceremonial

Laud made Bishop of London, 1628.

like the Catholics, and always upheld "divine right" and the absolute power of the king. This absolute power Charles was now using to levy tonnage and poundage whenever he chose, seizing the goods of any merchants who refused to pay.

It happened that some of these goods belonged to a member of Parliament, and, when the House met again in Jan. 1629, Sir John Eliot advised that the custom-house officers who had taken them should be sent for and punished. The officers pleaded that they had acted by the king's order, and Charles bade the speaker adjourn the House. This was done, but when the members met again, and again an order came to adjourn, they would not listen. The speaker tried to rise, but two members held him down in his chair, and the doors were locked, while Eliot put the vote that "*they were traitors who should bring in changes in religion, or who should take or pay custom duties not granted by Parliament.*" Just as the members were shouting "Aye, aye," the guards came by the king's order to break open the doors. There was no need; the House adjourned immediately, and a few days later the king dissolved Parliament. He sent Eliot and several other members to prison, but soon released those who made submission. Three only—Eliot, Valentine, and Strode—refused to say anything against the rights of Parliament, and Eliot, after remaining three years and a half in the Tower, died, the first martyr to the cause of liberty.

Parliament becomes defiant, 1629.

Tumult and dissolution.

Death of Sir John Eliot, 1632.

For the next eleven years Charles ruled without a Parliament, and his chief ministers were Weston, Laud, and Wentworth. We have seen how such men as Eliot and Pym had risen up to defend the liberty of Parliament; two equally determined men, Wentworth (afterwards Lord Strafford) and Laud, now upheld the despotic power of the king. The question was which would conquer. Wentworth, who was very ambitious, had broken with his old friends directly after

Wentworth and Laud.

Buckingham's death, and sided with the king. He became President of the Council of the North, and ruled with a rod of iron. Laud, who was far more conscientious and single-minded, was unfortunately narrow and bigoted, and these two men first helped to ruin their master, and then died as martyrs to his cause.

For the first five years all was outwardly quiet. Moderate men felt that the Commons had gone too far, and insulted the king; and as Weston was a careful treasurer, and did not oppress the people with taxes, they were content. It was at this time, in 1635, that the inland post-office was first established, and letters were sent by a weekly post. Hackney coaches, too, which first began to run in 1625, became common, but they were not allowed in the crowded streets; and sedan-chairs were introduced in 1634 for carrying people within the town. A great scientific discovery took place about this time. Harvey, the king's physician, published in 1628 his work on the circulation of the blood. In the country we have a glimpse of peaceful life in the simple-hearted poet-clergyman, George Herbert, who wrote his quaint religious poems in the Rectory of Bemerton in Wiltshire, and went to his rest in 1633, before the troubled times began; while in 1634 the poet Milton wrote his "Comus" at Horton, in Buckinghamshire, having given up the Church because he would not be allowed to speak his mind freely.

Inland Post, 1635.

Harvey, George Herbert, and Milton.

All this time the Puritans were emigrating in large numbers to New England. A thousand were taken by John Winthrop in 1630, and during the next eleven years no less than twenty thousand crossed over the sea. Lord Baltimore, who was a Catholic, also founded a new colony, called Maryland, in 1634, to the north of Virginia. In this colony, although it was founded for Catholic "recusants," the first law was that every one should freely follow his own religion.

Emigrations to America.

Such asylums of freedom were now greatly needed, for at home matters grew worse and worse. Wentworth was

sent in 1633 to govern Ireland, where the new "plantations" of English and Scotch made the natives very uneasy. In one sense he ruled well. He called an Irish Parliament, and obtained enough money to pay a well-disciplined army, with which he kept good order. He encouraged trade, and the linen manufactures of the north were started in his time. But he had no respect for promises nor for law. He was anxious to be "*thorough*," as he wrote to Laud, and he paid no heed to the wishes of the people, but put down the Catholic religion with great severity, and tried to colonise Connaught, though the king had given his word it should not be done. Thus his reign was one of terror. So long as his firm hand was over them, the Irish were quiet, but a terrible reaction came, as we shall see, when he left them.

Wentworth's rule in Ireland, 1633-1639.

The same year that Wentworth went to Ireland, Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had always been a peace-maker, died. Then Laud became archbishop, and two years later, in 1635, when Weston died, he became really the chief minister in England. He began at once to make many changes towards the old religion, such as putting back the altar to the east end of the church, whereas for a long time it had stood in the middle, restoring painted windows, and replacing a crucifix in Lambeth Chapel. These things alarmed the Puritans. In our time any one who does not like a church service can go elsewhere, but then no one thought it possible to have different kinds of worship; there was one church, and every one was forced to attend. So when any one in authority like Laud made changes which most people disliked, trouble was sure to follow. The Puritans had now increased very largely, and Sunday was, by order of Parliament, kept as a much more serious day than formerly. In olden times sports and pastimes went on in most villages, but now the justices of the peace put these down because they led to drunkenness. Laud and the king, paying no attention to the law, determined to restore the games, and ordered the clergy to give this out from

Laud quarrels with the Puritans.

the pulpit. They refused, and hundreds of Puritan ministers were in consequence deprived of their livings. Nor was this all, for just at this time three men—Prynne, a barrister, Bastwick, a physician, and Burton, a clergyman—were punished by the Star Chamber for writing pamphlets against Laud's government. They had their ears cut off in the pillory, and were imprisoned for life. These things made many moderate men side with the Puritans. Thus we see that step by step the king and his ministers were losing the love of the people.

Sentences on Prynne, Bastwick, Burton, 1637.

Charles had long ago broken his promises given in the "Petition of Right," and had been raising money in the old ways, punishing severely all who resisted. Now, as a fleet was wanted, he commanded all the coast towns to provide him with ships, as they had done for Elizabeth when the Armada threatened England (*see* p. 168), or to give him "ship-money" instead. This was directly against his promise in the Petition of Right, and when he went farther, and levied the tax in the inland towns as well, a Buckinghamshire squire named John Hampden refused to pay, and appealed to the law. Although all the judges were at that time appointed by the king, five out of twelve boldly declared that Hampden was right; but as the majority were against him, the tax was continued, and all England was indignant.

King levies ship-money, 1634-1638.

Hampden appeals.

Even this storm, however, might have passed over, if the king and Laud had not just at this time quarrelled with the Scots by ordering them to use the English Prayer-book. Ever since the Reformation the Scots had used either John Knox's liturgy or extempore prayer, and now they refused to have a prayer-book which they thought popish thrust upon them. When the clergyman began to read from it in the principal church of Edinburgh, an old woman threw a stool at his head, and there was the same feeling of rebellion all over Scotland. The king sent a message requiring the

Charles attempts to force a prayer-book on the Scots.

congregations to submit, but the only result was that they solemnly renewed the National Covenant which had been made in 1557 (*see* p. 158), and gentlemen, nobles, and ministers rode round the country with a declaration, which the people signed wherever they went.

The Covenanters, 1638.

The king was very angry, and marched to the Border. But the Scotch Covenanters were prepared, while the English soldiers sympathised with the Scots, and Charles was warned that they would not fight. So he was obliged to give way, and returned to London, secretly determined to come back and conquer. He sent for Wentworth, now Earl Strafford, to come home. Strafford came, and advised him to call a Parliament, while he himself hurried back to Ireland to bring over his well-disciplined troops.

Lord Strafford recalled to England.

Neither Strafford nor the king, however, knew how dissatisfied the people had been growing. Parliament met on April 13, 1640, but only sat for three weeks. They refused to vote any money till their grievances were redressed, and they would not hear of a war with Scotland. So Charles, obstinate as usual, dissolved Parliament, and marched north with such an army as he could muster. The Scots had been beforehand with him; they had invaded Northumberland, and now drove back the English at Newburn, near Newcastle, and out of Durham. Charles found himself obliged to make peace by promising a large sum of money, and this he could not get without another Parliament.

The Short Parliament, 1640.

But now in his difficulties any Parliament was sure to be his master, and the "Long Parliament," which met on Nov. 3, 1640, lasted longer than the king's life. The first thing the Commons did was to set at liberty the men whose ears had been cut off, and the next was to impeach Laud and Strafford. They hated Strafford most, for he had deserted his party, had planned to bring an Irish army into England, and had encouraged the king to act in defiance of Parliament. He was in Yorkshire, and wanted to return to

The Long Parliament, 1640-1653; 1659-1660.

Ireland, but Charles promised that if he would come to London not "a hair of his head should be touched." So he returned, and as he entered the House of Lords he saw Pym, followed by three hundred members, standing at the bar of the House, and bringing the message of his impeachment from the Commons. He was sent to the Tower, and on Jan. 30, 1641, he was tried in Westminster Hall. During the trial young Sir Henry Vane, whose father was a courtier, while he himself was a great friend of Pym, was able, from some of his father's papers, to show that Strafford had proposed to govern the kingdom with the help of an Irish army. Still it was so difficult to convict the minister legally, that the *impeachment* or prosecution according to usual law, was changed to a *bill of attainder*, or special condemnation by Parliament.

Trial and execution of Strafford, 1641.

The bill was sent to the king to sign. Charles refused at first, but an angry crowd gathered round Whitehall, and the queen grew alarmed, so at last, bursting into tears, he appointed a commission to sign the bill which sent his faithful servant to the scaffold. Strafford, far nobler, had written to his master, relieving him from his promise to protect him, yet he felt the desertion bitterly. "Put not your trust in princes," said he, as he prepared for death. He was beheaded on May 12, 1641. Laud was not beheaded till 1645.

After Strafford's death Parliament made great reforms. A "Triennial Act" was passed ordaining that there must be a Parliament at least every three years, and that no future Parliament could be dissolved without its own consent. The Council of the North, the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission, were abolished, and statutes were passed against illegal taxation. There were now two parties in Parliament. One was the court party, formed of those who wished not to be too hard upon the king; the leaders of this party were Lord Falkland—a brave, gentle, and noble spirit—and Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon. The other was the Puritan party, with Pym as leader, and

Triennial Act and other reforms, 1641.

he proposed that councillors, judges, and ministers should in future be appointed by Parliament. While this was being discussed, and Charles was away in Scotland, terrible news came from Ireland.

On Oct. 23, 1641, the Irish Catholics, so cruelly oppressed by Strafford, rose when his control was withdrawn and massacred the Scotch and English, men, women, and children, driving them out to die in the snow or drown in the river. All England shuddered with horror, and a panic set in when the Irish showed a commission bearing the king's seal authorising them to take up arms. Charles had, of course, not dreamed of a massacre, but there is no doubt he had hoped to rouse the Irish against the English Parliament. He succeeded, but not as he wished, for Pym and Hampden pointed out boldly to the House that they could no longer trust the king nor his ministers, and a "Grand Remonstrance" was drawn up, showing all the evils they had suffered for years past, and demanding ministers appointed by Parliament. A violent debate followed from early morning to midnight, and at last the "Grand Remonstrance" was passed amidst an uproar which would have ended in bloodshed but for Hampden's resolute firmness.

Massacre of Protestants in Ireland, 1641.

Grand Remonstrance.

Five days later the king returned from Scotland, and trusting that many members would still support him, he sent to impeach Lord Kimbolton, and five members in the Commons — Pym, Hampden, Holles, Haselrig, and Strode. He promised, "on the word of a king," to do no violence, but the Houses would not trust him, and refused to give up the members. The next day he broke his word, and came down to the House with guards and a long train of armed cavaliers to seize the five members. As he entered he saw that their seats were empty; they had been sent for safety to the city. "Since I see my birds are flown," said he, "I do expect from you that you will send them unto me as soon as they return hither, otherwise I must take my own

Attempt to seize the five members.

course to find them;" and he walked angrily away, the members shouting, "Privilege, privilege," as he went.

He never found the five culprits. London, always powerful, was now entirely on the side of liberty. The city was not in those days a mere mass of warehouses and offices as now. Three hundred thousand people then had their homes between Temple Bar and the Exchange, the merchants in richly furnished houses, the shopkeepers above their shops, together with the 'prentice lads, who cried, "What d'ye lack" at the booths which served as shop-fronts. Each trade had its "Company," such as the Merchant Tailors, the Fishmongers, or the Goldsmiths; and these companies had their trained bands, in which aldermen, shopkeepers, and apprentices were the officers and soldiers. It was under this powerful protection that the five members now met a committee of the House of Commons every day, and after a week were brought back in triumph along the river to Westminster.

London defies the king.

By that time it was clear the king was no longer master in London, and he had left with his family for Hampton Court. The queen crossed over to the Netherlands with the elder children, taking the crown jewels to raise money; and on Aug. 22, 1642, the king raised his standard at Nottingham. Civil war had begun.

Outbreak of civil war, Aug. 22, 1642.

For the next four years there was fighting all over England. Roughly speaking, the west and north sided with the king, while the east and south held by the Parliament. Sixty-five of the peers and half the Commons rallied round their sovereign. The king's nephew, Prince Rupert, son of the Elector Palatine, commanded the Royal Cavalry, which was composed of gentlemen and their sons, bold, dashing riders known as "Prince Rupert's Horse"; while the whole of the king's party went by the name of the "Cavaliers." The other half of the Commons, together with twenty peers, and many

King's party or "Cavaliers."

Parliamentary Party or "Roundheads."

country squires, farmers, merchants, and tradesmen, took the side of the Parliament; and because all servants and apprentices wore their hair cropped short, the cavaliers nicknamed them "Roundheads."

At first the king had the advantage. The Earl of Essex, who led the Parliamentary army, wanted to make terms with Charles rather than to overthrow him, and Prince Rupert's dashing horsemen struck terror into the farmers and shopkeepers who had turned soldiers. At Powick Bridge on Sept. 22, and at Edgehill, in Warwickshire on Oct. 23, though neither party conquered, the royal troops had on the whole the best of it, and Essex retreated.

Powick Bridge and Edgehill, 1642.

Charles followed, till on Nov. 12 he reached Brentford and threatened London. If he had taken it and all its wealth, the war might have ended; but the trained bands marched boldly out to Turnham Green, and the king's army retreated.

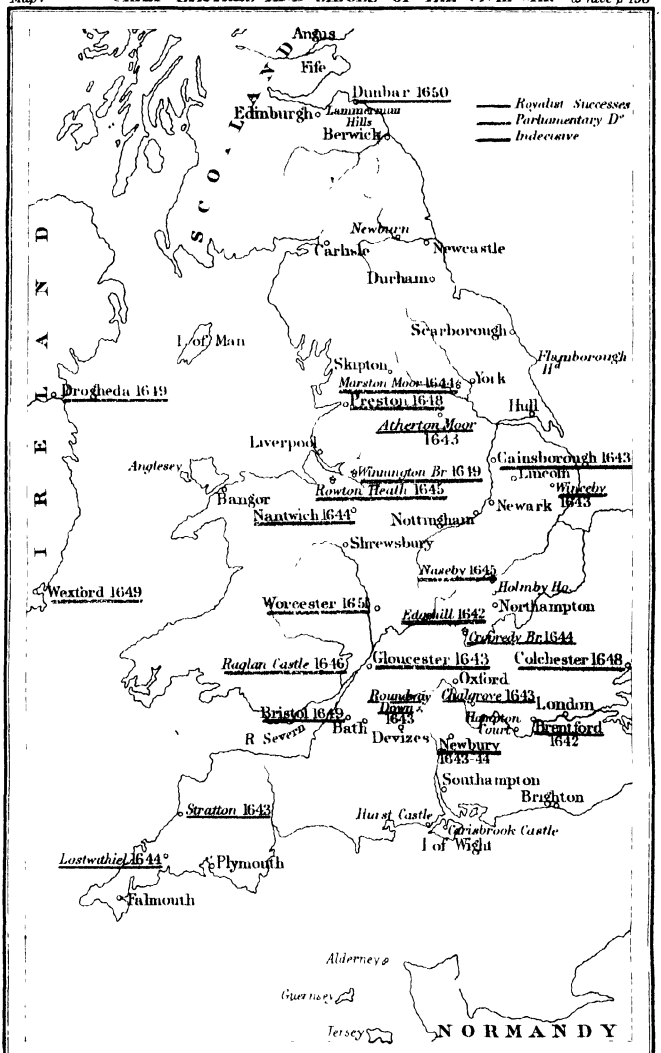
Charles now made his headquarters at Oxford, and little by little the south-west counties were gained by the royalists. The whole country was at war. In the north the Parliamentary leader, Fairfax, was sorely pressed. In the west the Cornishmen, who were fervent royalists, were defeating General Waller, while Prince Rupert was fighting Essex in Oxfordshire. The Parliamentary Council was always hoping to make peace. Pym and Hampden alone saw that the struggle must be fought out, and these two brave men were soon to pass away. On June 18, 1643, Prince Rupert, marching westward against Waller, defeated Hampden with a small party of horse at Chalgrove in Buckinghamshire, and Hampden rode off the field, his head hanging and his hands on his horse's neck, mortally wounded. After lying six days at Thame, striving to write down his plans for the Council, he died, crying, "Oh Lord, save my country." During the next two months town after town fell to the royalists; Bath, Exeter, Bristol, Dorchester, and many others were taken, and

Royalist successes, 1643.

Death of Hampden, June 24, 1643.

CHIEF BATTLES AND SIEGES OF THE CIVIL WAR

to face p 198



Stanfords Geog[l] Estab[t]

London Macmillan & C° L[td]

Gloucester was closely besieged. The Parliament was in great danger, for the people of London were growing dissatisfied. But a change was at hand. By great efforts a fresh army was collected under Essex, with which he raised the siege of Gloucester. Then, turning back, he met the royalists at Newbury in Berkshire, Sept. 20, 1643, and there Lord Falkland fell, crying, "Peace, peace," and found rest in death.

Parliamentary successes.

Falkland killed, Sept. 20, 1643.

Meanwhile Pym had sent Sir Henry Vane to Scotland for help, and on Sept. 25 a "Solemn League and Covenant" was signed, in which the Scots promised to fight for the Parliament on condition that the Presbyterian religion was protected. This league was scarcely signed when Pym died, on Dec. 8, worn out with anxiety.

League with the Scots, Sept. 25, 1643.

But another leader was already prepared to take his place. Oliver Cromwell, a stern, zealous, resolute man, the son of a gentleman in Huntingdonshire, had long been watching the troubles of his country. He had sat in the Parliament of 1628, when the Petition of Right was passed; he had spoken in 1641 against the cruelties of the Star Chamber; and when war broke out he began at once to levy a troop to fight in the Parliamentary army. Very early in the war he saw that the rabble collected on their side could never stand against the high-spirited cavaliers; and he formed his troop of gentlemen and freeholders, who fought not for plunder, but for liberty and religion. Among such men each had his own religous opinions, and Cromwell did not care whether a soldier was a Presbyterian, Baptist, or Independent, so long as he loved God and would fight for the Parliament. The result was, that long before Pym died, "Cromwell's Ironsides," as they were called, were as famous as "Rupert's Horse," and wherever they went victory followed. It was chiefly owing to them that the first great Parliamentary victory was gained, when on July 4, 1644, seven months after Pym's death, the Scots

Oliver Cromwell.

Cromwell's Ironsides.

Battle of Marston Moor, July 4, 1644.

and Roundheads together, led by General Fairfax, met and defeated the royalists at Marston Moor.

Cromwell had now great influence, and saw clearly that the war would not end till the Parliamentary army had more resolute leaders. He told the Council that they must remodel their army, which was led by members of Parliament, and put military officers in their place. This was done; and by what was called the "Self-denying Ordinance," members gave up their commands. The army was reconstructed, and Sir Thomas Fairfax put at its head, and at his special request Cromwell was allowed to remain a short time longer as lieutenant-general. In that short time the work was done. The "New Model," as the army was called, met the royalists at Naseby, in Northamptonshire, on June 14, 1645, and defeated them utterly. Charles fled to Wales, and afterwards to the Scotch army at Newark; and little by little the garrisons all fell into the hands of the Parliament. The Council offered to take back their king if he would give them complete power over the army for twenty years, and grant freedom of worship to the Puritans. But Charles was still bent on setting one party against another, that he might come back as master. At last the Scots, tired of his intrigues, accepted £400,000 for their expenses in the war, and handed the king over to Parliament, Jan. 30, 1647.

Self-denying Ordinance, 1645.

Battle of Naseby, June 14, 1645.

He was lodged at Holmby House, Northamptonshire, and treated with great respect, and he hoped soon to be king again, for the Parliament and the army had begun to quarrel. Now the war was over, Parliament wanted to disband the army, paying them only one-sixth of their due. But the army was composed of men who had made great sacrifices for their religion and liberty, and they refused to disband till they were promised freedom to worship as they chose, till their arrears were paid, and the widows and orphans provided for. In fact they knew that they were the strongest, and one day, June 23, 1647, while the quarrel was going on,

King a prisoner, 1647.



GATEWAY OF CARISBROOKE CASTLE.

After J. M. W. Turner.

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a body of horse, commanded by Cornet Joyce, went to Holmby House, and carried the king off to Hampton Court, so as to have the power in their own hands. Meanwhile Parliament was invaded by a city mob, and serious riots seemed likely to take place. In this dilemma part of the army marched to London under Cromwell and Fairfax, and determined to make their own terms with the king.

He is seized by the army.

The old story began again. Charles pretended to treat with them, while all the time he was secretly plotting with the Scots and Irish, promising each whatever they wanted if they would rise and support him. He escaped to the Isle of Wight on Nov. 12, where, however, he was again confined in Carisbrooke Castle. But he had succeeded in persuading the Scotch to invade England, and in exciting a royalist insurrection in Wales, Kent, and Essex.

Plots with Scots and Irish.

This second civil war brought the king's ruin. Fairfax put down the insurrection in Kent and Essex. Cromwell put it down in Wales, and then defeated the Scots at Preston, Aug. 17, 1648. The soldiers came back, determined to put an end to the king who tricked them with promises while he raised war in secret. There was no chance of peace, they said, so long as he lived. It did not matter now that the judges refused to try the king, or that Parliament would not form a court to impeach him. The army was master, and one morning Colonel Pride, with a regiment of soldiers, stood at the door of the House and turned away all who, like Sir Henry Vane, refused to sit in judgment on their king. This was called "Pride's Purge." After it was over only fifty-three members remained, and these appointed one hundred and thirty-five persons to form a court of justice. Bradshaw, an eminent lawyer, was made president, and Cromwell and his son-in-law, Ireton, were there; but when the name of the great General Fairfax was called, his wife cried aloud, "He is not here, and never will be; you do wrong to name him."

Second civil war, 1648.

Pride's Purge. Dec. 5, 1648.

Before this court, to which only sixty-three men came,

the king was summoned on Jan. 20, 1649, and impeached as a tyrant, traitor, and murderer. He refused to defend himself—for indeed the trial was a mockery—and sentence was passed that he should be executed. Nine days later he took a tender farewell of his two youngest children, Henry and Elizabeth, the only ones who were in England, and bade Henry never to be made king while his elder brothers Charles and James were alive. "I will be torn in pieces first," answered the brave child, and the father stept out, calm and dignified, on to the scaffold outside a window of Whitehall Palace, and was beheaded, Jan. 30, 1649.

Trial and execution of the king, Jan. 30, 1649.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ENGLAND ATTEMPTS GOVERNMENT BY A REPUBLIC

The Commonwealth, 1649–1660.

THE king was dead, and the few men, not more than eighty, who still formed a Parliament, were all the Government left in the country. They abolished the House of Lords, and declared that a king was unnecessary. Then they elected a Council of State of forty members to carry on the Government, and on May 19, 1649, proclaimed a "Commonwealth" or "Free State." We must try and put ourselves in the place of this young Commonwealth, which sprang out of the murder of a king, and yet wished to do well for the country. Fairfax and Vane joined it again, now that it was no longer of any use to protest against the terrible deed. Cromwell was there, stern, fanatical, and guided in all his actions by the severe commands of the Old Testament. So was Bradshaw, who had condemned his king because he feared he would ruin the country, and Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law, a brave, upright soldier. These were the leading men, and with them were many honest republicans, such as Marten, Scot, Ludlow, and Hutchinson.

Common-wealth, May 19, 1649.

They had a hard task before them. All Europe looked coldly upon them. One of their foreign ambassadors was murdered at the Hague, where Charles Stuart, the king's eldest son, was openly recognised as Charles II. Another was murdered at Madrid almost before they began their sittings. The people at home, too, were discontented, because of the heavy war-taxes, and the country was overrun with highwaymen and disbanded royalist soldiers. The general uneasiness was increased by a book called *Eikôn Basilikê*, or the *Royal Image*, really written by a certain Dr. Gauden, but supposed to be the work of King Charles while in captivity. It gave a touching picture of his piety and suffering, and caused many to look upon him as a martyr, and to wish openly that the good old times before the civil war could come back again. Then the Scots had at once, on Feb. 12, 1649, proclaimed Charles II. as their king; while the Duke of Ormond, in Ireland, succeeded in uniting the Catholics, the royalists, and even the Protestants of Ulster, in favour of the young prince, inviting him to come over and fight for his kingdom. Lastly, Prince Rupert was in the Channel with eleven royalist ships, which he had been keeping safely in the Dutch harbours, and now brought to attack English traders. All these difficulties made the small band of governors afraid to dissolve Parliament, and let the people decide by new elections how they wished to be governed. On the contrary, this fragment of a Parliament determined to go on as they were; and as the most pressing trouble was the Irish rising, they began by sending Cromwell to Ireland with 12,000 men. Even in this they had a difficulty, for the soldiers mutinied, and only consented to go when they learnt who was to lead them.

Dangers to the Commonwealth.

Eikôn Basilikê.

Scotland and Ireland are loyal.

Prince Rupert in the Channel.

Cromwell landed in Ireland on Aug. 15, 1649, when only Dublin remained in the hands of the Parliament. In three months he was master of the country. But he conquered by terrible severity. He knew he must do

his work quickly, and he believed he was carrying out the judgment of God for the massacres in 1641 (*see* p. 196). So at the siege of Drogheda, with which the war began, he gave his soldiers orders to spare no one bearing arms. On the night of Sept. 11, when they made a breach in the town wall and entered the city, no less than 2000 men were put to the sword. St. Peter's Church, where many had taken refuge, was set on fire, and of those who surrendered every tenth soldier was shot, and the rest sent as slaves to Barbadoes. At Wexford, on Oct. 11, a similar slaughter took place, though not by Cromwell's orders. After this there was less loss of life, for the other towns were terrified and surrendered, yet these two massacres will always remain a stain on Cromwell's memory.

Cromwell in Ireland, 1649.

Sieges of Drogheda and Wexford, 1649.

He stayed nine months in Ireland subduing the country, and meanwhile the Council at home was governing England. Sir Harry Vane was placed at the head of the navy, and under him was the famous Admiral Blake, who was soon to win such splendid victories. Milton, the poet, was made Latin Secretary to the Council, because he could correspond in that language, and Bradshaw was President.

Home Government.

They had soon to deal with a new difficulty, for on June 24, 1650, news arrived that Charles had landed in Scotland. The Covenanters, though they had hanged the royalist Earl of Montrose, were willing to fight for Charles II. when he swore to uphold the Covenant and the Presbyterian religion. The Commonwealth saw at once how dangerous it would be if Charles marched into England with a Scotch army, and they determined to attack him in Scotland. But when they asked Fairfax to command the army he refused, saying that they had no right to break the covenant with Scotland unless the Scots attacked England.

Charles II. arrives in Scotland, June 24, 1650.

Cromwell was therefore recalled from Ireland to take the command, and after being received with great honour

in London, was sent north with 16,000 men. When he crossed the Border all the people in the south of Scotland fled northwards, having heard of his severity in Ireland, and the country was left desolate. Many returned when they found how well his troops behaved, yet food was very scarce, and when the army drew near to Edinburgh, Cromwell was obliged to retreat to Dunbar, a town on the sea-coast, so as to get his provisions by sea. Here David Leslie, the Scotch general, managed to place his troops on the Lammermuir Hills, to the south of the English army, so cutting them off from Berwick and England. Cromwell was in a very dangerous position, his soldiers were sick and starving, and so long as the Scots remained on the hill, he could not attack them. Fortunately for him the Covenanters became impatient, and one afternoon he saw that Leslie was moving his men down towards a little brook, across which there was an easy passage to Dunbar. He knew at once that Leslie meant to attack him, and resolved to begin first. "*Now*," said he to Lambert, one of his generals, "*the Lord hath delivered them into my hand.*" Before daylight the next morning, Sept. 3, 1650, he set his troops in motion, and with the cry, "The Lord of Hosts, the Lord of Hosts," they charged before the Scots were well awake. A hot fight followed for a few minutes on the brook, but a panic seized the Scots, and as the sun rose the army was seen flying in disorder hither and thither. In one short hour they were scattered. Cromwell first ordered a halt and sang the 117th Psalm, and then pursued the fugitives; 3000 were killed, 10,000 taken prisoners, and nearly all the baggage and artillery seized. Edinburgh opened its gates, and Cromwell took possession of the town.

Cromwell in Scotland, 1650-1651.

Battle of Dunbar, Sept. 3, 1650.

Nevertheless he was fighting in Scotland for nearly another year. A new army was formed by the royalists and the covenanters, and Charles II. was crowned at Scone on Jan. 1, 1651. At last Cromwell gained possession of Fife, and cut Charles off from the north of Scotland, while, perhaps purposely, he left the way open

to England. Charles, weary of the strict Presbyterians, determined to try his fortune among the English. Breaking up his camp he marched southwards through Lancashire towards the west of England, which had always been loyal. On he went, with Cromwell following behind; but so few English ventured to join him that when Cromwell overtook him at Worcester Charles had only 16,000 men against 30,000. Then followed the famous Battle of Worcester on Sept. 3, the anniversary of the Battle of Dunbar. The royalists were totally defeated, General Leslie was taken prisoner, and Charles fled in disguise. He was so sorely pressed that he lay one whole day hidden in an oak-tree in Boscobel Wood, Shropshire, while the Parliamentary soldiers were passing to and fro underneath. The miller Humphrey Penderell and his four brothers will always be remembered as having concealed him and saved his life; and after a number of adventures he reached Brighton, then a small fishing village, and crossed in a collier vessel to Normandy.

Battle of Worcester, Sept. 3, 1651.

Flight of Charles II., 1651.

From this time the Commonwealth was respected by foreign nations, and treated as the recognised Government of the country. Admiral Blake had already defeated Prince Rupert at sea, and now Vane determined to strike a blow at the Dutch who had supported Charles, and at the same time increase the English navy. In Oct. 1651 a "Navigation Act" was passed, forbidding foreign goods to be brought into England except by English vessels, or vessels belonging to the country from which the goods came. Now the Dutch were the chief carriers from foreign countries, so this Act took the trade from them and gave it to English ships. While the question was still being discussed with Holland, the Dutch fleet, under Admiral Tromp, met the English fleet, under Blake, in the English Channel. A fight took place, in which the Dutch were defeated, and a naval war began, which lasted two years. After one battle, Nov. 1652, when Tromp gained a victory, he bound a broom to his masthead

Navigation Act and Dutch War, 1651-1653.

and sailed down the Channel to show that he had "swept the English from the seas." But he boasted too soon, for after many battles, in which the Dutch suffered severely, they were completely defeated, and Tromp was killed. From that time to this, England has remained mistress of the seas, and to Vane and Blake we owe the rise of our modern English fleet which had begun under Elizabeth.

Dutch completely defeated, Feb. 1653.

But while respected abroad the Commonwealth was beginning to have troubles at home. We must remember that the eighty men who formed the Parliament had never appealed to the people after the king's death, and therefore could not be said really to represent the nation. Many of them were not so honest and upright as Fairfax, Vane, and Bradshaw; and as there was no check upon them, many unjust things were done. The members gave offices to their friends, while they oppressed those who did not agree with them in religion, and the royalists who did not bribe them, and sometimes perverted the laws for their own interests. When Cromwell came back from Worcester he saw much bad government, and wished to put an end to it. He had now an army which was devoted to him, and he and the officers told the members that they ought to dissolve Parliament, and have a proper one elected. But even Vane was afraid to do this, fearing that the army would get the upper hand and the Republic be destroyed; and the members prepared a bill proposing merely to elect others to sit with them. Cromwell objected that this was not an appeal to the nation, and conferences were held by the officers and some of the members to try and come to an understanding.

Abuses in the Government.

Members refuse to allow a new Parliament.

One day, April 20, 1653, when one of the conferences was going on at Whitehall, Cromwell heard that the rest of the members were passing their bill at Westminster. Quick to act, he hurried down to the House with a regiment of musketeers, and leaving them outside, went in and listened to the debate. When the question was put "that

this bill do now pass," he rose and paced the floor, praising them at first for what they had done well, and then blaming them for injustice and self-interest. "Come, come," said he, "I will put an end to this. It is not fit you should sit here any longer. You are no Parliament;" and calling in his soldiers, he bade them clear the House. "What shall we do with this bauble?" he cried, taking up the speaker's mace which lies on the table as a sign of authority. "Take it away." The members were so taken aback at this sudden dismissal that only Sir Harry Vane found words to remonstrate. "This is not honest," he cried; "yea, it is against morality and common honesty." Nevertheless Cromwell turned them all out, locked the door, and put the key in his pocket, and the next morning some royalist wag stuck a placard on the door, "This house to let, now unfurnished."

Cromwell turns out the members, April 20, 1653.

In this way the Long Parliament was driven out, after lasting ever since 1640, but as it could not legally be *dissolved* without its own consent, we shall hear of it again. Cromwell and the officers now summoned an assembly, elected by the people, under the guidance of their ministers. It was to be a "Godly Parliament," and went by the name of the "Little or Barebone's Parliament," from a member, Praise-God-Barebone, who sat in it. Scotland, Ireland, and Wales each sent six members. Some good Acts were passed—one for the relief of debtors, another that births, deaths, and marriages should be registered. But the members wished to make so many reforms that they threw the whole Government into confusion; and after sitting five months, they gave back their power to Cromwell. The Council then drew up an "Instrument of Government," making a new constitution, and put Cromwell at the head of the state as Lord Protector.

The rule of the army.

Little or Barebone's Parliament, July 4 to Dec. 16.

Thus within five years of the king's death one man once more ruled the nation, though his power at first was very limited, for his council was elected for life, and he had

no veto on the laws. Moreover, he had many enemies. The Royalists and Presbyterians, the Republicans (such as Vane and Bradshaw), and even the Levellers or extreme Radicals, were all against him for different reasons, and plots of assassination and rebellion were constantly springing up. Yet he ruled well and justly during the ten months before a new Parliament assembled. He made a fair peace with Holland, and concluded treaties with Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal, favourable to English trade. He inquired into education, and gave manuscripts and books to the Bodleian Library at Oxford. He made ordinances which were just to all religious sects, except that he forbade the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and would not allow the royalist clergy to preach in public; but even these had their private congregations. He cut down the costs of the law-courts so that all men might have justice, and removed heavy burdens from the land, giving advantages to small farmers and yeomen. He united Scotland by an ordinance to England, and the Scots reckoned the eight years of his government as "years of peace and prosperity." Poor Ireland was less happy. Those who were taken in the war suffered death or exile, while those who had borne arms were banished to the dreary province of Connaught to form new homes.

Cromwell Protector, Dec. 16, 1653.

His ordinances.

The new Parliament met Sept. 3, 1654. It was fairly elected, except that Catholics and royalists were shut out; but it only lasted five months. The republicans were uneasy. Cromwell expected them merely to carry on his work, but they went back and questioned his ordinances, and Vane raised a debate against any one "single person" being the head of the state.

His first Parliament.

Cromwell had by this time grown into the belief that he was called by God to rule the nation, and he was afraid the royalists would rise if he did not rule firmly. So he dissolved Parliament, Jan. 22, 1655, and a few months later divided England into ten districts, over which he

placed military officers, called Major-generals. In fact, he now governed despotically by military rule, and even imprisoned for a short time his old friends, Vane and Bradshaw, because he feared their influence. On the other hand, he left the judges free; he allowed the Jews to settle again in England, and he protected the Quakers, a sect founded at this time by George Fox, a weaver. He was always unwilling to punish attacks on his own life, and he made no attempt to enrich himself, though he now lived in state at Whitehall.

Major-generals, 1655.

In fact, he did not wish to be a despot, and when in 1656 he rebuked the Duke of Savoy for persecuting his Protestant subjects in the Vaudois, and so was drawn into a war with Spain, he again called Parliament together. But he excluded many members, and required all who were elected to receive a certificate from the Council. This Parliament began amicably. They drew up a "Petition and advice" requiring that the major-generals should be withdrawn, and formed an "Other House," or House of Lords, in which the peers were to be created by Cromwell. Then they asked Cromwell to take the title of king, by which he would indeed have gained in dignity, but his power would have been more restricted, for the limits of a king's prerogative were defined by the laws. When he refused this honour, fearing to offend the army, they gave him a mantle of state, a sceptre and a sword of justice, and power to name his successor. All worked well the first session, but the next time Parliament met some of the old republicans had gained seats in the place of those who were made peers, and they would not work with the new House of Lords, and began to attack Cromwell himself; so he dissolved them on Feb. 4, 1658, and for the rest of his life governed alone.

Cromwell's second Parliament, Sept. 17, 1656.

Cromwell refuses title of king.

It was not for many months. He had now reached the height of his power. His fleet, though it failed in an attack on San Domingo, had taken Jamaica from Spain

in 1655, and Cromwell made it a flourishing settlement, the foundation of our possessions in the West Indies. His army, allied with the French, defeated the Spaniards in the Battle of the Dunes (1658), when the English gained Dunkirk. All nations sent ambassadors to him as to a king, and the alliance was eagerly sought.

Capture of Jamaica, 1655.

He had brought order and peace into the country, and trade and agriculture flourished. Even the royalists despaired of upsetting this steady government. Yet the people were not happy at heart. The stern Puritan rule galled them; they missed the dances round the Maypole, the races, the cockfightings, the theatres, and the Christmas mummers and good cheer; and many longed for the old days with a king, free Parliament, open-handed country squires, and a gay court.

State of the country.

The republicans were discontented because the republic was crushed, the royalists because a usurper was in the place of a king. Cromwell had tried an impossibility. He wanted the people to work with him in building up an earnest, self-governing country, but his standard was too high for his time, and he knew that he had failed, and that after his death his work would be undone. By failing to establish a settled government he had missed his aim. His enlightened despotism gave the English many benefits, but it did not bestow on them the one blessing they longed for—*the undisturbed supremacy of the law of the land.*

Although he was only fifty-nine his health was breaking, and a pamphlet called "Killing no murder," advocating his assassination, made him uneasy, so that he often went about in armour. The death of his favourite daughter, Lady Claypole, on Aug. 16, 1658, gave the final death-blow. A dangerous ague settled upon him, and though prayers were everywhere offered for his recovery, he knew that he must die. On Aug. 30 he offered a touching prayer for the people, asking that God would "give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love"; and four days

Cromwell's death, Sept. 3, 1658.

after, on Sept. 3, the day of Dunbar and Worcester, the great Protector passed away. His was a strange and complex character, and we shall never know how far ambition and how far religion and patriotism guided him. Yet we must honour him in that he never spared himself in the service of his country. When England was at her lowest he raised her to honour both at home and abroad, and he died without having enriched himself at her expense. He was buried with royal honour in Westminster Abbey.

So great was the Protector's influence that his eldest son Richard was at once named to succeed him. A fresh Parliament met on Jan. 27, 1659, and the lawyers gathered round the new Protector. But Richard was a different man from his father, peaceable and sluggish; the army was not satisfied to be governed by a civilian, and Vane protested openly in the Commons against such a weak ruler. Distracted by quarrels, in which he took no interest, Richard listened to the army and dissolved Parliament, April 22. Then the officers recalled that fragment of the Long Parliament which Cromwell had dismissed—the "Rump" or hinder end of a Parliament, as it was coarsely called. The Rump did not want Richard, so he calmly resigned, and retired into private life in July, after a brief dignity of ten months. But the Rump and the army now disagreed as to who was to have the upper hand. A royalist rising took place, and the soldiers, after subduing it at Winnington Bridge, Cheshire, came back under General Lambert, and guarding the doors of Westminster on Oct. 13, refused to let the members sit. They took the power into their own hands, electing a Committee of Safety from among the officers.

Richard Protector, Sept. 1658 to July 1659.

"The Rump," May 7, 1659.

Anarchy.

This again only lasted two months. There was in Scotland another army, led by General Monk, who had once served under Charles I., but had joined the Parliament in the civil war. Monk was a cool, business-like

man. He would have been faithful to Richard for Cromwell's sake. But now when he saw anarchy everywhere, he quietly resolved to bring back Charles II. On New Year's Day, 1660, he marched into England, proclaiming that he was coming to bring about a free Parliament. At York he met Fairfax, who had been living in retirement, and though General Lambert brought troops to prevent them from marching south, the soldiers no sooner saw their old commander-in-chief than they deserted to Fairfax, and all resistance was over. Monk entered London on Feb. 3, and a month later the Rump was dissolved, and the Long Parliament expired at last. On April 25 a new and freely elected Parliament met, which was called a "Convention" because it was not called by a royal writ. There were in it so many royalists and Presbyterians that they at once passed a resolution to restore the old government of King, Lords and Commons, and to invite Charles II. to come and govern them.

Monk enters London.

Long Parliament expires, March 16, 1660.

Charles had already been in secret correspondence with Monk, and had issued a proclamation at Breda, in Holland, promising a general pardon, religious liberty, and satisfaction to the army; and now, on May 25, he landed at Dover amidst loud rejoicing. On his birthday, May 29, he entered London. The roads were strewn with flowers, the streets hung with flags and garlands, and the fountains ran with wine. The army alone stood sullenly aloof. But the soldiers could not withstand a whole nation mad with joy, and they were men of too earnest and serious natures to excite wanton and useless bloodshed. A few months later the army was disbanded, and these men returned quietly to their desks, or shops, or farms. "It seems it is my own fault," said the king slyly, "that I have not come back sooner, for I find nobody who does not tell me he has always longed for my return." Nevertheless, it is very doubtful whether he would have come back, if the Puritan army had not tired out the patience of the nation.

Charles II. returns, May 1660.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE RESTORATION

Charles II., 1660–1685.

No king was ever more heartily welcomed than Charles II. when he came back to "enjoy his own again." The nation was worn out and weary with so many changes, and longed for a settled government. If Charles had only had the good of his people at heart, he might have been a great king. But though he was clever and sagacious, amiable and easy-tempered, with plenty of good sense and judgment, he was not a good man. He was selfish and indolent, and having spent most of his life as an adventurer abroad, he had no true sense of his duty to the country. All through his reign he was aiming at two things. *First*, to have his own way and get plenty of money for his dissolute pleasures without accounting to Parliament for it; *Secondly*, to further the Catholic religion; not because he was deeply religious, but because he wanted to be an absolute king like his friend young Louis XIV. of France, and he thought that the Protestant religion made people too independent. He and his brother James, Duke of York, had both been educated as Catholics, though they passed outwardly as belonging to the Church of England. As the English people had striven for centuries to make the king's ministers accountable to Parliament, and to shake off the power of the Pope, it is clear that they and the king had directly opposite views.

Character and aims of Charles.

But Charles was far too shrewd to quarrel openly, as his father had done. He was resolved, as he told James, "never to go on his travels again"; so his reign was a confused shifting of power. At one time the king tried to have his will, at another he gave in to Parliament; and through it all, by his careless good-temper, and by sacrificing his ministers whenever it suited him, he managed to keep

his throne, and to enjoy life as the "merry monarch" who

> "Never said a foolish thing,
> And never did a wise one."

His first chief adviser was Sir Edward Hyde, an upright royalist who had sat in the Long Parliament (*see* p. 195), and had been Charles's tutor in exile. He was now made chancellor, under the title of Lord Clarendon, and the seven years of his administration were the best of Charles's reign. The "Convention Parliament," which was sitting at the restoration, put to death thirteen of the men who had condemned Charles I. and imprisoned others; and taking the dead bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw from Westminster Abbey, hanged them on the gallows at Tyburn. After this they passed an "Act of Indemnity," pardoning all others who had fought in the civil war except Vane and Lambert. They next passed to the question of the king's revenue, out of which at that time were paid the expenses of the court, the fleet, the ambassadors, and the judges. They granted him a fixed income for life of £1,200,000, on condition that he should give up certain rights called *military tenures*, *feudal dues*, and *purveyance*, which had long oppressed the people. This done, they disbanded the army, and then dissolved, to make way for a new parliament. Charles, however, who did not feel secure with only the trainbands to protect him, quietly kept 5000 horse and foot soldiers, among whom were the famous body of "Coldstream Guards," which General Monk had formed years before at Coldstream on the Tweed. Charles paid these soldiers himself, and thus formed the first beginning of a *standing army*, though it was not recognised by law.

Clarendon's administration, 1660-1667.

Act of Indemnity, 1660.

Abolition of feudal tenures, 1660.

First standing army, 1660.

For a time all was rejoicing. The people were so pleased at the king's return that they chiefly elected cavaliers to sit in the new Parliament. The court blazed forth in great splendour; the staid, sober rule of the Commonwealth was forgotten,

Cavalier Parliament, 1661-1678.

theatres were opened, revelries of all kinds abounded, and orgies at Vauxhall—a place of amusement first opened at this time—took the place of sermons and prayer meetings. With this pleasure-loving life came many evils. Gambling and drinking, duelling and debauchery, were seen everywhere at court. All sorts of follies were allowed, and for the next fifty years it was not safe to go out unguarded after dark, because of the mad freaks indulged in even by men of quality in the pitch-dark streets, which were not lighted till towards the end of Charles's reign.

A riotous court.

In the country things were better. By degrees many of the royalists settled down in their old homes, and those who had long been divided as Cavaliers and Roundheads, shook hands and forgot their disputes. The people rejoiced to get back their village dances and feasts, and the disbanded soldiers returned to their farms and industries, bringing with them the earnest, serious spirit of the Puritan army. In spite of the numerous coaches now running from the chief towns—while the post ran every other day, or once a week, according to distance—yet there was really very little intercourse between the country and London, and the political quarrels of this reign did not prevent England from improving steadily. The least prosperous part was the north, where moss-troopers still ravaged the country; where judges could not travel without a strong guard, and bloodhounds were kept to track the freebooters. In fact, it is difficult for us in these days to realise how very unsafe both life and property were in those times.

State of the people.

The Scotch border was especially disturbed, because Charles's Parliament did not recognise Cromwell's "Act of Union" (*see* p. 209). The old form of government was restored. Scotland had once more a separate Parliament, bishops were forced upon the people, and those who held to the "covenant" were persecuted without mercy. In Ireland the people suffered from another cause. Those who had served the king in the

Grievances of Scotland and Ireland.

wars complained that Cromwell's followers had seized most of the land; and though at last, by an "Act of Settlement," the Cromwellians gave up one-third of their gains, these were given away as the Government pleased, and the native Irish received but little.

In England the Cavalier Parliament at once restored the Church as it was in Laud's time. The bishops went back to the House of Lords. The Church Service was again used, with some alterations, and from that time to this it has remained the same. So far all was right, but although Charles had promised liberty of conscience to all his subjects, he could not prevent Parliament from passing a "Corporation Act," obliging all officials to renounce the "covenant" and take the sacrament according to the English Church. Moreover, on May 19, 1662, an "Act of Uniformity" was passed, allowing no man to hold a living unless he had been ordained by a bishop, and would accept the Prayer-book. All others were turned out of their livings on St. Bartholomew's Day, Aug. 24, 1662, and more than two thousand able men formed congregations in chapels of their own, taking for the first time the name of "Dissenters," as dissenting or separating from the Church.

Corporation Act, 1661.

Even this, however, was not allowed. In 1664 a "Conventicle Act" was passed, forbidding persons to worship in conventicles or chapels; and in 1665 the "Five Mile Act" prevented dissenting ministers from teaching in schools, or coming within five miles of a town. The famous divine, Richard Baxter, who wrote the *Saint's Everlasting Rest*, was one of those driven out; and he tells us that hundreds of clergy with their families were without house or bread, while numbers were imprisoned. It was for preaching in conventicles that John Bunyan, the tinker, lay for twelve years in Bedford gaol, where he supported his wife and family by making metal tags for laces, and in his spare time wrote the *Pilgrim's Progress*. This book and the poems of *Paradise Lost* and

Acts against Dissenters, 1662, 1664, 1665.

Bunyan and Milton.

Paradise Regained which Milton, blind and poor, wrote at this time, give a true picture of the severe Puritan religion of the people.

During this and the next reign large numbers of Non-conformists emigrated to America, and Charles gave large grants of land to different people, either in payment of old debts or to get more money. It was in this way that Penn, the famous quaker, received a large territory in payment of a heavy debt, and in 1682 took a body of quaker emigrants to the New World. Pennsylvania was the first American state in which the Red Indians were treated as equals.

Pennsylvania founded, 1682.

But Charles was not entirely mercenary; another charter which he granted does him great honour. As early as 1645, during the civil war, a small group of men, weary of quarrels about *opinions*, determined to study *facts*. They held meetings first in London, and afterwards at Oxford, to discuss questions of science, and there Boyle who improved the air-pump, Hooke who introduced the use of the microscope, Halley the astronomer, and others explained their experiments and discoveries. After the Restoration Charles II. (who took great interest in science, and a few years later founded Greenwich Observatory) attended some of these meetings, and granted a charter to the members, by which they became "The Royal Society of London." Sir Isaac Newton explained his discovery of gravitation before this society in 1682, and it is now one of the greatest scientific societies in the world.

Foundation of Royal Society, 1662.

It would have been well if all that Charles had done in 1662 had been as wise as his patronage of science. Unfortunately he did three things that year which he had better have left undone. In May he married Katharine of Portugal, who brought the island of Bombay and the fortress of Tangier as her dowry, but she was a Roman Catholic, and the marriage was very unpopular, especially

Marriage of Charles, May 1662.

as she had no children, and therefore the Duke of York, also a Catholic, remained heir to the throne. In June he caused the brave Sir Harry Vane, the most moderate and disinterested of all the republican leaders, to be executed on Tower Hill; and this not because anything could be really brought against him, but because, as Charles wrote to Clarendon, "he was too dangerous a man to live." In November, the city of Dunkirk, which Cromwell had taken from Spain, was sold to France, and this made the English people very angry with Clarendon, especially as they suspected that the king spent the money on his own pleasures.

Execution of Vane, June 14, 1662.

Sale of Dunkirk, Nov. 1662.

Soon after this the war with Holland broke out afresh. The Dutch and English were always disputing the command of the sea, and New Amsterdam in America had lately been taken by the English and called "New York" after the Duke of York. The leading Dutch statesman, Jean De Witt, was also very sore that Bombay had passed into the hands of England, while Charles hated Holland ever since it had been unfriendly to him in exile. A dispute between English and Dutch vessels on the shores of Africa at last brought matters to a head, and on March 14, 1665, war was declared between England and Holland, and the next year Louis XIV. took the side of the Dutch. The fighting was entirely at sea, and the Duke of York, who was admiral of the fleet, gained a victory off Lowestoft in Suffolk on June 3, 1665, but unfortunately he did not follow up his advantage. The king had to ask Parliament for a large sum to carry on the war, and they granted £1,250,000 *for the war only,* because they feared it would be squandered by the court.

Dutch War, March 1665.

Meanwhile a terrible scourge visited London. In the filthy cities of those days plagues were not uncommon, and in the narrow streets of London, where the upper stories of the houses almost touched, and the clay floors were covered with rotting straw, food, and dirt, a hot summer always brought more or less

Plague of London, 1665.

pestilence. The summer of 1665 was hot beyond all experience. In May the plague which had been raging on the continent broke out in London, and went on increasing all the summer, till in September 1500 persons died in one day, and 24,000 in three weeks. On door after door the red cross appeared, to mark the plague within, while the dead-cart, with its muffled bell, passed along at night, and the cry, "Bring out your dead" sounded through the stillness of the almost deserted streets. King, courtiers, members of Parliament, even doctors and clergy fled from the plague-stricken city. Only devoted and earnest men, chiefly the persecuted Puritan preachers, remained to close the eyes of the dead and comfort the living. Brave General Monk, who had become Duke of Albemarle, Laurence the Lord Mayor, and some others also faced the danger, and remained to keep order and prevent robbery and anarchy from adding to the horrors of the suffering people.

With the winter the plague died away, after more than 100,000 persons had perished. But trade and prosperity could not return at once, and the weary Dutch war went on. One famous battle in the Downs between Dunkirk and the north Foreland, with the Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert on one side, and the Dutch Commander de Ruyter on the other, lasted four days without either party gaining the victory.

Battle of the Downs, 1666.

To add to the troubles, a great fire broke out in Pudding Lane, near London Bridge, on Sept. 2, 1666, by a baker's oven being overheated. An east wind was blowing, and the wooden houses of the crowded streets caught like tinder, and burnt for three days. It was chiefly owing to the energy of the king and the Duke of York that the flames were stopped at last, by blowing up several batches of houses at Temple Bar, Pye Corner, Smithfield, and elsewhere, making gaps which the fire could not cross. The loss was fearful; 13,200 dwellings and 89 churches were destroyed, as well as the halls of the City Companies, the Exchange, the Custom-House, and St. Paul's Cathedral. But in the end the fire

Fire of London, Sept. 2, 1666.

was a blessing, for it destroyed the wretched wooden houses, and choked up the foul wells and pipes with rubbish. New brick houses were now built, and the greater part of the water was brought in future from Chadwell springs in Hertfordshire, along a canal called the "New River," which had been completed by Sir Hugh Myddleton in 1619. New River supply, 1620.

In the midst of all these disasters Clarendon had to apply to the Commons for fresh supplies to refit the fleet; but they had begun seriously to suspect that the money they gave was wasted on court revels. They insisted on appointing a committee to examine the accounts, and as Charles knew these would not bear examination, he determined to go without the money and make peace. He got Louis to arrange a Peace Congress at Breda, May 1667; but before anything was decided, De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, suddenly sailed up the Medway with sixty vessels, burnt three men-of-war at Chatham, and blockaded the Thames. The people were mad with rage when they found that, after all the money granted, the English fleet could not even defend their own river. They vented their anger on Clarendon, who had long been unpopular both with the king and the country. As soon as the Dutch peace was concluded he was impeached, and fled to France, where he died in exile after writing his *History of the Great Rebellion*. His daughter, Anne Hyde, had been married to the Duke of York in 1661, and was the mother of our two queens Mary and Anne. Peace of Breda, 1667. Dutch fleet burns ships in the Medway. Banishment of Clarendon, 1667.

When Clarendon fell, the strong cavalier party in Parliament was broken up. Charles in future followed much more his own will, and for the rest of his reign did his best to outwit his Parliament. For some time past those members of the Privy Council who were the more intimate advisers of the king had formed a sort of special committee called the "Cabal" (from the French *cabale*, club). This committee was the beginning Cabal Ministry, 1667-1673.

of our present "Cabinet." It happened, curiously enough, that the five cabinet ministers at this time were named Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, and Lauderdale, so that the initials spelt the word cabal. These men were the king's chief advisers during the next six years, and became so hated by the nation that cabal has been a word of reproach ever since.

They were, in fact, the victims of the secret intrigues of Charles. For some time past Louis XIV. had been encroaching on the Netherlands, which belonged to Spain. In 1668 he advanced so far that Holland grew alarmed, and De Witt, with the help of Sir William Temple, English ambassador at the Hague, concluded a "Triple Alliance" between the three Protestant countries —Holland, Sweden, and England—and forced Louis to make peace with Spain at Aix-la-Chapelle. Meanwhile Louis, on his side, hoped to undermine this alliance by a secret understanding with Charles, who was irritated because he could not persuade Parliament to favour the Catholics, or side with France. A secret treaty was signed at Dover between the two kings, in which Charles promised to declare himself a Catholic, and help the French against the Dutch, if Louis in return would give him £300,000 a year and send French troops to England if the people grew troublesome. Only Clifford and Arlington, who were Catholics, knew of this treaty, and even they did not know the whole. The next year, 1671, Charles got a large grant from the Commons for the fleet, and then prorogued Parliament for a year and nine months.

Triple Alliance, Jan. 1668.

Secret treaty of Dover, 1670.

From treachery he now went on to dishonesty, and by Clifford's advice closed the Exchequer. It had long been the custom for the goldsmiths and bankers of London to lend to the English Government the money which people put into their banks, receiving back both interest and principal out of the revenue. In 1672 the Royal Exchequer owed in this way about £1,300,000, when all England was startled by a Royal Order, declaring that these payments would be stopped. Of course this

National bankruptcy, 1672.

brought great distress on all the people whose money the goldsmiths had lent, nor was it ever repaid till William and Mary came to the throne.

While the people were still sore at such injustice the Duke of York openly declared himself a Roman Catholic, and Charles published a "Declaration of Indulgence," suspending all the laws against Roman Catholics and Nonconformists. To crown all, he openly joined Louis, and declared war against the Dutch. At first it seemed as if Holland must be conquered, but De Witt, having been murdered in a riot, young William of Orange, great-grandson of the famous William who had defended the Netherlands in Elizabeth's reign, now came into power. He followed his brave ancestor's example, and persuaded the Dutch to pierce their dykes and let in the sea, and so the allied armies were obliged to retire.

Declaration of Indulgence, 1672.

Second war with Holland, 1672.

At last Charles, having no more money, was obliged to let Parliament meet, and face the anger of the Commons. They made him at once give up the "Declaration of Indulgence"; and passed an Act called the "Test Act," requiring all civil and military officials to declare that they did not believe the doctrines of the Church of Rome, and to take the sacrament in the English Church. This obliged the Duke of York to resign his post as admiral, and Clifford and Arlington to retire from office. Ashley, too, who had been made Earl of Shaftesbury, quarrelled with the king, probably because he found out about the secret treaty of Dover. So the "Cabal ministry" broke up, having gained the hatred of the people by the evil done in their time. After this Shaftesbury did all he could to oppose the king. He became the leader of a "country" party or "opposition" in Parliament, and this was the beginning of the division between "ministry" and "opposition" which has continued to our day.

Test Act, 1673.

Close of Cabal ministry.

Ministry and opposition.

Charles, as usual, gave way when he saw Parliament

was determined. He chose for his chief minister Sir Thomas Osborne, Earl of Danby, whom the Commons liked, and he made peace with Holland in 1674. The Commons in return granted him liberal supplies. He even allowed Danby in 1677 to arrange a marriage between William of Orange and the Duke of York's eldest daughter Mary. This marriage pleased the people very much, for William and Mary were both Protestants, and as James had no son, Mary was heir to the crown after her father.

Danby's administration, 1673-1679.

Marriage of William and Mary, 1677.

But all this time Charles was still secretly treating with Louis. In 1675 he received a yearly pension from him of £122,000, and promised in return not to make any wars or treaties without his consent; and in 1678, when the Commons urged him to go to war with France, he made another private treaty, receiving £24,000 as a bribe to dissolve Parliament.

Charles receives a pension from Louis.

Though all this was secret, yet there was an uneasy feeling in the nation that it was being betrayed, and just then a strange story caused a panic throughout all England. A preacher of low character, named Titus Oates, who for his own purposes had professed to join the Jesuits, pretended that he knew of a plot among the Catholics to kill the king and set up a Catholic Government. He brought his tale to a magistrate, named Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, and shortly afterwards Godfrey was murdered in a ditch near St. Pancras Church. The people thought that the Catholics had murdered him to hush up a "Popish plot," and when Parliament met a committee was appointed to examine into the matter. Some papers belonging to one Coleman, secretary of the Duchess of York, alarmed them, and so great was the panic that an Act was passed shutting out all Catholics, except the Duke of York, from Parliament. After this no Catholic sat in either House for a hundred and fifty years. But worse followed. Oates became popular, and finding tale-bearing successful, he and other informers went on to swear away the lives of a great number of innocent Catholics. The most noted of these

Popish plot, 1678.

was Lord Stafford, an upright and honest peer, who was executed in 1681, declaring his innocence. Charles laughed among his friends at the whole matter, but let it go on, and Shaftesbury, who wished to turn out Lord Danby, did all he could to fan the flame.

Meanwhile King Louis had made peace with Holland and Spain at the "Treaty of Nimeguen," and now that he no longer needed Charles's help, he refused to give the pension; and Montague, the English ambassador at Paris, who had reason to be afraid of Danby, showed the House of Commons the despatch in which the pension had been arranged. This despatch had Danby's signature and a note in the king's handwriting. The House was thunderstruck. That England's king should be a pensioner of France was too humiliating. Danby was at once impeached, and Charles, to save further discoveries, dissolved Parliament, which had existed for seventeen years and a half.

Treaty of Nimeguen, 1678.

Fall of Danby, 1679.

But the nation was now thoroughly alarmed, and as soon as the next Parliament was elected, March 6, 1679, Danby was sent to the Tower, where he remained five years, and the Commons brought in a bill to exclude the Duke of York from ever coming to the throne because he was a Catholic. Charles, alarmed, sent James out of the country and dissolved Parliament, after it had only sat for two months. In that short time, however, Shaftesbury passed a most useful Act. It will be remembered that ever since the Magna Charta it had been the right of every Englishman who was arrested to apply for a writ of "Habeas Corpus" (*see* p. 188). But judges and kings had for a long time managed to put aside these writs when it pleased them. Now Shaftesbury brought in a "Habeas Corpus Act" in spite of Charles's opposition, which reformed these abuses, and made the law too clear to be evaded.

Struggle for the Exclusion Bill, 1679-1681.

Habeas Corpus Act, 1679.

Meanwhile the struggle for the Exclusion Bill went on. The next Parliament met in October, and the bill was passed in the Commons. But in the House of Lords it

did not pass, for a very able statesman, Lord Halifax, opposed it. Halifax called himself a "Trimmer" because he was like a man who moves from side to side to balance or trim a boat—he would not let either party go to extremes. Now though Parliament wanted Mary, wife of the Prince of Orange, to be the next sovereign,

Duke of Monmouth.

Shaftesbury was really planning for the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate and favourite son of Charles II., to succeed. This Halifax saw would be a great evil. Monmouth was very popular, and went by the name of the "Protestant Duke," and Shaftesbury pretended that

Parliament dissolved, Jan 1681.

Charles had been married to the young man's mother before he married his queen. Dryden, the great poet of this period, wrote a satirical poem describing Monmouth and Shaftesbury as Absalom and Achithophel plotting for the kingdom. But the king remained true to the Duke of York, and matters began to look so serious that he again dissolved Parliament.

Then two violent parties arose—the Shaftesbury party, called "Petitioners," who petitioned the king to agree to the bill, and the "Abhorrers," who abhorred the bill. These two parties soon gave each other the nicknames of "Whig" and "Tory." *Whig* meant sour milk

Whig and Tory.

or whey, and was a name which had been given to Scotch rebels. The Duke of York's friends called Shaftesbury's party "Whigs," meaning that they were rebels against the king. *Tory* was a name given to Roman Catholic outlaws in Ireland; and Shaftesbury's party called the Duke of York's friends "Tories," as being enemies to the Protestants, like the Irish outlaws. Soon these two names lost their real meaning, and have since been used only to mean the party which sides more with the people (*Whig*) and the party which sides with the power of the Crown (*Tory*).

In March 1681 Charles's fifth and last Parliament had met at Oxford, and the Whigs, believing that there was really a conspiracy to bring back Roman Catholic rule, brought armed followers with them. This ruined

their cause. People began to be afraid there would be another civil war, and when Charles came with a strong guard to Oxford, and offered that the Princess of Orange should be named regent, and really govern after his death, though James might be called king, he found a strong party to support him. Then all at once, at the end of a week, without warning, he dissolved Parliament, and never had another.

Oxford Parliament, 1681

His victory was complete. An accusation of high treason was brought against Lord Shaftesbury for plotting with Monmouth, and when the city sheriffs, who were Whigs, chose a grand jury in his favour, Charles found a flaw in the charter of London, and managed to get two fresh sheriffs elected. By this time, however, Shaftesbury had fled to Holland, where he died the next year, 1683. In his fall he dragged down better men with him. Though their leader was gone, the Whigs still hoped to prevail upon the king. Monmouth had many friends, especially Lord William Russell, the Earl of Essex, Algernon Sidney, Lord Grey, and Lord Howard, and these men formed a confederacy. Whether they meant to urge the people to rise is uncertain, for unfortunately some bold and desperate men, unknown to the party, made a plot to murder Charles and James at the Rye House, a lonely spot in Hertfordshire, on their way from Newmarket to London. The plot was discovered, and though the Whig leaders knew nothing of it, the Crown lawyers took advantage of it to bring them to trial. Essex committed suicide in the Tower, Russell and Sidney were both executed. Lord Russell was a man of noble character, deeply beloved by his friends, who tried to help him to escape. Monmouth even offered to stand his trial by his side, and Lady Russell took the notes in court to help him in his defence. But in those days, when kings made and unmade judges as they pleased, there was little chance of justice in state trials. Russell and Sidney were both condemned, and died bravely for their cause.

Fall of Shaftesbury, 1682.

Rye House Plot, June 1683.

Execution of Russell and Sidney.

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Fall of Shaftesbury, 1682.

Rye House Plot, June 1683.

Execution of Russell and Sidney.

The Tories now had all their own way. The Duke of York had been employed for some time past in hunting down the unfortunate Covenanters in Scotland. He now returned, and was again made Lord High Admiral, and allowed to sit in the Council without passing the test. The charters of many towns which had supported the Whigs were taken away, and some of the leading Whigs prosecuted and fined. Charles again received a pension from Louis as a bribe not to support William of Orange; and as he had now a standing army of 9000 soldiers, besides six regiments abroad, he felt safe. The clergy, too, taught everywhere that "*passive obedience*" to the sovereign was a duty, and Charles seemed almost to have succeeded in becoming an absolute king when death stepped in. On Feb. 2, 1685, he was seized with a fit, and died a few days after. On his deathbed he received the last rites of the Church of Rome from a monk, who was brought secretly to him by the Duke of York. Then, calling in his courtiers and the bishops, he apologised in his old witty way for "being so unconscionably long in dying," and spoke a kind word for his favourite, Nell Gwynne the actress. On Feb. 6, 1685, the "merry monarch" was no more.

Doctrine of "passive obedience."

CHAPTER XX.

THE REVOLUTION

James II., 1685–1689.
|
William and Mary, 1689–1702.
(Mary died, 1694.)

THE reign of James II. shows how in four years a really well-meaning man could turn a whole nation against himself by sheer obstinacy and faithlessness to his promises. Though Parliament in the last reign had tried to shut him out from the throne, yet, when he declared on

Charles's death that he would "uphold Church and State as by law established," everybody seemed satisfied, and he was proclaimed king. The fact was most people thought that though the new king was a Catholic, yet when he promised to rule according to English law, he would keep his word. Probably he meant to do so at first, but he was a stubborn, narrow-minded man, bigoted and arbitrary; he could only see his own side of any question, and therefore was quite unfit to govern a free nation.

Every one knew that he was a Roman Catholic, and if he had only quietly followed his own religion, or had even tried to get Parliament to allow other Catholics in England to follow theirs, he might have done much to make all his subjects happy. But he wanted much more than this. He wanted to abolish the Test Act in order to put Roman Catholics into the chief posts in the kingdom, to abolish the Habeas Corpus Act, which prevented him from imprisoning those who opposed him, and then, surrounded by his own friends, to bring England back to Romanism. He did not see that this could not be done without destroying the English constitution, which had been growing in strength ever since John signed the Magna Charta. "I will lose all or win all," he once said to the Spanish ambassador, and he had not sense enough to see that in the way he acted he was sure to lose.

Character and aims of James II.

Even before he was crowned he ordered his chapel doors to be thrown open, and mass to be performed in public. He told the bishops that the clergy must not preach against the Catholic religion, and ordered all persons imprisoned for not taking the oaths to be set at liberty. This last act was good in itself. The quaker Penn, who was then in England, and had great influence with James, urged it upon him, and 1200 quakers, besides twice as many Catholics, came out of prison. But it showed that James meant to act without consulting Parliament, or even the judges, and very soon after he did so in another case. As the revenue was only granted to the king for life, it ceased

Arbitrary acts of James II.

when Charles died in February, and Parliament did not meet till May. Now it would have upset trade if the custom duties had been stopped for three months, so the minister Lord Guilford proposed to collect them, and to put them aside till Parliament met. But James, determined to establish his power, ordered them to be paid to him direct as they had been to Charles.

Nevertheless the elections were so carefully managed that the new members in the House of Commons were nearly all on the king's side, and a revenue of £1,900,000 was voted to him for life without difficulty. The members were specially anxious to show their loyalty because a rebellion had just broken out. Many of those Whigs who had fled to Holland after the Rye House Plot, had urged Monmouth, when Charles died, to cross over to England, and rouse the people against a Catholic king. Monmouth, who was living quietly in Brussels, did not wish to move, but he was over-persuaded. It was finally agreed that the Earl of Argyll, who was also a refugee, should cross to Scotland and call out the Covenanters, while Monmouth went to the west of England.

Revenue voted for life.

Monmouth's rebellion, June 11, 1685.

Argyll arrived first, on May 2, and his clan of the Campbells rallied round him. But the leaders who came with him from Holland interfered too much with his plans, and the king's troops had heard of his coming, and were prepared to oppose him, while the Covenanters were many of them afraid to rise. Argyll's force was scattered, and he was taken prisoner, sent to Edinburgh, and there executed June 30, 1685, refusing bravely to give any evidence against others. There is a picture in the lobby of the House of Commons called "The last sleep of Argyll," showing how one of the covenant lords, who had deserted his cause, found the earl, who had been true to the last, sleeping peacefully in his irons an hour before his execution.

Failure and death of Argyll, 1685.

All those concerned in the rebellion were severely punished, and many sold into slavery. In Dunottar Castle

the vault is still shown where the "wild Whigs" were confined before being shipped off to America.

Monmouth was more successful at first. He was very popular in the western counties, and no sooner did he land at Lyme in Dorset, June 11, 1685, than the people flocked to his standard, shouting, "A Monmouth! a Monmouth!" By the time he reached Exeter he had 1500 men with him, and he entered Taunton in triumph, under flags and wreaths hung along the streets, while a train of young girls presented him with a Bible and a sword. But only the lower classes joined him; the gentry and clergy were all for the king, or thought that if any Protestant interfered, it ought to be the Princess Mary of Orange and her husband. Many were also offended that Monmouth allowed himself to be proclaimed King in the market-place of Taunton, though he had said in his proclamation that he only came to establish a free Parliament. Meanwhile the king's troops were hastening against him, commanded by a Frenchman, Louis Duras, Lord Feversham. He was obliged to retreat, and met them at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater, July 5, 1685 The royal troops were drawn up in a field protected by a deep trench known as the Bussex Rhine. Monmouth did not know of this trench. He started with his army an hour after midnight to surprise the enemy, and picking his way across the swamps, threw the outposts into confusion. But the trench stopped his advance and gave them time to rally, and in the early dawn his army of peasants and colliers, though they fought desperately, were completely routed. Two days after Monmouth was found half-starved in a ditch. He was taken to London and executed July 15, dying bravely at the last, though he had begged piteously for his life. It gives us a curious picture of the superstition of those days that in his pocket were found spells and charms to open prison doors and preserve him in the battle-field. Two well-known men were in this Battle of Sedgemoor, which was the last important battle fought in

Monmouth proclaimed king, June 20.

Battle of Sedgemoor, July 5 and 6, 1685.

England—Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, was a captain in the king's army; and Daniel Defoe, who wrote *Robinson Crusoe*, fought in Monmouth's ranks.

Kirke's lambs.

The rebellion was at an end, but a cruel revenge followed. Colonel Kirke, a brutal, heartless man, was left in command at Bridgewater. His soldiers were ironically called "Kirke's lambs," because, while they had a lamb for their banner, they were ferocious and blood-thirsty. Under Kirke's orders these men hanged whole batches of prisoners with terrible cruelty, and burnt their bodies in pitch. But worse was to come. In September Judge Jeffreys, a man, if possible, more coarse and brutal than Kirke, came with four other judges to try those who had joined in the rebellion. In these "Bloody Assizes," as they were ever after called, no less than 320 people were hanged, and 841 sold into slavery to the West Indies. In Somerset corpses were seen by every roadside and in every village; and children going to school or church might see their father's or brother's head over the doorway. In vain good Bishop Ken begged James to have mercy; the king approved all that was done, while Jeffreys mocked and insulted the unhappy victims with coarse language and brutal jokes. One noble lady, Alice Lisle, was beheaded for merely hiding two fugitives; and only those were spared who secretly bribed the judge with large sums of money. Batches of prisoners were given to favourite courtiers to sell into slavery, and the queen's "maids of honour" received a large sum for obtaining the pardon of the school-girls who presented Monmouth with the Bible and sword.

The Bloody Assizes, Sept. 1685.

James appoints Catholic officers.

James took advantage of the rebellion to add 10,000 men to his army, putting over them several Roman Catholic officers who had not taken the test. Lord Guilford, and Lord Halifax, who was President of the Privy Council, told James that he was breaking faith with Parliament; but he had already arranged with France for a pension, and having a strong army, thought himself safe. He dismissed Halifax, and put Sunderland,

an obliging courtier, in his place; and when Lord Guilford died soon after, he rewarded Jeffreys by making him Lord Chancellor. Thus he put down all opposition in the Council, for Jeffreys had the chief power, and he was a violent upholder of the royal prerogative.

Just at this time Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes (*see* p. 169), and set to work to exterminate the Protestant religion in France. All Huguenot ministers were banished, but the people were forbidden to leave, and regiments of dragoons were sent among them to kill and ill-treat in the most horrible manner any who would not go to mass. The *dragonnades*, as these persecutions were called, were so shameful and cruel that, in spite of all precautions, more than 200,000 Huguenots managed to escape from France into Holland, Switzerland, Germany, and England. Some went into the Church, some into the army, while the whole district of Spitalfields in London was colonised with Huguenot silk-weavers. In fact, by these dragonnades Louis drove the most industrious, skilled, and wealthy of his subjects into foreign lands.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, Oct. 1685.

This unprovoked persecution of Protestants by a Catholic king startled the English nation; but James, blind as usual to the feelings of his people, was delighted with what Louis had done. When Parliament met, the Commons reproached him with having appointed Catholic officers contrary to law. But he only scolded them sharply for not trusting him. The Lords were bolder; they told him plainly that he could not put aside or "dispense with" the Test Act of his own will. So, rather than allow further discussion, the king prorogued Parliament Dec. 1685. It never sat again, but was *prorogued* from time to time, and *dissolved* two years later. James always meant to allow the members to sit when they would support him, but that time never came.

Parliament objects to violation of Test Act, 1685.

In this way he prevented public opposition, but still he could not altogether shut people's mouths. The coffee-houses of London were now the chief places where men

met daily. A Turkish merchant had first opened a coffee-house in Cromwell's time, and they spread rapidly all over the town, each man having his favourite haunt where he met his special friends, who discussed scandal, literature, politics, or religion over their coffee and tobacco-smoke. Popular coffee-houses, such as Will's in Covent Garden, became almost little parliaments in themselves, and had so much influence that Charles II. had tried to close them in 1675; but there was such an outcry that they had to be opened again, and now people discussed in them daily the strange conduct of the king.

Coffee houses of London.

James, however, cared very little for public opinion. As soon as Parliament was prorogued he privately consulted all the judges as to his "Power of Dispensation." Four of them ventured to tell him that he had no power apart from Parliament. These he dismissed, and put more obedient judges in their place. Then he managed that Sir Edward Hales, a Catholic whom he had made Governor of Dover, should be tried for not taking the test. Hales pleaded that the king had "*dispensed*" with it, and of course the judges, having promised the king, gave a verdict in his favour.

Power of Dispensation.

After this farce James went on steadily, turning out churchmen and putting in Catholics. He began a system called "closeting," that is, taking men into his private room, and asking them whether they would vote against the Test Act. If they would not they were sure soon after to lose their post. James's own brothers-in-law, staunch loyalists, suffered in this way. The elder, Lord Clarendon, was recalled from Ireland, and a Catholic, Lord Tyrconnel, appointed in his place. The younger, Lord Rochester, was dismissed from being high treasurer. Arthur Herbert, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet, lost his command, and James even went so far as to summon four Catholic lords and his own Jesuit confessor, Father Petre, to sit in the Privy Council.

Catholics put into office.

He revived the Court of High Commission abolished in 1641 (*see* p. 195), and appointed seven Commissioners with Jeffreys at their head. When Compton, Bishop of London, refused to suspend a rector, Dr. Sharp, for preaching a controversial sermon, this court suspended the bishop himself.

Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, 1686.

A new Catholic chapel was now built for the king at Whitehall, and another in the city for one of the foreign ambassadors. Orders of monks began to settle in London, and a large school was opened by the Jesuits in the Savoy. Even James, however, now saw that people were growing angry. Riots took place in the city, and in order to check any chance of revolt, a camp of 13,000 troops was planted at Hounslow to overawe London. Then, hoping to get the Non-conformists to support him, James published on April 4, 1687, another "Declaration of Indulgence," announcing that Catholics and Dissenters were free to worship as they pleased, and to hold offices without taking any kind of test. A small body of the Dissenters, led by friends of the king, loudly welcomed the Indulgence. But the more thoughtful leaders saw that the king's object was merely to make way for his own party, and they refused to accept a boon which he had no legal right to give.

Camp at Hounslow.

Declaration of Indulgence, April 4, 1687.

In fact, he was ruthlessly breaking down the statutes of English liberty. In vain Pope Innocent XI., a good and wise man, wrote, advising patience and moderation; in vain King Louis counselled caution; in vain even his own Catholic subjects begged him to govern according to law. James, under the influence of Father Petre, thought that if he only went steadily on, people would see he was working for their good and give way.

James deaf to warning.

He now began to interfere with the universities. He appointed a Catholic, Dr. Massey, to be Dean of Christ Church College, Oxford, suspended Dr. Pechell of Cambridge for refusing a degree to a monk, and expelled

the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, because they would not elect a Catholic, Dr. Parker, as their president. A month later he dissolved Parliament, which had not met for two years, and began to prepare for new elections. He asked the lord-lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, and justices of the peace in each county whether they would encourage the election of members who would vote against the Test Act and penal laws, and those who would not were replaced by others. To crown all, James received the Pope's nuncio or ambassador with great pomp at court.

Expulsion of Fellows of Magdalen, 1687.

New lord-lieutenants and officials.

The statesmen of England now saw that, unless something was done, the country would soon be in the hands of a despot, and messengers were secretly sent to Holland to ask William of Orange if he would come and defend the rights and liberties of England. William was quite willing, for he and all the Protestant princes of Europe were seriously afraid of the growing power of Louis XIV., who was James's ally; and it was very important to them that England should remain a strong Protestant country. But two things held William back. First, he wanted to be sure that all parties in England would support him. Secondly, he could not move so long as the French army was threatening the Netherlands. A few months later the way was made clear for him. In Sept. 1688 Louis went to war with Germany, and had work enough on his hands, so William was free.

First suggestions to William of Orange, May 1688.

Meanwhile great things had happened in England. On June 10, 1688, a son and heir was born to King James. His second queen, Mary of Modena, had been so long without children that no one ever expected this, and the people had been patient under the king's bad government, because they thought that at his death, Mary of Orange would make everything right again. Now this hope was gone, and while James was delighted, the whole nation was in despair. They would not even

Birth of James's son, June 10, 1688.



THE SEVEN BISHOPS RETURNING FROM THE TOWER.

"Engelands Godsdienst hersteld," 1689.

Face page 237.

believe that the child was the queen's son. They said it had been brought into the palace secretly to impose a Catholic prince upon them, and this remained the common belief for many years.

A month before this unhappy child was born James had again issued the "Declaration of Indulgence," and ordered all the clergy to read it out two Sundays following in their churches. Now the declaration was certainly illegal, and churchmen thought it wrong besides. So seven bishops, including Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, signed and presented a petition, begging the king not to force their clergy to read it against their conscience. James was very angry, and still more so, when on the Sundays named hardly any clergymen read the declaration, and where they did the congregation walked out of church. He now ordered the bishops to be tried for seditious libel in presenting a petition against the Government, and, as they would only give their own recognisances, refusing to give bail, they were sent to the Tower.

Petition of the Seven Bishops.

Then at last the temper of the nation showed itself. The thronging crowds cried, "God bless them," as the bishops' barge passed along the Thames to the Tower, and all England was aroused. One of the bishops was Trelawney of Bristol, and even in the far west the peasants chanted the refrain—

"And shall Trelawney die, and shall Trelawney die,
Then thirty thousand Cornish boys shall know the reason why."

When the day of the trial came the most eminent lawyers pressed forward to defend the bishops, the crowds reached for miles around the courts, and the jury would not have dared to convict them even if they had wished. When the verdict of NOT GUILTY was known the bells rang, the people thronged to the churches, bonfires were lighted, and the crowd not only shouted, but sobbed for joy. James was at Hounslow when a great shout arose in the camp. On his asking what it meant, "Nothing," replied

Trial of the Bishops, June 29 and 30, 1688.

Lord Feversham, "the soldiers are only glad the bishops are acquitted." "Do you call that nothing?" answered the king; "so much the worse for them." Four months later he found out at last that it was so much the worse for him.

The bishops were acquitted on June 30, and that very day Admiral Herbert, disguised as a common sailor, carried a special invitation to William, signed by several noblemen—Earl Danby, who answered for the Tories, the Earl of Devonshire for the Whigs, Bishop Compton for the Church, Lord Edward Russell for the navy, Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Lumley, and Henry Sidney for the people. William now felt sure of support, and on Sept. 30 (when Louis was busy with Germany) he issued a proclamation, which was soon spread all over England, in which he declared he was coming with an army, as Mary's husband, to secure a free and legal Parliament.

Invitation to the Prince of Orange, June 30, 1688

At last James was frightened; he put the lord-lieutenants back in their posts and the fellows in their colleges; gave back the charters to the towns and removed Father Petre from the Council. But it was too late! On Nov. 5, 1688, William landed at Torbay with 13,000 men; and though at first the people held back, remembering the dreadful consequences of Monmouth's rebellion, in a few days nobles and gentry flocked to his standard. King James was not thrown into any great consternation by the news. He had expected that the invasion would take place in the northern provinces; he now hastened to recall the regiments which had marched in that direction, and to order them to the west. He hoped to cut off the prince from all communication with the rest of the country, and to bring such a large army into the field as would destroy his forces at one blow. On Nov. 19 he joined his army at Salisbury, but, like Richard III. two hundred years before, he found himself all at once deserted by nearly all his supposed friends. Lord Churchill and many other officers with their men joined William's army, and the governors of towns declared themselves on the Protestant side.

Landing of William, Nov. 5, 1688.

James's own daughter Anne, with her husband George of Denmark, fled to Danby at Nottingham, and the unhappy king, forsaken by all, returned to London, sent his wife and child to France, and was starting to join them when some fishermen brought him back. But William was too wise to keep him; he left him very carelessly guarded at Rochester, and on Dec. 23, 1688, James escaped unhindered to France. Before he left he destroyed the writs prepared for the election, and threw the Great Seal into the Thames. He wished to leave confusion behind him, hoping soon to come back with a French army and reconquer his kingdom. Louis XIV. received him with honour, and prepared one of the royal palaces for him and his queen.

Flight of James, Dec. 23, 1688.

Thus the Revolution was accomplished without one drop of blood being shed. Even the mob of London, though they pillaged the Catholic chapels, offered harm to no one except to the hated Chancellor Jeffreys. He had hidden himself in a public-house at Wapping, and was thankful when the Lord Mayor allowed him to be shut up safely in the Tower, where he died the year after.

End of Judge Jeffreys.

William arrived at St. James's Palace only a few hours after James left it for ever. English, Scotch, and Dutch troops were quartered in different parts of London, and all was fairly quiet again. The House of Peers met, and as there was no House of Commons, an assembly was formed of any members who had sat in Charles II.'s reign, together with the Lord Mayor, the aldermen, and a committee from the Common Council of London. These two Houses then begged William to govern them for the time, and to send out circulars inviting electors all over England to return members for a Convention; a Parliament could only be summoned by a king. When this Convention met on Jan. 22, 1689, it was settled, after a great deal of discussion, that William and Mary should be proclaimed king and queen, and William alone should govern. William

Interregnum, Dec. 23, 1688; Feb. 13, 1689.

refused to be merely regent, and Mary wished to give up all power to her husband.

Before this, however, the Lords and Commons determined to state the limits of the king's power, so that there might be no more disputes. They drew up a "Declaration of Rights," which a few months afterwards became a statute.

Bill of Rights, 1689.

In this Declaration, after blaming James for trying to destroy the laws, they declared that *the Ecclesiastical Commission Court was illegal, that the king cannot suspend or dispense with the laws, nor raise money, nor keep a standing army without the consent of Parliament; that subjects may petition a king; that all elections of members must be free, and that there must be perfect freedom of speech in Parliament, which should be held frequently to redress grievances and strengthen the laws. That jurymen must be honestly chosen, and in trials for high treason must be freeholders; while excessive fines, and cruel, unusual punishments must not be inflicted.* Lastly, *that no papist should ever again hold the crown of England.* These, they said, were the undoubted rights and liberties of the English people, and under these conditions William and Mary were declared King and Queen of England, Feb. 13, 1689. If Mary died William was to go on reigning alone, while Anne and her children were to be the next heirs.

William III., 1689-1702.

The coronation took place on April 11, 1689, and William of Orange, by the free act of Parliament, was the reigning King of England. But he knew he would have to fight for his crown. Louis XIV. was not only James's ally, he was also very anxious to give William trouble in England, that he might not fight against France abroad. So he lent James money and officers to go to Ireland, where Tyrconnel, the Catholic lord-lieutenant, with an army of 20,000 men, was ready to help him to reconquer England. James crossed over to Kinsale on March 12, and on March 24 he was being received with shouts of welcome in Dublin, even before William's coronation had taken place in London.

James received in Ireland.

Nor did every one acknowledge William in England. Ever since the Restoration the clergy had been teaching the people that a king reigned by "divine right," and they owed him "passive obedience." Now the people had revolted against their king, and Parliament had elected another. Therefore when all members and officials were called upon to take the oath of allegiance to William, the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with five of the Seven Bishops and a large number of clergy and others, refused. These men were called "Non-jurors"; they were treated patiently, but they could not remain in office, for they would not even read the prayer for King William in the service. They formed themselves into a party and elected their own bishops for nearly a hundred years, till in 1805 the last "non-juror" bishop died. These men, together with the Catholics and the friends of James, who were now called "*Jacobites*" (from *Jacobus*, Latin for James), formed constant plots against the Government. They looked upon William as a usurper, and when obliged to drink the king's health, put a bowl of water before them to imply that they drank to the "king over the water."

Non-jurors, 1689-1805.

Jacobites.

In Scotland riots took place for another reason. The Covenanters, who had been so long persecuted, not only declared at once for William, but "rabbled" or drove out the clergy of the English Church, in many cases with great cruelty. When order was restored the Covenanters had the chief power in the Scotch Parliament, and William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen at the Cross of Edinburgh, April 11, 1689. But an old follower of James, Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, went off with a few troopers to the Highlands, and calling the Highland chiefs together at Lochaber in Inverness, prepared to fight. As Sir Walter Scott wrote a century later—

Covenanters "rabble" the English clergy.

> "To the Lords of Convention 'twas Claver'se who spoke,
> Ere the King's crown shall fall there are crowns to be broke;
> So let each Cavalier who loves honour and me,
> Come follow the bonnets of Bonny Dundee."

The struggle was not long. General Hugh Mackay was sent against him with an army, and though the Highlanders gained a complete victory in the Pass of Killiecrankie, Dundee was killed in the battle; and after this the Highlanders retired, and forts were built to keep them out of the Lowlands.

Battle of Killiecrankie, July 27, 1689.

Two years later a very shameful thing happened. William summoned all the Highland chiefs to take an oath of loyalty before Jan. 1, 1692. By Dec. 31 all had come except the Macdonalds of Glencoe, whose chief Ian Macdonald put it off to the last day, and then went to the wrong place. Unfortunately John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, who was Secretary of State for Scotland, wishing to make an example, took advantage of this to get a warrant from William to root out the men of Glencoe, and sent to the Highlands a regiment composed of the Campbells of Argyll, hereditary foemen of the Macdonalds. The soldiers, after living some days quietly among the people, rose one morning early and shot down nearly the whole clan. It was a treacherous and wicked massacre, and William has been much blamed for not punishing more severely the people who planned it.

Massacre of Glencoe, 1692.

Meanwhile, in Ireland, a civil war was raging between two parties—the native Irish and Roman Catholics on one side, and the Protestant settlers on the other. James came to Ireland because he wished to reconquer England, but the Irish hoped he had come to uphold their religion, and give them back their lands. Tyrconnel had begun by disarming all the Protestants in the south, and they, afraid of being massacred, crossed over in large numbers to England. In the north, where the settlers were more numerous, they gathered to defend themselves at Enniskillen on Lough Erne, and in the town of Londonderry at the head of Lough Foyle. When James arrived before Londonderry in April 1689 the "'prentice boys of Derry" had already shut their gates, and 30,000 Protestants had taken refuge there.

Civil war in Ireland, 1689.

Governor Lundy did, it is true, offer to surrender to James, but the citizens and soldiers were so furious that he had to escape for his life; and the people, led by a clergyman named Walker, and a Major Baker, held the town for William of Orange. This was the beginning of the term Orangemen, which is still so commonly used for the Protestants in the north of Ireland. A long and painful siege of one hundred and five days followed. On April 20 the Irish army blockaded the town, and a boom or barrier of firewood was formed across the mouth of the River Foyle so that no provisions could enter. William sent the English fleet on June 15 to relieve the town, but Colonel Kirke, the commander, would not risk running the blockade. Hunger, disease, and death were destroying the unfortunate people by hundreds, yet, though even horse-flesh was no longer to be had, and the provisions doled out were very near their end, the brave inhabitants still cried, "No surrender."

Siege of Londonderry, April 20, 1689.

At last a sharp order came from England to Kirke that he must attempt a rescue, and, among other volunteers, two brave seamen—Browning, a native of Derry, and Douglas, a Scotchman—offered to run in their ships of provisions. On the evening of July 30, side by side, the ships steered straight at the boom. A strain, a crash, and it gave way. At that moment Browning was shot dead by the enemy. But he did not die in vain; an hour later the two ships laden with food had reached the starving people, and two days later, on Aug. 1, the Irish army retreated. The siege of Londonderry was over. That same day Colonel Wolseley scattered another portion of the Irish army at Newton Butler, near Enniskillen, and the north of Ireland was free from James's soldiers.

Relief of Londonderry, Aug. 1, 1689.

In Dublin, however, James still reigned as king, and, having no money, coined shillings and sovereigns of brass, promising to give good coin for them when he had regained his English throne. In his name the Irish Parliament

passed severe laws against those Irish who held to William, and declared the property of nearly all the English settlers in Ireland to be forfeited; but, these laws had little effect, for William's German general, Marshal Schomberg, had come to Ireland with an army, and though he could do nothing during the winter, he was a great protection to the Protestants.

James reigns in Dublin.

During the remainder of the year 1689 England was settling down under William. He chose able ministers, among whom were his old friend Lord Danby, who had arranged his marriage with Princess Mary (*see* p. 224), and Lord Halifax, who kept the balance between the Whigs and Tories. Parliament passed many useful measures. The "Toleration Act" gave the Dissenters permission to have service in chapels of their own; but not the Catholics, for the nation was still too much afraid of them. A revenue of £1,200,000 was voted for the crown; but now for the first time the Commons kept part of this money in their own hands, while they settled £300,000 on William and Mary for life, and only gave them the custom duties of £600,000 for four years. From that time to this Parliament votes annually the supplies for the public expenses of the country, and this secures that they shall meet at least once a year.

Toleration Act, 1689

Annual voting of supplies.

A third bill gave Parliament power over the army. It happened that a regiment of Scotch soldiers mutinied, and, as a standing army was illegal, they could only be tried as ordinary citizens. Men saw at once that, in these times of danger, there must be severer discipline than this in the army. So Parliament passed a "Mutiny Bill," giving the officers powers for six months to try soldiers by "Court-martial." When the six months was over the bill was renewed, and continued to be renewed every year, allowing the sovereign to keep and control a certain number of soldiers for twelve months. In 1879 it was superseded by the "Army Discipline and Regulation Bill," but this too has to be renewed every year.

Mutiny Bill, 1689.

So if Parliament did not meet, the sovereign could not legally have either money or army, and thus the nation is protected from such tyranny as James exercised.

It was indeed necessary to keep up the army, for Louis was actively helping James. Early in 1690 he sent over a large number of French troops to Ireland, and William saw that he must go himself with more men and fight out his battle with James on Irish ground. He arrived in Belfast on June 14, and on July 1 the famous Battle of the Boyne took place between the two kings. The English soldiers forded the river under a heavy fire and forced the ranks of the enemy, though their general, Schomberg, fell dead at the outset; and William, though wounded early in the battle, led the left wing of the army and gained the day. James, on the contrary, looked on from a distance, and when he saw that the Irish were beaten he fled to Dublin, and sailed from Kinsale to France. "Change kings with us and we will fight you again," said an Irish officer, so ashamed were they of their cowardly king.

Battle of the Boyne, July 1, 1690.

And they did fight for more than a year; till on July 21, 1691, the Irish army, led by French generals, was defeated at Aughrim by the Dutch general, Ginkell. On Oct. 3 Limerick, the last stronghold of the rebels, which was held by a brave Irishman, Patrick Sarsfeld, surrendered to Ginkell. In the treaty of Limerick the Catholics were promised freedom of worship, and those who wished were allowed to go with Sarsfeld to France. About 14,000 Irish soldiers went, and for a hundred years there was no more fighting in Ireland. But the Protestants, who now had the power, abused it. The promise of the treaty of Limerick was not kept, and the cruel penal laws, which were passed in Anne's reign, kept alive bitter hatred in the hearts of the Catholics.

Treaty of Limerick, 1691.

More than a year before Limerick surrendered, William had returned to England, where he was much wanted to carry on the war with France. In 1690 Germany, Spain, Holland, Brandenburg, and Savoy had all joined in a

"Grand Alliance" against Louis; but the allies were so slow, and the French army so strong, that for a long time Louis had the best of the struggle. On June 30, 1690, the very day before the Battle of the Boyne, the French fleet attacked the Dutch and English fleets off Beachy Head, in the English Channel; and because Admiral Herbert, now Lord Torrington, was jealous of the Dutch and would not help them, the French gained a complete victory, sailed down the Channel, and burnt the little village of Teignmouth. The French Admiral de Tourville hoped that the Jacobites would rise, but the mere sight of a Frenchman on their coasts made the English rally round William, and when he came back from Ireland they were willing and anxious to give him men and money to fight Louis in Flanders. Early in 1692 he crossed over to the Netherlands, leaving Queen Mary to govern in his place.

Grand Alliance, 1690

Battle of Beachy Head, June 30, 1690.

He was no sooner gone than the Jacobites in England began to plot against him. Though the English had found William useful in putting an end to the tyranny of James, they never really liked him, for he was reserved, harsh-tempered, and unsociable, and he was a Dutchman, though his mother was the daughter of Charles I. Moreover, though he ruled England well, his mind was occupied with foreign wars, and the English disliked to have to pay soldiers to defend Holland. Even Queen Mary was unpopular at first, for people blamed her for taking her father's throne. But she was so gentle and unselfish that in the end she was much beloved.

William unpopular.

The Jacobites now took advantage of a victory which Louis gained over William at Mons in Flanders, to persuade some of the Tories to treat with King James. Lord Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, was one of these, and Lord Edward Russell, who was High Admiral in place of Lord Torrington, was inclined to join him. But when the French fleet came into the Channel, hoping that Russell would not oppose them, the blood of the English sailor rose. "Do not think," said he, "that I

Jacobite plots.

will let the French triumph over us in our own seas;" and he won a brilliant victory off Cape la Hogue, and burnt fifteen French ships. It was when the poor wounded sailors came home after this battle that Queen Mary determined to turn Greenwich Palace into a home for disabled seamen. After her death King William carried out her plan, and sailors lived in Greenwich Hospital till 1865, when it was thought better to give them pensions. The building is now a Royal Naval College.

Battle of La Hogue, May 1692.

Greenwich Hospital.

Thus the attacks of France only bound England more closely to William. Year after year, from 1692 to 1697, he went abroad to carry on the war, and as Parliament saw that in fighting abroad he was preventing Louis from putting James back on the throne, they made great efforts to provide him with money. This was not easy, for now that people taxed themselves in Parliament, forced loans could not be raised as they had been by earlier kings. In 1692 the treasury was empty, while money was wanted for the war, and Charles II.'s debt to the goldsmiths was still unpaid. In this dilemma a clever young Whig, Charles Montague, persuaded Parliament to invite rich people to lend them a million pounds, for which they would receive a yearly interest from Government. This debt has gone on till now, and has increased to more than 650 million pounds. The actual money lent will never be repaid till the National Debt is done away with, but the *interest* is so steadily paid that people are glad to leave their money lying invested in this way. If, however, any man wants to have back his *capital* (that is, his whole sum of money invested), he gets a stockbroker to sell his right to the interest to some other man, who gives him say the £100 or £200 which he had invested, and then takes his interest for the future.

National Debt, 1692.

In William's reign the National Debt was still too new for Government to increase it very much, and in 1694 Montague carried out another plan suggested by a Scotch-

man named Paterson. This was to borrow another million and a half, and to give the subscribers a charter creating them into a National Bank, called the "Governor and Company of the Bank of England," which was to do all the money business of the Government, and get an interest on their money. This bank has been a great success. All Government money passes through it; it keeps the *bullion* or masses of gold and silver till they are made into coins; it pays the interest on the National Debt, and lends money to Parliament when it is wanted. The Bank of England now employs 1100 clerks, and pays £300,000 a year in salaries and pensions. Its banknotes are received like gold all over the world, and "safe as the Bank of England" has become a proverb.

Bank of England, 1694.

We see by these important bills which were passed for borrowing money, that the House of Commons, in turning out the Stuarts and putting in a king by Act of Parliament, had begun to get back the old power which they had before the time of the Tudors, and William was wise enough to let them use it. But as the two parties of Whig and Tory were now very sharply divided, whichever happened to be the strongest grew very troublesome when it did not approve of what was done by the king's ministers. In this difficulty the Earl of Sunderland pointed out to the king that the only way to have a strong Government was to choose the ministers from the party which had the greatest number of members in Parliament. This is how our Government is still carried on. If the ministers cannot persuade a *majority* of the members to vote with them they resign, and the monarch calls upon some of the other party to take their place. If they, in their turn, do not feel strong enough, then Parliament is dissolved, and a new one elected. In this way the ministers become the leaders in Parliament, and the choice of the people, as well as the servants of the sovereign.

Rise of Party Government, 1633.

Though William had much trouble with his Parliaments, they passed many useful measures. A new "Triennial Act" decreed that a fresh Parliament must be elected every

three years. The law obliging all printed books and pamphlets to be approved by the king's licenser was allowed to drop, and any man might for the future print what he pleased, unless it slandered the Government or other people. One great result of this was that instead of only one newspaper, the *London Gazette*, which had been published for some time, a number of newspapers soon sprang up, and people in all parts of England could learn what was being done and discussed in the great towns.

Triennial Act, 1694.

Freedom of the press, 1695.

Another very important Act did away with the infamous law of treason introduced by Thomas Cromwell in Henry VIII.'s reign (*see* p. 142), and for the future men accused of treason were allowed to have a lawyer to defend them, and to have a copy of the accusations against them. After this no man could be condemned as Vane, Strafford, Russell, and Sidney had been, without means of defending themselves. Also in 1701 an Act was passed giving fixed salaries to the judges, and declaring that they could not be removed unless they were convicted of doing wrong, or both Houses of Parliament wished it. No sovereign could henceforth dismiss a judge, as James did, because he would not strain the law in the king's favour; but so long as they give just judgment the judges are now free from fear of either king or people.

Law of Treason, 1696

Independence of judges.

Still one more great measure we owe chiefly to Montague, who was by this time Chancellor of the Exchequer. This was a new silver coinage. Up to the time of Charles II. silver money was made by simply cutting the metal with shears, and shaping and stamping it with a hammer. Therefore it was quite easy for rogues to shear the coins again, and take off a little silver before passing them. In this way the coins became smaller and smaller, and often a man who received fifty shillings found, on taking them to the bank, that they were only worth fifty sixpences. In Charles II.'s reign a mill worked by horses began to be used for making coins,

New coinage, 1696.

which had either a ribbed edge or words round the edge, so that they showed if they were clipped; these were called "milled coins." But as the old ones were still used, rogues melted down the good coin or sent it to France, because it was worth more than the clipped money, and so they made a profit. At last the matter became so serious that Montague, and the Lord Chancellor, Somers, consulted with Locke the philosopher, and Sir Isaac Newton, and agreed to coin a large quantity of new-milled money, and *call in the old*. Newton, who was made Master of the Mint, took great care that the new money should be true and good, and in 1696 the change was made. At first it caused great trouble and hardship, but in the end every one received full value for their money, and the loss was made up by putting a tax on window-panes. This tax was continued for various reasons till 1851, and we shall find that many houses built during those hundred and fifty years had few windows and small panes in order to escape the window tax.

Milled coins.

Window Tax, 1696-1851.

While these useful reforms were being made under William's wise and just Government, he himself had many troubles. In 1694 Queen Mary died of small-pox, and for a time he was stunned with grief. Moreover, the Jacobites took advantage of her death to try and get rid of the "Dutch" king, as they called William. Louis XIV. promised to send over a large French army if the people would rise; and early in 1696 a plot was formed to murder William in a narrow lane leading to Hampton Court, on his return from hunting. Fortunately a Catholic gentleman named Prendergast, too honourable to countenance murder, warned the king. The plotters were seized and punished, and, as usual, the knowledge that the French wished to invade England made the people only more loyal. William was very popular at this time, for he had gained a great victory (1695) at the siege of Namur, and the English people began to be confident that he would bring the war against France to a successful ending. The attempt

Death of Queen Mary, 1694.

Plot to murder William, 1696.

to assassinate him made him still more popular. The Lords and Commons bound themselves in an association to avenge his death if he was murdered, and to put Anne on the throne. Thousands throughout the country signed the paper.

The next year, Sept. 11, 1697, the war with France ended, and King Louis XIV. signed a peace at Ryswick in Holland, in which he gave up all he had conquered since the treaty of Nimeguen in 1678, except the fortress of Strasburg, and acknowledged William as King of England, promising never again to disturb his Government. After eight years of war the country was at last at peace! Dec. 2, 1697, was held as a day of thanksgiving. Processions, banners, bonfires, and illuminations showed how glad the people were, and St. Paul's, which Sir Christopher Wren had been rebuilding ever since the fire of London, was used for the first time on that day.

Peace of Ryswick, Sept. 11, 1697.

But the peace brought bitter disappointment to the king, for the first thing Parliament did was to reduce the army at once to 10,000 and the navy to 8000 men. The next year they insisted on sending away William's Dutch guards, and taking back land in Ireland which he had given to Dutchmen. They were still afraid of any king becoming powerful, and having a strong army. William was sorely hurt at what he considered their ingratitude to himself, and even threatened to go back to Holland and be king no longer. But in the end he gave way, though he warned them that they were leaving England too unprotected.

Reduction of the army.

In truth, he knew what they did not, that Louis had made peace, because he hoped to get what he wanted another way. Charles II., King of Spain, though only thirty-five, was weak and sickly, and it was known he could not live long. He had no children, and had an immense inheritance to leave—Spain, Naples, Sicily, Milan, the Spanish Netherlands, and the rich Spanish lands in South America. There was no one who had any strict right to succeed him, but there were

Question of the Spanish Succession.

three princes who were related to Charles, and who for different reasons might equally well be chosen. These were Joseph, eldest son of the Elector of Bavaria; Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Leopold, and Philip, Duke of Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV. Now Louis XIV. knew that the other states of Europe would not like his grandson to have such immense power, and he wanted to make a compact with William to help him in getting at least part of it. This William was willing to do if he could only keep Louis out of the Netherlands. But to make good terms he wanted a strong army at his back, and this was why he was so vexed that Parliament reduced it. Still he did his best. Two treaties were made—by the first Charles II. left all his dominions to the young Prince of Bavaria, of whom no one was jealous. Unfortunately he died on Feb. 6, 1699, and a second treaty gave Spain and the Netherlands to the Archduke Charles, and the rest to the Duke of Anjou. Louis did not like this, but was willing to make the best of it. Meanwhile the treaty was secret, and the Spanish ministers were not consulted. When they discovered that their lands were being divided without their permission they were very angry, especially with William, and persuaded Charles II., who died six months after the second treaty, to make a will leaving the whole to the Duke of Anjou. Would Louis now stand by his treaty or by the will? The temptation was too great. He knew that William's army was disbanded, so he broke all the treaties into which he had entered with the European powers, and accepted the inheritance for his grandson, who became Philip V. of Spain.

First and Second Partition Treaties.

Anjou becomes King of Spain.

At first sight this seems to have very little to do with England, and so the English Parliament thought. They were annoyed with William for having interfered at all and made the treaties. They did not want to go to war about foreign countries; they were far more anxious to settle who should reign after Anne, for she had just lost her last living child the Duke of Gloucester. By an

"Act of Settlement" they decided that the English crown should pass on Anne's death to the Electress Sophia of Hanover and her children, she being granddaughter of James I., the only Protestant descendant of the English royal family (*see* table, p. 264). It is under this Act that our present Queen holds her crown.

Act of Settlement, 1701.

But they soon found out that, while providing for a danger far off, they had overlooked one close at hand. All the object of the last war had been to keep the French out of the Spanish Netherlands, and now Louis put French garrisons into the fortresses in the name of his grandson Philip V., and even kept the Dutch garrisons prisoner till William acknowledged Philip as King of Spain. Even then Parliament, however, did not wish to fight, though they allowed William to make a "triple alliance" between England, Holland, and the Emperor Leopold to turn Louis out of the Netherlands. At last, one morning in Sept. 1701, they learnt that their exiled king James II. had died in France, and Louis XIV. had *recognised his son as James III. of England.* Then all at once the nation saw how dangerous it was that Louis should be so powerful. That he should try to dictate to them who should be King of England was not to be borne, and the people clamoured for war. William dissolved the Tory Parliament, and another was elected, which at once voted men and money to fight against this French king, who insisted on settling England's affairs.

Louis secures fortresses in the Netherlands.

Triple alliance.

Louis recognises the Pretender, Sept. 1701.

But William, who had long been failing in health, was too ill to command this new army; and knowing that Lord Churchill, now Earl of Marlborough, was a military genius, he named him commander-in-chief. Even before war was declared his reign was over. On Feb. 20, 1702, he fell from his horse and broke his collar-bone; and on March 8 this grave, silent man, who had done so much for England, and received so little gratitude in return, passed to his rest.

Death of William, March 8, 1702

CHAPTER XXI.

THE LAST OF THE STUARTS

Queen Anne, 1702–1714.

WHEN William died Anne was proclaimed queen. Her young Catholic half-brother, James Stuart, knew it was hopeless to make any effort to secure the throne. He remained at the French court, and was called King James III. or the "Chevalier de St. George," while in England he was known as "the Pretender." In Scotland he had many supporters, but they could not move.

Anne proclaimed Queen.

"Good Queen Anne," as she was called, was a favourite with the English people, who were glad to have once more an English sovereign. She was a slow-minded and obstinate woman, but affectionate and good. Like Queen Elizabeth, she loved her people, and wished to do well for them, while they respected her for the resignation which she had shown when losing her children one after the other. She was much guided by Marlborough, for his wife had been her friend from childhood, and they wrote to each other almost daily, Anne calling Lady Marlborough "Mrs. Freeman," while she called the queen "Mrs. Morley." Anne's husband, Prince George of Denmark, was a dull, good-natured man, who did not interfere in politics. The disputes in this reign were not between the sovereign and the people, but between the Whigs and Tories.

Character of Queen Anne.

The Whigs wanted war with France, the Tories wanted only to defend the English shores, and not to fight on the continent. Marlborough was a moderate Tory, but as a general he was eager for war, and so was Lord Godolphin, who was Lord High Treasurer. These two men had the chief influence in the ministry for the next eight years.

Ministry of Marlborough and Godolphin.

Very soon after her coronation the queen declared war with France, and Marlborough crossed over to the Nether-

lands and took Liége. Louis had only the King of Bavaria on his side, while against him he had the DUTCH, who wanted to drive him out of the Spanish Netherlands; the ENGLISH, who required him to send away the "Pretender"; the GERMAN Emperor Leopold, who wanted the Spanish possessions for Archduke Charles; the King of PRUSSIA, the King of PORTUGAL, the Duke of SAVOY, and several minor princes. The war was going on at the same time in the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, and Germany. The three men by whose counsels the great Alliance was chiefly guided were Heinsius the Grand Pensionary or leading statesman of Holland, Prince Eugene of Savoy the imperial general, and Marlborough, who was the leading spirit everywhere.

Grand Alliance at war with France.

The work Marlborough did was almost beyond belief. He directed the movements both in Flanders and Spain; he was constantly treating with the ministers at the courts of the different allies, and he crossed from time to time over to England to join in politics and keep up the enthusiasm for the war. He had great faults; he was avaricious, and he had no true sense of honour. He deserted his first friend, James II., at the Revolution, and when William III. was his sovereign, he turned back and plotted with James. Yet he was an able statesman, and the greatest general England had before Wellington. He was calm and diplomatic, humane on the battlefield, and quite heedless of danger, while at the same time he knew at once what ought to be done by each of the armies fighting over nearly the whole of Europe. Yet for the first two years he could do but little more than hold Louis in check, for the allies were timid and did not work together.

Character of Marlborough.

During these two years very little happened at home. The Tories made a great attack upon the Dissenters, who were all Whigs, hoping to keep them out of Parliament. An "Occasional Conformity Bill" was brought in to prevent Dissenters from taking the sacrament in church (according to the Test Act) merely to get into office, and then going as usual to

Occasional Conformity Bill, 1702-1711.

their chapels. The bill was passed by the Commons, but always thrown out by the Lords till 1711, when at last the Lords gave way, and for more than a hundred years a special favour had to be granted each year in Parliament to allow Dissenters to hold office. In 1704 Marlborough, who wished to keep the Tories in good humour, persuaded Anne to give up to the Church the first-fruits and tenths, which had been paid to the king ever since the Pope had lost them. This money, which is called "Queen Anne's Bounty," is still used to increase the incomes of the poorer clergy.

Queen Anne's Bounty, 1704.

Meanwhile Marlborough was growing tired of the slowness of the allies. King Louis had gathered a large army and sent it to join the Bavarians on the Danube, meaning to risk a great battle near Vienna against the Austrians under Prince Eugene. Marlborough saw the danger at once; he told no one his plans, but marched straight to the Danube, joined Prince Eugene near a little village called Blenheim, and there, on Aug. 13, 1704, fought that famous battle in which two-thirds of the French army, so long thought to be invincible, were killed, wounded, or taken prisoner.

Battle of Blenheim, Aug. 13, 1704.

Queen Anne was sitting in the bay-window of the library at Windsor when the news of the glorious victory reached her. A few days before she had learnt that the strong fortress of Gibraltar had been taken by Admiral Rooke, and it was clear that the tide of war had turned. Marlborough, who had been created a duke, became the idol of the English people and the terror of France. Parliament gave him a large estate near Woodstock, where he built the splendid mansion called "Blenheim House," and when the next elections took place in 1705, Godolphin and Marlborough had a strong Whig party in Parliament, because the people were in favour of the war.

Taking of Gibraltar, Aug. 3, 1704.

Marlborough went back to Flanders, and gained another great victory at Ramillies in May 1706, taking possession of nine strong fortresses between Flanders and France. The Emperor of Austria even offered to make him governor of the Spanish Nether-

Battle of Ramillies, May 1706.

lands, but the English and the Dutch were both so much against it that Marlborough refused. About the same time the Earl of Peterborough, who was commanding the English army in Spain, took Barcelona, and driving Philip V. back into France, proclaimed Archduke Charles king at Madrid. Defeated on all sides, Louis now began to wish for peace. He offered to give up Spain and the Netherlands to Archduke Charles, if Philip might keep Naples, Sicily, and Milan. There is no doubt peace ought to have been made. But the war had become popular in England, and the Whigs, who were now the strong party, were afraid they would lose power if it was ended. So they made difficulties, and, for their own selfish ends, drove France to desperation, and wasted men and money for the next seven years in a useless war.

Louis proposes peace, 1706.

Happily England was now prosperous enough to bear the burden. In spite of war and the peril of the enemy's ships at sea, commerce was so flourishing that the ministers had no difficulty in borrowing more and more money, and the National Debt increased to fifty-four millions of pounds. This debt was now useful to the Government, because so many people drew interest from it that they were very anxious not to have civil war, for fear they should lose by it. This was shown very clearly when in 1708 the Pretender attempted to cross to Scotland with 4000 French troops. He caught the measles just before starting, and the French ships, going without him, were driven back by Admiral Byng. But this alarm made the "stock" of the National Debt fall 14 or 15 per cent; that is, any man who had lent £100 could only sell his interest to another man for £85, because, if there had been a civil war, it was not certain that the interest would be paid. This is even now one of the great safeguards against riots and rebellions in Britain. So many are interested in having a steady Government which will pay its debts, that the greater number are always on the side of law and order.

Use of the National Debt.

Attempt by the Pretender, 1708.

The Bank of England, too, was another help both to Government and to trade. It was so much sounder and

safer than the goldsmiths' banks had been, that merchants who dealt with it were more easily able to get credit, and work by bills of exchange—that is, by giving a promise to pay instead of actual money—and the bank did an enormous business, and was able to help Government when necessary. This, together with the new coinage, made the country prosperous and the towns increase rapidly. Bristol grew large again by the trade with the West Indies; Manchester and Norwich, Leeds and Sheffield, became important; and Liverpool, to which many merchants had moved after the plague and fire of London, began to take a great place among towns. One unfortunate thing grew out of all this prosperity—the fine race of yeomen, the men who lived and worked on their own land, which had been their fathers' and forefathers' before them, began to die out. So much waste land was enclosed, that farming became less profitable, and the rich merchants were so anxious to buy estates of their own, that the yeomen found it paid better to sell their property and put their money into trade. In this way England lost those simple, stalwart, independent men who had been the backbone of the country ever since Saxon times.

Stability of credit.

State of towns and country.

Decrease of yeoman class.

On the other hand, in the year 1707 England and Scotland were at last made one. Up to that time there had been still heavy duties raised upon any goods passing between the two countries, and as Scotland was a poor land, and had to import many things, this pressed heavily upon the people. So they began to grow restless, and being specially angry with the English about a Scotch colony which had failed on the Gulf of Darien because of the English trading laws, they passed a law in the Scotch Parliament in 1703, that when Queen Anne should die they would have one of the Protestant princes for a king, but *not the same one as England.* This would have been very bad, for with two kings once more in the island, war would be sure to follow. So the English gave way about the duties, agreeing to let goods pass free across the border

Act of Union passed in Scotland, Jan. 1707; in England, March 1707.

if the Scots would give up their separate Parliament, and send members to the English Parliament, as in the days of Cromwell. At first the Scots were very unwilling, but in 1707 a commission from both countries met, and agreed that the Scots should keep their own Presbyterian Church and their own Scotch laws, but give up their Parliament, and send instead forty-five members to the English House of Commons and sixteen peers to the Lords. By this "Act of Union" both countries were united under the name of "Great Britain." And now once more the Saxon-speaking people were one, as in days of old when North-Humber-land reached to the Firth of Forth. The crosses of St. George and St. Andrew were blended to form the "Union Jack," and in our day Scotchmen and Englishmen are brothers in interest, in nationality, and in good-feeling, while both countries have flourished ever since they joined hands across the border.

Kingdom of Great Britain.

It is painful to turn from this picture to that of the sister-country Ireland. There, as we have seen (*see* p. 245), the Treaty of Limerick was not kept, but the Catholics, cowed and disheartened by their defeat, were treated by England and by the Irish Protestants as cruelly during the next fifty years as ever the Huguenots had been by the Catholics abroad. Penal laws were passed persecuting the priests, forbidding Catholics to hold land, bribing their children to become Protestants, or taking away their means of education. All these, as well as the laws against manufactures and trade in Ireland, drove the people to desperation, and taught them habits of deceit and lawlessness from which we are even now suffering.

Penal laws in Ireland.

All this time the war was dragging wearily on. Marlborough gained three more important victories at Oudenarde, Lille, and Malplaquet; but in Spain the French were again successful, and Philip V. went back to Madrid. Still France was so exhausted that in 1709 Louis again proposed peace, and again the Emperor of Austria and the British ministers refused. But they made a mistake, and Marl-

Oudenarde, 1708; Lille, 1708; Malplaquet, 1709.

borough made a still greater one in asking to be appointed Captain-General of the forces for life. There was nothing the English had dreaded so much ever since the days of Cromwell, as a great man with an army at his back, and they were getting tired of the war and the Whigs.

Just at this time a noisy Tory preacher, Dr. Sacheverell, preached a sermon on "divine right" and the wickedness of resisting a sovereign. The Whigs thought this was an attack on the rights of William III. and Anne, and the ministers impeached Dr. Sacheverell before the House of Lords. He was found guilty, but the nation was so much on his side that the Lords only condemned him not to preach for three years, and to have his sermon burnt. It was a foolish affair, but the people were just then in the humour to quarrel with the Whig ministers. They took Dr. Sacheverell's part, and when he was set free they followed him with shouts of "The Church and Dr. Sacheverell," lighted bonfires, rang the church-bells, and illuminated the streets.

Trial of Dr. Sacheverell.

Queen Anne sympathised with the people. She had always been a Tory at heart, and she had just quarrelled with the Duchess of Marlborough, and taken as her friend Mrs. Masham, a cousin of a very able statesman, Robert Harley, who was opposed to the ministers and to Marlborough. Harley, and a brilliant speaker named St. John, began now to attack Marlborough in Parliament, and to cry out that the war should be stopped; and the great political writer Dean Swift helped them with fierce articles in the papers. "Six millions of supplies and almost fifty millions of debt," he wrote, "the High Allies have been the ruin of us." Even the people turned against their idol, and accused him of carrying on the war for his own benefit. At last, in 1710, Anne dismissed the ministry, and appointed Harley as "Earl of Oxford" and St. John as "Viscount Bolingbroke" to be her chief ministers. Parliament was dissolved, and after the elections the House of Commons was full of Tories. A few months later Marlborough was dismissed from his com-

Attack on Marlborough and the Whigs, 1710.

Ministry of Oxford and Bolingbroke, 1710-1714.

mand, which was given to the Duke of Ormond, a strong Tory. Marlborough was even accused of having misused public money; his wife was sent away from court, and he himself left England, an example of a man treated with ingratitude because he relied too much on his great success.

The Tories now began at once to make terms with France, and the peace of Utrecht was signed in 1713. Britain did not gain as much as she would have done seven years before. Though the French were expelled from the Netherlands and from Germany, yet Philip still kept Spain and Spanish America under a promise that the crowns of Spain and France were never to be united. Austria gained Milan, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands; the Dutch received a strong line of fortresses to defend their country; Britain kept Gibraltar and Minorca, and was given Hudson's Bay and Straits, Newfoundland and Acadia, now called Nova Scotia, about which British and French fishermen had been quarrelling for a century. Louis promised solemnly to acknowledge Anne and her successors of the house of Hanover as lawful sovereigns of Great Britain, and not to support the Pretender, who went to live in Lorraine; and Britain was given the sole right, for thirty years, of trading in negro slaves with the Spanish colonies, and of sending one merchant ship each year to the South Seas. But the British ministers were so anxious to avoid troublesome questions that they left a stain on British honour. The Catalans, a people in the north-west of Spain, had stood by the allies in the war, and had been assured that their liberty should be protected. But the Austrian emperor did not care to uphold them, and Britain, though reluctantly, left them to the mercy of Spain, to which, after a long struggle, they were obliged to submit, July 1715.

Peace of Utrecht, 1713.

Anne's reign was now drawing to a close. She was known to be ill, and every one began to think who would succeed her. Old Princess Sophia of Hanover had died, and her son George, Elector of Hanover, was the Protestant heir named by Parliament in the Act of Succession. As he was a German who could not speak a word of

English, the Jacobites secretly hoped they might succeed in proclaiming the Pretender, and even the Tory ministers Bolingbroke and Oxford began to intrigue with him, because they knew that George would favour the Whigs. But the end came before they were prepared. The queen was one day much upset by a violent quarrel between Bolingbroke and Oxford in the Council Chamber, in consequence of which Oxford received his dismissal. Almost immediately afterwards she was seized with apoplexy and died two days later, Aug. 1, 1714. The Whig Dukes of Argyle and Somerset at once consulted with the Duke of Shrewsbury, who was President of the Council and, though a Tory, no friend of the Pretender. Troops were stationed both in London and Portsmouth, and, before the Jacobites could make any opposition, George Lewis, Elector of Hanover and great-grandson of James I., was proclaimed king.

Death of Anne, 1714.

George I. proclaimed king.

We have now left behind us the troubled period, during which the Stuarts tried to be absolute kings, and Parliament and the nation withstood them. This struggle, which lasted for nearly a hundred years, from 1603 till the reign of William and Mary, ended in Parliament being more powerful than before, and we shall see that in the reign of George I. it gained new strength. As the new king could not understand discussions in English, he no longer sat in the Cabinet Council, as other kings and queens had done. The leading man among the ministers took his place, with the title of "Prime Minister," and from that time the prime ministers have, under the sovereign, been the real rulers of the country. But the people still clung as strongly as ever to a steady hereditary sovereign, not wishing ever again to try the experiment of doing without a king. They had learnt that a "Constitutional Government," in which the sovereign chooses the ministers and prevents any one man from taking all the power into his hands, is the safest and best.

Rise of Constitutional Government.

Meanwhile during this century the nation had been

silently growing in prosperity and in culture. As the country grew richer more people had leisure to cultivate their minds. The English ministers of this period gave pensions and appointments to men of letters, and we find Milton, Newton, Locke, Addison, Swift, Steele, and many others holding posts under Government. This was an age rich in literature. "News-Letters," which afterwards grew into newspapers or journals, had begun during the Civil War, and increased, as we have seen, after 1695, when the press was freed from control. Dean Swift wrote political articles in the *Examiner,* and published his satirical *Tale of a Tub* (1704); Steele published two penny papers, the *Tatler* (1709) and the *Spectator* (1711), in which Addison and others wrote brilliant essays upon things of daily life, and charming sketches such as that of Sir Roger de Coverley. In more serious literature we have Locke's famous essays on the *Human Understanding* (1690) and on *Toleration.* In History Bishop Burnet wrote his *History of his own Time* (1715), and Pepys his delightful *Diary.* At this time, too, stories or works of fiction became popular, such as Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), and Arbuthnot's *History of John Bull,* in which Englishmen first received that name. Among poets we have Cowley, Milton, Dryden, and Pope, and the satirist Samuel Butler, the author of *Hudibras.* During this and the next century a change gradually took place in literature. At the beginning men wrote in a cumbrous or florid style; towards the end they wrote in plain terse sentences, being more anxious to be well understood than to write fine periods. This was because people were more educated, and writers no longer appealed only to learned men; they had to write for the public. One great and good result of this spread of books, newspapers, and knowledge of all kinds, was that a feeling of toleration began to grow up, leading people to understand that others might differ from them in opinion, and making it impossible that Britain should ever go back to the old times of persecution and tyranny.

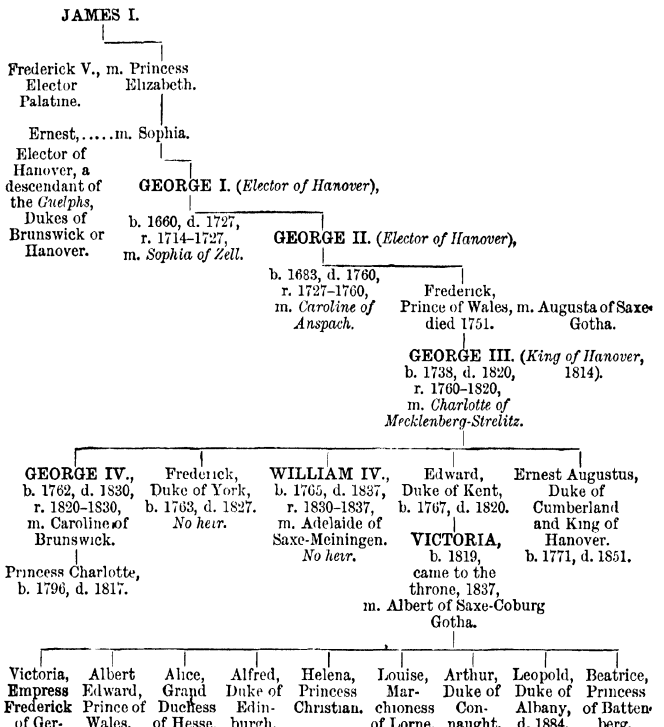
Literature of the 17th century.

PART VII.

THE EXPANSION OF GREAT BRITAIN

KINGS OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

(Or Brunswick Luneburg. Family name—Guelph.)



CHAPTER XXII.

GREAT BRITAIN STRENGTHENED BY PEACE AT HOME AND CONQUEST ABROAD

George I., 1714–1727. *George II.*, 1727–1760.

SEVEN weeks after Queen Anne's death, George I. landed with his only son at Greenwich. Though he was a foreigner he was well received, for the nation wanted rest and settled government. If we look back, we shall see that during the twenty-five years which had passed since James II. fled to France there had been two serious wars—one from 1689 to 1697, which kept William III. constantly abroad, and ended in the peace of Ryswick (p. 251); the other from 1702 to 1713, in which Marlborough gained his victories, and which ended in the peace of Utrecht, only a year before Anne died. Britain had joined in these wars partly to defend Holland, but chiefly to prevent France from putting James and his son back on the throne, and the cost of these wars in money alone had been so great that the National Debt, begun in 1692, had increased in twenty-two years to nearly *thirty-eight millions* of pounds. What the people now wanted was a king who would let Parliament and the ministers govern the country, and not stir up strife, so as to give the Pretender a chance to return.

The House of Hanover.

George I. was just the man they required. He was fifty-four years of age, awkward and slow, and he cared more for Hanover than for being King of Great Britain. But he was well-intentioned, and he did his best to reign according to

Character of George I.

the laws, and interfered as little as possible. He naturally leaned towards the Whigs, who had put him on the throne, and even before he reached England he dismissed the Tory ministers. The new Parliament was nearly all Whig; and Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond were impeached for having intrigued with the Jacobites. Ormond and Bolingbroke fled to France; Oxford remained, and was imprisoned for two years in the Tower.

Impeachment of Oxford, Bolingbroke, and Ormond.

For a long time the people were very restless, for many still held by the Stuarts. Such serious riots broke out in the Midland Counties that a Riot Act was passed in 1715, decreeing that if any crowd did not disperse quietly after the Act was publicly read, then the authorities might use force, and could not be blamed if any one was hurt.

Riot Act, 1715.

In Scotland and the north of England the rebellion was more serious. The Highlanders rose under the Earl of Mar, and the English Jacobites under the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forster, member for Northumberland. The Duke of Argyle, however, who was sent against them, defeated the Scots at Sheriffmuir, near Stirling, on the same day, Nov. 13, that the English Jacobites surrendered at Preston in Lancashire. In two months the rebellion was over. The Pretender, who landed in Scotland a month later, was forced to go back to France with Mar. Forster escaped, and young Lord Derwentwater was executed. These riots and the rebellion made the nation anxious to have a strong government; and in 1716 a Bill was passed allowing the king to keep the same Parliament for *seven years*, and so the law remains to this day.

Jacobite Rebellion of 1715.

Septennial Parliaments, 1716.

Meanwhile in France Louis XIV., who had reigned seventy-one years, and had been such an enemy to England, died in 1715, and his great-grandson, a young boy of ten, became Louis XV. So France ceased to trouble our country during the next twenty years; especially as the Duke of Orleans, who was

Triple Alliance of 1717.



THE SOUTH SEA BUBBLE.

After the Painting by E. M. Ward, R.A., in the Tate Gallery.

Face page 267.

regent, made an alliance with Britain and Holland, promising to support the house of Hanover, if these countries would help him to secure the French crown to the line of Orleans, if Philip V. of Spain should break his promise and claim both crowns, in the case of the death of Louis XV. Britain and France did declare war against Spain in 1718, when Philip threatened Sicily. Sir George Byng defeated the Spanish fleet at Cape Passaro, and the Spaniards tried to invade Scotland in 1719, but the struggle only lasted a short time, and Philip gave way.

Battle of Cape Passaro, 1718.

Having now peace at home and abroad the British people turned their attention to commerce. Trade had been spreading even during the wars, and British merchants did business with Turkey, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Holland, Germany, Russia, Norway, Sweden, America, Africa, and the East Indies. In 1713 the peace of Utrecht, by putting an end to fighting on the sea, made traffic safer, and those who had hoarded their money in troubled times now wished to use it in trade. Many companies were started which made large profits in manufactures, mining, shipping, and commerce. Among these the most popular was the South Sea Company, which had been formed in 1711 to trade with South America, and which hoped to do such great things, that in 1719 the directors offered to pay off the National Debt, by giving shares in the undertaking to those to whom the Government owed money, if the ministers in return would give them special privileges. But unfortunately the Bank of England also offered to work off the National Debt, and the two companies bid against each other higher and higher, till at last, in April 1720, the Government passed a Bill accepting the offer of the South Sea Company to advance *seven and a half millions of pounds!*

Spread of British trade.

South Sea Company, 1711-1721.

Good men of business knew that it was impossible they could make large enough profits to meet this enormous sum, and Robert Walpole, a sound-headed Norfolk squire, protested in Parliament against the Bill. But in vain! All

Now, being a country gentleman himself, Walpole could gather round him the great Whig families, such as the Russells, Cavendishes, and others who favoured the house of Hanover. These families had great power in nominating members to Parliament, and moreover many places where towns had fallen into decay, such as Old Sarum, near Salisbury, still sent members, though there were hardly any people to vote, and the few there were sold the seat to the highest bidder. Thus more than half the members of Parliament were not really chosen by the people, but nominated by the Government, and Walpole had a House of Commons which would do much as he liked.

Whig families and nomination boroughs.

He made use of it to give the country rest. By remaining friendly with the French he kept the Pretender quiet, and without repealing the laws against Dissenters and Catholics, he managed that they should not be put in force. There was, indeed, a slight Jacobite conspiracy in 1722, and Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, was banished for encouraging it; and there was trouble in Ireland because Walpole had given a patent to an English ironmaster named Wood to coin farthings and halfpence to the value of £108,000 for circulation in Ireland. The Irish Parliament objected that they should lose by this coinage, and Swift, who disliked Walpole, published seven letters, called the Drapier letters, on the subject, which inflamed the people still more. Walpole, however, wisely withdrew the halfpence, and no evil followed. In this way he kept peace, and taught the people to value a steady Government, under which they could live and work quietly.

Walpole gives the country rest.

Wood's halfpence, 1723.

When George I. died of a fit of apoplexy in his carriage on his way to Osnabruck, in Hanover, June 10, 1727, his son succeeded him without any disturbance; and though the new king did not like Walpole, he found him too useful to be sent away, and the change of kings made no difference to Britain.

Death of George I., June 10, 1727.

George II., 1727–1760.

George II. was a thorough German like his father, though he could speak English. He was stubborn and passionate, and would often have sacrificed Britain to Hanover; but fortunately his wife, Caroline of Anspach, had great influence over him, and being a clever woman, she saw how valuable Walpole was, and upheld him till her death in 1737. Then towards the end of the reign the great Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, took the reins of government, and we shall see that George II.'s reign was an important one in history, because he was, in spite of himself, in the hands of two able ministers, both of whom he disliked.

Character of George II.

For the next ten years there is very little to relate. Walpole was chiefly employed in economising, and paying off part of the National Debt, while at the same time he abolished duties on many articles sent in and out of the country. He was the first to see the folly of forbidding the colonies to trade with other countries, and he allowed Georgia and Carolina to export rice to different parts of Europe. By this means the Carolina rice took the place of the inferior rice of Italy and Egypt, and all countries profited by it. He also tried to lighten the *custom* duties paid at our own seaports, and to collect the duties on certain goods as *excise* or inland taxes. If he could have done this, it would have stopped a great deal of smuggling, made London a free port, and doubled British trade. But the people did not understand this, and thought it would be unbearable to have excise officers coming to their shops, and the agitation was so great against the bill that Walpole withdrew it. Still his influence remained very strong, till he made the mistake which so often ruins popular ministers. He liked to have power in his own hands, and being jealous of others, he parted by degrees with nearly all the best men in his Cabinet. The result was that a strong "opposition" party

Walpole's Finance.

Failure of Excise Bill, 1733.

Walpole alienates his friends.

was formed against him, led by such men as Pulteney, afterwards Earl of Bath, Carteret, and Chesterfield, while among the younger men the most eloquent and earnest was William Pitt, a young cornet, who was grandson of a former governor of Madras. This party took the name of the "Patriots," and complained loudly against Walpole's peace policy, and the bribery by which he secured votes. Walpole treated them with good-humoured contempt, although they had the support of Frederick, Prince of Wales, who had quarrelled with his parents. When they talked of patriotism and honour, he laughed at them, saying, "They would grow wiser and come out of that," and he held his ground, till a quarrel with Spain which broke out in 1739 began his fall.

Patriot Party, 1737.

In fact a secret danger was threatening Britain, for France was extremely jealous of her trade and her colonies, and in 1733 Louis XV., who had now children of his own, and was no longer afraid of his uncle Philip V., made a "Family Compact" with him that Spain should gradually take away her South American trade from Britain and give it to France. France in return promised to help Spain to get back Gibraltar. No one knew of the compact at the time, but it was really the beginning of a long struggle between Great Britain and France for the chief trade and colonies of the world.

The Family Compact, 1733.

It was not difficult for Spain to find an excuse for quarrelling with Britain. We shall remember that by the Treaty of Utrecht (p. 261) one British ship of 600 tons was to be allowed to trade each year with the South Seas. This ship had not kept strictly to the bargain. Other small ships hovered near, and brought in goods by night to the large one, so that much more than one shipload was landed. Besides this a number of British goods were smuggled into the Spanish ports of America, and the Spaniards in return used their right of searching ships at sea. This often led to acts of violence, which became worse after the compact with France, and the British grew very indignant. In 1738 a sea-

War of Jenkins's ear, 1739.

captain named Jenkins came before Parliament and said that his ears had been cut off by the Spaniards, and that they had abused Great Britain and the king. It is very doubtful whether this was true, and Walpole tried hard to keep peace. But the Patriots used the story to stir up the country, and they forced Walpole to declare war against his own judgment. "They may ring their bells now," said he, when the people rejoiced at the war, "but they will soon be wringing their hands."

He was right, but he had better have resigned and let those manage the war who approved of it. The beginning of the struggle did not go well, and people said it was because Walpole was against it. Moreover it soon became mixed up with a much larger war which broke out in 1740 all over Europe, while at the same time a terrible frost in the winter of 1740, and a bad harvest the next summer, brought great suffering both to England and Ireland. Bread rose to famine prices, and the people, always ready to blame the Government, cried out loudly against Walpole. At last, in Jan. 1742, he was obliged to resign. As usual his enemies wished to impeach him, but he had still too many friends. He was raised to the peerage with the title of Earl of Orford and a pension of £4000 a year. He was the first chief minister who received a title on retiring from office, instead of running the risk of losing his head. This shows how the House of Commons was now beginning to govern the country. In former times there was no means of getting rid of an unpopular minister except by impeaching him. But now that the real power was in the hands of the Commons a minister could be set aside and at the same time honoured for his past services by removing him to the House of Lords.

Fall of Walpole, Jan. 1742.

With the fall of Walpole fell also the policy of peace with France, which had lasted for more than a quarter of a century. The new ministry which was now formed was quite willing to do what George II. had long wanted, and join the war on the Continent to protect Hanover. This war had sprung up because the Emperor Charles VI., having

no son, had persuaded the great powers to sign a treaty called the "Pragmatic Sanction," promising that his daughter Maria Theresa should have all his possessions. But when he died in 1740 none of those who had signed, except Britain and Holland, were willing to keep their word. Frederick II. of Prussia seized Silesia, the Elector of Bavaria claimed Austria, and France and Spain took his part. Maria Theresa, Archduchess of Austria and Queen of Hungary, fought bravely for her rights, and the "War of the Austrian Succession" lasted nearly nine years. It was in fact part of the struggle for the "Balance of Power" which makes each of the nations on the Continent afraid that some other will grow too strong.

War of the Austrian Succession, 1740-1748.

Britain had an excuse for joining in the war because she had signed the Pragmatic Sanction, and George II. now went himself to fight, and defeated the French in the battle of Dettingen on the Main, June 1743. But this brought upon Britain just what Walpole had tried to avoid. The French retaliated in 1744 by sending 15,000 men to land in England under Charles Edward, son of the Pretender. They never arrived, for a storm scattered the fleet; but the next year when the French, under the famous Marshal Saxe, defeated the British at Fontenoy, Prince Charles Edward made a second attempt, and landed in the Highlands, July 1745, to regain the crown of Great Britain for his father.

Battles of Dettingen, 1743; Fontenoy, 1745.

It seemed at first as if all Walpole's work was to be undone. Charles Edward was a handsome, daring young fellow, and the Highlanders rallied round him at once. By Aug. 29 he was at the head of 1500 men, a fortnight later he had entered the city of Edinburgh and proclaimed his father king, and on Sept. 21 his wild Highlanders cut Sir John Cope's British troops to pieces at Prestonpans, about nine miles from the city. "Bonnie Prince Charlie" was now almost master of Scotland, and six weeks later he started with 6000 men to try his fortune in England.

Bonnie Prince Charlie, 1745.

Here, however, he was soon undeceived. The English had enjoyed peace and quiet under the Georges, and they did not want to begin the struggle again. They flocked to look at the young prince and his Highlanders, but they did not join him, and by the time he reached Derby his advisers saw that the English armies would be too strong for him, and persuaded him to retire to Glasgow. He gained one victory at Falkirk, Jan. 1746, but a few months later, in April, his Highlanders were utterly defeated by the Duke of Cumberland at Culloden, on the borders of Inverness. During the next five months Prince Charlie wandered about the Highlands, faithfully concealed by his friends, especially by a lady named Flora Macdonald, who was devoted to his cause. At last in September he escaped back to France.

English do not rise.

Battles of Falkirk and Culloden, 1746.

This was the last Jacobite rising. The Stuarts never again tried to regain their throne. The old Pretender died in 1766, and Prince Charlie died in 1788 at Rome, where his only brother was a cardinal. The Highlanders were very cruelly treated by the Duke of Cumberland after the battle, and three Scotch lords were beheaded. Moreover, laws were made taking away the power of the chiefs over their clans, so as to break the feudal traditions, and bring the people more directly under the sovereign. The Highlanders, forbidden to carry weapons or wear their own peculiar dress, remained very restless and unhappy, till twelve years later, when Pitt carried out the happy idea suggested by a Scotchman, John Duncan, of raising Highland regiments to fight in the wars. Since then there have been no braver or more faithful subjects than the Highlanders.

Disarming of the Highlanders, 1746.

During all these years, while wars and rebellions were troubling the country, we hear scarcely anything of the Church or the clergy. Walpole had been chiefly anxious to keep things quiet; the upper classes had grown to care very little for religion or morality; and the country vicars, who were many of them Jacobites, were more inter-

ested in politics than in teaching the people, who sank into wickedness and vice as they increased in numbers. It was this sad state of things which led two clergymen, George Whitefield and John Wesley, to preach not only in the churches but in the open air to all who would come and listen. The rough colliers of Bristol, the wretched poor of the cities, the country people in remote villages, gathered in the fields and open spaces to listen to men who were earnest and eager to lead them to a better life. Like the friars in the reign of Henry III. and the reformers in the reign of Henry VIII., Whitefield and Wesley did the work which the Church was neglecting. From their preaching sprang the "Methodists" and "Wesleyans," which remain a large and earnest body of Dissenters to this day both in England and America. But their founders were Churchmen, and the best part of their work was that they aroused the Church of England, so that our English clergy have become devoted earnest teachers and workers among the people, both in the quiet villages and in the crowded towns.

Preaching of Whitefield and Wesley, 1739.

For the next eight years politics remained quiet. An able man, Henry Pelham, was Prime Minister, and he ruled firmly and well. In 1748 the war on the Continent ended in a peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. It had been an enormous expense to Britain, without any return except the million dollars' worth of treasure which Commodore Anson, who had been sent to plunder the Spaniards, brought back after sailing round the world. It had, however, put an end to the intrigues of the Stuarts, and increased the power of Great Britain on the seas.

Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.

In 1751 Prince Frederick of Wales died, and his young son George became the heir to the throne. That same year, 1751, an Act was passed adopting the *new style* of dating the days of the year. This style had been introduced into Roman Catholic countries by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582 to correct the old style, by which the year became about three days too long

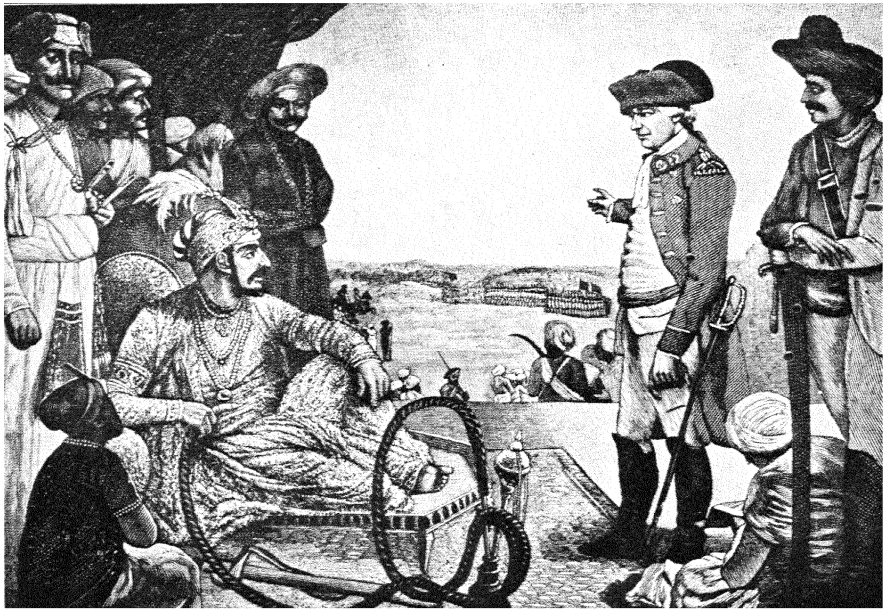
Reform of the Calendar, 1751.

at the end of four centuries. According to the new style, one of these days is cut out at the end of each century (by passing over one leap-year), except at the end of each fourth century, when it is not needed. Britain did not adopt this style in 1582, and so was now eleven days behind France and Germany; her Sept. 3 was their Sept. 14. It was enacted that in 1752 these eleven days should be skipped over and the new style adopted. The people found this difficult to understand, and when told that Sept. 3, 1752, was to be called Sept. 14 for the future, there were actually some riots, because they fancied they would really lose eleven days. In this same year, 1752, the year was fixed to begin on Jan. 1 instead of on March 25. The next year, 1753, deserves to be remembered as the year in which Lord Hardwicke passed an Act putting a stop to the shameful marriages which took place near the Fleet Prison, where disreputable parsons, imprisoned for debt, married any two people who came to them and paid well, without asking any questions.

Hardwicke's Marriage Act, 1753.

But though during these eight years, from 1748 to 1756, Britain was at peace at home, yet she was struggling with France in two widely distant parts of the world. It will be remembered that Queen Elizabeth granted a charter in 1599 to a company of English merchants to trade in the East Indies (*see* p. 169), and now for nearly 150 years the East India Company had been founding factories and stations on different parts of the shores of Hindustan. In 1613 they built a factory at Surat on the west coast; and in 1640 another on the east coast called Fort St. George, around which grew up the town of MADRAS (*see* Map VI.) In 1662 BOMBAY near Surat was given to England as the dowry of Charles II.'s queen; while in 1698, in the reign of William III., another English company founded Fort William on the river Hooghley, round which the town of CALCUTTA was built. Lastly, the two companies became one in 1702. Each of these three stations had a governor and a small army, chiefly of native soldiers or *sepoys* (*sepahai*, soldier), to pro

English East India Company.

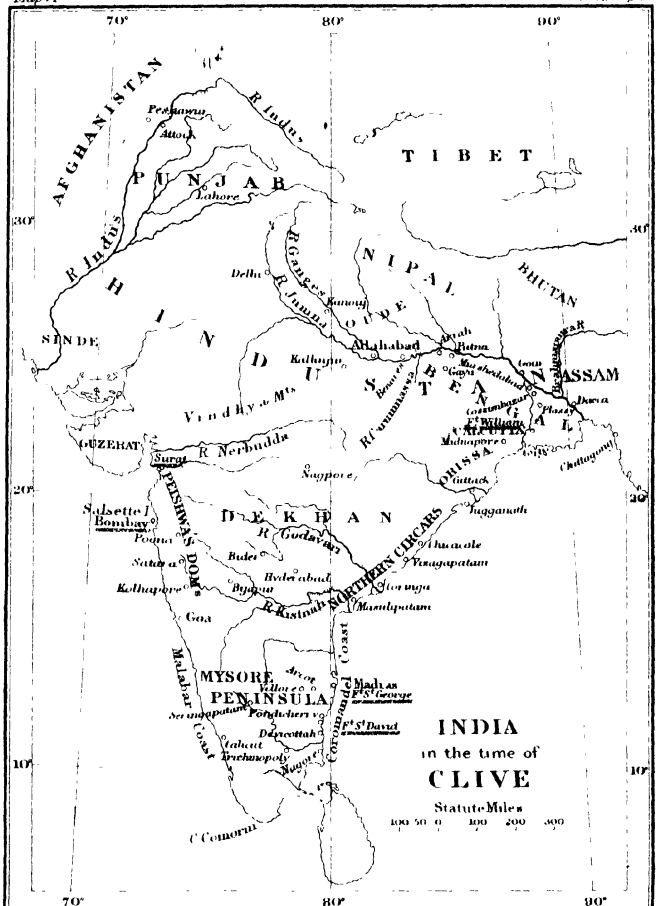


MOGUL OF HINDUSTAN REVIEWING THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S TROOPS.

Picture by Tilly Kettle, painted 1781.

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Stanford's Geog.l Estab.t

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tect the factories, and the traders paid a yearly rent for their land to the *Nawab* or native prince of their district. Over these Nawabs were *Nizams* or governors of provinces, and over all was the Great Moghul of India.

Now the French also had an East India Company, which had built a fort at Pondicherry, about a hundred miles south of Madras, and south of this again the British had a settlement called Fort St. David. The British and French settlers were very jealous of each other, and between 1746 and 1748, when the nations were at war at home, sharp fighting went on here, and the French took Madras, but gave it back at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

French East India Company.

In 1748 the Great Moghul of India and the Nizam of the Dekkan or Southern India both died, and the Nawabs began to quarrel among themselves. Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, who was an ambitious man, hoped by encouraging these disputes to become master of South India. By putting in a Nizam of the Dekkan and a Nawab of Arcot near Madras, of his own choosing, he did really for a short time hold the country.

Dupleix tries to rule South India, 1749.

It seemed as if the British traders would be driven out from Madras, for their ally, Nawab Muhammad Ali, was shut up in Trichinopoly and besieged by the French. In this peril they were saved, and the foundation of our Indian Empire was laid, by a young clerk of the Company, Robert Clive, who had been sent out in 1744 by his family because he was too wild to be controlled at home. Clive had already fought the French in 1746, and now he formed the daring scheme of relieving Muhammad Ali. With a small band of only 200 British and 300 Sepoys, he marched in August 1751 to Arcot, surprised the garrison, and held the town for fifty days, till the Mahrattas, who were friends of Muhammad Ali, joined him and routed the enemy. Trichinopoly was relieved. Soon after this his superior officer, Major Lawrence, returned from England, and victory after victory forced the French

Clive saves the British settlement, 1751.

Peace in India, 1754.

to give up the struggle. In spite of all his efforts Dupleix could not regain his power; he was recalled to France, a peace was signed in 1754, and for a time all was quiet.

But the struggle between the French and British died out in one country only to spring up in another. The very year, 1754, that the peace was signed in India, fighting began in America. The British had now thirteen flourishing colonies in North America, each with its own laws and its own industries. These colonies were all on the east coast. To the north of them were the French, who had colonised South Canada, now called the province of Quebec (*see* Map VII., p. 294); to the north-west were the North American Indians; and on the south-west was the French possession of Louisiana. For a long time the country of the Red Indians to the north-west had been a source of dispute. The French governors claimed all the country west of the Alleghanies, and drove out the British settlers. The British on their side retaliated by driving the French settlers out of Nova Scotia, and founding in 1749 the British settlement called after Lord Halifax. At the same time they penetrated up the valley of the Ohio, and were building a fort in the fork of the river, when Duquesne, Governor of Canada, sent a large force in 1754, which drove them out, and established there a French stronghold called Fort Duquesne. George Washington, then a young man of twenty-two, who was sent to retake the fort, had so few men compared to the enemy that after one successful skirmish he was forced to retire. The Marquis of Montcalm, who now succeeded Duquesne as Governor of Canada, determined to link the three forts Duquesne, Niagara, and Ticonderoga (Map VII.) together by lesser forts, so as to cut off the British entirely from the west. This led the Government at home to take the matter up seriously, and Major-General Braddock was sent from England with 2000 men. Braddock was unfortunate. As he marched through the woods 700 of his army were destroyed by French and

French and British in America, 1754.

Fort Duquesne, 1754.

Defeat of Braddock, 1755.

Indians in ambush, and he himself was killed. It was now clear that Britain and France must fight the matter out.

Nor was this all, for the war on the Continent had been breaking out afresh. Ever since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle Maria Theresa had longed to get back Silesia, and Frederick II., King of Prussia, had just learnt that France, Sweden, Russia, and Saxony were willing to help her to crush his growing power. Shrewd and far-seeing, he began the attack by declaring war against Saxony and making an alliance with Britain; and so it came to pass that Britain and Prussia on one side, and France, Russia, Austria, and Saxony on the other, began that terrible struggle known as the "Seven Years' War."

Outbreak of the Seven Years' War, 1756.

Great Britain was quite unprepared. The army had been greatly neglected, and there were only three regiments fit for service. The nation was seized with a panic lest France should invade England, and the Duke of Newcastle, who had become Prime Minister when his brother, Henry Pelham, died, was a weak, fussy man, quite unfit to face such a time of danger. A great disaster had already taken place. Before declaring war the French had taken possession of Minorca, and Admiral Byng, who was sent with ten ships badly manned, to turn them out, found he was not strong enough to overcome them, and after a slight skirmish was forced to retire. Newcastle, terrified at the anger of the people, promised that Byng should be tried by court-martial on his return to England. Indeed the next year, after Newcastle had gone out of office, Byng was tried, and although the court recommended him strongly to mercy, declaring that though by law guilty he was morally guiltless, yet the gallant admiral was shot on March 14, 1757.

England overwhelmed with disaster, 1756.

French seize Minorca, April, 1756.

Execution of Admiral Byng, 1757.

Scarcely had the nation begun to recover from the loss of Minorca than still more terrible news reached England from India. One of the native Indian princes, Suraj-ud-

Daula, Viceroy of Bengal, had quarrelled with the British traders, marched upon Calcutta, seized the city, and thrust 146 English prisoners, on a sultry June night, into the strong-room of the garrison, called the "Black Hole," which was not twenty feet square, and had only two small gratings to admit air. Stifled and shrieking for release, the unhappy prisoners were left to die of suffocation. In the morning only twenty-three came out alive. Then Suraj-ud-Daula put an Indian garrison in Fort William, and forbade any British to live in Calcutta, which he named Alinagore, the "Port of God."

Black Hole of Calcutta, June 1756.

Never had Great Britain been so low as between 1756-1757. Frederick II. was scarcely holding his ground on the Continent—the Duke of Cumberland had retreated before the French army, and agreed at Closterzeven to allow them to occupy Hanover—the French were victorious everywhere in Canada. Englishmen had been murdered in India, and even the great statesman, Chesterfield, exclaimed, "We are no longer a nation!"

Defeat on the Continent, 1757.

The turn of fortune, however, had already begun. It was now that William Pitt, once the leader of the younger "Patriots," and afterwards known as Lord Chatham, came to the front. For many years Pitt, by love for his country, his outspoken earnestness, and his opposition to injustice, as when he spoke vehemently to save Byng, had won the hearts of the people. But George II. disliked him for his speeches against Hanover. In 1756 the Duke of Devonshire, then Prime Minister, chose him as Secretary of State, but the king dismissed him a few months later. The consequence was the Government broke up, and Newcastle, who now had to form a ministry, told His Majesty roundly that he could not govern without Pitt. So George was obliged to yield, and the "Great Commoner," as the nation called him, was Secretary of State for the next four years. During that time, though Newcastle remained Prime Minister, and did all the bribing which was usual at that time to make the members vote with the Govern-

William Pitt.

ment, Pitt had the real power in the State. "I am sure," said he, "I can save the country, and that no one else can;" and it was this confidence which enabled him in four years to raise Britain from the depths of despair to the height of power. Pitt had many faults; he was violent, vindictive, and often ungrateful, but he was also disinterested, patriotic, and courageous; he steadily refused to enrich himself, and he served his country well. Administration of Pitt, 1757-1761.

He came into power in June 1757, and in a very short time the militia was organised all over the country, the navy was strengthened, and the Highlanders were formed into regiments. Pitt utterly refused to recognise the disgraceful convention of Closterzeven; the Duke of Cumberland was recalled, and Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, an able general, was sent out to command the British and Hanoverians. A yearly subsidy of £700,000 was voted for King Frederick, who now, sure of support, took fresh courage, and routed the French and Germans at Rossbach, in Saxony, Nov. 15, 1757. A month later he defeated a large Austrian army at Leuthen, in Silesia. It was these victories, and the desperate courage by which he held his position against so many enemies, which gained for the King of Prussia the name of Frederick the Great, and prevented his country from being crushed in those early days, when she was scarcely yet a power in Europe. Battles of Rossbach and Leuthen, 1757.

But while Pitt gave fresh life to the war on the Continent of Europe, he turned his chief attention to America, where Britain had much more to gain or to lose. He appealed to the colonists to raise armies to attack Quebec and Montreal, and to conquer the west country, winning their sympathy by giving their officers equal rank with the royal officers in the field. From Britain he sent ammunition, arms, and provisions, as well as his newly-raised Highland regiments. General Abercromby went as commander-in-chief, but Pitt chose out comparatively young though able men, Amherst, Wolfe, War in Canada, 1757-1760.

and Howe, to act under him. He sent Admiral Boscawen with a fleet to attack Louisburg in the north, and to cut off the Canadians from help by sea.

The next three years were eventful for Canada. On July 27, 1758, Louisburg and the whole of Cape Breton fell into the hands of the British. On Nov. 25 Fort Duquesne was retaken by a body of Highlanders and Americans, under General Forbes and Washington. It was at once renamed Pittsburg (Map VII., p. 294), after the great minister. The British met, indeed, with reverses at Ticonderoga, where Lord Howe was killed and General Abercromby defeated, but the next year, 1759, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Niagara were all taken.

Fort Duquesne taken, 1758.

Meanwhile the brave French commander Montcalm, who received very scanty support from France, was holding Quebec, the chief city of Canada, against Wolfe. Quebec stands on high rocks overhanging the left bank of the river St. Lawrence, and has another river, St. Charles, behind it. To the north of the city is a high rocky plain, the Plain of Abraham, and on the lower ground to the south Montcalm had planted his army. In June 1759 a large fleet, with General Wolfe's soldiers on board, sailed up the St. Lawrence; but neither by bombarding, nor by an attack in which he lost several men, could Wolfe take the city. Disheartened and ill with fever, which also destroyed a large part of his army, he thought he would have to give up the attempt till after the winter. But one day while reconnoitring the north shore above Quebec, he noticed a narrow path winding up the steep to the Heights of Abraham, and resolved to lead his army up by night and surprise the city. At midnight of Sept. 12 his preparations were made, and an hour later the soldiers were climbing the Heights two by two, while Wolfe repeated softly Gray's "Elegy," written a few years before. He paused on the words,

Taking of Quebec, Sept. 1759.

"The paths of glory lead but to the grave."

"I would rather be the author of that poem," he exclaimed, "than take Quebec." At daybreak the little army stood on the plains, and Montcalm, though taken by surprise, hastened to repulse them. As the French rushed forward the British met them with a deadly volley. Montcalm cheered his troops on, but, though brave, they were raw and untrained, and they gave way before the charge of bayonets that followed. "They run, they run!" said an officer to Wolfe, who lay in his arms mortally wounded. "Who run?" asked Wolfe; and when he heard, "Now God be praised," said he, "I die happy." The brave Montcalm, too, died of his wounds; and when he heard his fate he murmured sadly, "So much the better; I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." A monument now stands on the Heights of Abraham, on which are inscribed side by side the names of these two brave generals, who died each doing his duty. Though the war went on for another year, till Montreal surrendered, on Sept. 8, 1760, yet the real conquest of Canada, which crushed the power of the French in America, took place under the walls of Quebec.

Deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm.

It was a proud time for Pitt, to whose energy and support so much of the success of his young commanders was due. And this same year brought other victories in Europe. At Minden, in Westphalia, the British and Hanoverians, under Duke Ferdinand, defeated the French in Aug. 1759, while Admiral Boscawen sunk five French ships off Lagos, in Portugal, that same month. In November Admiral Hawke defeated the rest of the fleet, in the midst of a gale of wind, off Quiberon Bay, on the west coast of France. "We are forced to ask every morning what victory there is," wrote Horace Walpole, son of the late minister, "for fear of missing one."

European successes, 1759.

At the same time tidings came from the other side of the world that another possession was being won for Britain. Clive had come home in ill-health in 1753, and had only just returned to Madras as Governor of Fort St. David, when the horrible news of the Black Hole tragedy

arrived there. It was at once decided to send Admiral Watson and Clive to retake Calcutta; and before six months were over the British flag again waved over Fort William, and Suraj-ud-Daula was forced to sign a peace. But he did not keep his word, and when Clive found that he was plotting with the French to drive out the British from Bengal, and had posted a large army at Plassy, he determined to depose him, and put one of his officers, Mir-Jafir, in his place. Though Clive had only a small army of 3000 men against the Nawab's army of 60,000, he risked a battle at Plassy, on June 23, 1757. It was the first great battle fought by the British in India, and it was little more than a rout. The native army fell quickly into disorder before the British cannon. Suraj-ud-Daula was seized with a panic and fled, and Mir-Jafir was placed on the throne, under the protection of the British. This battle decided the fate of India. Clive remained for three years reducing the country to order, and then returned to England and was made an Irish peer, with the title of Lord Clive. Meanwhile at Madras fighting was still going on. Colonel Eyre Coote defeated the French at Wandiwash in 1760, and Pondicherry was taken by the British in 1761. Though it was afterwards given back to the French, in 1764, with its fortifications destroyed, yet the native princes henceforward looked to the British for support and protection. When Lord Clive returned to India in 1765 the Great Moghul invested the East India Company with the office of "Dewan" or collector of the revenue of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, in return for a yearly tribute of a quarter of a million sterling, and this gave the British great power.

Clive retakes Calcutta, 1757.

Battle of Plassy, June 23, 1757.

British power supreme in India.

Meanwhile there were changes in Great Britain. George II. died Oct. 26, 1760, and his grandson George III. succeeded him. The new king wished for peace, while Pitt wanted to go on further and declare war against Spain, which had secretly promised to help France. The House of Commons, how-

Pitt retires, 1761.

ever, was tired of the expense of the war and dreaded more fighting. Pitt, wiser than Walpole had been, retired sooner than act against his judgment, and on Oct. 5, 1761, the king put the Earl of Bute in his place. Pitt proved right, for only three months later, in January 1762, Britain was obliged to declare war against Spain. For another year fighting went on, and the army and navy, which Pitt had made so efficient, won brilliant victories over France and Spain. But Bute refused to give Frederick the Great any more money; and he, being now supported by Russia, made a separate peace with Maria Theresa at Hubertsburg, by which he kept Silesia. Finally, a treaty was signed at Paris in 1763 between Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, which brought the "Seven Years' War" to an end. By it Britain gained Canada, Florida, and all the French possessions east of the Mississippi except New Orleans, while in India she now became the ruling power. The French restored Minorca to Britain, but it passed with Florida to Spain not many years after.

War with Spain, 1762.

Peace of Hubertsburg, Feb. 1763.

Treaty of Paris, Feb. 1763.

CHAPTER XXIII.

INDEPENDENCE OF THE AMERICAN COLONIES

George III., 1760-1820—*Part I.*, 1760-1784.

WHEN the peace of Paris was signed in 1763, George III. had already been king for three years. The kingdom over which he reigned had now become a great power. "You would not know your own country," wrote Horace Walpole to a friend; "you left it a private little island living upon its means, you would find it the capital of the world." On the other hand, if George III. succeeded to a powerful kingdom, he also succeeded kings who had very little power. George II. had

Britain a great power.

once said, "In England the ministers are king;" and these ministers belonged to the great Whig families who returned half the members to Parliament, and bought up the votes of the rest whenever they wished to pass a Bill. They even held almost regal levées, to which all men came who wished to obtain Government posts and other favours; for as the kings were foreigners they were chiefly guided by the ministers. Thus it had come to pass that Parliament was no longer freely elected by the people, nor had the king much power over it. Britain was drifting back into the old order of things before the Wars of the Roses, when the great nobles governed the land. The political history of the first twenty years of George III.'s reign is chiefly occupied with the efforts of the king to get back his power over the ministers, and the resistance of the nation, both in Great Britain and America, to attacks upon their liberty.

Parliament no longer representative.

Meanwhile a great change was coming over the nation itself, for the age of discoveries and inventions which was just setting in brought machinery to take the place of hand work, and increased all industries and manufactures so rapidly that large towns sprang up during the next fifty years where none had been before. In 1761 the flyshuttle enabled the weavers to do twice as much work as before. In 1767–1768 Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, and Arkwright the spinning-frame; and these were followed a few years later by Dr. Cartwright's invention of the power-loom, which took the place of hand-labour. Though the ignorant mob again and again broke these machines and burnt the mills, yet the industries of spinning and weaving gained enormously in a few years. Then the discovery that pit-coal could be used for smelting iron, and the invention of Watt's steam-engine in 1769, led to large iron-works and factories being founded near to the coal-mines of the North. England was fast becoming a manufacturing country. There only remained the difficulty of carrying the goods from place to place or to the ports, and this was greatly overcome by the energy

Machinery and Steam power.

of the Duke of Bridgewater. In 1758 the Duke obtained an Act of Parliament allowing him to make a canal six miles long, from his coal-mines at Worsley to Manchester. His scheme was thought mad at first, for his canal had to cross the valleys of the Mersey and Irwell by an aqueduct 200 yards long. But when Brindley, the celebrated engineer, overcame this difficulty, the canal was so successful that others were soon made, and goods carried in barges all over England.

First canals, 1758-1760.

The consequence of this great outbreak of industry was that the population increased very quickly, and food became much dearer. There was not then, as now, a large supply of corn and other food coming from abroad, for these were shut out by heavy duties. So corn which during the five years from 1760 to 1764 averaged 30 shillings a quarter, averaged 45 shillings during the following five years, and went on rising rapidly in price for fifty years longer. Those farmers who understood the best ways of raising crops prospered, and more and more waste land was enclosed every year to grow corn, clover, turnip, and other root-crops. No less than 700 enclosure Acts were passed between 1760 and 1774. This did good in some ways, for it led to the land being better cultivated, and to good roads being made by which the haunts of highwaymen were destroyed. But, on the other hand, the labourers lost the waste land on which they used to send a horse or cow to graze; and as they had to pay more heavily for food and clothing, they were not so well off as they had been a hundred years before. The great difficulty now began which has increased up to our own day, of the rich growing richer while the poor grew poorer. From this time the Poor law, which had been useful in Elizabeth's reign (*see* p. 159), began to be a burden on the industrious people who had to provide for the paupers.

Enclosures of land, 1760-1774.

Increase of poverty and paupers.

The time had now come when farming was no longer the chief industry of the country. The manufacturing, mining, and trading classes had increased enormously, and

the questions of custom-duties and commercial treaties abroad, and of rates and taxes at home were important, not only to the rich manufacturers, merchants, and farmers, but also to the artisans and mechanics in the workshops.

Growing importance of the middle classes.

Now these were regulated by Parliament, which, as we see, was composed chiefly of the great landowners and those whom they favoured, who were not elected by the people for whom they made laws. This is why we find constantly in this reign that loud complainings and riots often followed some measure passed by the Commons.

At first, however, the chief struggle was between the king and his ministers. George III. came to the throne determined to be master. He was the grandson of George II., his father Frederick, Prince of Wales, having died in 1751. His mother, an ambitious German princess, was very anxious that her son should take back the power into his own hands, and be a father to his people. "George, be a king," was her constant maxim; and during the sixty years of his long reign he tried to follow her advice. He was a simple, conscientious, religious man, and an affectionate husband and father. His quiet home life with Queen Charlotte and their fifteen children, and his patience under sad attacks of insanity, made his people love and respect him, and he was often spoken of as "dear old king George." But with all this he was unfortunately narrow-minded, ignorant, obstinate, and arbitrary, so that his determination to rule by his own will led him into serious blunders. If he did good to Britain by making the manners more pure, religion more reverenced, and the people as a whole more loyal, on the other hand he gained power over Parliament by wholesale bribery, opposed all justice to Ireland, supported the slave trade, and lost the American colonies.

Character of George III.

We have seen that the first thing he did on coming to the throne was to part with Pitt, and to make his own tutor, Lord Bute, Prime Minister, that he might conclude a peace with France. This he did, not so much because he dis-

liked the war, as because he wanted to be free to put down the Whigs at home. The Tories had now quite given up all hopes of a return of the Stuarts, and they were willing to support a king who was a true-born Englishman. So George III. made use of his prerogative of giving away honours and offices to form a party known as the "King's friends." Henry Fox, a clever but unscrupulous statesman, had joined Bute, and he promised to get a majority in the Commons to vote for the peace. He succeeded. In the year 1762 no less than £82,000 of secret service money was spent in bribery, and the peace was carried by a majority of 319 against 65, in spite of Pitt's remonstrances.

Tory party revived under Bute.

Lord Bute, however, did not keep his power long; he was a Scotchman, and since the rebellion of 1745 the English had mistrusted the Scotch as Jacobites. Moreover, he was a favourite with the king's mother, and this the people did not like, and he turned out all the servants of the Government who had been appointed by the Whigs, even the clerks and excisemen, and put a most unpopular tax on cider. For a long time he had gone about the streets protected by a bodyguard of prize-fighters, and at last he became so alarmed at this unpopularity that he resigned.

Bribery and injustice; Bute resigns.

The next minister was George Grenville, a Whig, but he did not succeed much better, and the king did not find him easy to control. Though an honest, conscientious man, he made mischief both at home and in America. His first difficulty was scarcely his own fault. The king's speech, made when Parliament was prorogued, had been violently attacked in "No. 45" of the *North Briton*, a paper edited by a worthless but popular man named Wilkes, who was member for Aylesbury. Grenville issued a "general warrant" to arrest the "authors, printers, and publishers of the paper," and Wilkes, with forty-eight others, was put into prison. He soon gained his freedom under the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and proceeded against the Government for

Grenville's administration, 1763.

arresting a member of Parliament, and for issuing a *general warrant* which did not give the names of the people to be arrested. He gained his cause, but Parliament prosecuted him for libel, and serious riots took place. The people shouted for "Wilkes and liberty," and so many libels were published against the King and his mother that 200 printers were prosecuted. Wilkes was wounded in a duel, and crossed over to France, being outlawed by Parliament. From that time, however, no general warrants have ever been issued.

Arrest of Wilkes. General warrants.

This contest was no sooner over than Grenville made another mistake, which was the beginning of the quarrel with the American colonies. For a long time the colonists had really governed themselves, for British ministers paid very little attention to them. But Grenville, as was wittily said, "lost America because he read the American despatches." The foolish law that the colonies might only trade with Britain had been evaded for a long time, and the colonists made large sums by trading with Spanish America. Grenville determined to put this down, and at the same time, as the late war in America had been very expensive, he proposed to levy money by a "Stamp Act," obliging legal papers in America to bear a stamp as in England. The colonists were very indignant. It was quite just that they should help to pay for a war which had been incurred on their account, but they had been accustomed to vote their own taxes, and would have given the money willingly if they had levied it themselves. They petitioned against the Act, but it was passed nevertheless in 1765. The consequence was that the Americans, the State of Virginia setting the example, pledged themselves not to buy any goods from Britain, and several manufacturers were ruined.

Quarrel with American colonies begins.

Stamp Act, 1765.

Just at this time the king had his first short attack of insanity, and when he recovered he desired that a Regency Bill should be passed to provide a regent in case he was



LANDING OF BRITISH TROOPS AT BOSTON, 1768.

Contemporary Engraving by Paul Revere.

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ill again. The name of the king's mother was left out of this Bill, and the king was so displeased that Grenville was obliged to resign. The new minister, Lord Rockingham, determined to repeal the hated stamp tax, and Pitt, though he was ill, came down to the House and insisted that *as the colonists had no representatives in Parliament to see that just taxes were imposed, Britain had no right to tax them,* and that the Act ought to be "repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately." This was done, and the king invited Pitt to join the ministry, with the Duke of Grafton as Prime Minister.

Regency Bill, 1765.

Taxation and representation. Repeal of Stamp Act, 1766.

But Pitt had no longer his old influence. By accepting a peerage, and going to the House of Lords as "Earl of Chatham," he ceased to be the "Great Commoner," and he was in such ill-health that he could not attend to business. In his absence Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who thought Parliament had been weak in repealing the Stamp Act, now actually passed a new Revenue Act imposing duties on tea, glass, red and white lead, painters' colours, and paper, imported into America; so the old irritation was set up again.

Townshend's Revenue Act, 1767.

Still the colonists loved the old country, and no outbreak occurred as yet. It was in England that the House of Commons next fell into difficulties with the people. In 1769 Wilkes returned from abroad, and was elected member for Middlesex, where the electors were more independent than in many places. The king was so annoyed at this that he pressed the Government to interfere, and Wilkes was imprisoned for the libel which had obliged him to flee to France some years before. Meanwhile serious riots broke out in London. For two nights the mob obliged every one to light up their windows to celebrate Wilkes' election. The Austrian Ambassador was dragged from his coach, and had "No. 45" chalked on the soles of his shoes; and the King's Bench prison, where Wilkes lay, was so furiously

Wilkes elected for Middlesex, 1769.

attacked that the Riot Act was read, and several persons shot. Nevertheless the House declared that Wilkes was incapable of sitting in Parliament, and, when, in spite of this warning, he was elected four times running, they made a great mistake by doing what they had really no power to do. They declared the rival candidate, Colonel Luttrell, to be duly elected, although he had only 296 votes against 1143. This was a direct infringement of the rights of the electors, for if Parliament could choose its members, the nation would cease to have any voice in its own laws. The people were so irritated that the king was insulted when he went to close the session; and when Wilkes came out of prison (April 1770) the word "Liberty," in letters three feet high, blazed on the front of the Mansion House, and he was elected an alderman of the city.

Parliament infringes the rights of the electors.

The next year, Feb. 1771, the House and the people had another contest, in which Wilkes and the public gained the day. Ever since 1695, when the press was set free, newspapers had become more and more numerous. No less than seventeen were published in London alone, and although it was against a "standing order" of the House that reports of their proceedings should be published, yet most of the important speeches in Parliament appeared regularly in many papers. As no reporters were allowed in the House, these accounts were, of course, very inaccurate and one-sided, and often even insulting to the members. Therefore the Commons determined to put a stop to them, and the Speaker ordered eight printers to be taken into custody for publishing them. Two of these appealed to the law, and were brought before Wilkes and another alderman named Oliver, who discharged them as not having been guilty of a legal offence. Another named Martin, who was a liveryman of the city, gave the Speaker's messenger into custody, because the warrant was not signed by a city magistrate.

Parliamentary reporting, 1771.

This caused a violent quarrel between the city and the House of Commons, during which the Lord Mayor and

Oliver were sent to the Tower. The people flocked to cheer them as they went, and when they were released after six weeks, all London was illuminated. Meanwhile the printers remained at liberty. They had gained the battle, for *from that time the proceedings of Parliament have been regularly reported and no one has interfered.* The consequence was that better newspapers soon appeared. In 1770 the *Morning Chronicle* was first published, the *Morning Post* in 1772, and the *Times*, at first as a small square sheet, in 1785. In 1774 Wilkes was again elected for Middlesex and allowed to take his seat, and in 1782 the Commons acknowledged they had been wrong in interfering for Colonel Luttrell, and struck the proceedings out of their journals.

City and Parliament.

Modern newspapers.

All this time the restless feeling in America was growing stronger. In 1770 Lord North became Prime Minister, and he was willing to do exactly what the king wished. It was now the royal levées which were crowded with people seeking favours, and George felt he was "at last a king." He was all the more determined to be master of the American colonists, and in this Parliament and the people quite agreed with him. The British had always looked upon the colonies as existing for their use, and forgot that men who had faced hardship and privation to make new homes ought to be the first to benefit by their labour. America was now like a grown-up son who has a right to govern his own life, but it was only such great men as Lord Chatham and Burke the Irish orator who understood this. In 1770 Lord North took off all the taxes except the one on *tea*, and this the king resolved to keep, though it brought in very little more than £300 a year. Yet on the very day this was decided in London, a riot had taken place in Boston between the citizens and the soldiers, in which some people were killed. A wise man would have seen, when this news reached England, that it was the wrong time to irritate the colonists unnecessarily.

Restless feeling in American colonies, 1770.

on the scene of this skirmish, stands engraved the first verse of Emerson's Concord Hymn—

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled;
Here once the embattled farmers stood,
And fired the shot heard round the world."

For the next eight years the British army and the colonists were fighting against each other in America. A month after the battle of Concord, Congress appointed as commander-in-chief the same George Washington of Virginia who had seized Pittsburg in 1754 (p. 282), and who from this time forward faced suffering and privation, remained calm and self-reliant in defeat as in success, and sacrificed everything for the good of his troops and the freedom of his country. "First in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen," he clung to the union with Britain till this was no longer possible, and then became the first President of a free United States in 1789.

George Washington.

This time was, as yet, far distant, though war had begun. Before Washington reached the army, the battle of Bunker Hill near Boston had taken place, in which, though the colonists were beaten, yet they proved triumphantly that the "Yankees were no cowards." During the next year the war went on with varying success. The British defeated an American invasion of Canada in 1775; but Lord Howe was, on the other hand, forced by Washington to abandon the blockade of Boston in 1776. Gradually the colonists became sternly resolved to break off from the mother country, and this resolve gained strength when it was known that Britain had engaged German troops to carry on the war.

Battle of Bunker's Hill, May 1775.

On July 2, 1776, Congress, led by great and earnest men, such as John Adams, Franklin, and Sherman, voted that the united colonies should be free and independent states, and Thomas Jefferson of Virginia drew up a Declaration of Independence ending in these solemn words, "*We, the representatives*

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, solemnly publish and declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States."

This declaration was formally adopted on July 4. The next year, on Oct. 17, 1777, the British army, under General Burgoyne, was surrounded at Saratoga and forced to surrender, and France, eager to avenge the humiliation of the Seven Years' War, entered into an alliance with the colonists.

Burgoyne's army surrenders at Saratoga, Oct. 17, 1777.

Lord Chatham had long foreseen that this would happen, and though broken with age and disease, he came down to the House, Feb. 6, 1778, to urge that full redress should be given to the colonists. But in vain! Then on April 7 occurred that memorable scene in the House, when the aged statesman rose for the last time to plead for reconciliation with America, and to bid defiance to his old enemy France. The Duke of Richmond made a weak speech in reply. Chatham strove again to rise, but speech failed him, and he fell back in a swoon. A month later, May 11, 1778, he died, and his death put an end to all hope of peace.

Death of Chatham, 1778.

The next four years were very troubled ones for Britain. In 1779 Spain joined France against her, and besieged Gibraltar, which General Elliot defended successfully for three years, till he destroyed the enemy's fleet with red-hot shot, Sept. 3, 1782, and was relieved by Lord Howe. In 1780 Russia, Sweden, and Denmark entered into an armed neutrality to prevent the British from searching their vessels for "*contraband of war*," that is for goods belonging to an enemy, and Prussia and Holland joined them soon after.

Siege of Gibraltar, 1779-1782.

Nor was the danger only from abroad, for the troops had been taken from Ireland for the American war, and as the French threatened an invasion, the Irish raised a volunteer corps, chiefly of Protestants, to protect the country. This corps increased very rapidly up to 100,000 men,



DEATH OF CHATHAM.
After the Painting by J. S. Copley (1779), in the National Gallery.

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and with such an army the Irish, who had been so long oppressed by restrictions on their trade, could venture to follow the example of America. Henry Grattan, a noble and eloquent speaker moved in the Irish Parliament that they ought to have the free right of exporting their goods to other countries; and Lord North, harassed on all sides, passed a Bill in 1780 giving them this right for wool and glass.

Grattan obtains free export for Ireland, 1780.

In England the uneasy feeling showed itself in another way. In 1778 Parliament had repealed some of the more oppressive laws against the Catholics. This offended the extreme Protestants, and Lord George Gordon, a weak-headed fanatic, led 60,000 people to the Houses of Parliament to petition against the Bill. It was the first monster petition ever presented to Parliament, and it was not a success. The badly-governed mob insulted the Lords, and broke into the lobby of the Commons, till they were turned out by main force. On their way back riots broke out, and London was for four days in the hands of the mob. Catholic chapels were burnt, and a fearful scene took place in Holborn, where a distillery was broken open and set on fire, the rioters rolling drunk in the flames. Order was restored at last only by the help of 10,000 troops.

Gordon riots, 1780.

Lord North's government was becoming very unpopular, for the war expenses were very heavy, trade was stopped, and Burke complained loudly in Parliament of the money lavished by Government in pensions and bribery. Then in 1781 came news of another terrible disaster to the British army in America. Lord Cornwallis with 4000 men had been cut off from supplies by Washington on land, and the French fleet by sea, and was driven by famine to surrender at Yorktown, Oct. 18, 1781.

Surrender of British army at Yorktown, Oct. 18, 1781.

It seemed as if Great Britain would be crushed under her enemies. Lord North exclaimed bitterly, "It is all over," and resigned in March 1782. The new ministers

hastened to quiet the Irish by repealing Poyning's law (*see* p. 132), which gave the British Parliament power over any Bills passed in Ireland, and began at once to arrange a peace with America, France, and Spain. This was not easy, for Spain claimed Gibraltar, and France demanded Bengal, and both these were of great value to Britain. Fortunately, before anything was arranged, Admiral Rodney, one of England's greatest seamen, met Count la Grasse going with the French fleet to seize Jamaica, and utterly defeated him, April 12, 1782, and the raising of the siege of Gibraltar happened a few months later. These victories gave Britain the chance of an honourable peace, and in the Treaty of Versailles, Jan. 1783, France gained nothing, and Spain only Minorca and Florida. Britain kept her strong fortress of Gibraltar, the key to the Mediterranean. Already in Nov. 1782 articles of peace had been signed between Britain and the United States, by which Britain kept only Canada, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, and freely acknowledged the independence of the United States. This treaty was ratified on Sept. 3, 1783, after the peace with France was concluded.

Repeal of Poyning's law, 1782.

Rodney's naval victory, 1782.

Treaty of Versailles, Jan. 1783.

Thus ended the attempt of George III. and his minister to force taxation upon a powerful colony. Had they only been wise enough to give reasonable freedom to the colonists, America might perhaps still have been part of the British Empire. From this time forward her history is separate from that of Great Britain; yet the love of the old country remains strong in American hearts, and Britain, on her side, is proud of the powerful nation which sprang from her shores.

Great Britain acknowledges American independence, 1783.

It is remarkable that, even while America was breaking away, the first step was being taken towards new colonies on the other side of the world. In 1768, not long after Townshend passed his unlucky "Revenue Act," Captain Cook, a native of Yorkshire, was sent by the Royal

Society to Tahiti, an island in the Pacific Ocean, to observe a transit of Venus across the sun. As Cook returned he visited New Zealand, which had been discovered and named by Tasman in 1642. After sowing some seeds and casting some pigs loose on the island, Cook went on to Australia (then called New Holland), and exploring the south-east part, planted the British flag there and called the country New South Wales. In 1787, eight years after Cook had been murdered at Hawaii, it was decided to make New South Wales a convict settlement, and in 1788 Pitt sent Captain Arthur Philip there with 850 convicts, men and women. He went first to Botany Bay and then on to Port Jackson, where he remained and called the settlement *Sydney*, after Viscount Sydney, the colonial secretary. The convicts suffered terrible hardships at first, being often even without food, and though they were criminals, we should remember they acted as pioneers in a country which has now become one of the finest British colonies.

Cook's voyages, 1768-1779.

Convict settlement in Australia, 1788.

Meanwhile changes which were taking place in India brought the trading settlements in that country under the British Government. After Lord Clive came home in 1767 the British traders used their power to oppress, and extort money from, the natives, and so many complaints were made of their injustice and tyranny that the ministers interfered in 1773, and appointed Warren Hastings, who was Governor of Bengal, to be Governor-General over the three Presidencies, Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. Hastings had a difficult task. His power was not clearly defined, and Sir Philip Francis, one of the members of the East India Council, sent out to rule with him, thwarted him in every possible way. On the whole, he ruled justly and well. He protected the natives by appointing British collectors in the place of the extortionate native Zemindars, and did much to stop bribery in the law-courts. He waged a difficult war against the

Warren Hastings Governor-General of India, 1773.

First Mahratta war, 1779-1782.

Mahrattas, the men of the great Hindoo empire of the Dekkan, and made peace with them in 1782; and that same year he sent a sepoy force by land, and Sir Eyre Coote by sea, to defend Madras, which had been almost conquered by a military adventurer, Hyder Ali, backed by the French. Coote succeeded against great odds in defending the place till Hyder Ali died at the end of the year, and the peace of Versailles in 1783 put an end to the war between France and Great Britain.

Defence of Madras, 1782.

Thus in 1784, when Warren Hastings returned to England, he left the British possessions in India strong and at peace, and the people of Bengal reverenced him as a conqueror, protector, and friend. But in gaining his ends he had not always used just means. The East India Company at home pressed constantly for money, and in order to supply this, Hastings lent his British troops to the Vizier of Allahabad for a sum of £400,000, to attack a free Afghan tribe, the Rohillas, whose country was destroyed and they themselves enslaved; and he was said to have used cruelty and oppression towards the native princes to extort money. For these and other acts he was impeached at the Bar of the House of Lords in 1787, and Burke, who felt very strongly that British rule in India ought to be just and merciful, was one of his chief accusers. The trial began in Feb. 1788, and lasted at intervals for more than seven years. At last in April 1795 Hastings was acquitted. Those who blamed him, probably understood very little the difficulties he had to overcome, and he should be remembered as the chief Englishman after Clive who established British rule in India.

Trial of Warren Hastings, 1787-1795.

The inquiry, however, into the abuses of British rule in India led to the better government of the country. There were now two great statesmen on the opposite sides of the House of Commons. One was the younger Pitt, who was son of the Earl of Chatham, and who became Prime Minister in 1783. The other was Charles James Fox, son of the Henry Fox who had

Pitt and Fox.

supported Bute and afterwards became Lord Holland. Fox was a gambling, dissolute man, but a clever, eloquent statesman, with an ardent love for his fellowmen and a hatred of oppression and wrong. He brought in an India Bill in 1783, which was thrown out by the Lords. Now Pitt brought in a second India Bill, which appointed a Board of Control, composed of Government ministers, to overrule the East India Company in political matters, and protect the natives. This Bill was passed, and from that time India was far more justly governed, and became really a part of the British Empire.

India Bill passed, 1784.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FRENCH REVOLUTION—NAPOLEON AND GREAT BRITAIN

George III., Part II., 1784–1820.

THE year 1784, in which the India Bill was passed, was an important year for Britain, for in March a strong ministry was formed, with one of England's greatest statesmen at its head. When young William Pitt, then only twenty-four years of age, accepted office in Dec. 1783, the Whigs, with Fox as their leader, laughed at him as a "mere boy," and little thought that he would remain Prime Minister for seventeen years. He had not even a majority in the House, and five times he was outvoted. Still he fought on, for he knew that the people outside the House were on his side, and he hoped to break down the bribery and corruption of the great Whig houses, by showing that he meant to reform abuses and govern well. He was right; for when Parliament was dissolved in March 1784 the new elections gave him a large majority, and for the next eight years, while Britain was at peace, he did great things for the nation.

The younger Pitt Prime Minister, 1783-1800.

A very remarkable book, called *The Wealth of Nations*,

had been published by Adam Smith in 1776, which taught for the first time that every man ought to be allowed to gain as much as he can by his labour, and that laws which check trade between one country and another are hurtful. Pitt had studied this work, and one of the first things he did was to lower the duty on tea and spirits, and to make the collection of all taxes much more simple, as Walpole had wished to do. This lessened the temptation to smuggle, so that merchants brought in their goods openly through the custom-house, paying the proper duties, and the revenue was so much increased that Pitt was able to take off many oppressive taxes. He would have gone further, and made the trade between Britain and Ireland free; but the Irish Parliament now passed its own laws, uncontrolled by England, and while the British merchants were jealous of the Irish, the Irish on their side would not yield on any point. The Irish patriots, Grattan, Flood, and Curran, refused to accept the Bill as it was passed in England, and so lost what they might have gained because they could not have all they wanted. Pitt was more successful in making a commercial treaty between Britain and France, abolishing many of the duties on goods passing between the two countries.

Pitt's finance.

Ireland rejects Pitt's Bill for free trade, 1785.

Britain had not been so prosperous for a long time as in this early part of Pitt's ministry. The struggle with America was over, and trade went on briskly; India opened a new market for British goods, machinery enabled the manufacturer to produce everything much more rapidly, and the factories gave work to large numbers of people. Moreover, Pitt began by economy and honesty to reduce the National Debt. He published an account of all money received and paid by Government, and when he borrowed he did so openly, by public contract, so that he got the loan at the lowest price, and prevented the jobbery by which officials had formerly often pocketed a good deal of public money. He even tried to reform the House of Commons itself by bringing in a Bill

Reduction of National Debt.

to take away the members from those boroughs where there were scarcely any electors, and give them to the largest counties, and to the cities of London and Westminster. But his Bill did not pass, for those who gained money by the boroughs opposed the scheme, and the nation was so prosperous that people cared very little about the elections. It seemed indeed as if a period of peace and prosperity had set in for a long time to come. Though the king had a second attack of insanity at the end of 1788, it passed away while Pitt and Fox were disputing how much power the Prince of Wales, who bore a very bad character, should have as Regent, and whether Parliament had the right to control him. The inconvenience of a separate Irish Parliament was felt again in this matter, for the Irish voted that the Prince should have full kingly power, at the very time when the British Parliament was trying to lay down strict limits. Fortunately the king's recovery settled the matter, and the people rejoiced as he went to return thanks at St. Paul's. They felt safe under Pitt's government, and wanted no change. They little suspected that trouble was at hand from quite a new quarter. In 1789 the French Revolution broke out, and upset all Europe, causing war and confusion for the next quarter of a century.

Pitt's Reform Bill rejected, 1785.

Second Regency Bill, 1788.

For a long time the nations all over Europe had been beginning to feel that Government ought to be as much for the good of the middle and working classes as for kings and nobles. In Great Britain reforms had been made from time to time to satisfy this feeling; but in France for the last hundred and fifty years the oppression of the people had become worse and worse. The laws were so unjust that taxes were heaped on the farmers and labourers, while the nobles paid none, but lived at Court, caring nothing for their estates except to wring money out of them. Labourers had to work for many days every year on the roads and estates of their landlord without receiving any pay, cottages and farms fell into ruin, and constant

French Revolution, 1789.

Oppression of lower classes in France.

famines added to the misery of the peasantry. Vice and extravagance reigned in the towns side by side with the most cruel want, while France itself was growing poorer and poorer.

At last Louis XVI., more conscientious than the two kings who reigned before him, called together the Great Assembly of France called the "States General," to try and make good laws. But this only brought the discontent to a head. The Commons, or "Third Estate," as they were called, took the upper hand in the discussions, and changed the States General into a "National Assembly," which began to overthrow all law and order. An insurrection broke out in Paris, July 14, 1789, in which the great French prison called the "Bastille" was stormed, and a revolutionary commune set up to govern the city. A few months later the mob fetched Louis from Versailles, and he remained practically a prisoner in Paris for three years. At last in 1792 Austria and Prussia invaded France, hoping to put him back on his throne, but the French army was too strong for them, and the excited mob of Paris massacred whole masses of royalists on Sept. 21, 1792, and ended by bringing their king to the guillotine, Jan. 21, 1793. So died Louis XVI., and the "Reign of Terror" began, in which one party after the other murdered all who differed from them, among others the poor queen Marie Antoinette.

States General assembled, May 5, 1789.

Imprisonment and death of Louis XVI., 1789-1793.

All this time Great Britain had looked on quietly. Many people were at first glad that the French had rebelled against the selfish nobles. Fox gloried in the Revolution, and even Pitt thought in the beginning that it would pass over, and was anxious not to interfere. But Burke saw at once to what lengths this overthrow of all authority might lead, and it was greatly by his speeches and writings that Britain was roused at last to see the danger. The revolutionists grew bolder and bolder, they defeated the Austrians in the Netherlands, took possession of Savoy and Nice,

Influence of Burke.

and threatened to invade Holland, which was protected by a treaty with Britain. Then Pitt was obliged to remonstrate, and on Feb. 1, 1793, within a month of the death of Louis XVI., France declared war against Great Britain, Holland, and Spain.

For the next nine years this country was at war with the French republic, while other nations joined first one side and then the other in a most bewildering manner. At first Britain, Spain, Holland, Austria, and Prussia formed one coalition, for which Britain had to provide a large part of the money. The allies were very unsuccessful. Though Lord Howe gained a great victory over the French fleet off Brest on June 1, 1794, yet on land the French were everywhere victorious. In 1795 they conquered Amsterdam and captured the Dutch fleet. The stadtholder of Holland fled, and the Dutch republicans joined the French and proclaimed a republic. The King of Prussia, too, who had carried on his part of the war by means of large supplies from Britain, retired from the contest, and Spain, jealous of the British fleet, joined the French.

Lord Howe defeats the French fleet, June 1, 1794.

French take Amsterdam and the Dutch fleet, 1795.

It was at this time that the British took possession of the Dutch settlements at the Cape of Good Hope, and of Ceylon and Malacca, the Dutch settlers being glad to be saved in this way from falling into the hands of France.

Britain takes the Cape of Good Hope, Ceylon, and Malacca, 1795.

Austria was now Britain's only ally, and she required four millions and a half for her expenses. Pitt would willingly have made peace if he could, for the cost and losses of the war were bringing great suffering on Britain. In less than three years the heavy drain on the country had checked all prosperity, and the country banks would, many of them, have been obliged to stop payment if Pitt had not passed a Bill in 1797 to authorise the Bank of England to pay any sum above twenty shillings in bank-notes instead of gold and silver. This Act lasted for twenty-two years. Taxes were

Effects of the war on Britain.

heavy, trade was almost at a standstill, and two bad harvests brought serious famine. The London mob ran after the king's carriage crying, "Bread, bread"; and riots, angry meetings, and seditious writings increased every day. In Birmingham the house of Dr. Priestley, who sympathised with the French, was burnt to the ground by the mob in 1791.

Pitt, on the other hand, was alarmed at the sympathy which some of the workmen's clubs and societies showed for the French revolutionists, and began to rule harshly.

Pitt becomes despotic.

The *Habeas Corpus* Act was suspended, so that men could be imprisoned without a trial. One bookseller was punished for publishing Tom Paine's *Rights of Man*, a book attacking royalty; another was imprisoned for a pamphlet on reform, and three leading men, Horne Tooke, Hardy, Thelwall, and others were accused of exciting the people against Parliament and tried for high treason, but were acquitted.

Nor was this all, for a French invasion was attempted in Ireland. In 1782 Grattan had succeeded (see p. 298) in forcing the Ministers to repeal the laws which gave the British Parliament power over the Parliament of Ireland, so that the Irish had "Home Rule," and could pass what laws they pleased. Now as Catholics could not be elected to this Irish Parliament, nearly all the members belonged to the Protestant aristocracy. There were very few patriots who, like Grattan, dealt fairly with the Catholics or the Irish peasants. The consequence was that the Catholic gentry and the Irish tenants, who were ground down by the stewards of absent landlords, broke out into riots and outrages, and a kind of civil war sprang up between the loyal Protestants or "Orangemen," who founded lodges in the north of Ireland in 1790, and the "United Irishmen," that is the Catholics and the republican Protestants, who joined together in 1791 to shake off the authority of Great Britain. The chief leaders of the United Irishmen, Hamilton Rowan, Wolfe Tone, and Lord Edward

Trouble in Ireland.

Orange Lodges, 1790.

Fitzgerald applied to the French for help, and it was agreed that a French army under General Hoche should invade Ireland. On the night of Dec. 16, 1796, thirty-eight ships sailed from Brest, carrying 15,000 troops, with the intention of entering the mouth of the Shannon in Ireland, and the port of Bristol in England. Had they arrived it would have been a very serious matter; but in the darkness one large ship went down, a gale drove part of the fleet into Bantry Bay, where a fog shut them in for four days, and they waited in vain for General Hoche, who never arrived. He had been driven back by the storm into the harbour of La Rochelle, and the fleet returned without ever invading Ireland.

United Irishmen, 1791.

French invasion of Ireland, 1796.

All these troubles made Pitt very anxious for peace, and he tried to come to terms with the French "Directory," as the Government was now called. But fresh revolutions had been taking place in Paris, and the French, elated by their victories abroad, refused to give up Belgium, Holland, or those parts of Italy which their young Corsican general, Napoleon Bonaparte, had taken from the Austrians. Moreover they were planning a joint attack of the Dutch, French, and Spanish fleets to sweep the British ships from the Channel, leaving the country defenceless. It was clear that Britain must go on with the war or lose her commerce and power, and the merchants and wealthy men answered readily to Pitt's appeal for money to defeat the French.

Pitt tries in vain for peace, 1796.

And now came a time when Britain's fleet, great ever since the days of Elizabeth, saved Britain in her peril, and showed that her sailors had lost none of the old spirit of their ancestors, the Anglian sea-rovers, the hardy Norsemen, and the Danish vikings. Before the Dutch fleet could put to sea, Admiral Sir John Jervis, with Nelson as his commodore, met the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, defeated it, and drove it back to Cadiz. Still the French and Dutch fleets remained uncon-

Battle of St. Vincent, Feb. 14, 1797.

quered, and it was well that bad weather prevented the Dutch from joining the French, for just at this time the British sailors broke out into mutiny at Spithead and the Nore. The men, who were badly fed, badly paid, and harshly treated, had some real grievances, and the Admiralty wisely set these right while they sternly put down the rebellion. After a few of the worst ringleaders had been punished, the remainder of the fleet returned to their duty, and a few months later fought bravely in an obstinate battle under Admiral Duncan, utterly defeating the Dutch fleet off Camperdown, in Holland.

Mutiny at the Nore, May 1797.

Battle of Camperdown, Oct. 11, 1797.

These naval victories put an end to the attempt to destroy the British fleet. But the French, who had just made peace with Austria at Campo Formio, were still eager to crush their one rival, Great Britain. Napoleon Bonaparte was now Commander-in-Chief of the larger part of the French army, and while he pretended that he was preparing to attack the English shores, he was really persuading the Directory to let him take the army to Egypt, and push on to harass the British in India. He had in fact determined to become the ruler of France, and seeing that he could not yet seize power at home, he wished to gain great victories abroad and return as a conqueror.

The man who spoiled his campaign was England's greatest admiral, Horatio Nelson. From his early boyhood, when at thirteen he left his father's rectory in Norfolk to enter the navy, Nelson had put his whole heart into his profession. Now, after a long experience, he found himself at forty years of age sent to chase and defeat the man who was already Britain's most formidable enemy. For more than two months he tried in vain to find the fleet in which Napoleon's army had sailed; but at last, on Aug. 1, 1798, he came upon it at anchor in the Bay of Aboukir, in the delta of the Nile. The French thought their position was secure; but Nelson, by sending some of his ships right between them and the shore, put them between two fires, and won the famous

Battle of the Nile, Aug. 1, 1798.

"Battle of the Nile." The ships being destroyed, the French army was left stranded in Egypt, and Napoleon determined to attempt the conquest of Syria. Crossing the desert, he stormed Jaffa and marched on and laid siege to Acre, but here he was stoutly repulsed by the Turks, assisted by Sir Sidney Smith. Retreating to Egypt, he next defeated the Turks at Aboukir, near Alexandria, and then hearing that the French were being defeated in Europe, he left the command of the army to his generals and returned to France, where he was made First Consul on Nov. 11, 1799. After a few months he went off again to fight the Austrians in Italy, and, defeating them at Marengo, June 1800, forced them to make peace at Luneville, Feb. 1, 1801.

Napoleon made First Consul, 1799.

Great Britain now stood once more alone, for Russia, her ally for a time, quarrelled about the right of search in ships, and war broke out in the Baltic. Pitt, moreover, was no longer Prime Minister, and the reason for this we must now relate.

Ever since the French invasion of Ireland had failed in 1796 the country had been very unquiet, till at last in 1798 an organised rebellion broke out, which ended in the rebels being routed and their camp taken at Vinegar Hill in Wexford, June 21, 1798. Even after this a French squadron landed a body of troops in Mayo, which were defeated by Lord Cornwallis, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Fitzgerald was killed and Wolfe Tone was hanged, but it was clear that Ireland would never be at peace under its own Parliament. Pitt therefore determined to abolish the Irish Parliament altogether, and by an Act of Union to bring Irish members to sit in the British House, as the Scotch members had been brought in Queen Anne's reign (*see* p. 259). By wholesale bribery and a liberal distribution of titles and honours, he succeeded in passing the Act through the Irish Parliament, and won over the Roman Catholics by promising to give them equal rights with the Protestants. On Aug. 2, 1800, the

Irish Rebellion of 1798.

Union of Ireland with England, 1800.

"Act of Union" received the royal assent, and on the last day of the eighteenth century, Dec. 31, 1800, the king closed the British Parliament, to reopen it in Jan. 1801 as the "Imperial Parliament," in which a hundred Irish members took their seats in the House of Commons, and four Irish bishops and twenty-four Irish lords in the House of Peers. The Cross of St. Patrick was added to those of St. George and St. Andrew on the Union Jack, and from that time till now the laws for England, Scotland, and Ireland have all been passed in the Imperial Parliament. Unfortunately the king let himself be persuaded that it was against his coronation oath to allow Pitt to bring forward a Bill giving the Catholics the rights which he had promised. Thus one great sore remained unhealed, and Pitt, who felt bound in honour to keep his word, could only resign his post.

The Union Jack.

Resignation of Pitt, Jan 1801.

The shock of his resignation drove the king again out of his mind for a short time, and Pitt, sorely grieved, hastened to give his help to Mr. Addington (afterwards Lord Sidmouth), who had been Speaker of the House, and now became Prime Minister. Britain was still fighting against great odds, but a short peace was at hand. Sir Ralph Abercromby defeated the French in the battle of Alexandria on March 21, 1801, and the British being strengthened by fresh troops from India, the whole French army was forced to capitulate on Aug. 27. Meanwhile, on April 2, Nelson had overcome the Danish fleet at Copenhagen. The fight was so obstinate that Sir Hyde Parker, who was in command, gave the signal for retreat, but Nelson, putting his telescope to his blind eye, declared that he could not see the signal, and fought on to victory. At this time Napoleon was actually collecting boats and rafts at Boulogne to attack England, but the disasters in Egypt led the French to seek a temporary peace. At the Treaty of Amiens, signed March 1802, France gave up the south of Italy, and Britain relinquished all

Battles of Alexandria and Copenhagen, 1801.

Peace of Amiens, March 1802.

her conquests except Ceylon and Trinidad, while the kings of our country dropped the title of "King of France," which they had held since Edward III.

But no treaty could check the restless ambition of Napoleon. In a few months he had annexed Piedmont and Parma, and sent a French army into Switzerland; and when the British Government remonstrated, he called upon them to expel all the French refugees who were living in England, and to give up Malta to France. It was clear that he meant mischief, and the ministers had no choice but to declare war. From this time till 1815 Britain was engaged in a continual struggle with Napoleon. In 1804 he became Emperor of France, which he had, ever since he became First Consul, ruled with a firm hand, giving her good laws, and putting an end to riot and disorder, so that she once more became a great power. But this did not content him; he wished to subdue all Europe, and as Great Britain was the one free country which baffled him, his chief ambition was to crush her. "Let us be masters of the Channel for six hours," said Napoleon, "and we are masters of the world."

Napoleon as Emperor at war with Great Britain, 1803-1815.

Britain rose bravely as her difficulties increased. Pitt became Prime Minister again in 1804; more than 300,000 volunteers organised themselves to protect their country, and Nelson started off to the West Indies in pursuit of the French and Spanish fleets. Meanwhile these fleets had turned back, by Napoleon's orders, to attack England, and to protect the host of flat-bottomed boats in which he hoped to send a force of 100,000 men across the Channel. But Sir Robert Calder met the Spanish fleet off Cape Finisterre and drove it back into Cadiz, and Nelson, who had returned in hot haste, met the French fleet off Cape Trafalgar on Oct. 21, 1805. Then occurred the memorable battle in which the great commander laid down his life. "*This day England expects every man to do his duty.*" So ran Nelson's famous signal,

Napoleon attempts to invade England, 1805.

Battle of Trafalgar, Oct. 1805.

hoisted before the action began, and the words will ring for ever in the ears of Englishmen. Wounded by a musket ball on the deck of his own ship, the *Victory*, the brave admiral died even as he learnt that the French were defeated. He had done his work nobly, and his last simple words of command, coming from a man who had obeyed them all his life, were the best legacy he could leave to his country.

Britain had now lost her greatest admiral, and her most trusted statesman was soon to follow. Pitt lived to hear of the victory of Trafalgar, but bad news reached him not long after. Napoleon had crushed the armies of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz, near Vienna. Dec. 2, 1805. "Austerlitz," wrote Wilberforce, "killed Pitt." He died Jan. 23, 1806, at the early age of forty-seven, after a life of faithful devotion to his country.

Battle of Austerlitz and death of Pitt.

On Pitt's death Fox joined Lord Grenville in a ministry known as "The Ministry of all the Talents," which will always be remembered because it carried one great measure for which Pitt and his friends had long been struggling. This was the *abolition of the slave trade*. Ever since the preaching of Whitefield and Wesley, which roused many to lead a religious life, a more tender feeling had been growing up for the suffering of human beings. In 1773 John Howard, an earnest philanthropist, began to devote his life to visiting the wretched and filthy gaols of Britain, and trying to better the condition of the prisoners; and a noble woman, Mrs. Fry, followed his example forty years later. Meanwhile in 1788 three men, Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and Zachary Macaulay, formed an association to put down the trade in negro slaves from Africa to South America. This trade had fallen chiefly into British hands, and the horrors of it were almost too dreadful to relate. The poor negroes, snatched from their homes, were packed on narrow shelves between the decks of a ship, often suffering from hunger, thirst, suffocation,

Ministry of all the Talents, 1806.

Prison reform.



DEATH OF NELSON.

After the Painting by Benjamin West, P.R.A.

Face page 312.

and all kinds of cruelty, and were only brought into the air on the upper deck from time to time, and lashed to make them leap and take exercise. The brutal men who dealt in them only cared to keep them alive in order to sell them, and the sick were murdered or thrown overboard without mercy. Yet so much money was made by this trade that it was only after twenty years of constant struggle in Parliament, that at last in 1807 an Act was passed making it penal for any vessel of Great Britain to carry slaves for sale. Fox, who had laboured all his life to abolish the slave trade, did not live to see the Act passed. He died Sept. 3, 1806. This Act, though it put a stop to the trade, did not abolish slavery in the British colonies; that went on till 1834, twenty-eight years after.

Abolition of the slave trade, 1773-1807.

Death of Fox, 1806.

While Britain was thus reforming her laws, Napoleon was working to destroy her commerce. After another victorious struggle with Russia and Prussia in 1806, in which he won the famous battle of Jena, he remained master of nearly the whole of Europe. He now passed a decree at Berlin, Nov. 21, 1806, declaring a blockade of all the British ports, and forbidding the nations on the Continent to trade with Britain. This was a severe blow to British merchants, and the ministers retaliated by declaring all the ports of France and her allies under blockade, and by seizing the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, Sept. 1807, because they had heard that Napoleon was about to use it against Britain. This blockade brought great trouble with the United States, for their vessels trading with France were liable to be seized. In 1812 Congress, irritated by this restriction, and by search made in their ships for British deserters, declared war against Great Britain, and hostilities continued till 1815.

The Berlin decree, Nov. 21, 1806.

Meanwhile on land Napoleon was everywhere successful, and he gave crowns and countries to his brothers and relations over the greater part of Europe. But the time was coming when he was to receive a check. In May 1808 disputes in the royal family of Spain gave

him the opportunity of getting the crown for Joseph Bonaparte, while he also attacked Portugal, and the Regent of that country fled to Brazil. But he had now made the greatest mistake of his life. The proud Spanish people, indignant at having a mere adventurer forced upon them, rose everywhere in rebellion, and appealed to Britain for help.

Napoleon seizes the crown of Spain, and invades Portugal, 1808.

A short time before this happened Sir Arthur Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) had returned from waging a successful war against the Mahrattas in India from 1803 to 1805, and had been made Secretary for Ireland. George Canning, a rising statesman, who was now minister for foreign affairs, determined to listen to the cry of Spain, and to oppose Napoleon in the Spanish Peninsula. Two small armies were at once sent to Portugal under Wellesley and General Sir John Moore, and the war known as the "Peninsular War" began. Unfortunately the troops sent were too few, and Wellesley and Moore were put under the control of the Governor of Gibraltar and another senior officer. So although Wellesley gained a victory over the French General Junot at Vimiero, Aug. 21, 1808, he was not allowed to follow it up, but a Convention was made with the French at Cintra, Aug. 30, and Wellesley was recalled to England.

Peninsular War begins, 1808.

Sir John Moore, who remained, was ordered to advance into Spain and join the Spanish troops, but on his road he learnt that Napoleon had come himself, and, having swept away the Spanish army, was advancing on Madrid. Moore, who was a brave and experienced officer, and had only 25,000 men with him while Napoleon had 70,000, saw that he must go back to the coast and re-embark his men. His retreat was one of the most masterly ever recorded in war. He took his way to Vigo, with Napoleon in hot pursuit, and on his road, learning that the harbour was not fit for his troops to embark, he turned off to Corunna, a seaport in Galicia. When he arrived there, on Jan. 10, he found that

Retreat and Battle of Corunna, 1809.

the fleet had been detained by contrary winds, and before it came up on the 14th, the French army, under Marshal Soult, had arrived and was drawn up for attack. At midday on the 16th the French gave battle. Steadily and firmly the British met them; the French were repulsed on all sides, and the British army was all embarked by midnight, leaving 3000 Frenchmen dead on the field. But the brave Scotsman who had saved his troops was killed himself, and there on the lonely battlefield his comrades buried him in silence and sorrow—

Burial of Sir John Moore.

> "Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
> As his corse to the ramparts we hurried;
> Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
> O'er the grave where our hero we buried.
>
> . . . .
>
> "Slowly and sadly we laid him down,
> From the field of his fame fresh and gory,
> We carved not a line, and we raised not a stone,
> But we left him alone with his glory." [1]

When news of the destruction of the Spanish army and of Moore's retreat reached Britain the nation almost lost courage, but Canning, gathering together a stronger army, sent Wellesley at once back with it to Portugal. From this time, during the next four years, Wellesley was steadily employed driving Napoleon's best generals out of Spain. He was as yet not nearly so famous as Napoleon; he was badly supplied with troops and provisions, and he had no ambition except to do his duty. But he believed that he had right on his side, that in the end he should conquer this tyrant who was overrunning all Europe; he was thoughtful and careful of his men, while Napoleon shed blood recklessly; and he never allowed his troops to plunder the people, but paid for all he took. Patiently, step by step, he showed that the French armies could be conquered, and so broke the spell by which Napoleon held all nations in his power.

Wellington and Napoleon.

He defeated Marshal Soult at Oporto on May 12, and

[1] From Wolfe's *Burial of Sir John Moore.*

Marshal Victor at Talavera, July 28, 1809, for which victory he was created Viscount Wellington. Then retreating into Portugal, he constructed that winter three famous lines of fortresses, known as the lines of Torres Vedras; so that when Marshal Massena was sent in 1810 to drive the British army into the sea, he was first repulsed at Busaco, Sept. 29, 1810, and then found himself before the first line of defence, which he could not pass. Unable to find a way of attack, and short of food, for Wellington had purposely cleared the country of cattle and crops, Massena lost 45,000 men from skirmishes, disease, and hunger, and was forced to retreat into Spain. Here the Spaniards gathered in small armed bands called "guerilla bands," and harassed the French among the hills and forests, while Wellington and his generals, advancing steadily, won a long succession of battles. The most famous of these were the storming of the two fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos in 1812, the battles of Salamanca and Vittoria in 1812 and 1813, and the long siege of St. Sebastian in the winter of 1813, which put an end to the power of the French in Spain.

Wellington's victories in Spain, 1809-1813.

Wellington's victories, however, did more than merely free the Spaniards; they gave Europe courage to rise against their common foe. Napoleon, still bent on conquest, had marched into Russia in 1812, and after a fearful battle at Borodino, Sept. 7, 1812, had pushed on to Moscow. But the Russians, taught by Wellington's example at Torres Vedras, burnt the city; and Napoleon's soldiers, having neither food nor shelter, were forced to march back in the bitter winter through endless miles of snow, dying by thousands as they went. Out of 400,000 men 20,000 only returned. Napoleon's army was destroyed, while Russia was pursuing him in the rear, and Austria and Prussia rose on his flank. Hastening back to France, he gathered an army and returned, actually winning three more battles at Lutzen, Bautzen, and Dresden. But his enemies were closing around him, and at Leipzig, after three days' fighting, he was utterly defeated,

Burning of Moscow and retreat of the French, 1812.

Oct. 19, 1813. He was forced to fall back on the Rhine, and during the early part of 1814 struggled vigorously against the overwhelming numbers of his enemies. But when at last on March 31 the victorious allies entered Paris, he gave way, and abdicating on April 6, was banished to the island of Elba, April 28, 1814.

Abdication of Napoleon.

Then the brother of Louis XVI. was placed on the French throne under the title of Louis XVIII., because the young dauphin who died during the Revolution had been called Louis XVII. The war, however, was to see yet another battle. After eleven months of an unsettled peace, all Europe was startled by the news that Napoleon had escaped, landed at Cannes, and, welcomed on all sides by his old comrades, was marching to Paris. In three weeks he was emperor again, and the king had fled. The allies lost no time. In April Wellington, who had been at a Congress in Vienna, was already in Brussels, and armies from Britain, Prussia, Austria, and Russia were gathering for an attack. Britain and Prussia alone were ready, and Napoleon hoped to defeat them separately before they could meet. He did repulse the Prussians at Ligny on June 16, but on that same day Wellington successfully opposed Marshal Ney at Quatrebras, and took up a strong position on the heights of St. Jean, above the little village of Waterloo, nine miles from Brussels.

Napoleon returns, March 1815.

On the 18th Napoleon and Wellington met for the first time face to face in battle. Wellington had a very difficult army to command, his veteran soldiers had nearly all been sent to the American War, so his British troops were young and inexperienced, while more than half his forces consisted of Netherlanders, Hanoverians, Nassauers, and Brunswickers. His allies the Prussians were still a long way off, though their general, Blucher, had sent word to Wellington on the 17th that he would join him early the next afternoon. When Napoleon began the battle at mid-day on the 18th, Wellington could only hope to hold his

ground till help arrived. Time after time, now in one part, now in another, the French cavalry charged against the immovable squares of British infantry, and fell before their deadly fire. But the day wore on, and at four o'clock the wearied troops watched in vain for their allies. At last, about five, it was evident that the French were fighting with the Prussians somewhere out of sight. On they came, and at seven o'clock the French made one last desperate charge on the British lines, and then fled in confusion. The Prussians had come up just in time to secure a great victory. More than 25,000 French soldiers lay on the field of battle, and even the British lost 13,000. But the war was over at last. Napoleon fled to Paris and abdicated in favour of his son. He then tried to escape from France, but finding all the ports guarded, he gave himself up at Rochfort to Captain Maitland, of the British ship *Bellerophon*. He was placed in the island of St. Helena, this time safely guarded, and there he died, May 5, 1821. Louis XVIII. returned to Paris, and the allies occupied France for the next three years, till all fear of revolution was over. From that day to this, though Frenchmen and Englishmen have been a long time learning to understand each other, whenever they have fought it has been as allies and never as enemies.

Battle of Waterloo, June 18, 1815.

Death of Napoleon, 1821.

The British nation went almost mad with joy when peace was proclaimed. For the last twelve years they had strained every nerve in the war of freedom, and for the last three of these years they had been at war with the United States, in which they had run a great risk of losing Canada, and had only just made a peace early in 1815. Though trade had to a certain extent prospered because Britain was almost the only country in which war was not actually going on, and because she had most of the carrying trade on the sea, yet the enormous taxes, the high price of corn, and the long wearing anxiety of the war, had tried every one sorely. In 1810 the king had gone hopelessly out of his mind, and never afterwards

Peace of Paris, 1815.

recovered, and the Prince of Wales became Regent. Parliament had been so much occupied with the war that the Prime Ministers, the Duke of Portland (1807–1809), Mr. Perceval (1809–1812), and Lord Liverpool (1812–1821) had no chance of making useful reforms, while the alarm and uncertainty caused by the French revolution had made all classes suspicious of each other. Now as soon as the first excitement of peace was over the nation began to feel the effects of the long war.

Prince of Wales Regent, 1811-1820.

The national debt had increased to 840 millions, and pressed heavily upon the country. Though a Bill had been passed in 1819 by which the Bank of England began again to pay in gold, there was still a great deal of paper money in the country. Disbanded soldiers and sailors returned home to swell the numbers of the unemployed, the manufacturers who had provided stores for the war had no work for their men, and the more peaceful trades were at a low ebb. The farmers and landowners, alarmed at the fall in the price of corn, persuaded Parliament to pass a Corn-Law in 1815 forbidding foreign corn to be imported under 80s. a quarter, and the consequence was that when a bad harvest came in 1816 it caused a famine. Riots broke out everywhere,—among the agriculturists in Kent, and the colliers and miners in the Midlands and the west of England, while at Nottingham the Luddites or machine-breakers rose with fresh violence. The next four years were full of trouble. A paper called the *Weekly Political Register*, published by William Cobbett, taught the workmen to think that a reform of Parliament would cure all their evils. Political meetings became so many and so threatening that Government again suspended the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and a riot at Manchester, in which more than fifty people were badly wounded by the Hussars, caused Parliament to pass six severe laws against the freedom of the people, which were known as the "Six Acts."

Oppressive Corn-Law, 1815.

Manchester Massacre, Aug. 1819.

The Regent too was very unpopular. He had married

in 1785 a beautiful widow, Mrs. Fitzherbert, but this marriage was not legal because she was a Roman Catholic, and because a "Royal Marriage Act" passed in 1771 allowed none of the royal family to marry under twenty-five without the king's consent. So the Prince deserted Mrs. Fitzherbert in 1795 and married a coarse, vulgar woman, Princess Caroline of Brunswick, with whom he soon quarrelled. Their only child, Princess Charlotte, who was very much beloved, married Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, but died Nov. 6, 1817, and her only child died with her. Thus there was no direct heir to the throne, and when the next year three of the king's sons married, the only one who pleased the people was the Duke of Kent, who married the sister of Prince Leopold, the widower of Princess Charlotte. The only child of this marriage was our late queen, Alexandrina Victoria, who was born May 24, 1819. Her father died eight months after.

Death of Princess Charlotte, 1817.

Royal marriages.

And now the long life of George III. was drawing to a close. Blind and insane, the poor old king was still beloved in spite of all the mistakes he had made, and when he sank to rest on Jan. 29, 1820, in the eighty-second year of his age and sixtieth of his reign, the nation grieved sincerely. Since he came to the throne as a young man determined to "be a king," great things had happened. America had been lost; India had been gained by the British Government; Pitt had reformed abuses and raised the country; Napoleon had done his best to ruin it; and Nelson and Wellington had saved it. Ireland had become one with Britain in name as we trust she will be one day in heart. Great Britain had washed her hands of the infamous trade in negro slaves, and in 1816 the British and Dutch bombarded Algiers and forced the "Dey" or native prince to release all the Christians whom he had captured and made slaves during the troubled times.

Death of George III., 1820.

Side by side with these political events inventions and

discoveries had advanced rapidly. In 1807 two Americans, Fulton and Livingston, moved a vessel up the Hudson from New York to Albany by means of a steam-engine, and in 1813 a steam-tug towed two vessels along the Clyde Canal. Steam-carriages had also been attempted, but as yet without success. Trade and manufacture had increased enormously with the invention of new machinery, and the command of the sea by Great Britain. In science great men, such as Lamarck, Cuvier, and Lavoisier in France, and Herschel, Davy, and Priestley in England, were making grand discoveries in their quiet studies, while all Europe was raging with war.

Discoveries and inventions.

In literature this was the greatest age since Elizabeth's reign. Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* appeared in 1776. Robertson's *Histories* of Scotland, of the Emperor Charles V., and of America, were written between 1759 and 1777, and Gibbon's famous work on the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appeared from 1776 to 1787. The great Samuel Johnson (1709–1784), sharp of tongue but kindly of heart, published his great *Dictionary* in the reign of George II., yet he lived to grieve for the death of Goldsmith (1728–1774), whose *Vicar of Wakefield*, *Deserted Village*, and other works, were all written in the reign of George III. Among plays we shall never find more charming comedies than Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer*, or Sheridan's *Rivals* and *School for Scandal:* nor were actors wanting to render these and more serious plays, for Garrick and Foote, Kemble and Mrs. Siddons, belong to this time. Most remarkable of all, however, was the sudden outburst of poets. Cowper, Burns, Shelley, Keats, and Byron then lived and wrote, while Campbell, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Walter Scott, and Tom Moore were famous as poets long before George III. died. The British Museum, which began from a collection of valuable books left by Sir Hans Sloane in 1753, and was increased by the Royal Libraries of George II. and George III., was now already becoming a large library of reference for the nation, and the Elgin marbles which were bought by the

Literature.

nation and placed there in 1817 first brought ancient art before the British public. Lastly, Sir Joshua Reynolds and Gainsborough stand pre-eminent among painters, and Chantrey and Flaxman among sculptors; while in humbler though graceful art Josiah Wedgewood produced the beautiful pottery known as Wedgewood-ware, for which Flaxman drew the designs. When George III. died everything promised well for the future social and intellectual development of Britain. The two things still greatly needed were reforms in Parliament and in the laws of trade.

Art.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE HISTORY OF OUR OWN TIMES

George IV., 1820–1830. | *William IV.*, 1830–1837.

GEORGE IV., who now became king, had so long been Regent that his elevation to the throne made very little change. When he met Parliament on its reassembling, one of the first questions discussed was the divorce of his wife, Queen Caroline. This unhappy woman, neglected by her husband, had been living abroad for the last six years. But now she wished to take her place as queen and, in spite of advice, came back to insist on being reinstated. Ministers had promised the king that if she made her appearance in England, they would bring in a Bill to dissolve the marriage. This was now done, and after a long trial, in which the celebrated lawyer Brougham defended the queen, the Bill was dropped. But the king refused to let Queen Caroline's name be read in the Church service, and when she tried to enter Westminster Abbey at the coronation she was driven back. She died a few days afterwards, and the English people, who pitied her, disliked King George more than ever.

Trial of Queen Caroline, 1820.

This did not, however, much matter, for George IV. and

his brother William IV., who reigned after him, did not interfere much in the government of the country. For nearly forty years after the battle of Waterloo Britain was at peace, with the exception of one naval battle fought in defence of the Greeks against Turkey and Egypt at Navarino in 1827, and some local wars in India and Africa. Of these forty years the first seven were full of anxiety and distrust. Ever since the French revolution the sovereigns of Europe were so afraid that their subjects would force them to establish free governments that in 1815 the Emperors of Russia and Austria, and the Kings of Prussia, France, and Spain, entered into a "Holy Alliance," binding themselves to help each other in crushing any attempts at rebellion in any country. Insurrections had already been put down in this way by a French army in Spain and by an Austrian army in Italy, and though Britain did not join this Holy Alliance, yet every one knew that Lord Castlereagh (afterwards Lord Londonderry), who was Foreign Secretary, would have wished to join it, while the "Six Acts" passed in 1819 made the people afraid that the British Government too would become tyrannical.

Great Britain at peace.

Holy Alliance, 1815.

George IV. had only been king for a month when a conspiracy was formed by twenty-five men, led by one Thistlewood, to murder all the ministers at a dinner at Lord Harrowby's house. The conspirators were arrested in a stable in Cato Street, Edgeware Road; four of them were executed, and five transported for life, and there the matter ended. But it showed that the nation was uneasy, and indeed the feeling of alarm was so great, that when Castlereagh went out of his mind in 1822 and committed suicide, just as he was starting to join a congress at Vienna, the people could not help being relieved at his death. They were not far wrong, for, though he was an honourable, earnest man, yet he had been the chief leader among those who wished to keep the people down.

Cato Street conspiracy, Feb. 23, 1820.

Suicide of Castlereagh, Aug. 12, 1822.

instead of finding out the reason of their discontent. With his death a new policy began, which was a happy one for Great Britain.

Lord Liverpool had been Prime Minister ever since 1812, but several changes had taken place in the men who served with him and now, in 1822, Robert Peel, the son of a cotton-spinner, became Home Secretary; Canning, whose policy had defeated Napoleon in Spain, took Lord Londonderry's place as Foreign Secretary; and the next year William Huskisson, who had already held minor posts in the Government, became President of the Board of Trade. These three men belonged rather to the great middle class of England than to the landowners, and they understood better what reforms were needed.

Canning, Peel, and Huskisson.

Canning, who was a disciple of Pitt, wished before all things to keep Britain at peace and to leave each nation free to settle its own government. He refused at once to have anything to do with the Holy Alliance, and, on the other hand, though he sympathised strongly with the Greeks who were struggling to throw off the Turkish yoke, and with the South American colonies, Mexico, Peru, and Chili, which were trying to get free from Spain, he would not interfere between a country and its rulers. But when the South Americans had gained their freedom by their own efforts, he acknowledged them as independent states, and sending British Consuls there, declared that Britain would not allow any foreign nation to assist Spain in reconquering them. A few years later, in 1826, when a French army threatened to join Spain in an attack on Portugal, the Portuguese applied to Canning for help, and he at once sent troops, by which means war was prevented. The same feeling of justice which made him uphold the weak abroad, led him at home to try, though unsuccessfully, to give the Roman Catholics their rights, and to better the condition of the slaves of the West Indian planters.

Canning's foreign policy.

Meanwhile Peel, as Home Secretary, set to work to

improve the criminal law of Britain. This was terribly severe, for no less than 200 different crimes, many of them very slight, were punished by death. A man or woman could be hanged for stealing a piece of cloth from a shop or taking a fish from a pond, as well as for forgery or murder. The consequence was that the number of executions was very great, batches of twenty or more being hanged in a row at one time; while, on the other hand, many went unpunished, because juries often would not convict a man who would be put to death for a trifling crime. Already in 1808 Sir Samuel Romilly had tried to alter these unjust laws, and had abolished hanging as a punishment for pocket-picking, and after his death Sir James Mackintosh took up the work. At last in 1824 Peel succeeded in doing away with the punishment of death for more than a hundred smaller crimes, and little by little the laws were made more just.

Reform of criminal laws, 1808-1824.

Perhaps, however, for the good of the whole nation, the most useful reforms were those made by Huskisson in the laws which were crippling the trade of the country. The Navigation Laws of Cromwell (*see* p. 206) were still in force, which gave all the carrying trade to British ships, and put heavy duties on all goods brought in by foreign vessels. This might answer for a time, but in the end other countries retaliated and laid heavy duties on goods brought to them in British ships, and in this way trade was much hindered. In 1823 Huskisson succeeded in passing a "Reciprocity of Duties" Bill, by which British and foreign ships had equal advantages with us, whenever foreign nations would do the same by British vessels coming to their ports. He also reduced the duties on silk and wool, so as to make them more just both for the growers and the manufacturers; and at the same time he caused those Acts to be repealed which allowed magistrates to fix the wages of workmen, and which prevented men who were seeking work from travelling to different parts of the country. He had

Reciprocity of Duties Bill, 1823.

great difficulty in carrying these measures, for the merchants, manufacturers, wool-growers, and even the workmen, each cried out because the advantage was not all on their side. But in the end the traders found their trade doubled, and the workmen that they could make better bargains, while the public bought their goods at a fairer price.

Trade Reforms, 1824.

At first, however, these good effects were counteracted by the sudden increase of trade with all countries as soon as they had settled down after the war, and especially with the new-freed South American colonies of Brazil and Mexico. As usual, every one flocked in to make a profit, joint-stock companies were started, money was invested in all kinds of foolish schemes, such as a company of milk-maids to milk the wild cattle of Buenos Ayres and make butter, which the inhabitants did not care for when it was made. The speculation was almost as wild as at the time of the South Sea bubble. Then after about a year the reaction came. Between sixty and seventy banks stopped payment in six weeks, and the panic was only checked by the Government coining sovereigns at the rate of 150,000 a day, and persuading the Bank of England to advance money to the merchants on the security of their goods. The depression which followed brought great distress to the middle and lower classes. The poor were once more at the point of starvation, and it was not surprising that they broke out into riots, smashed machinery, and clamoured so lustily for food that at last the Government ordered foreign corn to be let in below the legal price. There was not enough in the docks to do much good, but the little relief it gave, made men begin to see how cruel it was to shut out foreign corn from the people merely to raise the price for the benefit of the farmers and landlords. In 1828, when Huskisson was Secretary for the Colonies, a law was passed by which the duty on corn *fell* as the price rose, and *rose* as the price fell,

Speculation caused by sudden increase of trade, 1824.

Scarcity of food, 1825, 1826.

Sliding scale duties on corn, 1828.

so as to press less heavily on those who bought in scarce seasons. This was called a "sliding scale" of duties, and was the first step towards free trade in corn, which was not yet to come for another weary eighteen years.

Meanwhile the distress had another very important effect; the want of work and of food led the Government to think of helping people to go to the colonies. Since the beginning of the century sums had been given from time to time to assist paupers to emigrate to Canada, and 5000 people had been sent to the Cape in 1814; and now, when working men and labourers cried out for more work than could be found at home, the Colonial Office began as part of its business to attend to emigration. Very little was done at first, but a committee was formed to inquire into the matter, and the report which was made to Parliament encouraged many to emigrate at their own expense. In 1826 as many as 13,000 people went to Canada, the Cape, and Australia, and the numbers from that time always increased in years of scarcity at home. Thus a "greater Britain" began to grow up beyond the seas.

Emigration, 1826.

In Australia, NEW SOUTH WALES had already become a flourishing colony. In 1803 Lieutenant M'Arthur had bought Merino sheep at the Cape, and had settled as the first "squatter" on the large open tracts of New South Wales. In 1810 Colonel Macquarie, who was sent out as governor of the convict settlement, saw that the best way to govern, was to give freedom to those convicts who earned a good character, and he employed them in making roads and opening up the country around *Sydney*. In 1822, when he returned to England, and Sir Thomas Brisbane took his place, many free emigrants had already made their home in the colony. Then came the bad times of 1826, and numbers more flocked out. The rich pastures to the north of New South Wales were then first peopled around the convict settlement of *Brisbane*, and thus the colony arose which, when it was divided off from New South Wales in

Foundation of Australian colonies, 1803-1836.

1859, was called QUEENSLAND. After some time Eastern Australia became so prosperous that the people refused any longer to receive convicts, who were for the future sent to WESTERN AUSTRALIA, which had been colonised since 1829, but did not flourish because of bad management. These were the only Australian colonies in George IV.'s reign, except that free settlers began to arrive in the convict island of Van Diemen's Land, now called Tasmania. But looking on a little farther, we find that towards the end of William IV.'s reign a settlement called SOUTH AUSTRALIA began to be formed, its capital being named *Adelaide*, after William IV.'s queen; while in 1835 a body of men settled on the shores of Port Philip, and called their first town *Melbourne*, after the Prime Minister of that day. In 1851 this last settlement was divided off from New South Wales and called VICTORIA, after the Queen. The earliest of these settlements were only in their infancy in the troubled year of 1826, but it was partly the distress and suffering of that time which led so many to venture into new lands where labour met with a better return.

The next year, 1827, Lord Liverpool, a prudent and able, though not a brilliant statesman, who had been Prime Minister for fifteen years, had a stroke of palsy and resigned; and people hoped that Canning, who took his place, would do much for England. But unfortunately Canning too fell ill, and died on Aug. 8, 1827, and after a short interval, during which Lord Goderich was Prime Minister, the Duke of Wellington became head of the Government.

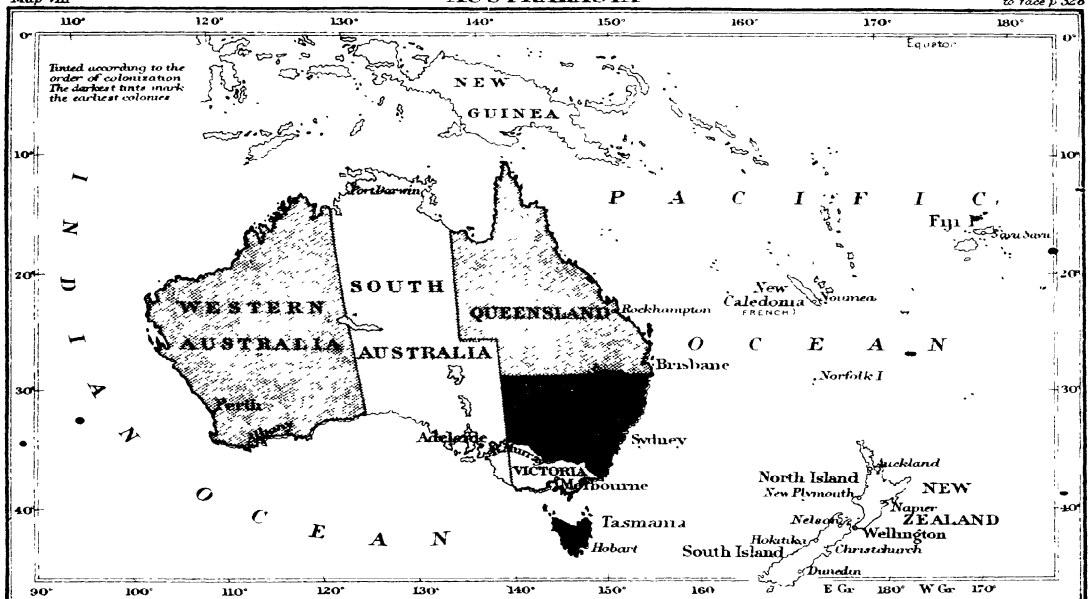
Death of Canning, 1827.

If this had happened a few years earlier, it would have been very bad for the country, for Wellington was a better general than statesman, and would have liked to rule Parliament as he ruled an army. But Canning, though dead, had left behind him a spirit of freedom and justice which could not be checked, and during Wellington's administration two great measures were passed in spite of his wishes. The first was

Wellington's administration, 1828-1830.

AUSTRALASIA

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SCALE OF ENGLISH MILES
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the repeal of the "Test and Corporation Acts," which for nearly 150 years (*see* pp. 217, 223) had prevented dissenters from holding offices in towns or under Government, except by a special Act passed each year. In 1828 Lord John Russell proposed and carried the repeal of these oppressive laws. The second was the "Catholic Emancipation Bill." Since 1817 Catholics had been allowed to enter the army and navy. It was clear that they could not long be shut out of Parliament, but though two Bills were passed in the House of Commons to admit them as members, the Lords always threw them out. A large number of the Catholics were Irish, and in 1823 a "Catholic Association" had been formed in Ireland, whose leader, Daniel O'Connell, was a clever, eloquent barrister. But the disputes between the Association and the Orangemen were so bitter that in 1825 the Association was suppressed for three years, and though Sir Francis Burdett passed another Bill to relieve the Catholics, the Lords threw it out, and nothing was done. At last, when Canning died in 1827, the Irish, who knew that Wellington and Peel were both against Catholic emancipation, grew very restless. O'Connell was elected member for Clare in June 1828 by an enormous number of votes. He could not take his seat because he was a Catholic, yet Government knew he could be elected again and again, and, moreover, that he would persuade the Irish to elect Catholic members in other parts of Ireland.

Repeal of Corporation Act, 1828.

Catholic Association, 1823.

Election of O'Connell, 1828.

The question could no longer be put aside. For several months Parliament discussed it, and in the end, March 5, 1829, the Catholic Emancipation Bill being again passed in the House of Commons, the Lords gave way. So at last that long injustice was over, which had been caused chiefly by the attempts of James II. to force the Roman Catholic religion on England, so making Roman Catholics hated by the nation. A few years later, in 1833, another Act enabled Quakers and others who thought it wrong to take an oath

Catholic Emancipation Bill, 1829.

to *affirm* instead; but it was not till 1858 that all injustice was removed, by the oath being so altered as to allow Jews also to sit in Parliament.

As soon as the Catholic Emancipation Bill was passed O'Connell was again elected for Clare, and took his seat. But he was not content to rest here as one of the great leaders of Catholic emancipation. He believed he could bring about the repeal of the union between Great Britain and Ireland, and began a hopeless struggle, which embittered the last years of his life. He died May 15, 1847, leaving behind him the name of an upright man, who taught his followers to respect the law even while trying to amend it

1830.—*William IV.*—1837.

In June 1830 George IV. died. His death made very little change, except that his brother William IV., a simple, genial sailor, who "walked in London streets with his umbrella under his arm and frankly shook hands with old acquaintances," was a favourite with the people. This was fortunate, for a fresh revolution had broken out in France against the king, Charles X., who had tried to govern despotically. Charles abdicated and came to Great Britain, where he lived in Holyrood Palace which William lent him; and his cousin Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, was made Captain-General of France and afterwards king. About the same time Belgium broke away from Holland, and two years later took Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the widower of Princess Charlotte, to reign over them.

Character of William IV.

Second French Revolution, 1830.

All this stir among other nations roused the British people to cry out again for the reform of Parliament. It was evidently unjust that large towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds should have no member to speak for them and show what laws were necessary for the growing masses of people living in them, while owners of parks and forests, with only a few scattered villages here and there, had control over nine or ten small boroughs, and

nominated for them what members they pleased. Yet Wellington could not be persuaded to listen to a Reform Bill, and spoke so strongly against it that he became extremely unpopular, so that the king's visit to the city had to be postponed because it was not safe for the duke to go with him without a powerful escort. The new Parliament, elected as usual on the change of kings, had a large number of reformers in it, and William IV. was so clearly on their side that Wellington had to resign. From that time he became popular again, for the people loved their "Iron Duke," who had fought for them so bravely, though they did not like his politics. He lived for another twenty-two years, till 1852, and his bent form riding in the park was familiar to many who had not been born when he fought the battle of Waterloo. When he died the whole nation went into mourning, and the touching respect shown at his funeral proved how Britain loves her great men.

Wellington resigns, Nov. 16, 1830.

Lord Grey, the man upon whom the king now called in 1830 to form a Government, had never ceased for the last forty years to urge that Parliament should be reformed, and the men he chose as his colleagues were as eager as himself. How familiar the names are to us! Lord Brougham, Lord Melbourne, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, the Hon. Mr. Stanley afterwards Lord Derby, and Lord Lansdowne. All these men have been leaders in public life within living memory. But there was still a battle of more than a year to be fought before a reformed Parliament could be obtained. The First Reform Bill was introduced by Lord John Russell on March 1, 1831. It was only carried by one vote (302 to 301), and was defeated in "Committee," that is when each separate part of the Bill is discussed. Then the ministers persuaded the king to dissolve Parliament, that the people might be able to express their wishes in the new elections.

Lord Grey's Administration, 1830-1834.

First Reform Bill, March, 1831.

What they wanted was plain enough. The lords, the clergy, and the army and navy were chiefly against the

Bill, but the manufacturers, the educated middle class, the townspeople, and the workmen, who wanted members to speak for them in Parliament, were all for reform. Excitement ran very high; "the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," was the election cry; and in the end so many reformers were elected that the Second Reform Bill was carried through the Commons on Sept. 2, 1831, by a majority of 109 (345 to 236). But when Lord Grey brought it into the House of Lords they rejected it.

Second Reform Bill, Sept. 2, 1831.

Outbursts of indignation came from all parts of the country, and meetings were held everywhere in support of the Government. At one large meeting in Birmingham the speakers declared they would pay no more taxes till the Lords gave way, and serious riots took place at Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol. People began to talk gravely of the fear of a revolution. When Parliament met in December it was with serious faces, and the Third Reform Bill was brought in, slightly altered, and was passed on Dec. 18 by the large majority of 162. When the Lords still rejected it in committee by a majority of 35, Lord Grey asked the king to say that unless it were passed he would create enough new peers to outvote the opposition. He refused at first, but as Wellington could not form a government, Lord Grey had his way, and several Lords who were against reform, seeing that opposition was useless, stayed away on the next occasion, so that the Bill was carried by a majority of 84 (106 to 22).

Third Reform Bill carried, Dec. 18, 1831.

House of Lords pass the Bill, June 4, 1832.

By this Bill fifty-eight small boroughs, which had 113 members between them, had to give them up altogether, and thirty others had only one member instead of two. The 143 seats which were thus set free were given chiefly to the counties and large towns of England, and the rest to Scotland and Ireland. A great number of people were given votes who had not had them before, so that the middle class had more voice in

Changes made by the Reform Bill.

making the laws, and the nation was much more fairly represented in the new Parliament elected in Jan. 1833. The only thing to be regretted was, that the reform, instead of being freely granted, when it was clear that justice required it, was so long delayed. For this taught the people to clamour and riot, as a way of getting their wishes, and we feel the bad effects even in our own day. It was during this struggle for reform that the names of *Conservative* for those who wished to keep to the old ways, and *Liberal* for those who wished to give freely what the people asked, took the place of the old names Tory and Whig; the name of *Radical* had sprung up long before, in 1819, when, during the riots and distress after the war, a body of men in Parliament wished to go to the *root* of things and make extreme reforms.

Terms Conservative, Liberal, and Radical.

For the next five years the Liberals had the chief power in Parliament except for a few months, from Nov. 1834 to April 1835, when there was a Conservative Government under Sir Robert Peel. During these five years many useful reforms which had been begun before were completed and others introduced. On Aug. 30, 1833, the victory was at last gained for which Wilberforce had struggled so long. On that day the Act was passed abolishing slavery in all the British dominions, and a year after, Aug. 31, 1834, all slaves belonging to British subjects in all parts of the world were free, though they remained till 1839 apprenticed to their old masters. Wilberforce, who was in his seventy-fifth year, lived long enough to hear that the Bill had passed the second reading, and then died, thankful that his work had succeeded. The British nation had to pay twenty million pounds to compensate the owners who lost their slaves, but the money was well spent.

Abolition of slavery, Aug. 30, 1833.

That same year, 1833, Lord Ashley, afterwards Lord Shaftesbury, succeeded in passing Acts which protected the children who worked in factories from overstrain and ill-treatment, and an annual grant of public money was first

established to be given to those schools which were teaching the children of the poor. Thirty thousand pounds had been given in 1831 for education in Ireland. In this year too the trade with the East Indies was thrown open to all merchants.

Factory and Education Acts, 1833.

In 1834 the poor-law was altered, not before it was necessary. The old poor-law had become a very heavy burden, for it was keeping those who would not work to keep themselves. The idle and the reckless were living upon those industrious and saving workers who paid the poor-rate. The new poor-law ordered workhouses to be built all over England, and obliged those who could not keep themselves and their families to go into the workhouse, unless there was some very good reason for giving them money in their own homes. By this change the rates were less heavy, wages rose, and the labouring classes were better off. The number of paupers has from that time steadily diminished, so that there are not now half as many compared to the population as there were fifty years ago.

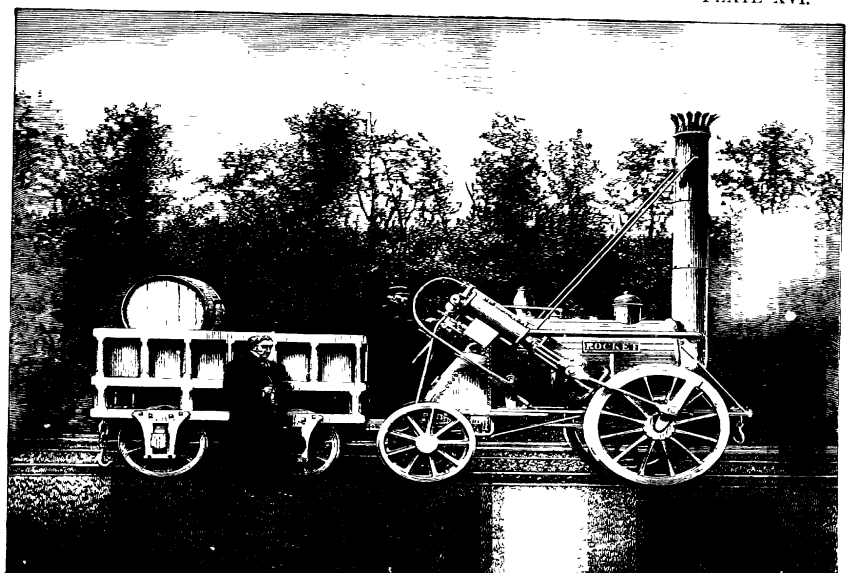
New Poor-Law, 1834.

In 1835, when Lord Melbourne was Prime Minister, the government of towns was reformed. The mayor and aldermen were for the future (except in the city of London) elected by the ratepayers of the town, and the town councils were obliged to publish accounts of the public money they spent. In 1836 a Bill was passed causing all births, deaths, and marriages to be registered at the office of a Registrar-General, and allowing dissenters to be married in their own chapels or before the registrar of the district.

Municipal Reform, 1835.

While all these reforms were being made in Parliament, the nation outside had not been standing still. In 1816, only a year after the battle of Waterloo, London was first lighted by gas. This did more to prevent robbery and violence in the streets than all the hanging had done; and when, in 1829, Sir Robert Peel abolished the old watchmen, and introduced policemen (long called "Peelers" and "Bobbies" after his name),

Gas and police.



"THE ROCKET.

Built by George Stephenson, 1829.

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the streets became comparatively safe both by day and night. The roads, too, all over England and Scotland were greatly improved by the new system, introduced by a blind Scotchman named MacAdam, of spreading pieces of broken stone of equal size over the road, after the ground had been broken to receive them. Upon these *macadamised* roads coaches could run ten or twelve miles an hour instead of crawling along as formerly, and carriages and waggons no longer sank wheel-deep in the mud.

Macadamised roads.

Lastly, on Sept. 15, 1830, the first great English railway was opened between Liverpool and Manchester. George Stephenson, the son of a poor collier, who had risen to be a leading engineer, had triumphed over all difficulties and made a locomotive engine, which moved a train at the rate of thirty-five miles an hour along a line of rails which he had carried even across a famous bog called the Chat Moss. One sad event, however, cast a gloom over the grand day of opening. Huskisson, who had done so much for English trade, got out of his compartment to speak to the Duke of Wellington, from whom he had been long estranged. As he stood at the door of the duke's carriage a train came up on the other line, and he was struck down and killed. Probably, however, Huskisson himself would have reckoned his own death a small thing in comparison with the great benefit that day first gave to the country. Machinery and steam, which had for some time past been the servants of man in the workshop, the mine, and the manufactory, were now brought into play to carry his goods far and wide by land and sea.

Opening of Liverpool and Manchester Railway, 1830.

These advances caused the upper and middle classes to grow more and more wealthy, and with greater wealth came improvements of all kinds in the streets, buildings, and other arrangements of all the great towns. The markets of London were rebuilt, the streets better paved and made more cleanly. Regent's Park was laid out, Hyde Park and St. James' Park were replanted and made

healthy breathing-spaces among the crowded thoroughfares. The Zoological Gardens were opened in 1828. University College and King's College were founded.

Lunatic asylums.

Last but not least, the care of the helpless received attention, and a large asylum was built at Hanwell, where poor lunatics lived comfortably and were kindly treated, instead of being chained down and neglected as formerly.

Now, too, men who had wealth to spare began to thirst after more knowledge, and to wish to give it to others.

First Mechanics' Institute, 1823.

In 1823 the first "Mechanics' Institute" was founded in London by a body of gentlemen, of whom Dr. Birkbeck was the chief. Other towns followed the example, and while Government was giving grants for educating children, these institutes were giving instruction to grown-up workmen in the evening hours.

Useful literature.

Soon it was found that books were needed which these men could read, and in 1825 Lord Brougham and others formed the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," which published simple and cheap works on history, science, and other subjects. In 1836 the revenue stamp on newspapers was reduced to one penny, so that newspaper reading was much more widely spread.

And yet, with all these increased advantages for the upper class of the working people, the poorer classes both in town and country remained unhealthy, miserable, ignorant, and often in great distress; and in 1837, when William IV. died, there was great suffering and discontent in Britain.

Suffering of the working classes.

The truth is that when great changes are made there is always suffering for a time, and it falls chiefly on those who are poorest and least able to change quickly with the altered conditions. In the twenty years of peace over which we have now passed things had advanced very rapidly. The sudden outburst of trade, the use of machinery, the invention of railways, were all in the end great blessings to the very poorest. But for the moment they threw many out of work, by

altering the places where labour was wanted, and the kind of labour to be done, so that wages were often actually lower and less easy to earn than before. Food was still very dear, and the rates very high, for the changes in the poor-law had not yet done much to take the burden off the industrious workmen, while those who had depended on the outdoor relief given under the old law, were of course very badly off. The labourers on the farms could scarcely buy barley or rye bread, while meat, except a little salt pork, never came within their homes, and in many districts the people only just kept their families from starvation.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GREAT BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES

Victoria, 1837–1901.

AT five o'clock on the early morning of June 20, 1837, the young Princess Victoria was awakened from sleep to receive the Lord Chamberlain and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who came to tell her that she was Queen of England. She had celebrated her eighteenth birthday only a month before, but she had been carefully trained to be self-reliant and conscientious, thoughtful for others, and strict in the performance of duty. As she was the only child of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III., whose elder sons had no heirs, it had long been known that she would succeed to the throne; and Britain owes a deep debt to the widowed Duchess of Kent, who in quiet seclusion so brought up her young daughter that she became a just ruler, a sympathising queen, a loving wife, a pure and noble example, a sovereign who, after a reign of nearly sixty-four years, died beloved of all her subjects.

Queen Victoria.

As the laws of Hanover required a male heir to succeed to the throne, that country now became separated from the British Crown, and the Duke of Cumberland, the Queen's uncle, became King of Hanover. This was a great advantage, for now at last Britain was free from any possessions in Europe which were likely to involve her in foreign quarrels, and we shall see that the only serious wars during the next fifty years arose, directly or indirectly, out of our possessions in India and Africa. Our history during this time deals chiefly with attempts to make our laws just and wise at home, and to give good government to our colonies.

Hanover becomes separate from Britain, 1837.

The first question which sprang up was that of Canada. This country was divided by Pitt in 1791 into two provinces, Upper and Lower Canada, each with a governor and council elected by the Crown, and an assembly elected by the people. In Upper Canada this worked fairly well, but in Lower Canada, where the people were still chiefly French, great difficulties arose, and ended at last in a rebellion, which spread into Upper Canada in 1837, just as the Queen came to the throne. The country was put under martial law, and the Earl of Durham, a very able and upright man, was sent out as Governor-General to report on the best way of forming a new Government. Unfortunately he not only reported, but acted very much on his own authority, inviting the colonists to help him in framing new laws, which would have the effect of making the country independent. The Government at home sent out a sharp rebuke, which so irritated him that he resigned and came back, without waiting for permission. He died in July 1840 a disappointed man.

Rebellion in Canada, 1837.

Lord Durham Governor-General, 1838.

Nevertheless his scheme was adopted, and, moreover, laid the foundation for all the free constitutions which Britain has given to her new colonies. The two Canadas were united in 1840 and allowed to govern themselves, all their officials being respon-

Constitution of Canada, 1840.

sible to an Upper and Lower House, answering to our Houses of Lords and Commons. The only hold which Britain still kept was by appointing a Governor-General to represent the Queen. Twenty-seven years later, in 1867, Lord Durham's last suggestion was carried out, and all the British possessions in North America were allowed to join Canada in one great federation, called the "Dominion of Canada." Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Hudson's Bay territory joined in 1867; Manitoba was formed in 1870; Vancouver's island and Prince Edward's isle joined in 1873, so that now a country of 3,500,000 square miles forms one grand Dominion under the British Crown, and one long line of rail, the Canadian Pacific Railway, opened in 1886, carries the traveller from Nova Scotia on the shores of the Atlantic to British Columbia on the Pacific, without ever leaving British soil. Newfoundland is now the only North American British colony which has not joined the Dominion.

Dominion of Canada, 1867.

This history of Canada has carried us a long way through Victoria's reign, for this great railway was only finished in 1886. We must now go back to the beginning, and see what rapid advances were made during the first few years in the old country. In 1837 the first electric telegraph was patented by Wheatstone and Cooke, and used on the Blackwall railway. In 1838 ships worked entirely by steam crossed from England to New York, carrying coal enough for the whole voyage; and in 1839 Mr. Hill, afterwards Sir Rowland Hill, persuaded the Government to carry out his scheme for a penny postage all over the United Kingdom. This was a grand step, for hitherto the people who could best afford to pay, namely, members of Parliament, had the right of franking their own and their friends' letters,—that is, of putting their name on the envelope and sending the letter free of cost; while the poor man had to pay from sixpence to one shilling and fourpence to send a letter to the country, according to the distance. In 1839 a postage of fourpence for half an ounce was intro-

Electric telegraph, 1837.

Penny postage, 1839-1840.

duced, and on Jan. 10, 1840, a letter could go to any part of England, Scotland, and Ireland for one penny.

Still the early part of this reign was not without its troubles. The poorer class, as we have seen, were scarcely able to live, and reforms were much needed. But the ministers had such a small majority in the new Parliament, elected on the Queen's accession, that they were not strong enough to pass fresh measures, and as Lord Melbourne was an easy-going man, who always wanted to "let things alone," the people thought he was teaching their young sovereign to be careless about their distress. Moreover, the workmen were discontented because the shop-keepers had been given votes for members of Parliament, and they had not.

Rise of the Chartists, 1838.

Only a few weeks after the Queen's coronation, which took place June 28, 1838, a large meeting was held at Birmingham, and a declaration was drawn up, called by O'Connell the "People's Charter." It asked for six reforms. 1. For all men to have votes; 2. For a fresh Parliament to be elected every year; 3. For voting by ballot; 4. That a man might sit in Parliament without having land of his own; 5. That members of Parliament should be paid; 6. That the country should be divided into equal electoral districts. Numbers 3 and 4 of these demands have since become law, and so many men are now allowed to have votes that the first clause is almost satisfied; but at that time it would have been very unwise to grant any of them, and the "Chartists," as those were called who signed the Charter, did great mischief by exciting riots in Birmingham, Sheffield, Newport, and other places.

Meanwhile a small knot of thoughtful men were discussing how to attack the real evil which oppressed the country. On Sept. 18, 1838, a meeting was held in Manchester, and an Association formed to press on the Government to take the duties off foreign corn. This was the beginning of the Anti-Corn-Law League, of which the chief leaders were Richard Cobden, a clear-headed, upright cotton-printer of Manchester, and

Anti-Corn-Law League, 1838.

his friend John Bright, who was a carpet manufacturer at Rochdale. For the next five years these two men, and those who worked with them, taught the public by pamphlets, lectures, and speeches how unjust these corn-laws were towards the poor. For if, by opening the ports and letting in foreign corn, the poor man could buy his bread for half the price, then the other half, which he had to pay because the ports were closed, was actually a tax levied on him for the farmer's benefit. Thus those who were almost starving were indirectly paying money to those who were well-to-do. Yet the anti-corn-law lecturers had great difficulty at first in persuading their hearers, for the landowners and farmers thought the scheme would ruin the country, by making it not worth the farmer's while to cultivate his land, and even the working men were far more eager for the Charter than for the repeal of the corn-laws. But the facts were so clear and so well put that at last the nation began to be convinced. Lord Melbourne had already proposed a lower fixed duty on corn, and when he could no longer secure a majority in the House, and resigned in 1841, Sir Robert Peel, who succeeded him with a Conservative ministry, saw that something must be done.

The young Queen was sorry to part with Lord Melbourne, who had been a faithful adviser to her. But she had now the best of friends and advisers in a good husband. In Feb. 1840 she had married her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, whom she loved sincerely. It was a happy marriage for Britain. The Prince, like herself, had been educated to be good and true. Devoted to his wife and to her people, he made her life happy by his affection and support, and did much for the prosperity of Britain by encouraging science and art, and gathering around him the intellectual men of the time. At the same time he was careful never to interfere between the Queen and her people, but put his own ambition entirely aside, and was content to do good without seeking applause.

Marriage of the Queen, Feb. 10, 1840.

The new ministry had hard work before them. O'Connell as Lord Mayor of Dublin was beginning in Ireland the agitation for Repeal of the Union, which was only ended by his arrest and trial in 1843–1844. Scotland was agitated by the great dispute in the Presbyterian Church, which led to the "Free Kirk" being established in 1843. The Chartists were holding meetings all over the country, and there had been a war going on in China since 1839, because British traders sold opium to the Chinese against the wish of their Government. This war came to an end in 1842, but before it was over terrible news came from India of a massacre of a whole British force in Afghanistan.

Opium war with China, 1839-1842.

For a long time past the British had been gradually annexing more and more of India, till only the Punjab and Afghanistan (*see* Map VI.) lay between them and those parts of Asia where the Russians had great influence. The British Government had always been afraid that the Russians would make an alliance with the Afghans and attack India; and to prevent this Sir Alexander Burnes was sent, in 1837, to Kabul to make a commercial treaty with the Afghans. While he was there it was suspected that the Afghan chief, Dost Muhammad Khan, was intriguing with the Russians, and Lord Auckland, then Governor-General of India, very unwisely sent an army, deposed Muhammad, and put another chief in his place. The result was that the Afghans—a fierce, warlike, and treacherous people—murdered Sir Alexander Burnes, Nov. 2, 1841, and six weeks later Sir W. Macnaughten also, who was treating with them. After this General Elphinstone could no longer hold his position at Kabul, and determined to return to India, having received a promise from Akbar Khan, the Afghan chief, that the army should be allowed to retreat safely. In spite, however, of this promise, the Afghans hid themselves in the rocks on each side of the Koord Kabul Pass, and picked off the soldiers below as they marched by. It was a terrible story, and

Disasters in Afghanistan, 1841.

only one man, Dr. Brydon, escaped to tell it, and arrived half-dead at the fortress of Jellalabad, which was held by Sir Robert Sale, between Koord Kabul and the Khyber Pass. Great Britain avenged the insult, and an army, under General Pollock and Sir R. Sale, retook Kabul, and rescued the women and children who had been left behind. But 4500 regular troops and 12,000 camp followers lay murdered in the awful pass, and British power in the East had received a severe blow.

Added to these disasters abroad, there were financial difficulties at home. Lord Melbourne's ministry had left the Treasury with a debt of two millions and a half, which had to be made good, and to meet this difficulty Peel determined to levy an "income-tax," by which every one who had more than £150 a year should give so much in the pound of their income to the Government. This tax was only to last for three years, and not to be more than 7d. in the pound, but in 1845 it was renewed for another three years, and has never since been taken off. The highest it has ever been was 1s. 4d. in the pound in 1855–1857, and the lowest 2d. in the pound in 1874–1876.

Income-tax established, 1842.

On the other hand, Peel did all he could to reduce the duties on foreign imports, and especially on corn. Still, however, the distress continued, and worse was to follow. In 1845 the harvest failed in England, and the potato disease broke out and destroyed the chief food of Ireland. Famine was close at hand, and the nation called loudly for the ports to be opened and foreign corn to be let in. Peel, who had become gradually convinced that Cobden was right, now proposed to bring in a Bill to repeal the duties on corn, and as he could not persuade the other ministers to agree with him, he resigned and advised the Queen to call upon Lord John Russell, who had written a strong letter against the corn-laws, to take his place. What now followed helps to show the difficulties of a

Bad harvest and potato disease, 1845.

Peel supports free trade, 1845.

Prime Minister, for Lord John Russell could not form a ministry, because his chief supporters, Lord Grey and Lord Palmerston, who both wanted free-trade in corn, could not agree about foreign affairs. So the Queen asked Peel to come back to office, and this is why the corn-laws were repealed by a Conservative and not by a Liberal minister.

Lord John Russell cannot form a ministry.

It was soon known that Peel meant to bring in his Bill, and the excitement all over the country was intense. Cobden now at last saw the result of his labour; at a meeting held at Manchester no less than £60,000 was subscribed in an hour and a half to help the cause. On Jan. 22, 1846, Peel explained in an eloquent speech why he gave up "Protection," and proposed to bring in "Free-Trade," and on June 25 the Bill passed the House of Lords, and the corn-laws were repealed. The duty was to decrease gradually till Feb. 1849, when only a fixed duty of one shilling a quarter remained. This last shilling was taken off in 1869. This was Peel's last great reform, for his old friends were very angry with him, and Disraeli (afterwards Lord Beaconsfield) attacked him severely. A "Protection" party was formed in Parliament, and when Peel wanted to bring in a "Coercion Bill" to stop crime in Ireland, this party joined the Liberals against him. The very night on which the Lords passed the repeal of the Corn-laws, Peel was obliged to resign, and Lord John Russell became Prime Minister.

Repeal of the corn-laws, Jan. 26, 1846.

The next eight years, from 1846 to 1854, were chiefly remarkable for four things—the downfall of the Chartists, the annexation of the Punjab, the discovery of gold in the colonies, and the great International Exhibition of 1851. In 1848 another revolution broke out in Paris, King Louis Philippe fled to England, and a republic was established. All Europe was very unsettled. In Italy, Austria, and Prussia, insurrections took place, and the sovereigns were forced to grant Parliaments to their people. In Ireland, when there had

Disturbed state of Europe, 1848.

been a terrible famine in 1847, an extreme party, called the "Young Irelanders," broke out into rebellion under Smith O'Brien, but was quickly suppressed. In England the Chartists thought they could now agitate for their Charter. A petition was drawn up, said to be signed by more than five million people, and Feargus O'Connor, member for Nottingham, called a monster meeting on Kennington Common on April 10, 1848, proposing to march to the House of Commons and present the petition. All London was in a panic; the Government forbade the procession; the Duke of Wellington stationed soldiers out of sight in all parts of London, and 200,000 gentlemen were sworn in at the different vestry-halls as special constables to prevent disturbance. But the whole thing came to nothing. Only twenty-five thousand people assembled, and the procession was not formed. The petition was carried in a cab to Westminster, when it was found that there were less than two million signatures, and that many of these were mere shams. In truth, ever since 1842 the country had been growing more prosperous, and the people cared very little for the Charter now that they had food to eat. From this time no more was heard of the Chartists.

Downfall of the Chartists, 1848.

The next year, 1849, the Navigation laws were repealed, and in 1850 Great Britain lost one of her best and wisest statesmen. Sir Robert Peel was killed by a fall from his horse, much to the grief and dismay of the nation.

Death of Sir R. Peel, 1850.

Meanwhile on the other side of the world British territories were growing. In 1843 Sir Charles Napier conquered the native princes of Scinde, and annexed that province. In 1845 and 1849 the Sikhs, a warlike race living in the Punjab, a country nearly as big as England, which lies to the north-west of Hindustan, quarrelled among themselves and made war upon the British frontier, causing serious trouble. At last, after Lord Gough had won the battle of Goojerat on Feb. 21, 1849, the Governor-General of India, Lord Dalhousie, annexed the whole province and put it under a board of

Annexation of the Punjab, 1849.

three men—Colonel Henry Lawrence, his brother John Lawrence, and Charles Grenville Mansel. The firm and just rule of the two brothers soon won the respect of the brave Sikhs, who eight years later, in the terrible Indian mutiny, did good service to the British.

Discovery of gold, 1849-1851.

The discovery of gold in 1849 in California, which had just become a possession of the United States, and in 1851 in Victoria, Australia, was an advance of quite a different kind. The question of the effect of a rise and fall in the price of gold is a very difficult one, about which even those who know most do not entirely agree. But two things are certain—the discovery of gold in the colonies in 1851 made things cheaper at home, and by causing a great excitement led many to emigrate, not only to the gold-fields, but to other settlements besides. The history of the colonies begins from this time to be very important. The Cape of Good Hope colony, though it lay on the road to India, advanced the least, because the Dutch Boers, who had settled there before the British came, were always quarrelling with the natives, and involving the British in petty wars. Still, in spite of skirmishes with Kaffirs and Zulus, the British territory was increasing. Natal had become a British colony in 1843, and Cape Colony was given a constitution in 1850, though it did not entirely manage its own affairs till 1874.

Cape Colony Constitution, 1850.

Colonisation of New Zealand, 1839-1850.

In Australasia things advanced more quickly. The natives of Australia were so low and degraded that they gave way rapidly before the white men, while in New Zealand the intelligent Maoris soon became good and peaceable citizens. In 1837 Edward Gibbon Wakefield, who was afterwards secretary to Lord Durham in Canada, had formed a company in London to colonise New Zealand; and his brother, Colonel Wakefield, went to the north island and settled a colony at Port Nicholson on Cook's Straits, round which grew up the province of WELLINGTON. In 1839 the British Government declared New Zealand to be a crown colony,

and in 1840 the Maori chiefs made a treaty at Waitangi, giving Great Britain the sovereignty of the islands, while they kept their own lands and forests, except where they were paid for them. The next settlement was that of AUCKLAND in the north, close to the Maori country. Then followed the settlements in the south island,—NELSON in 1841, OTAGO in 1848, and CANTERBURY, with its capital Christchurch, in 1850. As Wakefield's system was not to *give* but to *sell* land to settlers, using the money in making roads and bridges, the early New Zealand colonists were chiefly men with some savings to start them in life. The only great checks to the prosperity of the country were the wars with the Maoris from 1861 to 1868. Since then the natives have been thoroughly friendly with the British, and have their own Maori members in the New Zealand Parliament.

Treaty of Waitangi, 1840.

Maori wars, 1861-1868.

Thus there were now seven Australasian colonies—New Zealand, Tasmania, and the five settlements in Australia. In 1850 Lord John Russell had passed a Bill allowing New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania to choose their own constitution under a British governor, and in a few years the others followed, New Zealand receiving hers in 1852. Meanwhile the gold-fever of 1851 carried a long stream of emigrants to these colonies, and set up the constant movement to and fro between them and the old country, which, while their government was free, bound them in heart and interest to Great Britain.

Australian Colonies Bill, 1850.

That same year, 1851, was the year of the "Great Exhibition of the Industries of all Nations," which Prince Albert, then Prince Consort, chiefly planned and carried out in order to give a living picture of the point which industry had reached all over the world, and to encourage British workmen in knowing what other nations could produce. The Crystal Palace, which now stands in the grounds at Sydenham, is the same building which Sir Joseph Paxton erected for this brilliant

The Great Exhibition, 1851.

display. It was a great success, and was very useful both then and afterwards by leading to other exhibitions. But instead of marking, as many people hoped, the beginning of a new era when wars would cease, and nations would only struggle with each other in peaceful work, it proved to be rather the close of thirty-five years of peace, after which came troubles.

The Exhibition had scarcely closed when all England was alarmed by the news that Prince Louis Napoleon, who had been for three years President of the French republic, had filled the streets of Paris with troops, shot down all who resisted, imprisoned his political opponents, and persuaded the French people to make him Prince President for ten years. A year later he became Emperor as Napoleon III. All those who remembered the trouble and misery worked by the first Napoleon feared that the same story would begin again, and young Englishmen began to form themselves into volunteer regiments to protect their country. But Lord Palmerston, who was Foreign Secretary, knew Louis Napoleon well, and had no fear of his attacking Britain, where he had lived for many years. He was right, for all his life Napoleon III. remained a friend to Great Britain. Yet Palmerston was wrong in upholding the *coup d'état* (as the massacre of Dec. 2 was called), and the Queen was very much displeased with him.

Coup d'état in Paris, Dec. 2, 1851.

First English volunteers, 1852.

But though Britain did not have trouble with France, war in Europe was near at hand. In 1852 Russia and Turkey quarrelled about the Holy Places at Jerusalem, and about the protection of Christians in those countries on the Danube over which Turkey ruled. The Russian Emperor, Nicholas, thought the matter might be settled if Great Britain would help him to seize these countries, and he in return would help them to take Egypt and Candia. Britain, however, refused to appropriate her neighbour's lands, and the European Powers tried hard to persuade the Russian Emperor to keep the peace. But Nicholas was violent and headstrong, and

The Eastern Question, 1853.

thought that England would not fight. So when the Turks refused to give him power to protect the Christians of Turkey he sent Russian troops into the Danubian principalities. The Turks then crossed the Danube and defeated the Russians on land, while the Russians in return burned the Turkish fleet at Sinope, Nov. 30, 1853. Most people now agree that Great Britain would have done better not to interfere in the quarrel; and the Prime Minister, Lord Aberdeen, did all he could to keep peace. Lord Palmerston, however, though he was now Home Secretary, and had not the control of foreign affairs, had great influence among the ministers, and he was very anxious to put an end to the Russian power in the Black Sea, while the British people remembered how Russian intrigue had helped to bring about the disaster in Afghanistan. So the British and French fleets, which had passed through the Dardanelles on Oct. 14, 1853, now entered the Black Sea to defend the Turks, and on March 28, 1854, war was declared by Great Britain and France against Russia.

If the war itself was not a mistake, the way it was carried out was full of blunders. It took place chiefly in the Crimea, which is a small peninsula jutting out from the south of Russia into the Black Sea; though hostilities also went on in the White Sea, where Archangel was blockaded, in the Baltic, and in Russian Armenia, where Kars was gallantly defended by the Turks under General Williams, and only surrendered at the close of the war. The allies, reaching the Crimea on Sept. 13, 1854, gained their first victory on the river Alma on Sept. 20, and, if they had only pushed on, they might have entered Sebastopol, the great fortress of the Crimea. But the French general, St. Arnaud, refused to follow up the victory, and the British general, Lord Raglan, gave way. This gave Todleben, the great Russian engineer, time to strengthen the fortress, and so the war was prolonged for more than a year. Both the British and French soldiers behaved splendidly. It was here, at the

Crimean War, 1854-1856.

fight of Balaclava, Oct. 25, 1854, that the famous "Charge of the Light Brigade" was made, in which six hundred men, whose officer mistook the order given, charged boldly into certain death against the whole Russian army rather than hesitate to obey a command.

Charge of the Light Brigade, Oct. 25, 1854.

Again at the battle of Inkermann, on Nov. 5, the Guards and a few British regiments kept the whole Russian army in check till the French came and the battle was won. But the loss of life was terrible for want of good generalship. Then came the long tedious siege of Sebastopol, lasting through a bitter winter, in which the soldiers were badly clothed and left without necessaries through bad management at home. Stores of food were sent where they could not be landed; a cargo of boots arrived which were all for the left foot; sickness broke out, and there were no blankets for the men to lie on; and the contractors who supplied provender for the horses filled the trusses of hay with manure. Amidst all this confusion and disorder one name will be ever gratefully remembered. Sidney Herbert, the Minister of War, asked Miss Florence Nightingale, who had studied nursing, to take out a band of ladies to nurse the sick and wounded. As soon as she reached the hospital at Scutari all fell into order; wounds were properly bandaged, the sick were nursed, the dying comforted; and tender, cultivated ladies, taught by her example, have from this time given their help on all the battlefields of Europe.

Confusion and mismanagement.

Miss Florence Nightingale.

Meanwhile the nation at home grew very impatient at the accounts of misery and neglect, and began to call loudly for Lord Palmerston to take the lead of the Government. As soon as Parliament met, Lord Aberdeen resigned, and Lord Palmerston became Prime Minister Jan. 1855. Things had already begun to go better as the authorities gained experience; the siege was carried on successfully all the next summer, till on Sept. 8, 1855, the Russians left the town and blew up the forts—Sebastopol was taken. The next spring peace

Treaty of Paris, March 30, 1856.

was made, and in the Treaty of Paris, signed March 30, 1856, Russia promised not to keep a fleet in the Black Sea.

For a few months Britain was at peace, with the exception of a war in China; and then all at once an awful blow fell. There had been, for a long time, a smouldering discontent among the natives of India, partly because the British had annexed so many states, especially Oude in 1856. A curious accident brought this discontent to a head in 1857. A new rifle had been invented a short time before, in which greased cartridges were used, and the Sepoys thought that this grease was the fat of cows, to use which is sacrilege to the Hindus, or the fat of pigs, which is unclean to the Muhammadans. In vain the Indian government changed the grease to smooth paper, in vain the officers reasoned with the men; they thought the British wanted to make them lose their caste. In February and March 1857 two slight outbreaks occurred at Barrackpore. After this all was quiet for a time, but the local magistrates noticed that *chupaties*, or little baked cakes, were being mysteriously passed from village to village. At last, on May 3, 1857, some Sepoys mutinied and were imprisoned by Sir Henry Lawrence, and on May 12 three regiments rose at Meerut near Delhi, fired on their officers and, tramping off to Delhi, took the aged native king, who was the heir of the old Moghuls, out of his palace, where he was living on a British pension, and proclaiming him emperor, roused the native regiments to murder their officers and join the insurrection.

Grievances of Indian Sepoys.

In a few days half Upper India was in a blaze, and a few thousand white men had to stand against millions of maddened natives. Fortunately Lord Canning, son of the great statesman, was Governor-General, and he was brave, calm, and able. Two things will always be uppermost in the minds of those who remember this awful time; one is the grim horror of the wretched massacres of British subjects—men,

Indian Mutiny, 1857.

women, and children; the other, the noble and devoted conduct of the governors, generals, and all concerned. Sir John Lawrence, who was then governor of the Punjab, at once disarmed his Sepoys, and, heedless of his own danger, sent his British troops to besiege Delhi, with the help of his faithful Sikhs. Sir Henry Lawrence, who was governor of Oude, finding that the rebels were too strong for his small force to overcome them, fortified the governor's residence at Lucknow, and brought all British people in to stand a siege. He was killed by a shell a month later, but his dying words were, "Never surrender."

At Cawnpore the brave old commander, Sir Hugh Wheeler, was deceived. He thought he could trust a native prince, Nana Sahib, and asked for his help. But the Nana, when he came, put himself at the head of the mutineers, and attacked Wheeler, who took refuge in some old barracks with only 500 men and 500 women and children. They could not even get a drop of water without crossing the fire of the Sepoys to reach the well, and at last Wheeler was forced to accept Nana Sahib's offer to let them retreat in boats on the Ganges. But the Nana had never meant them to escape. No sooner were they in the boats than they were shot down, and 250 women and children, who remained alive, were carried back to the town. There, sick and terrified, they remained for eighteen days, and then, on July 15, when brave General Havelock was close at hand to help them, the Nana, fearing a rescue, sent in men who cut them all to pieces, and their bodies were thrown into the well of Cawnpore.

Massacre of Cawnpore, July 15, 1857.

The British were nearly mad when they heard the news, and Canning had great difficulty in preventing them from taking cruel revenge. But he was firm; he punished severely all who could be proved guilty, but he would not let Englishmen stain their honour with innocent blood, and indeed many of the natives were loyal and true, and saved British women and children at the risk of their own lives. Soon the tide

Justice of Canning.

turned. Delhi was taken in September, even before fresh troops arrived, and the war remained chiefly at Lucknow, which had been closely besieged for four months. The people there were starving, and expected every day to be massacred, but they held out, and help was coming. Sir James Outram, with Havelock, who had been gaining victory after victory with his Highland regiments, relieved the Residency on Sept. 23, 1857, and bearded soldiers cried like children as they took the little ones in their arms, and thanked God that they were saved from the horrors of Cawnpore. Sir Henry Havelock died soon after, but Outram defended the place till Sir Colin Campbell came in November with a larger force, and removed the British garrison to a place of safety. In April 1858 the city itself was at last taken.

Relief of Lucknow, Sept. 23, 1857.

Little by little the rebellion was crushed, after a splendid campaign by Sir Hugh Rose in Central India during the hot season of 1858; and meanwhile the mutiny had hastened a change which had been long intended. In June 1858 the East India Company ceased to exist, the territories of India were transferred to the British Crown, and the Queen was proclaimed sovereign of India on Nov. 1, 1858. The Company's army became part of the Queen's army, and Lord Canning, who had been Governor-General, became the first "Viceroy" or representative of the Queen. After this the country was greatly improved under Canning, and afterwards under Sir John, who had become Lord Lawrence. New canals were made, telegraphs sprang up over the country, and no less than 1360 miles of railway were laid down before 1862. The cultivation of cotton was encouraged, and large quantities were sent to supply the mills at Manchester.

End of the East India Company, 1858.

In spite of terrible famines in 1866, 1873, and 1877, much was done to relieve the sufferings of the poorer natives, while public schools and colleges were opened in every province. Little by little the natives were admitted into the public service of the country, and, under Lord Northbrook and Lord Mayo, the laws were

India under the Crown.

made more just and the taxes lighter. In 1875 the Prince of Wales made a royal progress through the country, and in 1877 the Queen took the title of "Empress of India."

Victoria Empress of India.

In 1878, when there was a danger of war with Russia in Europe, Indian troops first crossed the sea to Malta; and in 1882 they actually fought side by side with British soldiers in Egypt, and took part in the triumphal procession in London. Thus little by little this great country of the East, which was full of ancient learning when Britain was inhabited by savages, is becoming more and more closely linked to the little island of the West, which is the centre of the British Empire. What our power in India may become in the distant future no one can tell, but our greatest statesmen and our royal princes have done their best to establish a peaceful and beneficent rule.

Since the Indian Mutiny the chief wars in which Britain has been engaged have been—1st, a war with China in 1855, which broke out again in 1860, when the British and French entered Pekin; 2d, the Abyssinian expedition, under Sir Robert Napier in 1867, to rescue some Englishmen from King Theodore, who was killed in his stronghold; 3d, the successful expedition of 1873, under Sir Garnet Wolseley, against the Ashantees on the Gold Coast, who had attacked tribes protected by us; 4th, another disturbance in Afghanistan, when Sir Frederick Roberts, 1879–1880, made a brilliant march across the country to avenge the murder of the British envoy, Sir Louis Cavagnari, which happened much in the same way as the murder of Sir Alexander Burnes thirty-seven years before; 5th, two unsatisfactory wars against the Zulus and the Boers in 1879–1881; 6th, the war in the Soudan, 1884–1885, to support the Khedive against the Arabs, when, for the first time in history, a European army ascended the Nile in boats. It was in this war that the hero, Charles George Gordon, lost his life in Khartoum. The rebel Khalifa held the Soudan till Sept. 2, 1898, when Sir Herbert Kitchener com-

Wars in Afghanistan and Africa, 1867-1886.

pletely defeated his army and obtained possession of Omdurman and Khartoum. In Nov. 1899 the Khalifa was again defeated at Om Debrikat by Colonel Sir F. Wingate, and died with his chiefs in the battle.

Since Lord Palmerston died in 1865, the Conservatives and Liberals have changed places several times, the leaders being first Lord John Russell, and afterwards Disraeli (made Lord Beaconsfield in 1876), Gladstone, Lord Rosebery, and Lord Salisbury. Though the two parties have of course differed in many things, they have both done their best to improve the condition of the working classes, and to endow all British subjects with their fair share of power. In 1858 the Conservatives, under Lord Derby, carried a Bill admitting Jews to Parliament; and in 1867 a Reform Bill, giving votes to householders in boroughs who paid a rent of £4 a year, and to lodgers who paid £10 rent; though in the country, tenants had to pay £12 a year rent to entitle them to a vote. In 1872 the Liberals, under Gladstone, passed the "Ballot Act," so that no one can know which way a man intends to vote; and in 1885 Mr. Gladstone passed the "Representation of the People" Bill, which gives votes to all householders and lodgers who have lived for a year in the same house and paid their rent, whether they live in town or country. Thus workmen and labourers, even in small villages, have now a voice in the government of the country, and about two million and a half of voters have been added to the roll of electors.

Reform Bills, 1858-1885.

Meanwhile troubles in other lands re-acted on Great Britain. In 1858 an Italian named Orsini tried to assassinate the French emperor by throwing bombs into his carriage, and the French were so angry because some of the conspirators found a refuge in England, that people were afraid there would be a war between England and France. This led Lord Palmerston to encourage the Rifle Volunteers, who now increased rapidly and were put under the War Office, thus becoming part of the British

Orsini bombs, 1858.

Volunteers organised, 1858.

Army. No war came, however, and in 1860 Cobden arranged a useful commercial treaty between Britain and France. Even the terrible war between France and Prussia in 1870 left Britain at peace, and during the siege of Paris and the outbreak of the Commune, Napoleon III. found refuge in England, where he died Jan. 1873.

War between France and Prussia, 1870.

In 1861 came another trouble. While all hoped that Great Britain and America were drawing nearer by the Atlantic cable, along which a message had passed in 1858 from our Queen to the President of the United States, the States themselves were drifting into a civil war. The Northern States did not allow slavery, but the Southern States still had slaves, and they were very sore when in 1850 the new state of California adopted laws forbidding slavery. Still up to 1860 the Presidents of the United States had been chiefly on the side of the South. In that year the Abolitionists succeeded in electing Abraham Lincoln, a just and moderate man, who would not have favoured the slave owners, though he would have respected their laws. Upon this the Southern States wished to secede and form a confederacy of their own, and a war broke out which lasted four years. Now as the raw cotton used by English manufacturers came chiefly from the Southern States, whose ports were soon blockaded by the North, thousands of men and women in the cotton factories of Lancashire were thrown out of work and almost starved, before cotton could be got from Egypt and India. In spite of all the funds which were raised for them, they suffered terribly, but they bore it most patiently, and even sympathised with the war, because they thought that no men ought to be slaves. The higher classes of England were not so wise. They sympathised chiefly with the South, and many vessels, among which was the famous *Alabama*, were built in British shipyards and allowed to go to the Southerners to be used in the war. At last in 1865 the

United States War, 1861-1865.

Cotton famine in Lancashire, 1861.

The Alabama claims.

North conquered, and slavery was abolished, though noble Abraham Lincoln was shot by an assassin. The Americans had now time to complain to the British Government for having allowed ships to be built for the rebels, and in the end Britain had to pay three million pounds in compensation for the mischief which the *Alabama* had done.

While all this was going on, two important events happened in England. On Dec. 14, 1861, the Prince Consort, "Albert the Good," died of typhoid fever. It was not till he was gone that the nation really knew how he had loved and laboured for them, counselled their Queen, encouraged science and art, and trained his children to the higher duties of life. The other event was the marriage of the Prince of Wales, on March 10, 1863, with Alexandra, daughter of the King of Denmark. How thoroughly the Prince and Princess have won the love of their people was shown eight years afterwards, when the Prince lay at death's door in 1871, of the same illness of which his father had died. There was not a man or woman in England whose heart did not go with the Princess, as she left her husband's side in the hour of danger to pray for him in the little village church of Sandringham. There was not a voice which did not shout for joy when, on Feb. 27, the Queen with the Prince and Princess went in state to St. Paul's to return thanks for his recovery.

Death of the Prince Consort, 1861.

Marriage and illness of the Prince of Wales.

During this time events followed quickly. In 1866 riots broke out in Hyde Park, the people clamouring for the Reform which Lord Derby gave them in 1867 (*see* p. 355). There had also been trouble in Ireland, where the "Fenians" broke out into rebellion and tried to seize Chester Castle in England. Many were taken prisoners, and soon after a conspiracy was formed to blow up the wall of Clerkenwell prison, where they were confined. A great explosion did take place among the crowded houses of the poor, but the prisoners did not escape. There were also outrages quite as bad in Sheffield

Outrages in England and Ireland.

among English workmen, who, having formed "trades unions" to make better terms with their masters, injured or even killed those workmen who would not obey them. The Government, after punishing the outrages, wisely made laws which allowed the best trades unions to exist legally, and so prevented secret conspiracies.

During the next few years many Acts of Parliament were passed for the good of the nation. Ever since the fearful outbreaks of Asiatic cholera in England in 1832, 1848, and 1853, great efforts had been made to purify the houses and streets of the poor, and more attention paid by all classes to laws of health. In 1866 the Sanitary or Public Health Act gave the public officers power to insist on drains being properly made to each house, and all unhealthy matter cleared away; and to see that not more than a fair number of people lived in each room or house. It is probably partly owing to these reforms that there has been no serious epidemic of Asiatic cholera in England for the last thirty years, although in 1884, 1885, and 1886 hundreds of thousands have died of it on the Continent, while in England, on the contrary, the death-rate has been growing less since 1880, at the rate of about 41,000 a year.

Public Health Act, 1866.

In 1869–1870 great things were done for Ireland. The State Church was disestablished, and Catholics and Protestants placed on an equality; while in 1870 Mr. Gladstone passed an Irish Land Act, giving the tenants a much fairer hold on their land. In 1870 Mr. Forster also passed an English Education Act, which appointed that wherever there were not enough schools for all children to be educated, a School Board should be formed, and Board Schools built and kept up by a rate. A few years later another Act obliged every child to be sent to school, and there are now twice as many children in the elementary schools of England, Scotland, and Ireland as there were in 1875. By this means the mass of ignorance and vice is being slowly

Irish Church disestablished, 1869.

Land Act, 1870.

Education Act, 1870.

reduced, and no one can now grow up without being taught to read, write, and obey. Besides this, Schools of Science and Art have been founded all over the country, where higher teaching can be had for very little expense. In the upper classes, too, education is now much more considered, especially for women. In schools of the present day girls are trained to know more of the facts of history, art, science, and other subjects, which are of importance in training the mind to understand the realities of life and its duties; while there are colleges for women both at Oxford and Cambridge, and wives and mothers are no longer content to be ignorant on subjects which are of interest to their husbands and sons.

Education of women.

In 1871 religious tests were abolished in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin, so that now a Churchman, a Dissenter, a Catholic, a Hindu, or a Muhammadan can all enter and study there. That same year the Queen did away with "purchase" in the army, so that now a man cannot *buy* promotion, but rises in his turn because he has served his country long and well.

Religious Tests and Army Purchase, 1871.

In 1874 Disraeli, who was created Lord Beaconsfield in 1876, became Prime Minister for the second time, and under his rule an Act in 1877 allowed the colonies of Natal, the Cape, the Orange Free Republic, and the Transvaal to become one federation. This Act produced no important results, but it will always be remembered, because, while it was being discussed, the Irish members, under Mr. Parnell, began that annoyance of "obstruction" which prevented useful Bills being passed under either Government. Their plan was to speak and give trouble whenever they could, on questions about which they did not the least care, because they hoped, by making themselves as disagreeable as possible, to force Britain to send them away and give them their own Parliament. Britain has done her best to make up for the wrongs Ireland suffered in the past, and Mr. Gladstone, who had

Irish Obstruction, 1877-1886.

again become Prime Minister in 1880, passed another Irish Land Bill in 1881. But Parnell, like O'Connell before him, kept up the agitation; Ireland was in a state of anarchy, and the murders and outrages were terrible. On May 6, 1882, Lord Frederick Cavendish, who had gone to Ireland longing to do good to the country, was basely murdered in Phœnix Park, Dublin, together with Mr. Burke. At last, in 1886, Mr. Gladstone produced a scheme of "Home Rule" to meet the demand for self-government which Irish members had long been pressing on Parliament. This caused a great split in the Liberal party. Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Bright, and many other leading Liberals left Mr. Gladstone, and formed a Unionist party, pledged to support the integrity of the Empire. The Home Rule Bill was defeated, and Parliament was dissolved. In the new elections the Conservatives came back into power, with Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister, and his nephew, Mr. Arthur Balfour, as Irish Secretary. A strong Crimes Bill was passed in 1887, together with another Land Bill in the interest of the Irish tenantry, and for some time Ireland was strongly governed and at peace.

Murder of Cavendish and Burke, 1882.

Home Rule defeated, 1886.

Fifty years had now elapsed since Queen Victoria came to the throne and, if we look back, we shall see that great changes had occurred. The early years of her reign were times of great poverty, low wages, and dear food; while the masses of the people were ignorant and discontented. The main strength of the country still lay in its agriculture. Eighty out of a hundred of the population lived on the land, and many towns, now of large size, were then quite unimportant. A great part of the mineral wealth of the country was still hidden, and could not be worked, owing to the immense cost of transport; while the improvement in machinery, which gave our British manufactures their first start, was only just beginning. Moreover, though our trade with foreign countries was steadily on the increase, the difficulty of conveying goods in sailing vessels, which were often

Advance in fifty years.

long delayed on their way, kept it within comparatively narrow limits.

All this was altered in fifty years, by the rapid advance in scientific knowledge, which gave rise to a large number of discoveries and inventions of great importance. The most valuable of these to the country as a whole have certainly been machinery, steam transit by railways and steamships, and the electric telegraph. The first of these has enabled goods to be manufactured a hundred-fold more rapidly than formerly, and fifty workmen to be employed where there was one before. The second, the railroads and steamships, have brought distant countries close to us, so that passengers and goods which formerly were more than six weeks in going to America, and six months in reaching India and Australia, now cross the Atlantic in eight days, and are in India in little more than three weeks after leaving the British shores. The last, the electric telegraph, has been in many ways the most marvellous of all. In olden days a merchant had often to wait for nine months before he could learn anything about the sale of his goods in India or Australia, and the statesman was equally in the dark as to what might be going on in lands which it was his duty to govern. Now either of these can learn everything he needs to know in a few hours, and can get quicker and more certain information about matters going on in New York, Melbourne, or Calcutta, than he could in the days of Elizabeth as to what was taking place in Dublin or Edinburgh. In this way Britain, once confined within the limits of one small island, now stretches out her arms all over the world.

Advances in the last fifty years.

Rapid communication.

Electric telegraph.

And as in matters of daily business, so in the realms of thought and knowledge, we have advanced very rapidly in the last fifty years. Photography, the electric light, the spectroscope revealing the nature of distant worlds, the telephone carrying from a distance the actual tones of a friend's voice to our ear, have all been invented within living memory. Researches into ancient history and the

deciphering of Egyptian and Assyrian inscriptions have thrown light on the past; while the discoveries of geology and biology, in which Lyell, Darwin, and Herbert Spencer have led the way, have opened new paths of thought, which can be followed by every man if he will, now that books are sold so cheaply, and free libraries, which were first opened in 1850, enable all men in large towns to read without expense. And truly for those who care really to cultivate their minds and strive by study to grow wiser and better, there is no lack of good and wholesome reading. In history, writers such as Grote and Lord Macaulay have been followed by Green, Freeman, Gardiner, and Lecky. In Political Economy John Stuart Mill and Fawcett have led men to think clearly. In Philosophy and Art Carlyle teaches us to hate what is false, and Ruskin to love what is beautiful. In Fiction Thackeray and Dickens, Charlotte Brontë and George Eliot, have made us sigh and laugh, while Tennyson and Browning have filled our hearts with the dream-thoughts of poetry. Nor can men take up books of travel, or even the daily newspaper, without learning that courage, the love of adventure, and the spirit of self-sacrifice, still, as of old, inspire our countrymen to noble deeds. True to the old wandering spirit of the Teutons, British explorers still face danger at the North Pole and in the heart of Africa. Sir John Franklin and Livingstone have died in pursuit of discovery, and Charles George Gordon took his life in his hand and went alone to Khartoum to perish with the people whom he had so much loved, if he could not save them.

Science and literature.

In 1887 Queen Victoria completed the 50th year of her reign. The event was celebrated with great rejoicings. Her Majesty went in State to Westminster Abbey, attended by many royal guests, both from Europe and Asia, and held grand reviews of the navy and army. There were riots at Michelstown in Ireland, and some meetings of agitators in Trafalgar Square, during this year.

The Jubilee of 1887.

In 1888 a bill was passed creating County Councils

in England and Wales, and this was followed in due course by the creation of District and Parish Councils, so that each part of the country now manages its own local affairs, and relieves Parliament of many details.

County Councils.

In 1890 there occurred a great split in the Irish party. A commission had been appointed in 1888 to inquire into the charges made by *The Times* newspaper against Mr. Parnell and his followers. This commission sat for a year. Some of the charges were established, and some broke down. But towards the end of 1890 Mr. Parnell became involved in a divorce case, and was in consequence abandoned by Mr. Gladstone and the nonconformist party which had hitherto upheld him. His own followers became divided into Parnellites and Anti-Parnellites, and after some very heated discussions in Committee-room No. 15 in the House of Commons, Mr. Justin M'Carthy was elected leader of the Anti-Parnellites. When Mr. Parnell died in 1891 the power of the Irish party was broken.

Collapse of Parnell.

Mr. Gladstone returned to power in August 1892, and succeeded in forcing a Home Rule Bill through the House of Commons by "closuring" it in compartments. But it was rejected in the House of Lords by a majority of 10 to 1. The Liberals made an attempt to rouse the country against the House of Lords, but it failed. Every one was glad that the Home Rule agitation was abandoned. Mr. Gladstone made his last speech in Parliament on March 1, 1894, and died May 19, 1898.

Gladstone's last Ministry, 1893-1894.

Lord Rosebery became Prime Minister for about a year, and Sir William Harcourt introduced the heavier Death Duties in the Budget of 1894.

A general election took place in 1895, and Lord Salisbury returned to power, with Mr. Arthur Balfour as Leader in the House of Commons. This Ministry continued to the end of the Queen's reign, for the Conservatives had again a large

Lord Salisbury, 1895.

majority in the election of 1900. They passed an Act for Local Government in Ireland in 1898.

The chief events at home during these years were some serious strikes in the coal, gas, and engineering trades, and the changes in the succession to the throne. In 1892 the Prince of Wales' eldest son, the Duke of Clarence, died of influenza, which was then raging in England. As he was unmarried, his brother George Duke of York became next in succession to the throne, after his father. He married in July 1893 Princess Mary, daughter of the Duchess of Teck, and their eldest son, Prince Edward, was born on June 23, 1894.

Duke of York's Marriage, 1893.

In 1892 the Liberator Company, in which many of the middle classes had invested their savings, was discovered to be a gigantic fraud, and its collapse ruined many families. The director, Mr. Jabez Balfour, escaped to South America, but was at last brought back and sent to penal servitude.

Liberator frauds.

Lastly, one of the most useful enactments of the end of the century has been the establishment of an Imperial Penny Post. We saw at p. 339 that Sir Rowland Hill inaugurated the Penny Post throughout England, Scotland, and Ireland, and now we owe to the incessant efforts of Mr. Henniker Heaton the extension of this boon to our possessions in the Colonies and India on Dec. 25, 1898.

Imperial Penny Post.

The nineteenth century was not, however, to close in peace. On July 22, 1897, the Queen celebrated her second jubilee, when she had reigned for sixty years. Again she drove through London, and before she left Buckingham Palace she sent a few simple words to all parts of her Empire in answer to congratulations, "From my heart I thank my beloved people. May God bless them."

Second Jubilee, 1897.

This time the chief guests in the procession were not royal, but representatives from all parts of the British Empire,—the Colonial Premiers, and volunteers from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and the

Cape, native troops from India and Africa, and Maoris from New Zealand conducted their sovereign to St. Paul's, where the aged Queen halted while a Te Deum was sung on the steps of the Cathedral, after which the whole vast crowd burst out with the National Anthem.

Looking back we can see that this procession was a foreshadowing of the union of hearts throughout the Empire, when a few years later an insult was offered to Great Britain and her Queen. In 1896 Mr. Arthur Balfour, speaking at Glasgow, uttered a prophecy: "If ever England," he said, "find herself again fighting for very life against forces arrayed against her, I prophesy that Scotchmen, Englishmen, and Irishmen, whether they inhabit this island or form part of our great Colonial Empire, which is our boast and pride, will join harmoniously, unitedly, in one undivided host to meet every danger by which the Empire can be threatened."

This speech was made at a time when our country was despondent, for the British people in South Africa were in trouble. To understand what this was, we must go back to the year 1877. In that year the Dutch Boers, north of the Vaal River, in the land they called Transvaal, put themselves under British rule, as a protection from the Zulus, and thus the Transvaal became part of the British Empire. But in 1880, after we had conquered the Zulus, the Boers wished to regain their independence, and besieged the small British garrisons. Sir Pomeroy Colley hastened up from Natal with troops, but he had not enough men to cope with the Boers, and was defeated at Majuba Hill, Feb. 27, 1881. The Transvaal.

Mr. Gladstone had just then returned to power, and a few weeks after the defeat (March 1881) he gave back the Transvaal to the Boers, only retaining the suzerainty of the Queen, and making the condition that all white men should have equal rights. The truculent and wily Boers took this as a sign of weakness on our part, and from that time held Englishmen in light esteem.

In the years that followed two great Chartered Com-

panies were established in Africa. The British South African Company, under Mr. Cecil Rhodes, in 1889 conquered Matabele and Mashonaland. The Central South African Company occupied the land beyond the Zambesi and west of Lake Nyassa. In 1891 the British Government assumed the protectorate of these colonies. For a time all went quietly, but the gold mines which were opened not far from Pretoria in 1886 led to the growth of a large town, Johannesburg, which became the centre of British and other mining companies. The Boers viewed the immigrants with suspicion. They called them Outlanders or Uitlanders, refused them equal rights as citizens, and taxed them very heavily.

African Chartered Companies

This led the Uitlanders in 1895 to start a Reform Committee and to invite Dr. Jameson, a high official of the British South African Company, to enter the Transvaal with 500 mounted police to defend their rights. Jameson was defeated at Krugersdorp, and Mr. Kruger, President of the Transvaal, after condemning the leaders to death, as a matter of form, handed them over to the British Government to be tried and punished.

Jameson Raid, 1895.

This foolish move on the part of the Uitlanders put the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, in a very difficult position, which was increased by the bitterness of the Radical party, from which he had seceded in 1886. Jameson and his followers were tried and imprisoned, and for the next four years Kruger continued to tax and oppress the Uitlanders, till in March 1899 they appealed to the Queen to exercise her suzerainty and help them.

Every attempt was made by Sir Alfred Milner, High Commissioner at the Cape, to preserve peace. But Kruger and Steyn, who was President of the Orange Free State, had been preparing for war for many years, hoping to turn the British out of South Africa. They would not give way, and a conference at Bloemfontein, June 5, 1899, produced no good result.

Negotiations were going on and troops were being sent from India to protect Natal, when, on Oct. 9, 1899, the two Presidents sent an insulting ultimatum to the Queen requiring the British troops to be withdrawn, and invaded Natal. The first battle was fought at Glencoe, Oct. 20, 1899, and was followed by that of Elandslaagte, Oct. 21, and Nicholson's Nek, Oct. 30. Sir George White and his army were driven back and besieged in Ladysmith, Colonel Baden-Powell was shut up in Mafeking, and Colonel Kekewich with Mr. Cecil Rhodes in Kimberley.

Ultimatum sent by the Boers.

The attempts of Lord Methuen to force his way up to these two last places failed, in spite of severe battles, at Belmont, Nov. 23, Graspan, Nov. 24, and Modder River, Nov. 28. General Gatacre was defeated at Stormberg, Dec. 29, and Methuen at Magersfontein, Dec. 11. General Redvers Buller, who held the supreme command and had a large body of troops in Natal, received a check at Colenso, Dec. 15. There Lord Roberts' only son was killed.

And now, at the time when men in Britain, though resolute, were despondent, came the fulfilment of Mr. Balfour's prophecy in 1896. Not only did Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen in our own country press forward on all sides for the front, but from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and India white men clamoured to rally round the flag. Even the natives of India begged earnestly to be allowed to go to Africa, but as it was not possible to employ men of colour, lest the African natives should join in, the Indian chiefs sent horses and supplies, so as at least to help in some way.

It must have been a proud moment for the aged Queen, which showed so nobly the love of her people. But her heart bled for the sufferings of her soldiers. She sent for Lord Roberts, and joined with him Lord Kitchener as chief of the staff, and without a day's delay the two men started, the one from England, the other from the scene of his victories in the Soudan,

Lord Roberts' command, Jan. 1900.

and Lord Roberts took command at the Cape, Jan. 10, 1900.

The difficulties of transport and supplies of provisions were very great, and the Boers had the advantage of knowing the country. But within six weeks of Lord Roberts' arrival the tide of war changed. True, the terrible loss of life on Spion Kop in Natal took place, Jan. 23, 1900. But on Feb. 15 Kimberley was relieved, and on Feb. 27 the Boer General Cronje with all his force surrendered to Lord Roberts at Paardeberg. Ladysmith was relieved on Feb. 28. Bloemfontein was occupied on March 13, and on May 17 the siege of Mafeking was raised. The British people, who had remained quiet and patient under reverses, went nearly wild with joy when at last the privations of the besieged were over.

On May 17 the Orange Free State was annexed to the Empire under the name of Orange River Colony. The army marched on and occupied Johannesburg on May 30 and Pretoria on June 5. President Kruger, after living for some time in a train near Komati Poort, went to Delagoa Bay and sailed for Europe in October. The Transvaal had been annexed on Sept. 1, 1900. Lord Roberts returned to England in January 1901 to take Lord Wolseley's place as Commander-in-Chief, leaving Lord Kitchener to deal with the harassing guerilla war, which continued until the following spring. At last, seeing that further resistance was hopeless, the Boers surrendered, and peace was signed at Pretoria on May 31, 1902.

Scarcely had matters begun to improve in Africa, when trouble arose in China, which for many years had been very unsettled. Russia, Germany, France, Britain, and Italy were uneasy lest they should lose influence and trade in various parts of the country, and so pressed their claims that the Empress-Dowager, a determined and scheming woman, tried to drive Europeans out of China. Therefore she secretly encouraged a large body of rebels called "Boxers," and a massacre of Europeans, chiefly missionaries, took place, June 1900.

Massacres in China, 1900.

Admiral Seymour attempted to reach Pekin, but had to retreat before overwhelming numbers. The German Ambassador was murdered on his way from the Yamen in Pekin, and a report was spread that all the European legations were destroyed. The five European Powers sent out troops, and Pekin was relieved on August 15, 1900, when it was found that the legations had been able to defend themselves and were safe. But in spite of promises the Chinese were very reluctant to punish ringleaders and make amends, and Count von Waldersee, who was given command of the allies, had a difficult task.

This same year another war was going on for four months in Ashanti, the natives having risen because a search had been made for the "golden stool," which was their emblem of rule. Sir Frederick and Lady Hodgson were besieged by rebels at Kumassi. They broke through with 600 native soldiers, leaving Captain Bishop with 100 to defend the place. This war was successfully ended in a few months.

Ashanti War, 1900.

It is pleasant to turn from war to more peaceful events, and to the Proclamation by the Queen of the Australian Commonwealth on Sept. 18, 1900, to begin its labours on Jan. 1, 1901. We saw on p. 347 that there are seven Australasian colonies—Tasmania, New Zealand, and the five States in Australia. But by degrees the five in Australia found it necessary to try and work more together, especially when other nations began to have power in the Pacific. So a Federal Council was formed in 1884, but as it had no real power, it was not successful in uniting the different States. In 1897 a movement was started to frame a Bill for a Central Parliament, and by degrees all the States voted for it by a clear majority of at least 80,000. This Parliament is to control all postal, telegraphic, and railway matters for the whole of Australia, and to deal with the national defence. It was at first intended that all questions of law, which are not international, should be settled in Australia, but as this would have prevented any appeal

Australian Commonwealth.

to the throne and to the High Court of England, it was finally settled that any individual may appeal to the Imperial Court, except when Australian interests alone are concerned. The Australian Parliament consists of a Lower House, elected by constituents, to sit for three years, and a Senate, to consist of six members from each State, to sit for six years. The British Crown is represented by a Governor, Lord Hopetoun being the first to hold this post. The Commonwealth came into existence on Jan. 1, 1901. It is the first instance of a single government for a whole continent.

And now our beloved Queen was beginning to slip away from us. She had bravely done her work through the war, and made the effort to visit Ireland in April 1900, where she was received with great enthusiasm. But in the new year her strength began to fail, and on Jan. 18 it was formally announced that she was seriously ill. The Emperor of Germany left the festivities which were being given in his honour and hastened to the bedside of his grandmother. On the evening of Jan. 22 Britain's great Queen passed away, surrounded by her children and grandchildren; and on Jan. 24 the procession to proclaim our Prince of Wales as King Edward VII. passed through London.

Death of Queen Victoria, Jan. 22, 1901

Even the poorest in the land wore mourning for the Queen. People stood all along the line from Southampton to London merely to see the funeral train pass, and a touching incident seen in the streets of Dublin expresses well how deeply she was beloved. A large placard lay on the pavement—"Death of Queen Victoria." A little ragged street boy paused to read it, and going up to a flower-girl spent a penny on a bunch of violets. Creeping back, he laid it shyly on the word "Victoria" and stole away. The reverence of that little Irish boy expressed the heart of the whole nation.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY

Edward VII., 1901–1910. | *George V.*, 1910.

On Feb. 14, 1901, King Edward VII., accompanied by Queen Alexandra, opened his first Parliament, with Lord Salisbury still Prime Minister and Mr. Balfour leader of the House of Commons. In March, the Duke and Duchess of York began their long voyage to the "British Dominions beyond the Seas"; and in July of that year this title was added to the designation of the Sovereign, so that it ran thus—"Edward VII., by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India." On Nov. 9, 1901, the King conferred on the Duke of York the title of Prince of Wales.

Accession Title.

The Coronation was to have taken place, in great state, on June 24, 1902, but was postponed at the last moment, because the King had to undergo a severe operation. His recovery, however, was rapid, and the ceremony was duly performed on the 9th of August. Two new orders were created at the Coronation: the Order of Merit, now held by several distinguished Englishmen, and the Imperial Service Order, which is also highly valued.

Coronation, Aug. 9, 1902.

Earlier in the year the Boer War had happily come to an end, and the Peace of Vereeniging was signed on May 31, 1902, at Pretoria, by all the Boer leaders and by Lords Milner and Kitchener.

Another important treaty had also been signed on

Jan. 30, 1902, between Great Britain and Japan, which has since been renewed. By this treaty it was agreed, that if either power became involved in war with another nation, the other power should remain neutral; but if either was attacked by more than one foreign nation, the other power should afford active help.

Japan Treaty, Jan 30, 1902

The year after his Coronation King Edward began that long series of foreign visits, and hospitable receptions at home, by which he will always be remembered. When he came to the throne there was a great deal of tension between the leading nations of Europe, and Britain stood almost alone. Ever since the Crimean War there had been constant friction between Britain and Russia, partly owing to Russia's disputes with Turkey, and partly to her influence in Afghanistan and Persia, and her near approach to India. With France the continued occupation of Egypt by the English had often led to strained relations, and in 1898 Captain Marchand's expedition to the Upper Nile, where he was checked by General Kitchener at Fashoda, had almost led to war between France and England; while the attitude of Germany during the Boer War had greatly irritated the British people.

Edward the Peace-maker.

Fashoda Incident, 1898.

Although, as a constitutional monarch, King Edward was far too wise to interfere openly in diplomacy, yet he began at once to establish friendly relations between this country and all foreign powers. In his short reign of nine years he visited almost every foreign court, and entertained Royal visitors and Presidents from all countries in London and at Windsor.

In 1903, on his way back from Italy, he went to Paris, where he had always been a favourite, and received a hearty welcome from the French people, and from M. Loubet the French President, who returned the visit in July. At a banquet given in the House of Commons to the French senators and deputies a few weeks later, Mr. Balfour, as leader of the House of Commons, announced

that the most cordial relations existed between France and Great Britain. Two separate agreements were signed between France and Britain in 1903 and 1904, and this *entente cordiale* has been of great value to both countries. Entente cordiale.

Meetings with the Czar, to whom the King was much attached, took place in several successive years, and Germany became uneasy at the *triple entente* between Russia, France, and Britain. But even here King Edward's geniality and tact at last softened all hostility. Besides entertaining the Kaiser on several occasions in England, he visited him at Kiel in 1904, at Cronberg in 1906 and 1908, and at Wilhelmshöhe in 1907, and then, when his friendly relations with the Kaiser had impressed the German nation, he and Queen Alexandra paid a visit to Berlin in 1909. The people received them with enthusiasm, and he was entertained not only by the court, but by the municipal authorities. This visit did much to dispel the uneasiness existing between the two nations, and throughout Europe the King became known as "Edward the Peacemaker." Triple entente. Berlin Visit, 1909.

The year 1902 was a busy one both at home and in the colonies. In that year Mr. Chamberlain, as Colonial Secretary, met the Colonial Premiers at a conference in London, and this was the beginning of a series of meetings every four years which have tended to unite the colonies with the mother-country. The International Conference on Colonial Legislation in 1903, and the Imperial Conference on the question of Preferential Tariffs, begun on May 1, 1907, were amongst the most important of these. The colonies, beginning life as favoured children, have now become independent dominions and loyal allies. The Commonwealth of Australia,—uniting the five states of Queensland, Victoria, New South Wales, Western Australia, and South Australia, together with Tasmania,—was inaugurated in Sydney in 1901 (see p. Colonial Federation, 1902-1907. Dominion of New Zealand, May 1, 1907.

369); and New Zealand, which remained outside this federation, was elevated to the rank of a Dominion, similar to the Dominion of Canada, on May 1, 1907.

On July 11, 1902, Lord Salisbury resigned, from ill-health, and died a year later, Aug. 22, 1903. His nephew, Mr. Balfour, who for many years had possessed great influence as leader of the House of Commons, became Prime Minister. In November of that year Mr. Chamberlain, as Secretary for the Colonies, made a tour in South Africa, and came back fully convinced that Preference in Trade ought to be given to our colonies, and protective tariffs levied on goods coming from foreign countries.

Balfour, Prime Minister, 1902.

When the Corn Laws were abolished in 1846, by the exertions of Cobden and Bright, it was expected that other nations would follow the example of Britain, and adopt "Free Trade"; only levying taxes for purposes of revenue. This, however, has not been the case. On the contrary, "Protection" has been adopted in almost all other countries, even in our own colonies, and Britain stands practically alone in allowing foreign goods to be sent in free; while British goods pay tariff duties abroad. Mr. Chamberlain, in a speech at Birmingham May 5, 1903, contended that, if we gave a preference to our colonies, by allowing their goods to come in at a lower rate than those of other nations, it would help to consolidate the British Empire, while it would render us more independent of foreign tariffs. In order to carry out a campaign for this "Tariff Reform" without embarrassing the Government, he resigned his post as Colonial Secretary on Sept. 10, 1903.

Question of Tariff Reform.

Mr. Balfour, while he thought the country was not yet prepared for a sudden change, was anxious that the subject should be freely discussed. On Sept. 16 he published a pamphlet on "Insular Free Trade," in which he pointed out that it was necessary to break down the barrier of tariffs, which other

"Insular Free Trade," 1903

countries had built up against British goods. He laid stress on the fact that the manufacturer and his workmen in a "protected" country are not exposed to sudden depressions, caused by over-production; since they can dispose of their surplus goods in the open market of the "free-trade" country, whose manufacturers have no such outlet for their surplus goods. "Free" trade, he contended, cannot exist between two countries, of which one lets in goods free of duty, while the other shuts them out by protective tariffs. The only way to get an approach to free-trade in this case is to retaliate, by levying duties in proportion as they are levied by the other nation, and so lead to a general relaxation of protective tariffs.

The question is a very complicated one, and many of the leading financiers were not prepared to accept the views of Mr. Chamberlain and Mr. Balfour. The immediate result was a great split in the Unionist camp. Resignations took place in the Cabinet itself. The Duke of Devonshire, who was President of the Council, Lord George Hamilton, Secretary for India, and Mr. Ritchie, Chancellor of the Exchequer, all resigned; while a few Unionists, of whom one was Mr. Winston Churchill, passed over to the Opposition.

Unionist Split, 1903.

Towards the end of 1903 an important mission was sent to Tibet by Lord Curzon, who was then Viceroy of India. Chinese influence had been growing paramount in Tibet, and the Dalai Lama tried to counterbalance this by seeking the protection of Russia. The result was that Tibet failed to fulfil the trade convention made with India in 1890, and returned the letters of the Viceroy unopened. To uphold British prestige, Lord Curzon obtained leave from the Government at home, to send an armed expedition under Colonel Younghusband demanding an apology. This expedition lasted ten months, and was stubbornly resisted by the Lamas. But after an arduous march and some heavy fighting, a British force entered Lhassa, "the Forbidden City," for

Mission to Tibet, 1903-4.

the first time in history. The Dalai Lama fled to Mongolia, and a treaty was made with the Teshu Lama, or civil governor, on Sept. 7, 1904. The Government at home, however, modified this treaty in 1907, and China once more became the dominant power in Tibet.

Two valuable Bills were passed in Parliament in 1902 and 1904. The first of these was brought forward by Mr. Balfour for the relief of elementary denominational schools, which, while they were required to be as efficient as those under the School Board, were not receiving their fair share of assistance from public funds. By this "Education Act, 1902," they were allowed support from the rates, and the control of elementary education was transferred from the School Board to a Board of Education, presided over by a Government Minister.

Education Act, 1902.

In 1904 a still more important Bill, introduced by Mr. Wyndham, was passed in the interest of the Irish peasants. This became the "Irish Land Act, 1904," by which state aid was given to Irish tenants who wished to buy their holdings. The landlord received cash, while the tenant became the owner of his land in 68½ years, by paying an amount each year not greater than his old rent. The results of this Act have been most successful, and the number of small Irish freeholders is increasing rapidly. In the two years before and after the passing of this Act, the King and Queen paid visits to Ireland.

Irish Land Act, 1904.

In July 1904 Mr. Arnold Forster proposed a reform of the Army. The Boer War had opened the eyes of the nation to the fact that reorganisation was badly needed. By the new scheme the position and pay of the private soldier was improved, the office of Commander-in-Chief was abolished, and an Army Council, presided over by the Secretary for War, was established. At this time the creation of a Territorial Force in place of the Volunteers was first suggested, but not carried into effect. In the Navy, Sir John Fisher

Army and Navy Reforms, 1904.

made many important changes. A number of old ships were destroyed, and plans were formed for the construction, each year, of four battleships of the new Dreadnought type.

On Feb. 8, 1904, two years after the treaty with Japan was signed, Europe was disturbed by an outbreak of war between Russia and Japan. This war lasted for two years and a half, with enormous loss of life. Happily the treaty (see p. 372) between Japan and Britain, and a similar one between Russia and France, made in 1894, served to prevent other powers from joining in the struggle. This is perhaps the first instance of a successful attempt to restrict a quarrel to the nations immediately concerned. Even the unfortunate incident of the Russian fleet, in the North Sea, firing on some innocent English trawlers, under the impression that their vessels were Japanese torpedo boats, produced no bad results, after the first irritation had passed. The affair was referred to the Hague Arbitration Convention, and settled by the payment of an indemnity of £65,000. The war was an unfortunate one for Russia, while the world was taken quite by surprise by the overwhelming success of the Japanese. The contest came to an end in 1906, when the Russian fleet, under Admiral Rozhdestvensky, was annihilated by the Japanese Admiral Togo. Peace was signed in the United States in September.

Russo-Japanese War, 1904.

In the year 1904 Lord Curzon, who had been Viceroy of India since 1899, and who was a very active and able administrator, made an important change, which gave rise to some anxiety. There can be little doubt that there were sufficient reasons for dividing the unwieldy Province of Bengal, and uniting the eastern part of it with Assam. But this step caused much irritation among the Hindu population; and Lord Minto, who succeeded Lord Curzon a few months later as Viceroy of India, had to face five very anxious years, in which seditious meetings were rife, and many Europeans were murdered. In 1909, when Lord Morley was Secretary of

Partition of Bengal, 1904.

State for India, he appointed two native members on his own Council, and one native member on the Council of the Governor-General, and this seems to have done much to allay discontent.

In the autumn of 1905 the Unionist party, divided on the tariff question, was losing strength, and Mr. Balfour resigned the Premiership in Nov. 1905. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became Prime Minister, and formed a Cabinet with Mr. Asquith as Chancellor of the Exchequer. The King dissolved Parliament Jan. 8, and the elections began Jan. 11, 1906.

Campbell-Bannerman, Dec. 1905.

The result took the country entirely by surprise. A Liberal majority had been expected, but not the complete rout of the Unionist party which took place. Mr. Balfour lost his seat at Manchester, though Mr. Chamberlain retained his at Birmingham. Only 158 Unionists were returned, as against—387 Liberals, 84 Nationalists, and 41 Labour members—thus giving these three parties combined a majority of 354 in the House of Commons. A new feature was the large number of Labour members, and this has been continued in subsequent elections. These men have proved themselves very useful and law-abiding members, though at times the more Socialist "Independent Labour party" has given trouble in the House.

General Election, Jan. 1906.

The causes of the complete change brought about at this election were many. The North of England voters were genuinely alarmed at the prospect of protective measures. The wage-earning classes were longing for improvements in their condition, and mass meetings of the unemployed had not gained anything from the Unionist Government. The Boer War had been very unpopular, and there was a great feeling of indignation in the country at the employment of indentured Chinese labour in the African mines. The Liberal and Labour members, who had been working steadily in the constituencies for years past, made great use of the cry of

Causes of Unionist Defeat, 1906.

"Chinese slavery," while the Nationalists were straining every nerve, both in England and Ireland, for the success of the Liberal party, from whom they hoped to obtain Home Rule.

When the King opened Parliament on Feb. 19 with Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman as Prime Minister and Mr. Asquith as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Balfour's place was vacant; but on Feb. 27 he was elected one of the members for the City of London by a large majority; Mr Alban Gibbs having resigned in his favour. On March 14 he took his place in the House as leader of the Opposition.

Parliament opened Feb. 19, 1906.

The year 1906 was chiefly occupied with the African settlement and with Home Reforms. The first act of the Government was to send a despatch to Lord Selborne, High Commissioner for South Africa, to stop the introduction of Chinese labour into the Transvaal; and by degrees the Chinamen already there were sent back. In Nov. 1906 the bold step was taken of giving self-governing institutions to the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. This proved a success. General Botha has shown himself an able administrator in Africa, and a loyal friend to Britain. After three years of gradual settlement, the Cape and Natal threw in their lot with the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and the "Union of South Africa" was proclaimed on May 31, 1910, with Botha as Prime Minister. On Oct. 11 of the same year, the Duke and Duchess of Connaught went to Africa, and the Duke opened the first Union Parliament Nov. 4, 1910.

Union of South Africa, 1906-10.

In the Imperial Parliament a number of useful Acts now followed each other in rapid succession. The "Aliens Act," restricting the admission of undesirable foreigners—the "Criminal Appeal Act," giving a condemned person the right to appeal to a higher court—the "Public Trustee Act," by which a person can leave, by will, the administration of his or her property in the safe hands of a public official—the

Acts passed, 1906.

"English Small Holdings and Allotments Act," giving facilities for tenants to become possessors of their holdings —and the extended "Workmen's Compensation Act" of 1906, which for the first time gave domestic servants the right to claim compensation for accidents, were all passed during the year. The last of these has not worked as well as was anticipated, for it has given rise to many dishonest claims, and a plentiful crop of disputes in the Courts of Law.

The "Trades Disputes Act," which was passed Dec. 1906, is of more than doubtful equity, for it gives to the trade unions the power to stand outside the law, which the Taff Vale decision in the Courts of Law had shown they did not possess. This means that methods which would be condemned in the law courts, if adopted by a private person, can be employed by a Trades Union with impunity.

But the Bill which caused the greatest upheaval in the country, and failed to pass, was a new Education Bill by which it was proposed that schools giving denominational teaching should not be supported by public funds. This was felt by many to be very unjust both to Church of England, and Roman Catholic, Schools. Mass meetings were held for, and against, the Bill, all over the country. Roman Catholics and Churchmen pleaded for liberty to teach what was to them essential, and a large body of Lancashire working men marched from the North to the Albert Hall, to uphold denominational teaching. The Bill was carried through the Commons, but the Lords proposed several amendments, which the Liberals would not accept, and the Bill was dropped.

New Education Bill dropped, 1906.

In the elections of the London County Council of 1906, the Progressive party, which was largely Socialistic, was defeated, and the Moderates, or Municipal Reformers, who were pledged to be more economical, became the strongest party, and have remained so ever since.

Rise of Municipal Reformers, 1906.

The year 1907 saw fresh changes in the construction of the Army. Several reductions were made in the Regular Forces, and a Bill was brought in by Mr. (now Lord) Haldane, which was an expansion and modification of Mr. Arnold Forster's proposals in 1904. This Bill established the Territorial Force, in the place of the Yeomanry and Volunteers. It also formed a special Militia Reserve, and an Officers' Training Corps. It is too soon yet to decide how this new arrangement will work. But as regards the Regular Army and the Home Defences, Lord Roberts declares them to be lamentably weak, and many efforts are being made (1913) to induce the Government to increase their efficiency. The use of aeroplanes and air-ships in war is making rapid strides. An air-battalion was constituted by order on Feb. 28, 1911, and a balloon factory and school has been opened at Farnborough. Excellent cross-country flying is now accomplished by the officers of the air-battalion, both in aeroplanes and air-ships.

Territorial Force, 1907.

Army Air-ships.

Meanwhile our colonies are coming forward cheerfully to strengthen the defences of the Empire. In July 1909, at a conference held in London, it was decided that the land forces of the Dominions should be standardised, so that they could be rapidly combined, if necessary, into one Imperial Army. As regards naval defence, Australia has volunteered to lay the foundation of a fleet of her own, while New Zealand prefers to contribute vessels from time to time, and Canada has not yet decided which plan to follow.

Colonial Forces, 1909.

On April 5, 1908, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman resigned the Premiership, and died on April 22. In the new Cabinet Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister, and Mr. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Asquith had already prepared his Budget, in which he included a scheme of Old Age Pensions. This, after some discussion, was passed by general consent, both in the Lords and Commons. By

Asquith, Prime Minister, 1908.

this Act every man or woman over seventy years of age, who has less than £31 : 10s. a year, is entitled to receive a pension every week of from 5s. to 1s., according as he has less or more income of his own.

Old Age Pensions, 1908.

The Bill for the "Protection of Children" and the "Miners' Eight Hours Bill" were passed at the end of the year. One curious result of this last Act was that it gave some trouble to the miners' wives. The twenty-four hours being divided into three shifts, instead of two as before, a father and his sons working in the same mine may be coming home at different times of the day for their meals.

Miners' Eight Hours Bill, Jan. 1908.

This same year, a new voluntary movement began, which is proving a valuable help in the training of our boys and youths. During the siege of Mafeking General Baden-Powell trained a corps of Boy Scouts, whom he found very useful in various ways. On his return to England he formed, in 1908, an organisation of the boys of Britain, to train them to be useful to their country. Lads' Brigades had existed among various religious bodies since 1883 and had done good work. These were chiefly of a religious character, and the new scheme covers a somewhat different field. General Baden-Powell persuaded a number of young men each to collect a few boys in a team, whose members should meet constantly to practise exercises and learn, chiefly through team-games, to obey orders, to keep their eyes open and make good observations, to give first aid in the case of accidents, and to perform other useful services for the public. His rules were few but good. Boy Scouts must keep their bodies clean and in good health, they must be obedient to discipline, strictly truthful and moral, brave and self-reliant. They must neither smoke nor drink; they must rise early, and not be self-indulgent. They must put their trust in God, be useful to others, and do at least one kind action every day. The Boy Scout is directly responsible to his instructor, while the instructors, in their

Boy Scouts, 1908.

turn, are under the Scout Master of the district to which they belong, who again is answerable for the good conduct and discipline of the various groups. This organisation has spread so rapidly in five years that the numbers now (1913) amount to 105,000 in the United Kingdom, and 150,000 in other parts of the Empire. It has also been imitated in many foreign countries.

The training of the lads of the wage-earning class has, indeed, become of very great importance, for upon them depends much of the future of our nation. The rise of democracy, the giving of the vote to large masses of the people, their concentration in trade unions, and the development of strikes, have placed great power in the hands of working people. We saw on p. 364 that, in the years 1892 to 1895, there were very serious strikes in the coal, gas, and engineering trades. These were the beginning of an industrial war which has continued down to our day. In 1902 the French working classes first adopted a method of "syndicalism" or sympathetic strikes, which has gradually been spreading in our country. By this system the trade unions combine to support each other, so as to render a strike universal, not only in one trade, but in others connected with it. The younger and more active men, who naturally outnumber the older hands, are in favour of this method in trade disputes.

Labour Unrest.

Syndicalism adopted from France.

The three chief demands of the working men are: (1) An increase of wages; (2) Fewer hours of labour; (3) A recognition of their trade unions. But as the strike fever spread, almost any reason seemed sufficient for ceasing to work. In the years 1908-9 trade was bad, and strikes were comparatively few; but from 1910 to the present time (1913), when trade has been exceptionally good, there is scarcely any industry which has not been affected by them. In the year 1911 alone, more than four hundred large and petty disputes took place, and almost every day for the last four years has seen one trade or another in a state of unrest. The

Labour Demands.

strike of the cotton operatives in 1906 was one of the most serious, as their union is very well organised, and several strikes and lock-outs followed at intervals, until on Oct. 10, 1910, the last lock-out was brought to an end by the intervention of the Board of Trade. Since then, however, there has again been uneasiness and threats of a general strike. In 1911 a serious strike of dockers and transport-workers took place in London, Manchester, Salford, and Liverpool, which led, in the latter place, to the rioting of hooligans and much distress. Parents were unable to obtain milk for their infants, owing to the destruction of milk-vans, and the supply of provisions became alarmingly short. This was followed in August by a strike of all the railwaymen in England belonging to the unions (except on the London and South-Western Railway), and a large force of military was distributed throughout the affected area. In one case, at Llanelly in Wales, several people were killed. Although the actual strike lasted less than a week, it aroused the Government and the nation to a sense of the great interruption to public business and daily life which these general strikes might become.

Cotton Strike, 1908.

Transport Strike, 1911.

Railway Strike, 1911.

The year 1912 was one long succession of disputes in almost every trade, showing that a complete reconstruction is going on in the relation between employer and employed. On Dec. 21, 1911, the coal-miners balloted on the question of a general strike, and, on Jan. 18, 1912, a three-fourths majority declared in favour of ceasing work. The strike lasted for nearly three months, causing wide-spread distress; for it stopped many manufactures as soon as the stores of coal in the works were exhausted. Thus large bodies of men and women, quite outside the dispute, were deprived of the means of livelihood. Urged by public opinion, the Government for the first time interfered in fixing wages. A Bill was brought in, and rapidly passed through the House, to last for three years. By this Bill the men

Coal Strike, 1912.

receive a minimum wage, to be settled by joint district boards, presided over by an independent chairman. The Miners' Federation tried to obtain a fixed minimum wage of 5s. a day for men, and 2s. for boys; but to this Mr. Asquith would not consent; he left each district to settle its own minimum wage. The Bill was passed by the Lords, becoming the "Coal Mines Minimum Wage Act," and the men returned to work on April 6, 1912. In 1911 Sir George Askwith was appointed Chief Industrial Commissioner to deal with trade disputes, and he has done much to bring masters and men together. But the unrest grows greater and greater, and one unpleasant feature is, that the men are beginning now to rebel against the decision of even their own leaders. We can only trust that with experience and greater knowledge of the laws underlying industrialism, both employers and employed may work out a stable solution.

Coal Mines Act, 1912.

Uneasiness, however, has not been confined to men only. For the last fifty years women have been agitating to have a voice in the election of members of Parliament; and this movement, which began at first in the upper classes, has now spread to women in factories and other employments. These women contend that they have not an equal opportunity with men of making their grievances known and redressed. When the Liberal Government came into office, this movement became much more active. On April 25, 1906, Mr. Keir Hardie brought forward a motion for Woman's Suffrage, and while the discussion was going on, a disorderly scene took place in the Ladies' Gallery. Other Bills have since been brought forward and have passed their second reading, but have gone no further, in spite of many remarkable processions and meetings in support of the measure, by women of good social position, many of them holding posts of importance in various professions. Unfortunately, the more restless spirits broke away from the constitutional party, hoping to gain recognition by rioting and destruction of property. Not only were the

Woman's Suffrage Bill, 1906.

Militant Suffragists, 1908.

windows of the Prime Minister broken, but the windows of peaceful shopkeepers suffered at the hands of these excitable enthusiasts. The result has been imprisonment and hunger strikes; while the English people, always keen for justice, have had their feelings outraged by women burning country houses, cutting telegraph wires, and causing damage generally to the property of innocent people. Like all violent and unjustifiable methods, this has defeated its own end, and has sadly hindered the work of the much larger body, who use constitutional methods.

Mass meetings of quite another kind have succeeded in bringing their case to a successful issue. During the last part of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century the want of employment had been severely felt, especially in large towns. Processions were formed in the streets, and, in 1908, crowds of the unemployed tried to force an entrance into the House of Commons. On May 20, 1909, Mr. Winston Churchill succeeded in carrying a Bill through Parliament by which Labour Exchanges were instituted all over the country, controlled by local committees, formed of equal numbers of employers and employed, with an independent chairman. These Exchanges started work Feb. 1, 1910. Any man unable to find work can go to the nearest Exchange and learn where his particular work is most needed, while employers can also hear of unemployed workmen. When necessary, help is given to workmen and their families to migrate to the place where they are wanted.

Labour Exchanges, 1909.

We must now go back a few months, to trace the rise of a serious constitutional struggle which has taken place between the Lords and Commons. It had long been a grievance with the Liberals that the Lords, being chiefly Conservative, had readily passed measures brought forward by a Conservative Government; while they often rejected those passed when the Liberals were in office. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, when he became Prime Minister, had

Conflict between Lords and Commons, 1908-11.

declared openly his intention to curb the power of the House of Lords; and Mr. Asquith, who followed him, began the work at once.

In Feb. 1908 the Government passed a severe Licensing Bill, which was thrown out by the House of Lords. In April 1909 Mr. Lloyd George, in his Budget, practically brought back the provisions of this Bill, under cover of a Finance Bill. While he counted chiefly upon the super-tax on large incomes, and increased death- and stamp-duties to pay for Old Age Pensions, he also proposed an increased levy on licences and spirits, which he estimated would bring in £4,200,000, and another on tobacco which would yield £1,900,000. Besides this he brought forward a new tax on land, which required a complete system of revaluation of property.

Licensing Bill rejected, 1908.

When the Budget was sent to the Upper House Lord Lansdowne moved, and carried, a resolution that "the House was not justified in giving its consent to the Bill, until it had been submitted to the people." Mr. Asquith declared that this act of the Lords was a breach of the Constitution, and he advised the Crown to dissolve Parliament.

Lords and the Budget, Nov. 1909.

The returns of the election showed that the Liberals (without the Irish and Labour members) had only 275 votes, while the Unionists had 273. The Government were, therefore, dependent for their majority upon the 40 votes of the Labour party, whose action was always uncertain, and on the 82 votes of the Irish Nationalists. Britain had arrived at the position so much dreaded by Gladstone—the Irish Nationalists held the balance between the two parties. Nevertheless, the coalition majority was sufficient to give Mr. Asquith the mandate he wanted, and when Parliament reassembled, the Lords passed the Budget.

General Election, Jan. 1910.

Mr. Asquith then brought forward three Veto resolutions, to limit the power of the Lords in the future. The first of these abolished the Lords' Veto on Finance.

The second limited their Veto on other measures; enacting that any Bill (other than a Money Bill) passed by the Commons, without alteration, in three successive sessions, should become law, even though rejected by the Lords. The third limited the life of a parliament to five years, instead of seven as formerly. These three resolutions were passed rapidly through the Commons, in spite of the opposition of the Unionists; and Mr. Asquith then introduced his "Parliament Bill," saying, that if it were not accepted by the Lords, the Government would tender advice to the Crown to take steps which would give it effect.

Veto Resolutions, Feb. 28, 1910.

The Lords now sought to remodel their House more in accordance with popular needs. But though, during the next few months, many plans were suggested, none of them proved acceptable. Mr. Asquith, it is true, promised in a preamble to his Bill, to establish a reformed Second Chamber at some future time. But for the moment he wanted, not to reform but to cripple the House of Lords, in order that he might pass his Liberal measures.

The Lords attempt reform.

In the midst of this heated controversy King Edward VII., who had just returned from Biarritz, was taken seriously ill. He had been in bad health for some time, and the prevailing discord weighed heavily upon him. Edward "the Peacemaker," who had reconciled his country with nearly all the nations of the world, was powerless to reconcile the two opposing factions of his own people. He died at Buckingham Palace, May 6, 1910, and the Prince of Wales succeeded him as George V.

Death of Edward VII., May 6, 1910.

The beginning of a new reign caused a lull in the constitutional battle. A Conference was proposed between some of the leading members of both parties. This began on June 17, 1910, and met at intervals for several months. The chief Bill passed through Parliament during the rest of the session

Conference, June 1910.

was one to alter the Accession Oath; taking out the portion which was offensive to Roman Catholics.

When Parliament reassembled on Nov. 15, it was already known that the Conference had failed, and Mr. Asquith stated his intention of advising the King again to dissolve Parliament before the Parliament Bill was proceeded with. The election took place early in Dec. 1910. It made no change in the Liberal majority, and on Feb. 6, 1911, Mr. Asquith again introduced his Bill, comprising the three Veto resolutions. Three months later, on May 10, 1911, the third reading was passed, and the measure was sent up to the House of Lords. The Coronation of George V. and Queen Mary took place on June 22, and for a few weeks there was peace.

General Election, Dec. 1910.

Coronation, June 1911.

But on July 20, when the Bill came back from the Lords, it contained many important amendments, which were rejected by the Government amid much uproar. The Bill was returned to the Upper House, and Lord Morley announced that, if it were not passed, the King would assent to a creation of peers sufficient to overcome all opposition. Lord Halsbury and a large number of other peers protested against the Lords committing political suicide by giving way. But Lord Lansdowne and the Archbishop of Canterbury urged that resistance was worse than useless, and the Bill was passed. It received the royal assent on Aug. 18, 1911. By this Parliament Act Mr. Asquith obtained a free hand to carry his Bills during the life of one Parliament, provided he could count upon the assistance of the Irish Nationalists.

Parliament Bill passed by the Lords, Aug. 1911.

At this time members of Parliament first began to receive a payment of £400 a year for their services. Mr. Lloyd George had proposed this in his Budget, and the Liberals by a large majority carried the resolution. Payment began on Sept. 1, 1911.

Payment of members, 1911.

A few weeks later Mr. Balfour resigned the leadership

of the Unionist party. Mr. Walter Long and Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who both had claims to succeed him, gave way in favour of a leader acceptable to all sections of the party, and Mr. Bonar Law, a Canadian by birth and formerly an iron merchant of Glasgow, was elected leader.

Bonar Law leader, Nov. 1911.

The "National Insurance Bill," brought in by Mr. Lloyd George a year before, was now passed. It was welcomed at first with general approval, but during committee the Opposition amendments received so little attention that, when the third reading was carried, the Opposition walked out and did not vote. When the Bill reached the Upper House, Lord Lansdowne accepted it with all its defects, rather than enter into a useless controversy. The Bill received the royal assent on Dec. 16, 1911.

National Insurance Act, Dec. 16, 1911.

The first half of this Act applies to Health Insurance. It compels every man and woman in regular receipt of wages, whose income does not exceed £160 a year, to pay—the man 4d., the woman 3d. a week; while the employer contributes 3d., and the State 2d. In return for this payment an insured member receives free medical attendance, and a sickness benefit of 10s. a week to a man, and 7s. 6d. to a woman. The scheme is worked through the Benefit Societies, and began on July 15, 1912. There was much trouble in persuading the doctors to work under the Act, and probably many changes will have to be made. One Bill, consisting of several amendments, has already been passed.

Health Insurance.

The second section of the Act gives assistance to men who, though willing to do work, fail to find it. It is being tried first in a few trades, such as building, shipbuilding, and iron-founding, in which work is often intermittent; and other associations can, upon occasion, get a grant in aid. The workman and the employer each contribute 2½d. a week, and the State 1⅔d. When a man is out of employment, he has to take his Unemployment book to the nearest office of the Unemploy-

Unemployment Insurance.

ment Fund, and be willing to take suitable work. If, however, this cannot be found, he receives 7s. a week. But he must go each day (or if living at a distance, two or three days a week) and sign in his book that he has not found employment.

In Nov. 1911 George V. and Queen Mary started for India to attend a great Imperial Durbar. At this Durbar the King-Emperor announced that the seat of government would be moved from Calcutta to Delhi, the ancient capital of India; and that there would be a separate Governor for the Presidency of Bengal.

Delhi made capital of India, 1911.

We have now arrived at vexed questions about which we can say little. In 1912 Mr. M'Kenna brought forward a "Welsh Disestablishment Bill" and Mr. Asquith the long-expected "Home Rule Bill for Ireland." This last measure was passed through the House of Commons in the autumn session of 1912 and again in the session of 1913. On both occasions it was sent up to the Lords, who replied that "They could not deal with it till it had been submitted to the judgment of the people." It was passed a third time without alteration, and thus fulfilled the conditions of the Parliament Act, and received the royal assent, Sept. 18, 1914, in spite of its rejection by the Lords.

Home Rule Bill, 1912.

Meanwhile the people of Ulster, who are firmly resolved not to be governed by a parliament in Dublin, signed in Belfast on Sept. 28, 1912, a Solemn Covenant, pledging themselves not to acknowledge a "Home Rule" parliament.

Ulster Covenant, Sept. 28, 1912.

But soon a far more serious matter engaged public attention. A cloud of war burst over Europe. The nominal cause was the murder of Archduke Ferdinand of Austria and his wife at Serajevo in Bosnia. But the real cause was the desire of the Germans to become masters of the world. For forty years the military party in Prussia had been preparing for war. Now they joined Austria and began hostilities.

Great War of 1914.

Events followed fast. Austria and Germany on the one hand, Russia and France on the other, mobilised rapidly; and when Germany violated Belgian neutrality, which she, together with Britain, had promised to defend, Britain also declared war on her. British troops landed in France on Aug. 16, but neither France nor England was sufficiently prepared to arrest the German advance through Belgium, on which the enemy inflicted abominable atrocities. Soon after this Japan joined the Allies, and later took the port of Tsing-tau from the Germans, who also lost valuable possessions in Africa.

We had but a small army available, and our first Expeditionary Force to France numbered only 160,000 men. But Lord Kitchener appealed to the nation, and 100,000 recruits joined in two days, and the numbers continued to increase. Since then the British army, aided by troops from Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Africa, has become a mighty force of more than four million men.

But when the war spread over the East of Europe and into Asia, and separate armies were fighting in France, Gallipoli, Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Bulgaria, and Serbia, it became necessary to use compulsion to bring in the laggards. Every man of fighting strength and those capable of Home Service in munition factories, shipyards, aeroplane workshops, and coast defences were gathered in. Women came forward bravely, filling the posts left vacant by men, acting as clerks, railway officials, omnibus conductors, munition workers, and farm labourers; while others gave their services gratuitously as nurses both at home and abroad and even as ambulance drivers in France. So the whole nation united to work for the common good. If here and there some preferred their ease to patriotism, they are but few, and Britain may be proud of her children, who have not hesitated to give their services and their lives against a world-wide tyranny. Finally, in April 1917, the United States of America joined the war, and thousands of

Military Service.

American troops began to pour into France, to fight side by side with the Allies.

The contest spread so far and wide that it is difficult to note even the chief events. Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Spain, and Switzerland were the only important countries remaining neutral. Belgium, Russia, France, the British Empire, South Africa, Japan, Serbia, Italy, Greece, Roumania, Portugal, the United States, the chief South American nations, and even China, placed themselves on the side of the Allies, against the ruthless barbarism and cruelty of Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

The first important battles were fought on the Western Front. Germany hacked her way through Belgium, burning the University of Louvain and committing horrible atrocities, came face to face with the British forces at Mons, and the French at Charleroi (August 23, 1914). The Germans had by far the stronger army and drove back the British and French, till on September 5 the enemy was within a few miles of Paris.

Retreat of Mons, 1914.

Then the tide turned and the Allies took the offensive. In the battles of the Marne and the Aisne (1914) the Germans were driven back to their trenches, and three years of trench warfare began. In the two terrible battles of Ypres (1914 and 1916) that beautiful old town became a heap of ruins. It was in the second of these battles that the Germans first used large quantities of suffocating gas and the Canadian troops suffered severely.

Battles of Marne and Aisne, 1914.

In the battle of the Somme, which lasted from July to December 1916, the famous "Tanks" were first used by the British, to destroy wire defences, butt down houses, and clear the German redoubts with machine guns. This terrible battle first showed the full strength of the Allies, and their power to win the war. Meanwhile the splendid defence of Verdun by the French in 1916 kept the enemy at bay and blocked the road to Paris.

Tanks on the Somme, 1916.

Nor were the battles only on land or on the surface of the sea; for both in the air and *under* the sea the struggle grew fiercer and fiercer. The German Navy, defeated in several sea-battles, notably near the Falkland Islands in 1914 and in the battle of Jutland in 1916, found themselves unable to dispose of the British Navy in open fight, and prepared an enormous fleet of submarines, called "U-boats" to torpedo British vessels. In February 1915 the Germans declared a "danger zone" all round the British Isles, and on March 15 the British Government replied by declaring a blockade of all German sea traffic. But the Germans utterly disregarding all military usages torpedoed peaceful merchant and passenger vessels, not even sparing hospital ships. The sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915, by which more than a thousand passengers were drowned, sent a thrill of horror throughout the world. Nevertheless from that time onwards the Germans continued to torpedo non-combatant vessels of all nations.

Sea and Air Battles.

In the air the fighting became fiercer and fiercer, and aeroplanes soon took a leading part in the war. Here again the Germans attacked non-combatants, and the British people at home suffered severely from bomb-throwing Zeppelins and aeroplanes, especially in London and Paris, till at last the allied air-forces were driven to make reprisals and bomb German towns, though only where military strategy justified the attack.

In other countries British troops played a great part. One chief aim of Germany in the war was to gain control over the trade of the East and India. They roused the Turks (1914) and the Bulgarians (1915) to fight on their side, and British troops have been at war against the Turks in Egypt and the Arabian Desert, in Palestine (which has been completely conquered), and in Mesopotamia, where, by the capture of Baghdad, the German advance along the famous Baghdad Railway has been entirely checked.

In the East.

In April 1915 we sent ships and a large army to try

to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and attack Constantinople. This expedition failed, and our troops withdrew to Salonica, where, with the French, they helped the Serbians to regain their lost territories, and kept the Bulgarians in check until they surrendered on Sept. 30, 1918.

Another and quite a separate war raged in South Africa, where the Boers and English drove the Germans out of all their possessions, and put an end to German influence in South Africa.

We had hoped to receive great help from Russia, but, though the Russian troops were at first very successful, they were driven back by the Germans in 1916, and a revolution broke out in Petrograd in 1917. The Tsar abdicated and was murdered with his whole family. The country fell into the hands of the extremists, who, under the name of Bolshevists, brought ruin on Russia, and spread a propaganda of class hatred over the whole of Europe. Italy joined the Allies in 1915 and fought with great success; but when the German troops were set free by the Russian Revolution, they went down to help the Austrians, broke the Italian line and came within a few miles of Venice. But the Italians held out bravely, and France and England sent troops to help them. The Austrians were steadily driven back, and by October 1918 had to sue for peace.

Russia and Italy.

In March 1918 began the long series of battles in the West, which ended in November of that year in the complete triumph of the Allied Powers. The Germans had been preparing all the winter for a final thrust, and on March 21 they launched a great offensive, with forty divisions, on a forty mile front, forcing the British across the Somme, taking a large number of prisoners, destroying towns and villages, and laying waste the whole country on their way. The battle swayed to and fro, the British, French, and Americans fighting stubbornly shoulder to shoulder. Yet still the Germans advanced, until they were within twelve miles of Arras.

On March 28 Foch, the great French general, was appointed Generalissimo over the whole Allied Forces, Sir Douglas Haig loyally co-operating in this arrangement. From this time the associated armies on the Western Front worked as one co-ordinated machine.

Foch is supreme command

On May 17 the Germans brought up fresh reinforcements and attacked in force between Rheims and Soissons, they crossed the Aisne, took Soissons and advanced on the Marne. But the Allies now began to hold their own. On June 6, when the enemy had reached Veuilly (the nearest point they got to Paris), they suffered a severe defeat by the British, French, and American troops. From this time onwards the Allies continued to advance along the whole front, in spite of vigorous rearguard actions on the part of the enemy. Soissons was retaken on August 2, New Zealand troops entered Bapaume on the 28th, and General Birdwood occupied Lille (Oct. 17). On the same day Ostend was evacuated by the Germans, and all fear of raids on England came to an end. On Sept. 29 the Passchendaele and Messines ridges were retaken and Cambrai fell. As each town and village was relieved, the few people left in them went wild with joy at their release from German tyranny. The inhabitants of Lille pulled their mattresses into the square for the soldiers to lie on, and brought them flowers and fruit. They did not know how to do enough to show their gratitude.

On Nov. 4, the sailors of the German fleet mutinied and refused to put out to sea, and in the end the fleet was handed over to the British after the armistice. Germany now stood alone. Turkey had surrendered to the Allies on Oct. 30. Austria surrendered unconditionally on Nov. 3. The German army was in full retreat, her soldiers were disheartened, her cities suffered from aeroplane attacks, while revolution was breaking out all over the country. The German Chancellor appealed for an armistice. The Kaiser abdicated on November 9, and fled to Holland.

General Foch was authorised by the Powers to dictate a military armistice, which was signed by the German plenipotentiaries at 5 o'clock in the morning of November 11, 1918. At eleven o'clock that day the order to "cease fire" was sounded on all fronts, and a dead calm fell on the battlefields. The war was over. Justice, good faith, and humanity had, after a bitter struggle, triumphed over intrigue, perfidy, and brutality. The young and brave comrades in war, who gave their lives for their country and for the future of the world, had not died in vain.

On January 18, 1919, after several conferences, the "Great Congress" of Paris met in the Clock Hall of that city. Delegates of the five Great Powers (the British Empire, France, America, Italy, and Japan), and of twenty-five lesser Powers began to discuss the terms of peace, and to form a "League of Nations," to protect the world from such terrible wars in future as the one which had just ended. Five months of hard work were necessary before the Allies and Associated Powers were able to deliver their ultimatum to the German Government, which accepted it with great reluctance and sent delegates to Paris. There, by 3.50 on Saturday afternoon, June 28, 1919, the "Treaty of Peace" was signed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles.

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